Appendices

This page intentionally blank.

1 Introduction

The *Riverside Latino Historic Context Statement* was prepared by Rincon Consultants at the request of the City of Riverside Community and Economic Development Department. The study was funded through the Certified Local Government (CLG) program of the State Office of Historic Preservation.

Riverside is home to one of the oldest, most cohesive Latino communities in California. Across generations, this community was built by pioneering immigrants, migrant workers and families, community organizers and civil rights leaders, teachers and artists, business owners and volunteers. For well over a century, the Latino community in Riverside has made a vital, immeasurable contribution to the City's growth and prosperity.

In this way, the history of Riverside's Latino community *is* the history of Riverside itself. From the era of Spanish-language settlements at Agua Mansa and La Placita, to the influx of settlers who helped build the transcontinental railroad and citrus industry, fought for their country in two World Wars, Korea, and Vietnam, to those who raised families in an era of segregation and discrimination, Latinos in Riverside built a community that has endured for over a century.

Although the history of Riverside's ethnic communities "runs as deep as the urban fabric of the City itself,"[1] few context-driven studies have been completed that help broaden our knowledge of Latino heritage and history. Several historic surveys have occurred in neighborhoods with long-time Latino communities. To date, however, no citywide survey has focused solely on Latino history. This document provides a key tool for doing so in the future. Applying this framework in evaluations will help ensure that the potential significance of Latino-related resources is adequately considered. This document provides not only a history of Riverside's Latino community but also a comprehensive, proactive method for identifying Latino-related historic resources as well as a means for helping the City to meet its obligations under the California Environmental Quality Act (CEQA).

Since Riverside County designated the 1863 Trujillo Adobe in 1969 (one of the last remnants of the City's original Spanish-era settlement), few landmarks significant to the Latino community have been identified or designated. (The Trujillo Adobe was since designated a City landmark in 2015 and was included on Hispanic Access's Top 10 Latino sites in the US in 2017.) One recent designation occurred in December 2017, when the Community Settlement House was listed in the National Register of Historic Places for its association with ethnic heritage and Riverside's Latino community.

As development pressures increase throughout the City, resources with potential significance to the Latino community are not always apparent. As community member Mary Pasillas wrote in 2014:

> As I travel around my city looking at the old buildings that still remain, I sometimes wonder if my grandfather was on that construction site of many of these old buildings. I do recall seeing old photographs of my grandfather on the construction site of Our Lady of Guadalupe Shrine.
>
> Could this be why I love my city's architecture and buildings so much? The jewels of the city buildings call out my inheritance…[they are] a legacy of love for what my grandfather's hard labor and work put into this city. I do know my roots run deep within this city.[2]

This study represents an important step toward ensuring that the "jewels of the city" significant to Riverside's Latino community are identified, recognized, and preserved.

Report Contents

In 2015, the California Office of Historic Preservation prepared a Multiple Property Document Form (MPDF) study, *Latinos in Twentieth Century California*. The document provided, for the first-time, a consistent, context-driven approach for assessing significant associations with Latino history and heritage, tailored to the specific case of California. This study tiers off the state-level approach, with a few important modifications, tailored to the specific case of Riverside.

One of the most significant departures from the state-level study is the addition of a subtheme for "Citrus and Agriculture Workers." As in other centers of citrus and agricultural production, in Riverside, the citrus industry decisively shaped early settlement and employment patterns for many Latinos. In some cases, these patterns are still evident in the built environment. Including this subtheme will ensure that evaluations weigh the centrality of the citrus industry in the lives and livelihoods for many Latinos in Riverside, in particular during the first half of the twentieth century.

The *Riverside Latino Historic Context Statement* includes nine sections. Sections 1 and 2 describe the overall purpose, methodology, and regulatory framework guiding the project. Section 3 provides a snapshot of the construction chronologies and character of four historically Latino communities, Casa Blanca, Eastside, Arlanza, and Northside. Although the City is home to other vital, long-term Latino communities, these four offer a representative sample.

Next, Section 4 "Themes of Significance," describes four thematic categories, along with the subthemes, events, people, and places behind each. In order to ensure consistency with the state-level framework, this study uses the four broad thematic categories identified in the 2015 study, albeit tailored to Riverside's unique history:

Theme #1: Making a Home and a Nation
- Subtheme: Immigration and Settlement
- Subtheme: Community Building and Mutual Assistance Organizations

Theme #2: Making a Living
- Subtheme: Citrus and Agriculture Workers
- Subtheme: Pioneers in Commerce, Business, and Education
- Subtheme: Latinos in the Military

Theme #3: Making a Life
- Subtheme: Religion and Spirituality
- Subtheme: Recreation and Sports
- Subtheme: Cultural Development

Theme #4: Making a Democracy: Latino Struggles for Inclusion
- Subtheme: Community Responses to Segregation and Discrimination
- Subtheme: Housing
- Subtheme: Education
- Subtheme: Building the Civil Rights Movement
- Subtheme: Latinos in Labor History

In evaluations of some properties, more than one theme might apply. For example, in December 2017, the Community Settlement House in Riverside was listed on the National Register of Historic Places under the "Making a Nation" and "Making a Life" themes of the state-level study*, Latinos in*

Twentieth Century California. It is expected that other historic resources of import to the Latino community will qualify under more than one theme.

Section 5, "Associated Property Types," describes the variety of built environment resources that might reflect the themes of significance. Definitions are provided for each category, along with eligibility standards. Because this document tiers off the 2015 State Office of Historic Preservation study, Section 5 excerpts and adapts the state-level framework to ensure consistency in evaluations. Although this study did not include a survey component, a number of designated or potentially eligible resources were identified in the course of research. These are listed in Section 5, with a complete list included in Appendix A.

This document offers not just a history of Riverside's Latino community. It creates the City's first context-based framework for identifying significant Latino-related historic resources. This study allows the City to proactively identify and preserve the places that are important to the Latino community as well as to facilitate City compliance with CEQA.

Section 6 includes a project summary and recommendations, Section 7 includes a "Timeline and Milestones," and Section 8 contains the study bibliography. Comprehensive endnotes in Section 9 round out the report. Appendix A includes all known and potentially eligible historic resources recommended for further study; Appendix B includes Arc-GIS maps with dates of construction for Casa Blanca, Eastside, Arlanza, and Northside neighborhoods; and Appendix C includes an excerpt from the OHP 2015 study, *Latinos in Twentieth Century California*, on how to use the Multiple Property Document-Form historic context statement.

Data Gaps, Challenges, and Future Opportunities for Research

While recent literature has illuminated a range of historic, cultural, and sociopolitical topics that have affected California's Latino community overall, few studies are available on the specific case of Riverside. As such, this historic context statement draws on a wide range of available sources, including research and materials compiled by the Riverside County Mexican American Historical Society, previous oral histories, interviews with community members, prior historic resource studies, and a range of available written materials, in English and in Spanish.

A number of data gaps remain, however. These are noted in the recommendation section as possible areas for future study and for focused, thematic oral history collection. In particular, under-researched topics in need of additional information include: long-time, prominent citrus workers; Latino cultural development, arts, music; recreation, sports, and sports leagues, and important coaches and players; the people and places involved in early community building and mutualista establishment; the labor movement and unions; the civil rights and Chicano civil rights movement.

As of 2018, neighborhoods throughout Riverside are home to Latino families and citizens. Historically, three neighborhoods in particular, Casa Blanca, Eastside, and Arlington Heights, were early areas of concentrated settlement for the community. For this reason, much of the available literature focuses on these neighborhoods, and therefore they garner frequent mention in this study.

Future research and oral history collection could focus on broadening our knowledge of Latino settlement patterns, events, people, and places in other neighborhoods in Riverside, including Arlanza and Northside, for example. Although Casa Blanca and Eastside often provide the case studies examined here, the themes of significance identified apply to resources throughout the City as well as the County.

1.1 Acknowledgements

Rincon wishes to acknowledge the invaluable contributions and expertise provided by many individuals and organizations throughout the community in the preparation of this study.

First and foremost, this study would not have been possible without the participation of Ms. Linda Salinas-Thompson, founder of the Riverside County Mexican-American Historical Society. For over a decade, Ms. Salinas-Thompson has conducted research, collected interviews, and compiled a range of historic documents on the Mexican-American experience in Riverside. Although the Mexican-American story forms a highly significant chapter in the history of Riverside, to date, as a collective history, it has remained under-documented and under-explored. In this way, Ms. Salinas-Thompson's research and expertise helped fill critical data gaps, and Rincon is grateful for the expertise and assistance she provided throughout the project.

Dr. Carlos Cortés and Dr. Catherine Gudis of the University of California, Riverside, Steven Moreno-Terrill, University of California, Riverside, and Ruth McCormick and Celeste Reyes, City of Riverside Public Library gave of their time and expertise throughout the project, and Rincon is grateful for their contributions. City of Riverside historic preservation specialists Scott Watson and Jennifer Mermilliod provided valuable input and review of the draft and final Historic Context Statement.

In addition, the Rincon project team wishes to thank the following individuals for their valuable assistance and input:

- Gaby Adame, Riverside Unified School District
- Cynthia Barajas, Casa Blanca resident
- Linda Buriel
- Carlos Cortés, UC Riverside
- Julie Frias
- Catherine Gudis, UC Riverside
- Katie Hernandez, Riverside Art Museum
- Luana Hernandez (Ybarra)
- Sarah Junod and Aubrey Maier, UC Riverside History Department
- Richard Leivas
- Miguel Lujano, Riverside City Council Legislative Field Representative, Ward 2
- Ruth McCormick, Riverside Public Library
- Nancy Melendez, Spanish Town Heritage Foundation
- Andrew Melendrez, Riverside City Councilmember, Ward 2
- Morris Mendoza, Casa Blanca resident
- Jennifer Mermilliod, JMRC, City of Riverside, Community and Economic Development Department
- Steven Moreno-Terrill, UC Riverside
- Drew Oberjuerge, Riverside Art Museum
- Agueda Padilla, City of Riverside
- Robert Przeklasa, Riverside Metropolitan Museum
- Celeste Reyes, Riverside Public Library, History Collection
- Linda Salinas-Thompson, Founder, Riverside County Mexican American Historical Society
- Phyllis Salinas (Sotelo)
- Darlene Trujillo-Elliott, Spanish Town Heritage Foundation
- UC Riverside Library staff David Rios, Tiffany Moxham, and Cherry Williams
- Ofelia Valdez-Yeager, Riverside Latino Network
- Simona Valero
- Gilbert Vasquez
- Paul A. and Joanne Viafora
- Scott Watson, City of Riverside, Community and Economic Development Department

1.2 Personnel

This report was written and researched by Rincon Senior Architectural Historian Debi Howell-Ardila, MHP. Rincon Architectural Historian Susan Zamudio-Gurrola carried out additional research and project assistance. Strategic oversight was provided by historic preservation consultant Jan Ostashay, Ostashay & Associates Consulting, and Rincon Architectural History Program Manager, Shannon Carmack. All team members meet and exceed the Secretary of the Interior's Professional Qualification Standards for architectural history and history (NPS 1983). Report figures were prepared by Rincon Geographic Information System (GIS) Specialists Marcus Klatt. Rincon President Mike Gialketsis reviewed the report for quality control.

1.3 Methodology

This historic context statement drew on a broad range of available sources, in English and in Spanish, including primary and secondary sources, oral histories, historic photographs, maps, and other materials. In the initial stages of the project, a community meeting was held to hear feedback and ideas on potentially significant events, people, and places in the Latino community. As follow up, through the course of the project, a number of additional interviews, both in-person and via telephone, were conducted with community members and scholars. As the draft neared completion, a final community meeting was held. Research was conducted at a variety of repositories, including:

- Riverside Metropolitan Museum
- Riverside County Mexican American Historical Society
- Tesoros of Casa Blanca
- Combined collections of the Riverside Public Library, including the Shades of Riverside, Shades of Casa Blanca, Avery Fisher Photographic Collection
- Riverside Art Museum
- University of Riverside
- University of California, Berkeley, Chicano Studies Department
- University of Texas, El Paso, Bracero Oral History Project
- California State University, Fullerton, Center for Oral and Public History. Mexican American Oral History Project, with interviews gathered from 1968 to 2002

As stated above, this study uses the National Park Service Multiple Property Document Form (MPDF) approach, with identified themes of significance, property types, eligibility standards, character-defining features, and integrity thresholds. Considered the gold standard for evaluations, the MPD form Historic Context Statement allows surveyors to apply a consistent and comparative framework for evaluations.

All work was carried out in accordance with the applicable guidelines and standards, including the State Office of Historic Preservation guidance on survey and historic resource identification and documentation, the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Archaeology and Historic Preservation*, National Park Service Bulletin No. 15, *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, and National Park Service Bulletin No. 16B, *How to Complete the National Register Multiple Property Documentation Form*.

This study draws extensively on pioneering studies on the heritage, history, and contributions of the Latino community in California and Riverside. Those studies are:

- "Riverside," unpublished manuscript, Paul A. Viafora, University of California, Riverside, Department of History, 1973
- "A History of Mexican Americans in California," in *Five Views*, December 1988, José Pitti, PhD., Antonia Castaneda, PhD, and Carlos Cortés, PhD
- *Latinos in Twentieth Century California*, 2015, California Office of Historic Preservation

Terms and Definitions

The history of the Latino community in Riverside stretches back to the 19th century. Although immigration patterns have shifted over time, with immigration from Central and South America increasing since the 1980s, a majority of Latinos in Riverside trace their ancestry to Mexico. For purposes of this historic context statement, the following summarizes the meaning of the terminology used in this study:

The term "Latino" refers to anyone of Latin American (as opposed to European) ancestry.

The phase "Mexican-American" refers to native born Americans of Mexican heritage. Given patterns of immigration in Riverside, the predominant Latino population for much of the 19th and 20th century came from Mexico.

"Anglo" or "Anglo-American" generally refers to Americans of European ancestry.

"Chicano/Chicana" refers to Mexican-Americans involved in the 1960s-era Chicano Civil Rights Movement. Also known as "El Movimiento," or "the movement," the Chicano Civil Rights Movement grew out of the Mexican-American civil rights movement in the postwar period.

"Hispanic" refers to Spanish-speaking individuals living in the United States.

2 Regulatory Setting

The following sections describe the regulatory framework considered in the Riverside Latino Historic Context Statement.

2.1 California Environmental Quality Act (CEQA)

According to the California Environmental Quality Act (CEQA), public agencies in California are required to analyze whether historical resources may be adversely impacted by proposed projects. Answering this question is a two-part process: first, the agency must make a determination as to whether projects might involve a historical resource. Second, if historical resources are present, the agency must study whether the proposed project might result in a substantial adverse impact to the historical resource. According to CEQA Guidelines, historical resources are defined as:

1. A resource listed in, or formally determined eligible for listing in, the California Register of Historical Resources;
2. A resource included in a local register of historical resources;
3. Any building, structure, object, site, or district that the agency determines eligible for national, state, or local landmark listing; generally, a resource shall be considered by the lead agency to be historically significant if the resource meets the criteria for listing on the California Register (described below).

In addition, according to CEQA, the fact that a resource is not listed in or determined eligible for listing in the California Register or is not included in a local register or survey **shall not preclude the lead agency from determining that the resource may be an historical resource**. Pursuant to CEQA, a project with an effect that may cause a substantial adverse change in the significance of a historical resource may have a significant effect on the environment.

2.2 National Register of Historic Places

The National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) recognizes properties that are significant at the national, state, and local levels. To be eligible for listing in the NRHP, a resource must be significant in American history, architecture, archaeology, engineering, or culture. A property is eligible for the NRHP if it is significant under one or more of the following criteria:

Criterion A: It is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history;

Criterion B: It is associated with the lives of persons who are significant in our past;

Criterion C: It embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; and/or

Criterion D: It has yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Integrity

Integrity is the ability of a property to convey the reasons for its significance. To be listed in the National Register, a property must not only be shown to be significant under the National Register criteria, but it also must possess integrity. The evaluation of integrity must always be grounded in an understanding of a property's physical features and how they relate to its significance. The National Register criteria recognize the following seven aspects that define integrity:

1. Location: the place where the historic property was constructed or the place where the historic event occurred.
2. Design: the combination of elements that create the form, plan, space, structure, and style of a property.
3. Setting: the physical environment of a historic property.
4. Materials: the physical elements that were combined or deposited during a particular period of time and in a particular pattern or configuration to form a historic property.
5. Workmanship: the physical evidence of the crafts of a particular culture or people during any given period in history or prehistory.
6. Feeling: a property's expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time.
7. Association: direct link between an important historic event or person and historic property.

Several other factors come into play in making determinations regarding the retention of integrity. In general, the California Register of Historical Resources (CRHR) and local registers have lower integrity thresholds. A property that meets criteria for significance but exhibits a number of alterations might not qualify for the NRHP but might still qualify for the CRHR or a local register.

Integrity evaluations should weigh the relative rarity of the resource as well as its historic context. For example, a modest, altered property that represents one of only a few—or the last—of its type might be found to meet eligibility standards. In addition, resources that are significant on the basis of ethnic and social history might have varying integrity thresholds. Such determinations are best made comparatively, in light of available information, on a case-by-case basis.

2.3 California Register of Historical Resources

The California Register of Historical Resources (CRHR) is an inventory of the state's significant cultural resources. Resources can be listed in the CRHR through a number of methods. State Historical Landmarks and NRHP-listed properties are automatically listed in the California Register. A resource, either an individual property or a contributor to a historic district, may be listed in the CRHR if it meets one or more of the following criteria, which are modeled on NRHP criteria:

Criterion 1: It is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of California's history and cultural heritage.

Criterion 2: It is associated with the lives of persons important in our past.

Criterion 3: It embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, region, or method of construction, or represents the work of an important creative individual, or possesses high artistic values.

Criterion 4: It has yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in history or prehistory.

Resources nominated to the CRHR must retain enough of their historic character or appearance to convey the reasons for their significance. Resources whose historic integrity does not meet NRHP criteria may still be eligible for listing in the CRHR.

2.4 City of Riverside

The City of Riverside's Cultural Resources Ordinance is codified in Title 20 of the Municipal Code. The ordinance establishes the criteria and process for designating potential cultural resources (historic resources) as local landmarks, structures of merit, or historic districts.

Landmark Criteria

A cultural resource may be designated by the City Council upon the recommendation of the City's Cultural Heritage Board as a Landmark if it retains a high degree of integrity and meets one or more of the following criteria:

1. It exemplifies or reflects special elements of the City's cultural, social, economic, political, aesthetic, engineering, architectural, or natural history;
2. Is identified with persons or events significant in local, state, or national history;
3. Embodies distinctive characteristics of a style, type, period, or method of construction, or is a valuable example of the use of indigenous materials or craftsmanship;
4. Represents the work of a notable builder, designer, or architect, or important creative individual;
5. Embodies elements that possess high artistic values or represents a significant structural or architectural achievement or innovation;
6. Reflects significant geographical patterns, including those associated with different eras of settlement and growth, particular transportation modes, or distinctive examples of park or community planning, or cultural landscape;
7. Is one of the last remaining examples in the City, region, state, or nation possessing distinguishing characteristics of an architectural or historical type or specimen;
8. Has yielded or may be likely to yield information important in history or prehistory.

Structure of Merit Criteria

A cultural resource may be designated by the City Council upon the recommendation of the City's Cultural Heritage Board as a Structure of Merit if it meets one or more of the following criteria:

1. Has a unique location or singular physical characteristics or is a view or vista representing an established and familiar visual feature of a neighborhood community or of the City
2. Is an example of a type of building which was once common but is now rare in its neighborhood, community or area;
3. Is connected with a business or use which was once common but is now rare;
4. A Cultural Resource that could be eligible under Landmark Criteria no longer exhibiting a high level of integrity, however, retaining sufficient integrity to convey significance under one or more of the Landmark Criteria;
5. Has yielded or may be likely to yield, information important in history or prehistory; or

6. An improvement or resource that no longer exhibits the high degree of integrity sufficient for Landmark designation, yet still retains sufficient integrity under one or more of the Landmark criteria to convey cultural resource significance as a Structure or Resource of Merit.

Historic District Criteria

In Riverside's zoning code, a historic district can be either: (1) a concentration, linkage, or continuity of cultural resources, united historically or aesthetically by plan or physical development (Criterion 1), or, (2) a thematically-related grouping of cultural resources (Criterion 2). More than fifty (50) percent of a district's properties should contribute to the historical, architectural, archaeological, engineering, and/or cultural values that make it important. A grouping of resource or geographic area may be designated by the City Council upon the recommendation of the City's Cultural Heritage Board as a Historic District if it meets either Criteria 1 or 2, and one or more of the following criteria:

3. It exemplifies or reflects special elements of the City's cultural, social, economic, political, aesthetic, engineering, architectural, or natural history; or
4. Is identified with persons or events significant in local, state, or national history; or
5. Embodies distinctive characteristics of a style, type, period, or method of construction, or is a valuable example of the use of indigenous materials or craftsmanship; or
6. Represents the work of a notable builder, designer, or architect; or
7. Has a unique location or singular physical characteristics or is a view or vista representing an established and familiar visual feature of a neighborhood, community, or of the City; or
8. Embodies a collection of elements of architectural design, detail, materials, or craftsmanship that represent a significant structural or architectural achievement or innovation; or
9. Reflects significant geographical patterns, including those associated with different eras of settlement and growth, particular transportation modes, or distinctive examples of park or community planning; or
10. Conveys a sense of historic and architectural cohesiveness through its design, setting, materials, workmanship, or association.

3 Built Environment Overview

This study provides a framework for historic resource evaluations and surveys weighing potential significance based on the social and ethnic history of the Latino community. Therefore, this document focuses primarily on socio-ethnic history rather than architectural style. Discussions of eligibility are based primarily on Criteria A/1/1 (patterns of development and events) and Criteria B/2/2 (significant individuals) rather than Criteria C/3/4 (architectural style).

As background information, it is worth briefly noting past survey results, overall construction chronologies, and architectural character for a few of Riverside's historic areas of settlement for the Latino community. This background on the built environment helps set the stage for the themes of significance introduced in this context.

Previous Historic Resource Surveys

To date, no citywide survey has yet taken place with a focus solely on Latino history. However, a number of surveys have taken place in areas with long-time, well-established Latino neighborhoods. This section describes several of the largest-scale survey efforts to date.

City of Riverside Historic Resource Surveys, Casa Blanca and Eastside, 2001

In 2001, historic resource surveys were conducted of Casa Blanca and Eastside neighborhoods, the site of the oldest Latino communities in Riverside.[3] As part of the project, 1,400 properties were surveyed. For Casa Blanca, the survey recommended one property as eligible for the NRHP and as a National Historic Landmark, the Casa Blanca Elementary School. While the present study did not include a full survey, research and site visits conducted to date concur with this result. In addition, one historic archaeological site, the Casa Blanca Depot site, with its four Canary Island Palm Trees, was recommended eligible for the NRHP. In addition, 33 properties were recommended as Structures of Merit, 86 as warranting special consideration in local planning.

In Eastside at the time, one property was listed in the NRHP (University Heights Junior High School, now César Chavez Community Center, 2060 University Avenue) and three properties were designated as local landmarks (2921 Sixth Street, 2933 Seventh Street, and 2374 Seventh Street). For Structures of Merit, 15 properties were designated and another 64 were recommended as eligible. Three areas were designated or eligible as local historic districts, and one was recommended as a neighborhood conservation area. Capping off these results, a total of 260 properties were identified as eligible for special consideration in local planning.

City of Riverside, Historic Resources Survey of the Arlington Neighborhood, 2003

In 2003, an intensive-level historic resources survey took place of the Arlington neighborhood. Funded in part through a Certified Local Government grant, the project included a historic context section and the identification of detailed themes of significance, properties, people, and places of import to the community. With a scope covering hundreds of properties, the project resulted in findings of eligibility for a number of properties as local Landmarks, Structures of Merit, Neighborhood Conservation Areas.

City of Riverside, Northside Historic Resources Survey, 2004-2005

Between 2004 and 2005, a historic resource survey was completed for nearly 1,000 properties in Northside.[4] As a result of reconnaissance-level survey and research, three potential historic districts were identified. In addition, 11 properties appeared individually eligible for local designation, and 16 were recommended for further study. At the time, further study was recommended for the theme of immigration and ethnic diversity, in order to ensure that evaluations adequately considered the historic context of primarily Latino/Hispanic heritage in the neighborhood.

City of Riverside Marketplace Specific Plan Area Historic Resources Survey, 2012

Additional surveys have included a 2012 historic context statement and survey of an area of University Avenue in Eastside, in the Marketplace Specific Plan area.[5] As a result of this survey, 14 properties were recommended NRHP eligible and 8 recommended CRHR eligible. Another 2 were already listed on the NRHP. In terms of local designation, 14 were already designated or eligible as contributors to historic districts, and another 22 were designated or eligible as City Landmarks or Structures of Merit.

Summary of Riverside's Earliest Latino Neighborhoods

This section provides a brief overview of the property types and styles historically found in two of the City's oldest Latino communities, Casa Blanca and Eastside.

Since the 1870s, the landscapes around Casa Blanca and Eastside were dominated by citrus groves, planted to the south and southeast. The streetscape is primarily defined by Victoria Avenue, which lies to the south and east of the two communities. Victoria Avenue is lined with roses and mature trees (palms, pepper, sycamores, eucalyptus, and magnolia), while adjoining streets, such as Jefferson and Washington, are lined with like trees, creating a notable landscape. The Gage Canal and Riverside Irrigating Canal, which at one time provided water service to the groves and developing residential areas, also run through portions of each neighborhood.

Historically, in Casa Blanca and Eastside, the most common built type is the single-family residence. In most cases, homes were not architect designed but rather were function-driven buildings constructed by a local contractor or the homeowner. These were the homes of generations of working- and middle-class citizens. Intact clusters of properties help to reveal the character of early working-class neighborhoods. In the postwar era, the housing boom that transformed much of Riverside also arrived in neighborhoods such as Casa Blanca and Eastside (albeit in an era of housing discrimination), in particular in undeveloped peripheral areas.

Another shared characteristic of Casa Blanca and Eastside (as well as Arlanza and Northside) are the postwar tracts of Ranch Style homes. Constructed primarily in the 1950s and 1960s, these housing tracts feature one-story Ranch Style and contemporary homes, with generous setbacks, landscaping, and curvilinear streets and cul de sacs.

Casa Blanca Overview

Originally a citrus *colonia*, or worker settlement, Casa Blanca is one of the oldest continuously owned and occupied Latino communities in California. Citrus packinghouses and other associated buildings were clustered near major transportation routes, such as the Santa Fe railroad line. Property types and sites associated with Casa Blanca's agricultural industry included citrus groves, fields, and trees. Today, much of the land once occupied by the packinghouses is dotted with modern residential dwellings.

In the first quarter of the twentieth century, early development in Casa Blanca was primarily residential. The construction of numerous, modest bungalow and Hall and Parlor-style single-family residences was the product of the local citrus growers who offered land to Mexican-Americans at reasonable prices in an effort to retain a resident supply of low-wage labor. Early commercial areas were centered near the intersection of Madison and Evans or adjacent to the large packinghouses along the railroad track. These businesses included grocery stores, a post office, barbershop, billiard hall, and cafes, all of which formed the downtown hub of Casa Blanca. As agricultural industries developed and neighboring land was subdivided and settled, the community of Casa Blanca developed civic, educational, religious, cultural, and social institutions integral to its continued growth.

The only school of primary-level learning in the community was the Casa Blanca School. Still located at the corner of Madison and Emerald Streets, Casa Blanca School was designed by well-known local architect, G. Stanley Wilson, in 1923. The school replaced a provisional 1913 classroom. In terms of churches, residences and meeting halls were often the first home to religious institutions. Constructed in 1976, replacing an earlier 1923 building, Saint Anthony's Church at 3056-3074 Madison Street represents one of the earliest Catholic congregations in Casa Blanca, founded in 1921.

In postwar Casa Blanca, by 1952, most of the citrus packinghouses that once lined the railroad tracks had been removed or replaced by fewer, but larger, citrus packing companies. The entire corner of Evans and Pliny Avenues came to be occupied by the Victoria Avenue Citrus Association, a major employer in the neighborhood. Electrical transformers were installed on the lots where the California Citrus Union Packinghouse and the Fairview Citrus Packinghouse once stood. Postwar housing tracts arrived in the 1950s, with the addition of Ranch House tracts in the eastern portion of the neighborhood.

Eastside Overview

In Eastside, as well, citrus packinghouses were located near major transportation routes, such as the Santa Fe and Union Pacific railroad lines. As agricultural land was settled and as transportation systems brought residential development to the Eastside, the community developed a wide range of social, religious, and cultural institutions, as well as civic institutions introduced by the city government. Meeting halls, club buildings, churches, and parks catered to the social, cultural, and religious needs of the community. Post offices and schools were often the first civic buildings constructed in the area, followed by police and fire stations. Often, civic institutions were originally housed in buildings not specifically designed for their use.

Local commerce in the Eastside consisted of a wide range of retail businesses and services, typically housed in simple, low-rise buildings constructed of wood or brick. They were typically located along the main streets of the community or along the railroad right-of-way.

Schools reflecting the architectural styles of the day arrived in the neighborhood to serve a growing population. However, racial segregation and unequal facilities and curricula remained the norm until the 1960s. In Casa Blanca and in Eastside, most schools were segregated and remained so until 1965. Among early Eastside schools were Thirteenth Street Public School (1330 Grove Street), Longfellow Public School (441 East Seventh Street), and Lowell Public School (4690 Victoria Avenue). By 1940, Irving Elementary School had replaced Thirteenth Street Public School, though with a different address (2775 Fourteenth Street). Irving Elementary School displayed late Moderne architectural style. In 1928, University Heights Junior High School was constructed at 2060 University

Avenue; it is now the César Chavez Community Center. The building is a designated a local landmark and is listed in the NRHP.

In terms of Eastside religious institutions, each neighborhood generally included at least one church building and sometimes several. Spanish Colonial Revival and Gothic Revival were the predominant architectural styles of church buildings in the area. Christian denominations represented included Catholics, Methodists, Presbyterians, Baptists, Episcopalians, Lutherans, and various evangelical sects. Fraternal organizations, clubs, and recreational institutions constructed throughout both neighborhoods were physically diverse; their architectural styles, size, and plans were dependent on the styles of the day, as well as function and available resources.

By the 1920s, garages and other related automotive structures had already emerged in both communities. Most were constructed of concrete or other masonry materials and were located near commercial and industrial areas. Gas stations were simple one-room structures oriented diagonally towards a street corner.

During the 1940s in Eastside, several small, wood-framed grocery stores opened along the 4000 block of Park Avenue. By the 1950s, the Eastside's local commercial enterprises were well-established. Many of these businesses were located in one or two story wood-framed or concrete constructed structures of utilitarian function and design along University Avenue.

By the late 1950s in Eastside, a number of single-family residences were converted to multi-family units and/or commercial use; in some cases commercial and residential buildings were combined on one lot. The majority of single-family residences along University Street were replaced with restaurants, motels, car washes, and service stations that served the travelers visiting the area. However, the rest of the Eastside community remained primarily residential. In the early 1960s, State Highway 60 was re-aligned, thereby by-passing University Avenue. In subsequent decades, with the resulting loss of thoroughfare traffic, this area experienced an economic decline. Signs of recovery have been evident with redevelopment efforts, as well as expansion of the UC Riverside campus.

Architectural Styles

As in other neighborhoods, the range of architectural styles present in Casa Blanca and Eastside reflect their dates of construction and styles popular at the time. These include Queen Anne and other Victorian-era styles, Mass Plan Vernacular homes (a small, usually hipped-roof cottage clad in clapboard, with a small recessed front porch), American Foursquare (a turn-of-the-century style most common in Eastside), and the Hall and Parlor home (a very common style in Casa Blanca). The Hall and Parlor house is a simple rectangular house, one or one-and-one half stories, with a side gable roof. Usually displaying a three bay facade, the single front door is generally centered on the facade and opens directly into the hall room. Floor plans consist of a hall or general eating and living space and a smaller, more formal parlor that may also have doubled as a bedroom.

Craftsman Bungalows are also evident throughout both neighborhoods (and in neighborhoods throughout Riverside). Defining elements of the style include a horizontal orientation, wood detailing, exposed rafter ends, overhanging eaves, wide porches, and porch supports. The emphasis was on simplicity of design, a break from the ornamental style of the Victorian period.

The 1920s brought a menu of period-revival styles to both neighborhoods, such as Spanish Colonial, Mission, Mediterranean, and English Tudor Revival styles. Casa Blanca also retains an adobe residence, constructed in 1920, at 3175 Samuel Street.

The 1930s, 1940s, and postwar periods brought a number of simple, contemporary designs, the Minimal Traditional, and the Ranch Home to both neighborhoods. The Ranch House appears in both neighborhoods in single-lot construction and new housing tracts. Examples include Los Ranchitos in Casa Blanca and the Streeter Tract in Eastside, both Ranch House suburbs constructed in the 1950s (during an era of housing segregation and discrimination; these two tracts, along with the Woods Tract in Eastside, were the only three new postwar housing tracts open to minority buyers).

Construction Chronologies, Casa Blanca, Eastside, Arlanza and Northside

Today, members of Riverside's Latino community span all areas of the City. In order to begin broadly characterizing patterns of development and settlement for the Latino community, this section presents an overview of construction chronologies in four of the City's Latino-majority neighborhoods: Casa Blanca, Eastside, Northside, and Arlanza.

Dates of construction were drawn from County of Riverside Tax Assessor parcel data. It is worth noting that data were not available for 18 percent of the total parcels in Casa Blanca (196), 21 percent in Eastside (737), 10 percent in Arlanza (469), and 20 percent in Northside (538). It is likely that these properties were constructed in the early twentieth century.

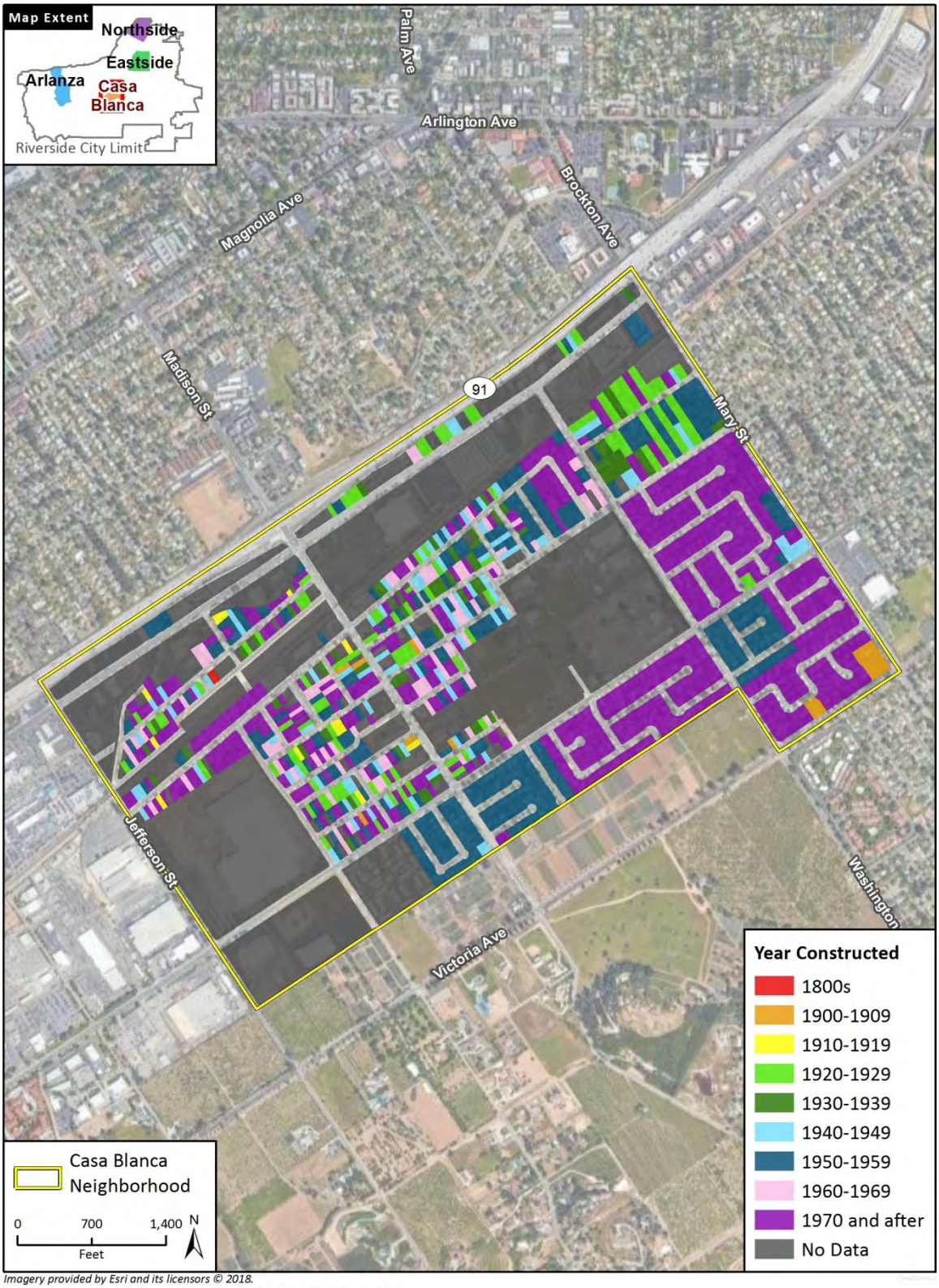
Among available data, Eastside and Casa Blanca neighborhoods are the oldest settlement areas, with hundreds of extant properties dating to the early twentieth century. Nearly 30 percent of parcels in Eastside, for example, date from the 1880s through 1929. Almost 10 percent of Casa Blanca properties were constructed from the 1800s to 1929.

For Casa Blanca and Eastside, only 3 and 4 percent, respectively, date to the 1930s, in a reflection of the Great Depression's economic slump. The 1940s and war-time construction added another 7 percent in each neighborhood. The decade with the most rapid expansion was the 1950s, which accounts for a total of 25 and 30 percent in Casa Blanca and Eastside, respectively. A total of 49 and 22 percent of parcels in Casa Blanca and Eastside, respectively, were constructed in 1970 and later.

In both Arlanza and Northside, the decades with the most significant expansion were the 1970s and later (42 and 63 percent, respectively), and 1950s (36 and 20 percent, respectively). In Arlanza, only 13 properties were constructed between 1910 and 1939. The addition of 223 properties, or 5 percent of the total, during the 1940s reflects construction of Camp Anza in present-day Arlanza.

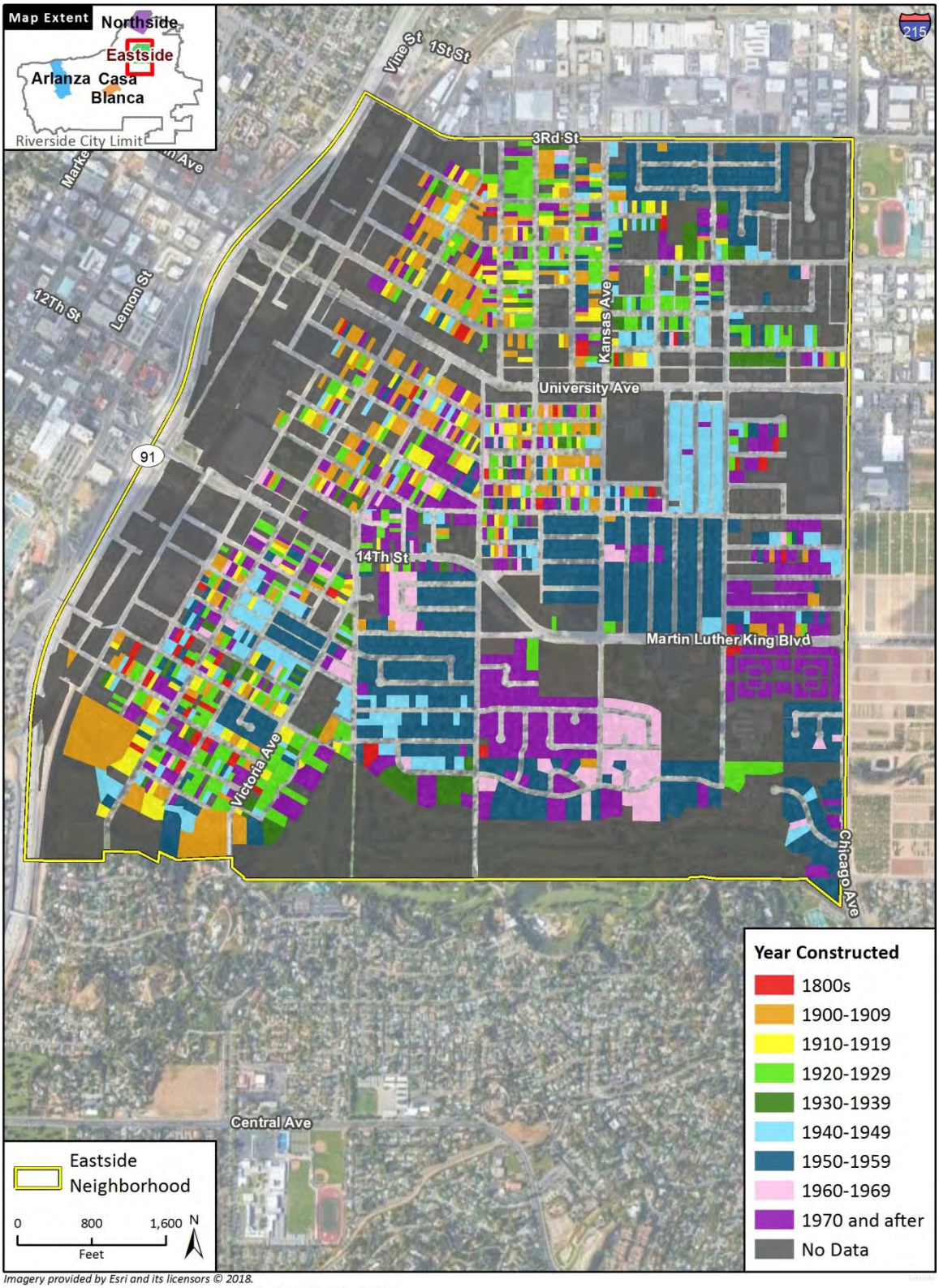
In the next section, a series of Arc-GIS maps provide a visual overview of this data and patterns of construction. Appendix B includes decade-by-decade maps for each neighborhood.

Figure 1 Construction Dates, 1880-2000, Casa Blanca Neighborhood



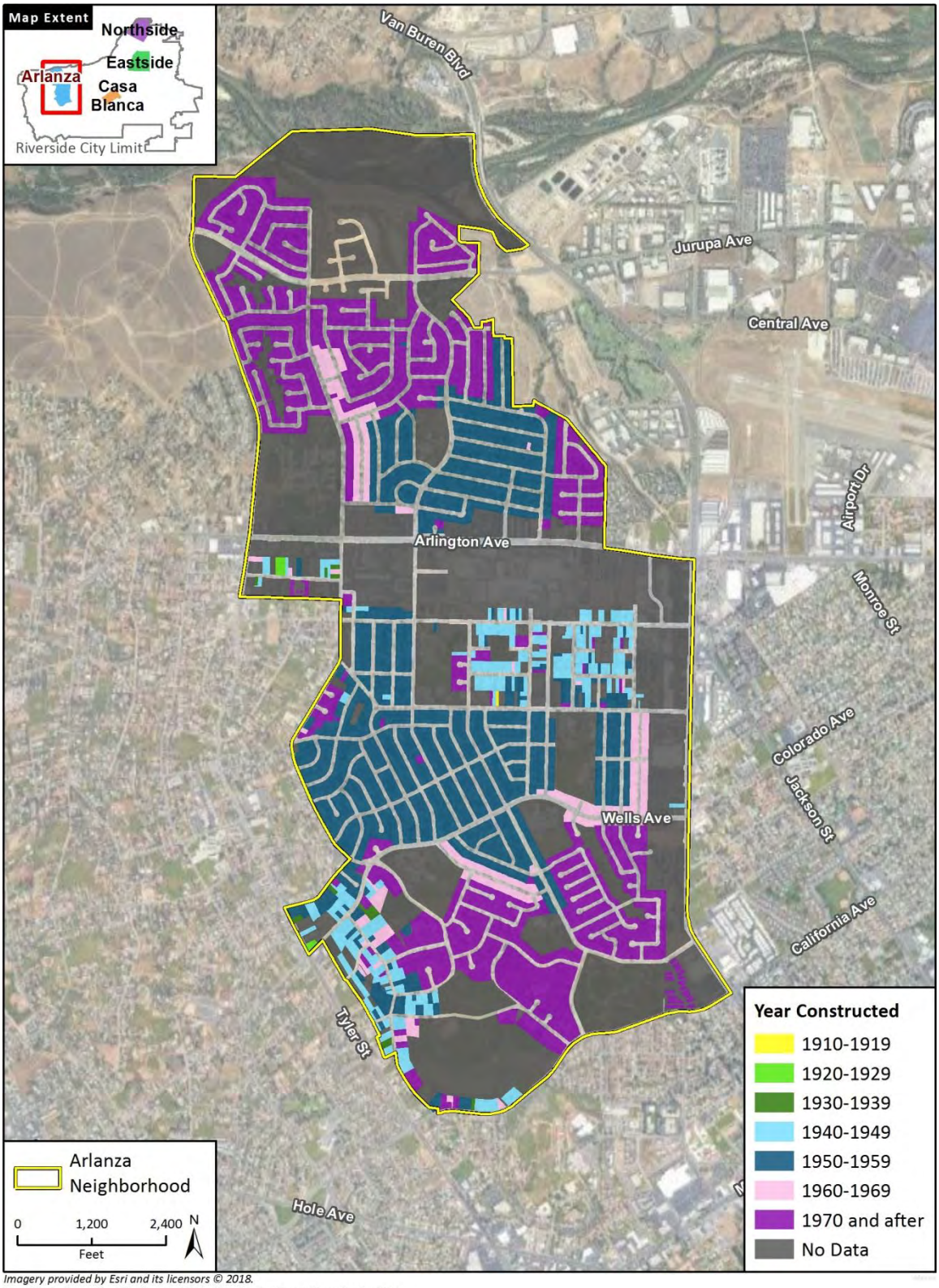
Imagery provided by Esri and its licensors © 2018.
Parcel Data from Riverside County, 2018. Mapping by Rincon Consultants, 2018.

Figure 2 Construction Dates, 1880-2000, Eastside Neighborhood



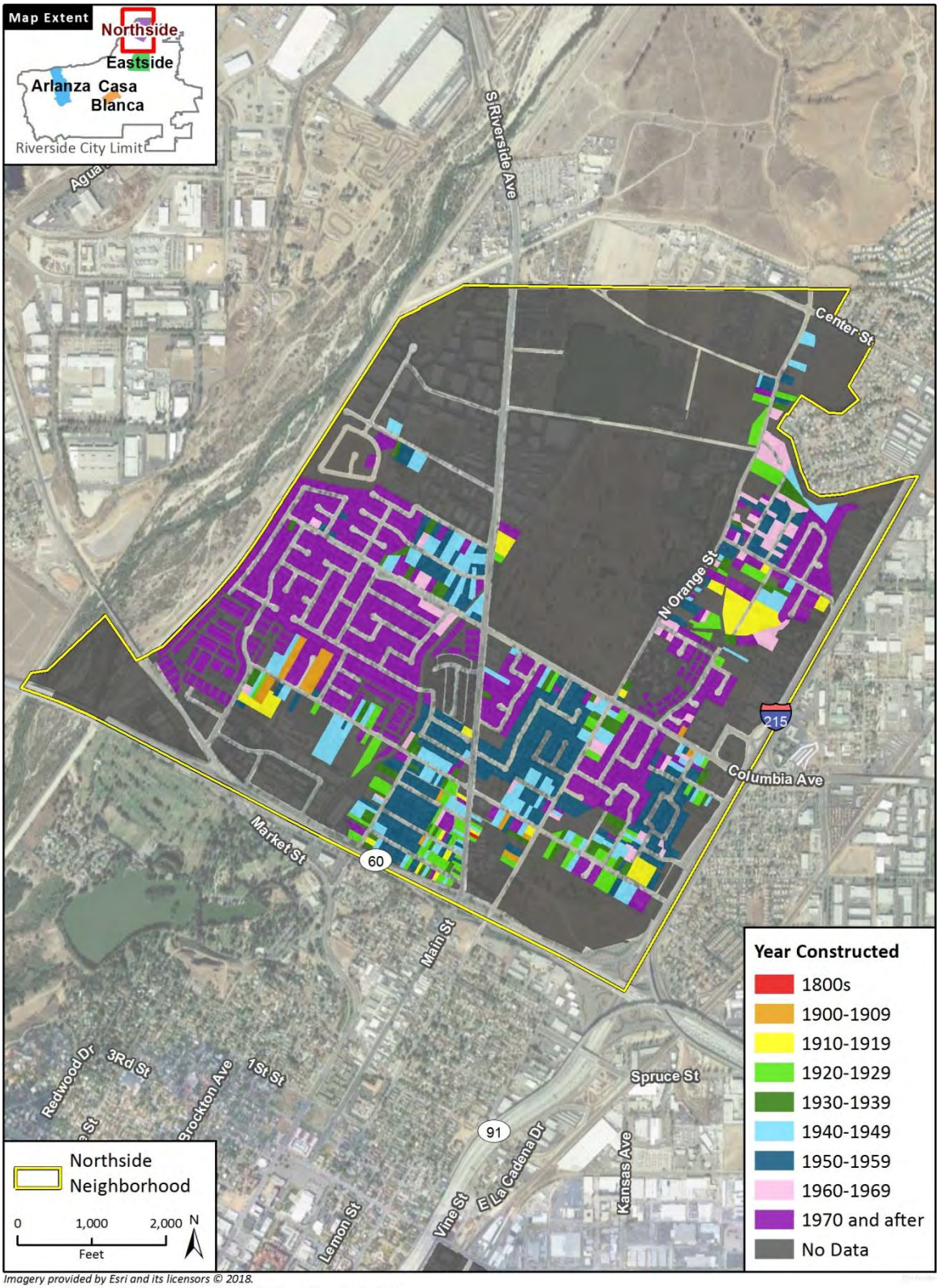
Imagery provided by Esri and its licensors © 2018.
Parcel Data from Riverside County, 2018. Mapping by Rincon Consultants, 2018.

Figure 3 Construction Dates, 1880-2000, Arlanza Neighborhood



Imagery provided by Esri and its licensors © 2018.
Parcel Data from Riverside County, 2018. Mapping by Rincon Consultants, 2018.

Figure 4 Construction Dates, 1880-2000, Northside Neighborhood



Imagery provided by Esri and its licensors © 2018.
Parcel Data from Riverside County, 2018. Mapping by Rincon Consultants, 2018.

This page intentionally blank.

4 Themes of Significance

4.1 Theme #1: Making a Home and a Nation

Subtheme #1: Immigration and Settlement

1840s-1900: Early Settlement and Founding Years

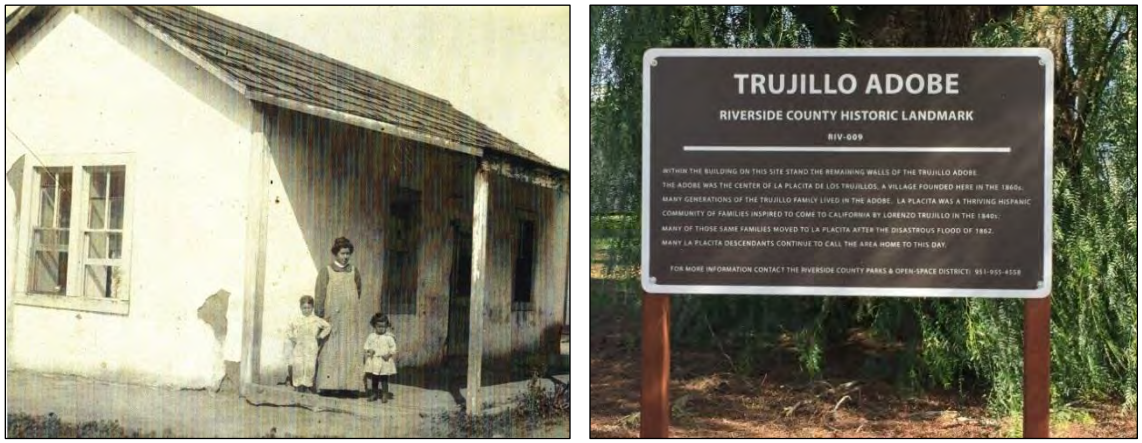
Following secularization of the Mission system in 1834, the mission lands that included present-day Riverside were divided into several large land grants. Land owners in this period included Juan Bandini, Louis Rubidoux, Cornelius Jensen, Able Steams, Arthur Parks, Lorenzo Trujillo, and J. H. Stewart and others. In 1844, Bandini gave a portion of his lands to Spanish-speaking settlers of Spanish, Mexican, and Native-American descent from New Mexico.

On this land, a primarily Spanish-speaking community took shape on the east and west banks of the Santa Ana River. Established in 1844 to 1845, the communities were known as La Placita and Agua Mansa, collectively called San Salvador. In the 1840s, they were the largest known settlements between New Mexico and Los Angeles. La Placita was founded by 20 families, including Lorenzo Trujillo and Jose Martinez, just west of present-day Highgrove. Agua Mansa was founded nearby on the west side of the river. These early settlers made a living by growing grain and produce and raising livestock.

By 1855, approximately 200 residents lived in the villages.[6] Institutions emerged to meet the needs of the small community, including a church parish and a school district, founded in 1863 (the subsequent Riverside School District, founded in 1871, grew out of this early district). Devastating floods in 1862 destroyed much of the original townsites, though settlements were subsequently rebuilt.

Among the surviving remnants of the early Spanish-language settlements in the Riverside area are the Agua Mansa Pioneer Cemetery, the 1863 Trujillo Adobe, and the 1865 Agua Mansa bell, the first church bell forged in Riverside County.[7]

Figure 5 Trujillo Adobe, ca. 1909 (left); Trujillo Adobe Historic Landmark signage (right)



Source: *Riverside Press Enterprise*

The Agua Mansa Pioneer Cemetery, located in present-day Colton, retains a remarkable collection of gravesites and markers from some of the region's earliest settlers. Currently administered as a San Bernardino County Museum, the Agua Mansa Pioneer Cemetery is California State Historical Landmark No. 121.

The Agua Mansa bell is a one-of-a-kind artifact, forged by Mexican laborers of the Cornelius Jensen Ranch (Jensen's gravesite is located within the Agua Mansa Pioneer Cemetery). In Agua Mansa in the 1860s, following the devastating floods of 1862, the priest of the local church wanted a new bell: "He recalled that a Mexican man had offered to cast a bell for two good horses and twelve dollars. The bell was cast on the Cornelius Jensen Ranch. When the cast was removed, it showed numerous flaws on the bell. The main flaw was the hole on the top portion of the bell. The Community gathered and decided to dedicate the bell to Our Lady of Guadalupe in 1866."[8]

The bell's inscription and dedication to Our Lady of Guadalupe encircles the top of the bell. In 1939, when the Agua Mansa bell was already over 70 years old, it was recognized as one of Riverside's significant historic artifacts. In 1939, the *Riverside Daily Press* reported that "An aged Mexican woman, who was present at the casting of the bell, stated that she saw many people throw gold and silver coins, chains and other article into the cauldron in which the bell metal was being melted."[9] After remaining in the collection of Frank Miller (which also included the first school bell and fire bell), the Agua Mansa bell became part of the collections of the Mission Inn, where it remains on display.

The only surviving building from this era is the Trujillo Adobe, located at Center and North Orange Streets in Riverside's Northside neighborhood. The Trujillo Adobe "tells the story of the U.S. westward expansion and the role of Spanish and Latino families migrating from the southwestern state of New Mexico to California."[10] The Trujillo Adobe was the first Riverside building to receive landmark designation for its association with Latino heritage. Although in pressing need of restoration and stabilization work, the building is believed to be the last standing structure from this early era.

Given the rarity of built environment resources reflecting this early era, in September 2017, the Hispanic Access Foundation, based in Washington, DC, included the Trujillo Adobe as one of ten most significant Latino sites in the United States in need of preservation:

> The Trujillo Adobe is a site that demonstrates the connections and contributions that Latino communities had as part of western expansion, specifically the settlement of California. The adobe is the last standing remnant of the Trujillo legacy and one of the first nonindigenous settlements in this region. It is recognized as a cultural landmark by the City of Riverside and a potential site of high significance as part of the Old Spanish National Historic Trail by the Department of the Interior.[11]

With this early foundation, Riverside's Spanish-speaking community was already well established and 25 years old by the time John W. North founded Riverside in 1870.

When Riverside was founded, the town encompassed a small, square-mile tract, with governmental land lying to the east. The establishment of the transcontinental railroad and an extensive canal system allowed Riverside to expand quickly. Between 1880 and 1890, the City's population expanded threefold, growing from approximately 1,350 to 4,600 residents.[12] By the time of incorporation in 1883, the City spanned nearly 56 square miles. As Riverside expanded, ethnic communities such as the early Latino population lived predominantly in Eastside, Casa Blanca, and Arlington Heights neighborhoods. (The history of ethnic settlement in Northside is not well known,

though former members of La Placita and Agua Mansa settlements are likely to have settled in the adjacent community of Northside.[13])

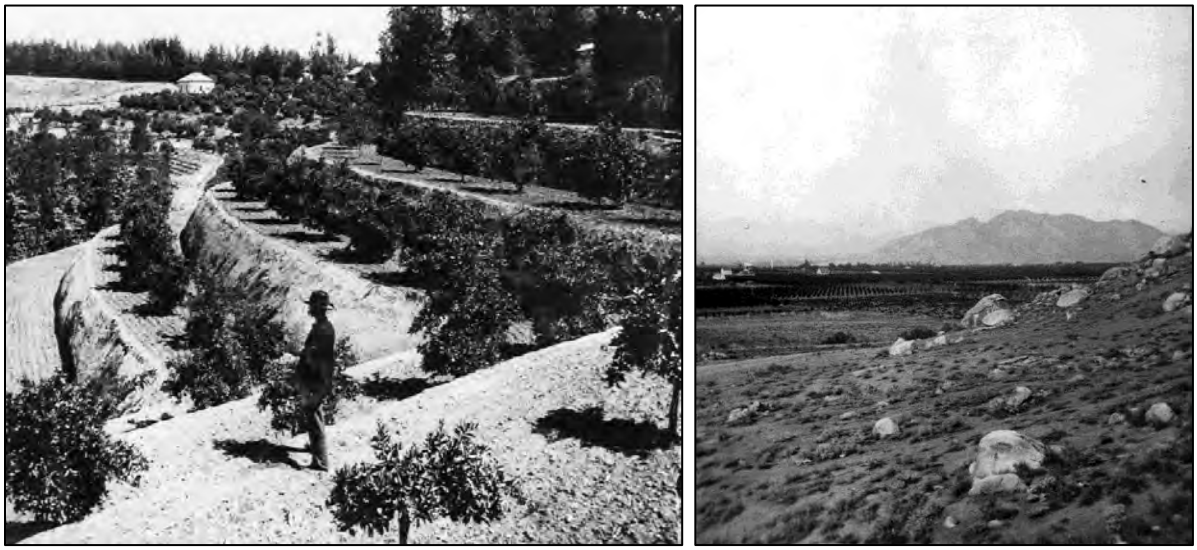
One of the early landmarks for Casa Blanca in these days was the 1897 Casa Blanca train depot, which was adjacent to a row of packinghouses and groves of citrus trees. In the postwar period, with the decline of the citrus industry and consolidation and relocation of packinghouse associations, the Casa Blanca Depot began to see considerably less freight traffic. In 1967, the ticket office closed, the station stop was retired, and the Casa Blanca Depot was demolished. As of 2018, the site of the depot is still marked by three surviving Canary Island palm trees and the original concrete foundation.

THE RISE OF THE CITRUS BELT AND FORMATION OF COLONIA CASA BLANCA AND COLONIA PARK (EASTSIDE)

During these founding years, one of the most significant events for Riverside was the introduction of the Washington Navel Orange. Imported from Brazil by the United States Department of Agriculture, the navel orange was brought to Riverside in 1873 by Eliza and Luther Tibbets. Within five years, "the Washington navels were winning prizes, and Riverside instantly became the model citrus landscape."[14]

The rise of the citrus industry, along with the establishment of the Southern California Fruit Exchange, helped Riverside expand greatly through the 1880s, a decade that brought a real estate boom throughout Southern California following the establishment of the transcontinental railroad. The small town quickly became one of the state's most prosperous and productive agricultural communities. In addition, as historian Carey McWilliams observed, the citrus boom gave rise to a new social class, the "aristocrats of the orchards," who ultimately dominated political, social, and economic life in Riverside.[15]

Figure 6 Riverside citrus and agricultural fields, circa 1890 (left) and 1910 (right)



Source: Los Angeles Public Library

With the rise of citri-culture, the low-wage workforce also expanded greatly. New arrivals and workers settled in neighborhoods near the groves and packinghouses. One of the earliest such settlements was Casa Blanca. Named for the nearby estate of Harry Lockwood (which was an imposing *casa blanca*, or white house), the neighborhood has the distinction of being one of the

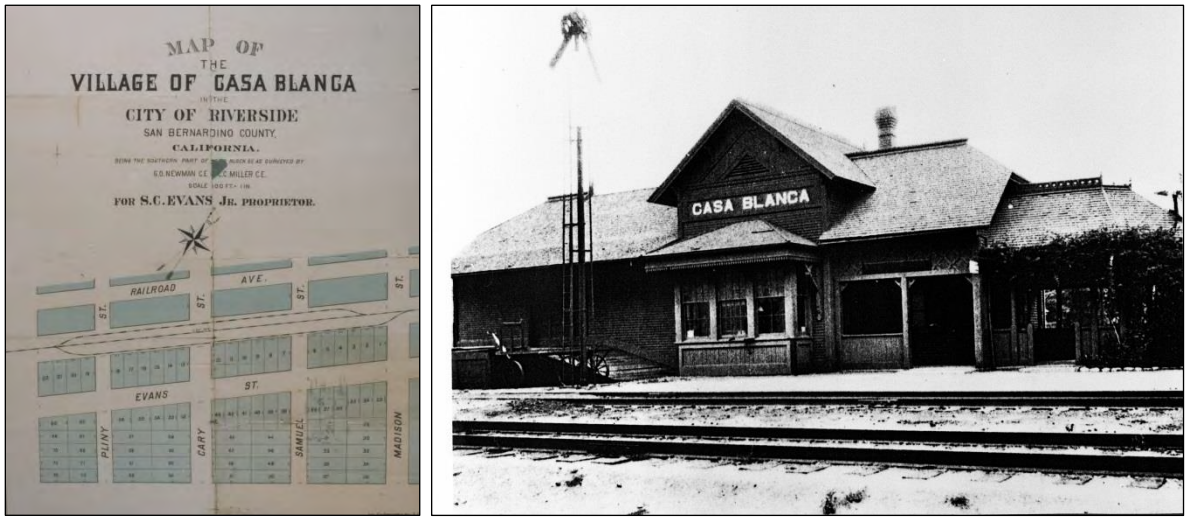
oldest Latino communities in California. The origins of the community can be traced to the 1870s, when Mexican-Americans living in Agua Mansa and La Placita used the land generally encompassing Casa Blanca as grazing lands for their livestock.

Between 1890 and 1895, much of present-day Casa Blanca was planted with navel orange groves under the management of the Arlington Heights Citrus Association. In 1886, a tract map was developed for Casa Blanca and included Railroad Avenue and Pliny, Evans, Samuel Streets. No buildings or structures were illustrated on this map, except the railroad tracks. According to the map, parcels were rectangular in shape, set within a grid pattern of streets.

By the 1890s, Casa Blanca had already begun attracting citrus and railroad workers, as well as new immigrants and their families. According to census data, in the late nineteenth century, the neighborhood was home to Chinese, Japanese, Italian, and Mexican laborers. By 1900, the neighborhood had already become a largely Hispanic community.

Based on Sanborn maps and other historical maps, the oldest existing part of Casa Blanca is located in the vicinity of Madison and Evans Streets. The citrus industry and the railroad became the impetus for development in this part of the community in the 1870s, with packinghouses situated along the railroad tracks and residential areas intermingled amongst the citrus groves. At this time, citrus laborers and railroad workers settled the community, as small parcels of land could readily be obtained from local citrus growers. The growers sold land at low prices, hoping to retain a permanent, nearby source of labor. With the proximity to the fields and railroad line, Casa Blanca was an active center for shipping, packing and transferring citrus goods. Along with Colonia Park (Eastside), Casa Blanca provided the labor supply needed by Riverside's navel orange industry. The neighborhood flourished and expanded, even as few services or infrastructure were provided during the early years.

Figure 7 "Village of Casa Blanca" map, 1886, and Casa Blanca Depot, 1897



Source: Riverside Public Library, Shades of Casa Blanca

1900 – 1919: The Mexican Revolution and World War I

Beginning in 1910, the Mexican Revolution sparked an intense, decade-long wave of immigration to the United States. Through these years, Riverside's agricultural and citrus industries continued to grow. The scale of this growth – and the intensive work required for citrus harvesting – triggered the need for a constantly expanding, low-wage workforce. For this reason, ranchers actively lobbied to

ensure that the border with Mexico remained as porous as possible, in order to maintain a large supply of able-bodied workers. At the same time, immigration policies led to a sharp decrease in Chinese and Japanese immigration, and Mexican nationals and Mexican-Americans filled the gap. Through the early twentieth century, Mexican labor was actively recruited for the citrus industry, as well as for work building the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad and the Southern Pacific Railroad lines.

The 1910s saw a boom in the level of Mexican immigration to the United States, with two events acting as push-pull catalysts. The first event was the decade-long Mexican Revolution, which triggered significant waves of immigration to the US. The second event was the US entry into World War I, which created a national labor shortage. These two events helped trigger a large influx into the United States, with Latino communities in California and Riverside growing significantly through the decade. Many of the ancestors of Latinos in Riverside today arrived during the 1910s.

Having a reliable, low-wage work force was critical for citrus farmers, so much so that the Department of Labor lobbied Congress to change the Immigration Act of 1917. The requested changes included "suspending mandated literacy tests, contract labor provisions, and the eight-dollar head tax"[16] to favor the ongoing immigration of Mexican nationals to the United States. Even though immigration law encouraged them to come, once here, Mexican nationals arriving under this law were restricted to agricultural work. Remarkably, under these provisions, any worker attempting to leave farm labor for work in other industries would be jailed or deported. That is to say, many Mexicans entering the United States during this period were "bound to their sole participation in field labor."[17]

This was not a false threat. When Mexican nationals attempted to leave agricultural work, farmers relied on statewide cooperation to track down, jail, and deport workers. One such case took place in Riverside in 1918. At that time, three Mexican nationals had secured jobs at nearby March Army Air Field, whose war-time operations were expanding. However, the three men had travelled to the United States "under bond by the National Beet Sugar Company," thereby binding them to agricultural work in the beet fields. After a slow season, the three men had sought better opportunities and gained employment at March Army Air Field. After the beet farmer notified Riverside County officials, the County Deputy Sherriff traveled to March Army Air Field and "placed the three under arrest. They are now confined in the Riverside county jail and will be deported."[18]

In general, some degree of restriction on employment opportunities, whether through official policy or unofficial discrimination, would continue for Latinos until World War II. In this way, World War II proved transformative for the Latino community, in terms of opportunities to serve in the military, to obtain jobs in defense-related work, and to branch out and gain experience.

The 1917 Immigration Act also changed circular migration, making it preferable for families to settle permanently rather than travel back and forth. As the Mexican-American community grew and flourished in Riverside, chain and circular migration of extended family and community members created extensive social and kin networks.[19] (By the 1960s, for example, as author Vicki Ruiz noted, "the Eastside barrio had so many members of a single extended family that Raymond Buriel recalled how he and his buddies had to venture into the rival barrio Casa Blanca to get dates."[20])

Figure 8 Velazquez family, ca. 1915 (left), Martinez family member in citrus fields, ca. 1925 (right)

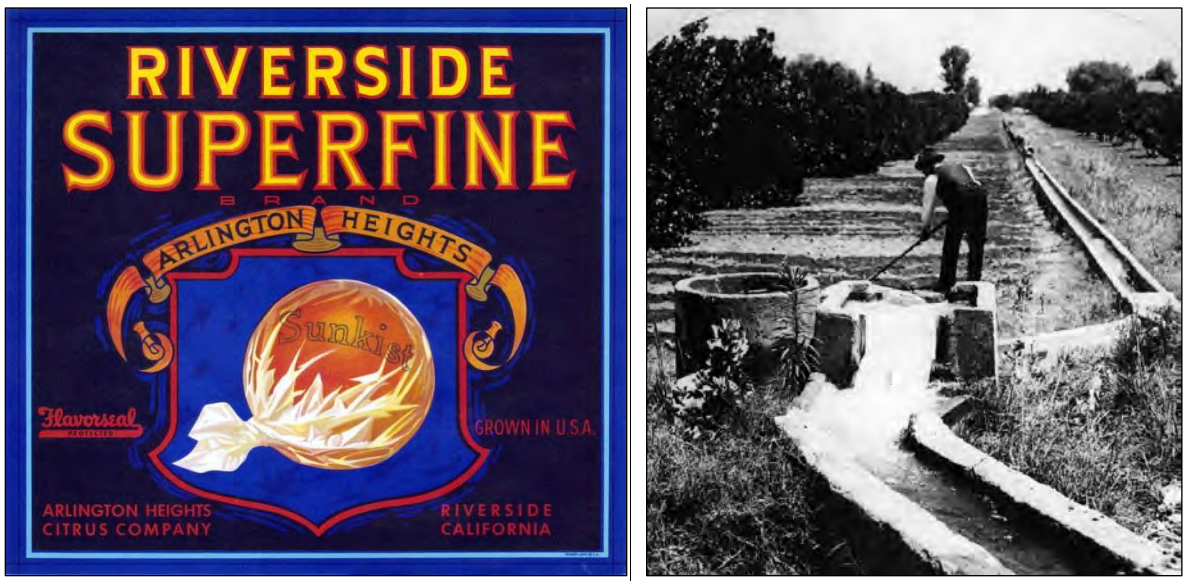
Source: Courtesy of Riverside Metropolitan Museum and Family of Esther Martinez

EXPANSION OF RIVERSIDE'S MULTICULTURAL *COLONIAS*

Riverside's Latino community expanded rapidly during the opening decades of the twentieth century. Mexicans and Mexican-Americans made their homes in the small settlements adjacent to the railroad, citrus groves and packinghouses. Initially, many Mexican workers in Riverside followed patterns of circular migration, in which a porous border made it possible to return to Mexico frequently, visit family, then return to work in the United States. As these patterns changed, families made the move to the United States permanent, as immigration laws changed and border crossings became more complicated.

As the Latino community grew, alongside the region's booming citrus-culture, three main areas in Riverside became home to sizable Mexican and Mexican-American populations: Casa Blanca, Eastside, and Arlington Heights neighborhoods. As noted by historian Steven Moreno-Terrill, all three neighborhoods "have one thing in common: they are just east of the railroad tracks and west of the citrus groves."[21]

Figure 9 Arlington Heights Superfine citrus label (left); citrus worker irrigating crops, 1904 (right)



Source: Riverside Public Library and Los Angeles Public Library

At times in its history, Casa Blanca included Italian, Mexican, Japanese, and Chinese laborers. By 1900, it had become majority Mexican and Mexican-American, though residents recall friends and neighbors of other ethnicities. According to life-long Casa Blanca resident Simona Valero, residents in the neighborhood were primarily Mexican, Italian, and Japanese in the early years. Born in 1922, Valero grew up in Casa Blanca: "We were all like a big family, Japanese, Italians and Mexicans."[22] In those early years, an Italian family lived next door to the Valero family home, and Simona's mother would try to communicate with her neighbor, Margarita. As Valero recalled, Spanish and Italian are similar enough that "they used to converse over the fence, they understood each other. They were wonderful neighbors."[23]

In the Eastside, by 1900, the area south of University Avenue (originally Eighth Street) became an area for Latino settlement, and the area north of University Avenue became home to the neighborhood's early African-American community. Near Thirteenth Street and Lincoln Park, nearby residents "were primarily first-generation Mexican immigrants. The dominant occupation of residents was 'orange picker' for one of the citrus packinghouses in the area. A small number of residents were also employed as domestic workers or gardeners at private homes."[24]

1920 – 1929: Expansion & Permanent Roots in Riverside Colonias

During the boom of the 1920s, the Latino community in Riverside continued to expand. The colonias had grown into cohesive, self-contained communities, with shops and businesses, mutual assistance societies, new churches and schools, and a yearly Cinco de Mayo celebration and parade that became known through the Latino community statewide. The year 1928 heralded the addition of a post office facility and mail service for Casa Blanca. Although operated as a contract station out of a market, the post service represented an improvement on the rural delivery service that had been used until that time.

The boom experienced in Riverside was mirrored throughout the United States. The roaring 1920s brought not just a construction boom but also an immigration boom and greater presence and profile for the Mexican-American community. From 1920 to 1929, an estimated 500,000 Mexican citizens entered the United States on permanent visas. This represents 11 percent of all immigrants

to come to the US during the 1920s.[25] By the end of the decade, California had become home to more than 30 percent of US residents born in Mexico.

Figure 10 Wedding of Jesus and Maria Chavez, Saint Anthony's Church, 1926 (left); local baseball team, sponsored by the LV Brown Packinghouse, 1928 (right)

Source: Riverside Public Library and Riverside County Mexican-American Historical Society

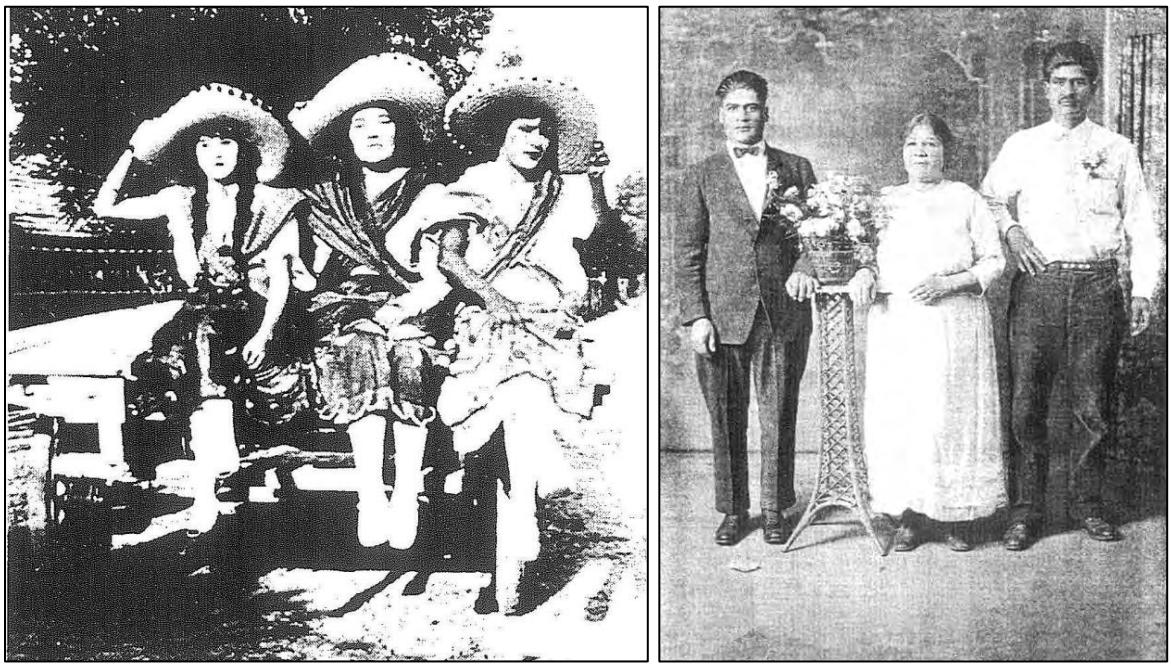
Thousands more came to the United States informally, hoping to either avoid the process or fees of applying for a visa or unaware of the legal requirements. In this way, this era brought about the rise of the "coyote," or smugglers who moved people across borders without documentation. In this era, the demand for Mexican labor was such that smuggling immigrants across the border was often encouraged and monetized by commissions from US businesses.

As the decade opened, a new law imposed strict limits on immigration. However, the agricultural industry and lobby succeeded in keeping immigration numbers high for Mexican applicants, thereby securing the ever-expanding, low-wage workforce they needed. The 1924 Immigration Act created the Border Patrol, though the initial focus was on Chinese immigrants. In California through the 1920s, the rapid growth, as well as long-term presence, of the Mexican community translated into an emerging middle-class:

> The growth of barrios and colonias fostered expansion of small businesses such as grocery and dry-goods stores, restaurants, barber shops, and tailor shops. Small construction firms emerged. Chicanos entered the teaching profession, usually working in private Chicano schools or in segregated public schools.[26]

The growth and diversification seen in California's Latino community was also seen in Riverside. Between 1920 and 1930, the community grew nearly fourfold. By the end of the decade, Mexican natives and Mexican-Americans comprised just over 13 percent of the City's total population.[27] The African-American community also experienced growth during the 1920s, in particular in the Eastside area. The population rose and fell with the agricultural seasons, as many Latinos worked as migrant farm workers and followed crop rotations elsewhere in the state or region after Riverside's citrus season ended.

Figure 11 Maria Victoria Cisneros (far left) and friends, dressed up for festival queen competition, ca. 1925, Porfirio Fuentes and family members on his wedding day, 1927 (right)



Source: Courtesy of Riverside Metropolitan Museum, *Nuestros Antepasados*

The 1920s brought the construction of Casa Blanca Elementary School, Saint Anthony's Church, and the Church of Our Lady of Guadalupe Shrine (originally St. Francis of Assisi Church), which was financed and built by community members. Through the years, these neighborhood institutions were the source of community pride as well as the focal points for gatherings, meetings, social events, dances and *jamaicas*, or charity bazaars. The arrival of religious and educational institutions also reflected the Latino community's growing presence and permanence in Riverside.

Although the Latino community was here to stay, the neighborhood of Casa Blanca still lacked the most basic infrastructure and services. The neighborhood lacked sewers, paved streets, and sidewalks. With no paved streets or proper drainage, during the rainy season Casa Blanca's streets became "muddy quagmires" and remained under water for much of the winter.[28] These problems would only intensify in the 1930s; paved streets would only arrive in Casa Blanca in the postwar period.

In Riverside, through the 1920s, there was also evidence of growing anti-immigrant sentiment and racism. In 1924, a local branch of the Ku Klux Klan held a rally at Polytechnic High School, with the permission of the school district. Thousands of Riverside residents were said to have attended the event (described in more detail below).

1930 – 1941: Great Depression and Repatriation

The roaring 1920s came to an abrupt end with the onset of the Great Depression. Throughout California, the Latino community suffered the effects. Faced with the depression's economic slump as well as droughts in the Great Plains, Mexican immigrants were now actively discouraged from entering the United States. This represented a sudden, dramatic reversal of long-time immigration policy. This interruption of immigrant labor also affected the production lines of Riverside's citrus industry.

Mexican nationals as well as Mexican-Americans were also subject to a federal, "voluntary" repatriation program. Throughout the 1930s, this far-reaching program ultimately resulted in the expulsion and deportations of an estimated 500,000 Mexican-Americans. With the blessing and cooperation of federal, state, county, and local officials, and in coordination with the Mexican government, Mexican nationals and even Mexican-Americans were pressured to "return home" to Mexico (even though many of the affected individuals were American born). In reality, the program more often meant outright deportation rather than voluntary departure:

> Mexican aliens who lacked documents of legal residency, including many who had entered the United States in good faith during an earlier period when immigration from Mexico was a more informal process, were particularly vulnerable. Among the victims of the process were naturalized and US-born husbands, wives, and children of Mexican repatriates, who had to choose between remaining in the United States or maintaining family unity by moving to Mexico.[29]

In this way, the 1930s brought a temporary reversal in the expansion of Mexican-American migration and settlement in the United States. Total numbers of Mexicans immigrating to the United States dropped more than tenfold, from nearly 500,000 in the 1920s to just 32,000 through the 1930s.[30] The Bureau of Labor, once so eager to attract Mexican workers to the US, now offered free passage to Mexico, for both native Mexicans and Mexican-American born children.

Figure 12 Casa Blanca residents, Elisa Rodriguez and infant (left); Pete Hernandez and children, in front of Casa Blanca Elementary School (right), 1935

Source: *Maestro*, M. Stowe Colvin, 1935

With millions of Americans suddenly unemployed, American views on Mexican labor shifted:

> Previously welcomed as important contributors to an expanding agriculture and industry, Mexicans now were seen as 'surplus labor.' No longer considered the backbone of California agriculture and invaluable contributors to other employment sectors, Mexicans instead were viewed as an economic liability, and had become objects of resentment as recipients of scarce public relief funds.[31]

This climate directly affected the Latino community in Riverside, where repatriation efforts were led through "a partnership between the Bureau of Labor, the County Superintendent of Welfare and Relief, and the Mexican Consulate."[32] Between 1931 and 1932, "these efforts would eventually result in deportation of 2,641 Mexican people from Riverside and San Bernardino counties."[33] A surge in nativism and anti-immigrant sentiment was also evident, as Mexican natives and Mexican-Americans were scapegoated for a range of societal ills. In February 1930, for example, in response to the news that one-third of all births in Riverside were to Mexican and Mexican-American families, the *Riverside Press Enterprise* commented that,

> With this steady increase in the Mexican population that we have in Southern California because of the high birth rate, it is certainly difficult to justify the agitation for more 'seasonal labor' from Mexico. Certainly Americans who are out of work do not enthuse over that view.[34]

Throughout this period, a number of Mexican native and Mexican-American residents either opted to leave Riverside or were forcibly deported. The numbers were particularly high leading up to the nadir of the Great Depression, in the early 1930s. As Riverside historian Paul A. Viafora noted,

> In August 1931, the *Press* [*Enterprise*] reported that over 200 Mexican families had left Riverside. Less than nine months later, in April 1932, over 325 families left the city. In February 1933, *Hayden's Weekly* claimed that over 2,000 Mexican families had left Riverside in just one week. Editor Hayden sarcastically lamented that 'this should reduce the totals rung up on the cash registers in Riverside and San Bernardino shops. If times were good our merchants would no doubt ask the local chambers of commerce to resolute against the wholesale deportation.'[35]

One Riverside resident who saw family members deported was Herbert Sanchez.[36] Born in Casa Blanca in 1921, Sanchez lived in Riverside with his parents and brothers. His parents had immigrated to the United States in 1910. When Sanchez was twelve, his father and older brothers were forced to repatriate to Mexico, causing great hardships for the family. Another Riverside resident who witnessed repatriation was Esther Martinez. Martinez recalled that, based on the rumor about forced repatriation, in addition to the growing tide of racism and nativism, many Latino residents of Riverside decided to leave. As Martinez said:

> A few relatives heard the rumor of repatriation. My Aunt Sally, she used to tell me, you should have seen, *mija*. You've seen those movies of the covered wagons? Well, this was a line of Model Ts, like the wagon trains, going to Mexico. …And we just stood there and watched them until we couldn't see them anymore. Because a lot of the relatives left. But my grandfather refused to go. He said, "I paid to come to this country, and I'm going to stay here!" It cost 2 cents, that was during Mexican Revolution.[37]

For Latino families and businesses remaining in Riverside, the exodus was a blow. The sudden loss of clientele, not to mention family members and friends, hurt the many small businesses that had emerged in Latino neighborhoods. In Eastside, for example, "almost all the Chicano-owned shops

along Park Avenue were forced to close their doors."[38] Making matters worse, outside assistance was also lacking: "The chief activity of the Welfare Bureau with respect to needy Chicano families was to arrange for their repatriation, placing them on a train at the Colton depot and paying their fare to Mexico."[39] Similarly, for Latinos who found themselves in need of legal services from the Welfare Department, the department's response was to deport them to Mexico.

Some residents left the United States voluntarily to visit family members in Mexico, believing they would be able to return. One such Riverside resident was pioneering Latino business owner, Francisco (Frank) Lozano. In the early 1930s, Lozano had traveled to Mexico on a few occasions to visit his father (who, as a non-citizen, had been refused work in Riverside during the Great Depression). In 1935, while returning to the United States during one of these trips, Lozano did not have his papers and had trouble re-entering the country. He was allowed back in, but shortly after the Mexican consul contacted Lozano and advised him to leave the United States. If he left voluntarily, he was told, "he could return again in nine months, but if he didn't leave voluntarily, it would cost the US government a lot of money for deportation costs."[40] He decided to leave, with the assurance that he would soon be able to return to his Eastside home: "Lozano had family, a gas station and auto repair shop (the first on Eastside), and a pool hall on Park Avenue."[41] The assurances of a quick return did not come to fruition, though, and Lozano was not allowed back into the United States for nine years. In the process, he "lost everything—his house, his restaurant, and his gas station."[42]

After years of steady growth, the City's two Latino-majority schools showed drops in enrollment. In 1931 at Casa Blanca School, for example, enrollment decreased from 468 to 383 between June and December 1931, in a loss that "exceeded the past gains in the previous five years."[43] At Independiente Elementary School, enrollment dropped from 131 to 98 from June to December 1931.[44] Overall, in Riverside, the "Depression exodus reduced the size of the barrio."[45] Even so, school enrollment numbers and population figures still reflected a large, permanent presence for Riverside's Mexican-American community. Communities survived these years through a reliance on mutual assistance societies, neighborhood groups and churches, and each other.

In the late 1930s and early 1940s, employment prospects picked up again, with a diversifying economy and the advent of defense-related work. With the US entry into World War II, the tide reversed, as California (and the country) faced a pressing labor shortage. Mexican workers were actively recruited through the Bracero Program. The population in Riverside saw a spike during the war years, including in Latino and ethnic-majority neighborhoods.

The 1930s brought an expansion of institutional offerings in ethnic neighborhoods. For example, in 1937, at Eighth and Franklin Streets in Eastside, Fire Station No. 4 was constructed, with designs by local architect G. Stanley Wilson. Based at Fire Station No. 4 was Captain Ed Strickland, the first African-American firefighter, engineer, and captain for the Riverside Fire Department. Born in Georgia in 1913, Strickland moved to Riverside with the family in 1918. He became known for his pioneering innovations in fire fighting equipment and technology.

Even so, municipal improvements and infrastructure remained lacking. In Casa Blanca, for example, as of 1940, only 42 percent of homes had sewer connections and only 34 homes reported the luxury of indoor plumbing.[46] Many families shared outdoor restroom facilities, in a shortage of services that would only be corrected in the postwar period. At the same time, rates of home ownership remained relatively high. Among 218 families surveyed, over 61 percent owned their homes, while 39 percent were renters.

Figure 13 Saint Anthony's Church wedding, Isidro and Leonor Diaz, 1936 (left); Maria Chavez and family member at their Samuel Street home, Casa Blanca (right)

Source: Riverside Public Library, Shades of Riverside

Figure 14 Photos, Riverside Latino families, 1920s through 1950s

Source: Courtesy of Riverside County Mexican-American Historical Society

1941 – 1945: World War II: From Labor Surplus to Shortage

As the war began, many Riverside Latinos enlisted in the US armed forces and were dispatched to serve in the war. At the same time, many new residents arrived, eager to participate in new defense-related employment opportunities. Long-time community leader and activist Simona Valero experienced this. The daughter of migrant farm laborers, Valero went to work for a base in San Bernardino assembling planes during World War II. This opportunity led to an administrative office job, and this office job ultimately led to positions with the Office of Economic Development and Riverside County Community Services Center in the postwar period.

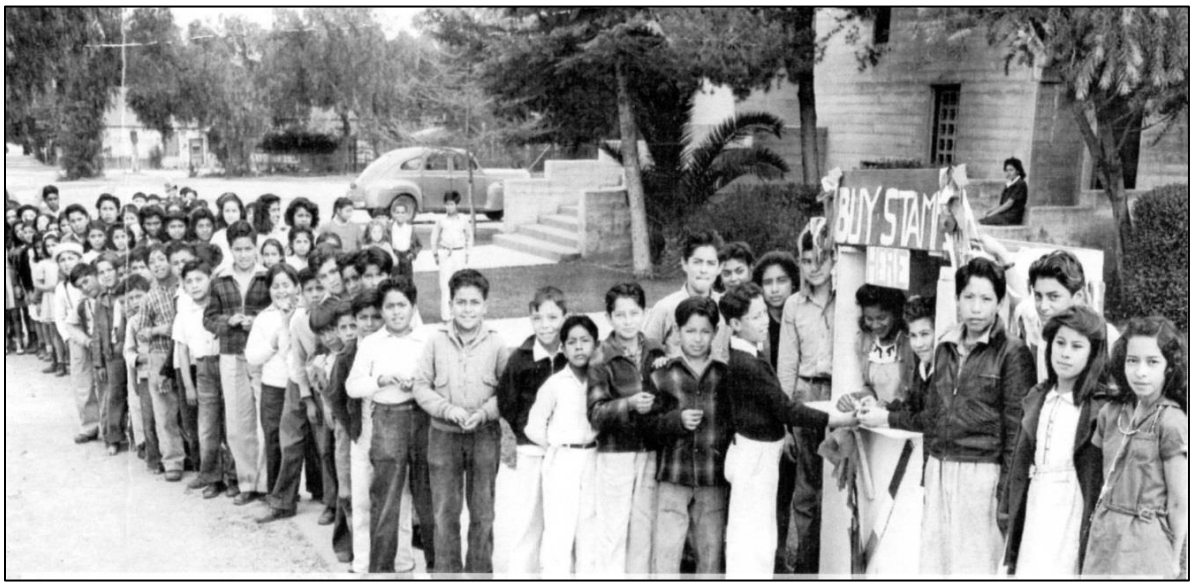
Neighborhoods in Riverside had many challenges through this period, however. Between June and September 1943, the Community Settlement House conducted a survey of the Eastside neighborhood, for example.[47] A total of 50 women conducted the survey throughout Eastside, to over 300 homes. The survey area was Pachappa, Kansas, Eighth, and Pleasant Streets.

Among the survey area, approximately 56 percent of families rented their homes. Rents ranged from $6.00 to $40.00 a month, with the average of around $16 a month. The average weekly income of the heads of household in Eastside was $25.50 per week, nearly 50 percent less than the average weekly wage of industrial workers.

The Community Settlement House survey also offers a window onto the Eastside settlement boom during the war years. As of 1943, surveyors found that approximately one-third of families living in Eastside had moved to Riverside since 1940.[48] Along with this increased demand, however, some landlords started raising rents from 20 to 25 percent, "even though no improvements had been made" to the homes.

Indeed, another one-third of respondents noted that, if they could, they would relocate from Eastside; the main reason given was overcrowding in their homes. (Of course, the neighborhoods they could choose at the time were severely limited, due to official and unofficial housing discrimination.) Approximately one-third of the homes did not have adequate plumbing, and 10 percent did not have running water in their homes.

Figure 15 Casa Blanca students support US troops through sales of War Savings Stamps, ca. 1944



Source: Courtesy of Riverside Metropolitan Museum

Figure 16 Latino veterans of World War II, Our Lady of Guadalupe, circa 1945

Source: Courtesy of Phyllis Sotelo Salinas

THE BRACERO PROGRAM[49]

The US entry into World War II brought another labor shortage to the United States. Policy reversed course, as repatriation in the 1930s turned to a renewed call for Mexican agricultural workers. In 1942, the US and Mexico launched the Bracero Program. Under the program, Mexican nationals would travel to the United States, under contract to work as agricultural labor:

> The turnaround from the labor surplus of the 1930s to the labor shortage of the 1940s had a special impact on agriculture and transportation. For help, the United States turned to Mexico, and in 1942 the two nations formulated the Bracero Program. From then until 1964, Mexican braceros were a regular part of the US labor scene, reaching a peak of 450,000 workers in 1959. Most engaged in agriculture; they formed 26 percent of the nation's seasonal agricultural labor force in 1960.[50]

The program promised housing, protections against discrimination, a guaranteed minimum wage, and complementary round-trip transportation. Due to poor federal oversight, however, many braceros were underpaid (or not paid at all). Mexican officials participated in selecting and screening men for the program. Workers knew they would be working in the United States, but would be assigned on an as-needed basis to "Washington for the apple crop, to Idaho and Montana for sugar beets, and to California for citrus and produce crops."[51]

The unintended consequence of the Bracero Program was ultimately a worsening of conditions for Mexican and Mexican-American farm workers, as wages dropped for all. Braceros were also prohibited from joining unions and going on strike, thereby depriving the workers of one available

remedy for demanding change. Another outcome of the program was an increase in the number of undocumented immigrants into California, which had more bracero workers than any other state. Ultimately, the American Federation of Labor (AFL) and Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) advocated for the end of the program. This era also ushered in a new backlash to undocumented immigrants, who were subject to widespread deportation in the early 1950s, in an operation called "Operation Wetback."

Figure 17 Bracero point of entry at Rio Vista Farm, El Paso County, Texas. Bracero workers awaiting processing (left) and completing work contracts (right)

Source: El Diario, DF, Mexico, 4 March 2017

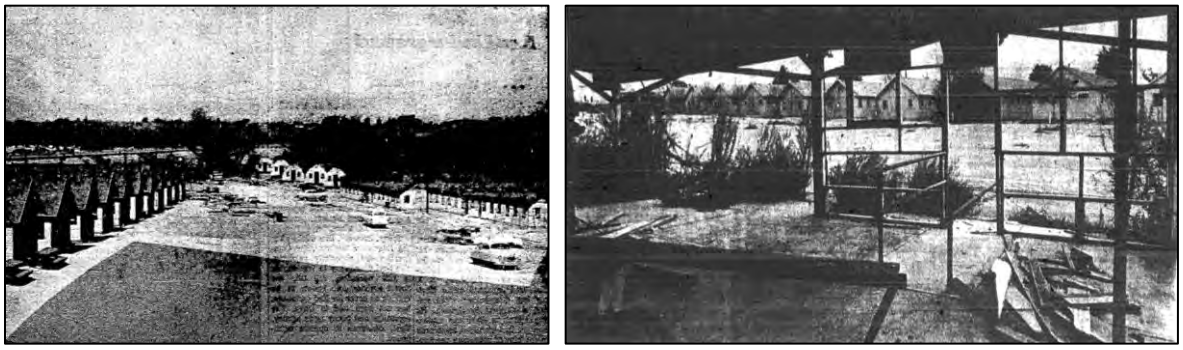
For braceros arriving to Riverside, the first stop was a government-run reception center in El Centro. The contract signed by braceros promised a minimum of 64 hours of work for two weeks, with deductions made for health insurance and housing. Given their varying work schedules, braceros were housed in temporary labor camps. Braceros appear to have been housed in a number of camps in Riverside. Although they do not appear extant, camps are said to have been located in De Anza Park and Fairmount Park. Casa Blanca was also home to a bracero camp, Campo Peralta, on Diamond Street. The organization of housing and kitchen facilities for braceros was handled by the Riverside Agricultural Association, a consortium of local packinghouses.

As of 1956, the City hosted nearly 500 braceros.[52] As noted in the *Riverside Independent Enterprise*,

> The men now at the camp come from all parts of Mexico and are drawn from all walks of life. Whether taxi cab drivers, railroad engineers, carpenters or artists, all have come to California to pick citrus for one reason, to make money. Every two weeks, the average worker at the camp sends home between $80 and $100 to his family.[53]

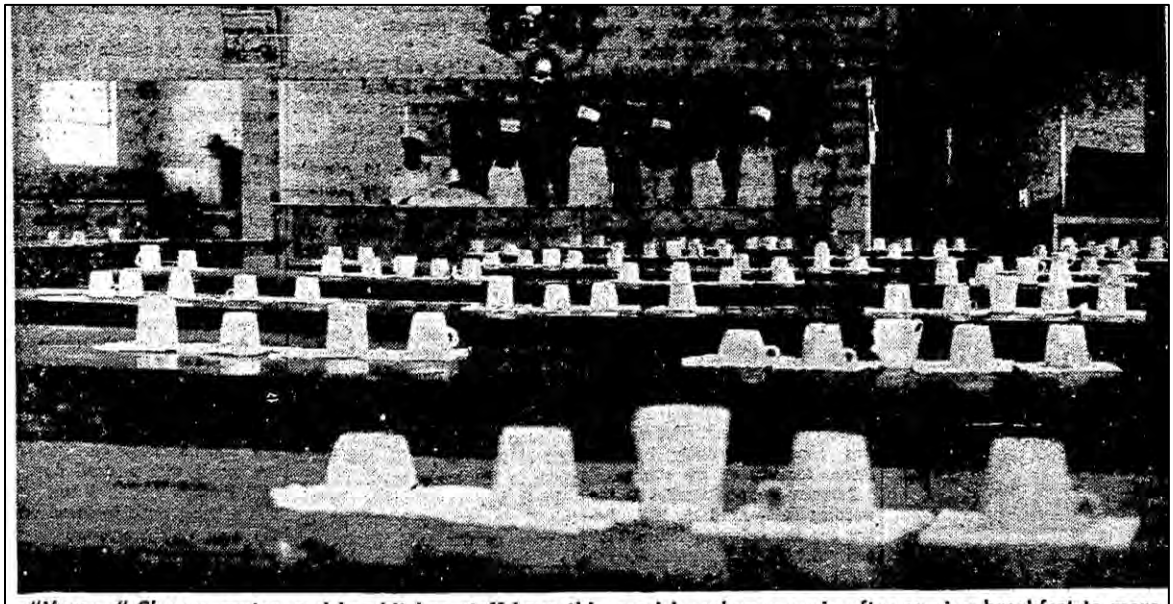
In 1954, one bracero work camp was relocated to an area just west of the City, at an 81-acre site near the corner of Jurupa and Van Buren Boulevards. Run by the Riverside Agricultural Association, the camp was constructed for an estimated $25,000. Until 1971, after the Bracero Program ended in 1964, the camp continued to provide housing for workers in small bungalows, with showers and bathrooms, and a mess hall with accompanying cafeteria.[54] During the height of the program in the 1950s, the camp was filled to capacity, with 750 workers. Bracero contracts could run up to 18 months, after which the workers were required to return to Mexico for a given period of time. In the early 1950s, the minimum wage for braceros was 81-cents-per-hour. The men earned a minimum of $8 a day, six days a week. "In Mexico, at that time, the farm laborers were getting about eight pesos a day, or about $2," says Rubio. Juan Virgen Diaz, a bracero who worked in Riverside's citrus industry in the early 1960s, recalled earning $8.00 a day, but paying an additional $1.75 for room and board.[55]

Figure 18 Bracero Work Camp in Riverside, 1956 (left) and two years after its 1971 closure (right)



Source: Riverside Daily Enterprise, 18 March 1956 and 30 November 1973

Figure 19 New bracero work camp announced at Jurupa and Van Buren Boulevards, 1956



"Mamma" Chavez, center, and her kitchen staff have things spick and span again after serving breakfast to more than 480 men at the Mexican Nationals Camp mess hall. The men are served cafeteria-style in the new building which cost more than $25,000. The mess hall can accommodate 300 men at one sitting.

PICK RIVERSIDE NAVEL CROP

480 Laborers at New Mexican Nationals Camp

By FORREST CRESS

Some 480 men, helping Riverside area citrus growers bring in the current naval orange crop, are now housed at the new Mexican Nationals camp, north of Jurupa avenue near Van Buren boulevard.

The 81-acre camp, run by the Riverside Agricultural Association, was recently relocated from De Anza Park. The association's camp, under the jurisdiction of the fed-

teria-style in the mess hall by the kitchen staff.

Edward Boteler, association manager, and his office staff of four are located in the camp's small office building.

Although Mexican Nationals are used year-around to pick lemons, the camp more than doubles in population during the valencia and navel orange picking seasons.

The association draws its Mexican Nationals from a reception

are transported to the Riverside camp. The contract guarantees men a minimum of 64 hours work for two weeks, and deductions are made from their checks for health insurance. When they return to Mexico, the association pays for their transportation to the border.

Time Limit

The Mexican Nationals can work in the United States for a maximum of 18 straight months and then must return to Mexico for at

Reuther New Horticulture Chief at CES

Dr. Walter Reuther, former he of the University of Florid horticulture department, has be named chairman of the Universi of California's horticulture depa

ment at the Citrus Experime Station here.

. The nationally-recognized citr authority joined the Riverside st last month as a horticulturist. his new position, he succeeds I

Source: Riverside Independent Enterprise, 18 March 1956

For workers, schedules were intensive, ranging from five to six days a week, with days starting with breakfast at the camp, and transport to the assigned packinghouse or field of the day. All workers were subject to a series of rules, with the punishment of deportation for noncompliance. For leisure, the workers had a television room and a small school, run by one of the workers: "He was not a very educated man, but he had a burning desire to pass on what he had learned to the other men."[56]

1945 – 1975: Era of Expansion, Empowerment, and Engagement

World War II represented a positive turning point for Latinos throughout California. The Great Depression "had left in its wake a population decline, devastated communities, and shattered dreams; the war brought population growth, resurgent communities, and rising expectations."[57] With the US entry into World War II, thousands of Latinos answered the call to arms. An estimated 500,000 Mexican-Americans served in World War II, earning 17 Congressional Medals of Honor.[58] One of the Medal of Honor recipients was Ysmael "Smiley" Villegas, a native of Casa Blanca who was killed in the Philippines one day before his 21st birthday. Villegas became the first Riverside County resident in history to receive the award for his valor and exceptional service.

World War II empowered a new generation of activists and community organizers, in Riverside and beyond. Returning veterans organized and actively asserted their rights to equal treatment and access, and the changes they helped bring about expanded their options in all areas of life, including settlement. In economic and sociopolitical terms, as well, World War II represented a turning point for the community. In California, Latinos made significant gains in employment and educational opportunities during and after World War II. In addition to a wider variety of jobs within reach for civilians, veterans qualified for assistance under the Serviceman's Readjustment Act of 1944, or the GI Bill. Through the postwar period, returning veterans from World War II, Korea, and Vietnam received educational subsidies and loans for housing and businesses. For some Latino veterans and their families, the GI Bill provided a viable path out of citrus and agricultural work.

On the national front, the adoption of federal legislation brought a number of changes in immigration and settlement patterns for Latino and other minority communities. These shifts came together to offer Latino families and workers new opportunities in employment, political representation and leadership, recognition, and access.

In 1964, the landmark Civil Rights Act was signed into law, outlawing discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. The law covered schools, places of employment, and public spaces and institutions. One year later in Riverside, in September 1965, a group of Latino and African-American parents and their allies presented a petition to the Riverside City School District for the immediate desegregation of city schools. The same evening, a fire was set at Riverside's segregated Lowell Elementary School. (A month before, in August 1965, the Watts Riots roiled Los Angeles, as frustration and anger over discrimination, unequal opportunities, and police brutality reached a breaking point in the African-American community in Los Angeles, resulting in a week of rioting.) These efforts led to districtwide desegregation in Riverside (a topic described in more detail below).

Figure 20 Returning veterans parade in Eastside, circa 1945

Source: Courtesy of Phyllis Sotelo Salinas

Figure 21 Ramona Sotelo, at the family home in the Streeter Tract, 2427 Pennsylvania Ave., 1952

Source: Courtesy of Phyllis Sotelo Salinas

Also at the federal level, in 1965, a new law was adopted that transformed US immigration policy. The 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act established strict quotas for numbers of immigrants permitted from countries throughout the Western Hemisphere. However, with wages remaining low in Mexico, and with the Bracero Program ending in 1964, immigration (albeit undocumented) continued into the United States from Mexico and Latin America. In Riverside, the gradual erosion of farmland to housing tracts propelled many new immigrants out of farming and agriculture jobs and into manufacturing and the service sector. In some pockets of neighborhoods, people of color had more freedom to purchase and rent homes. At the same time, the arrival of neighbors of color triggered "white flight," or "panic selling," as in Riverside's Eastside neighborhood in the mid-1950s.

As new generations arrived, Riverside's majority Latino and ethnic neighborhoods came of age and into their own. Federal civil rights legislation from the 1940s through 1960s signaled the gradual rolling back of racially restrictive housing policies, both official and unofficial. With this, many Latino and African-American families were able to move into new neighborhoods. As of the early 1970s, some 20,000 Latinos lived in Riverside. As the Latino middle-class grew, Latino residents and families "began to move out of the Eastside and Casa Blanca areas to live in other parts of Riverside."[59] As of 1972, the neighborhoods of Casa Blanca and Eastside had approximately 2,000 and 3,000 Latino residents, respectively, with most Latinos residing in other areas, such as Arlington Heights, La Sierra, Arlanza, and Northside.[60]

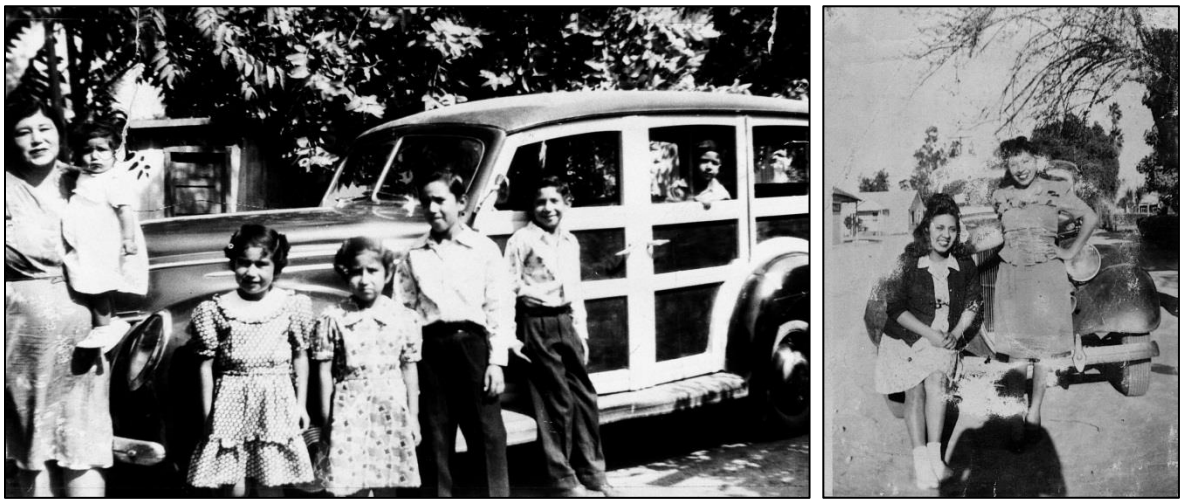
Figure 22 Arlington resident, Mrs. Basilia Alvarez, "Mexican Mother of the Year," 1960 (left); Wedding of Johnny Carrillo and Sally Soliz, Our Lady of Guadalupe Shrine, 1952 (right)

Source: Riverside Daily Enterprise, 10 May 1960 and Riverside Co. Mexican-American Historical Society

For its part, Riverside itself also expanded. Following three major annexations, the City nearly doubled in size, growing from 39 to 72 square miles between 1945 and 1964. By 1970, the population had expanded threefold, growing from just over 46,000 in 1940 to 140,000 by 1970.[61] Neighborhoods that had been the heart of Riverside's Latino community for generations—Casa Blanca and Eastside—also changed. Casa Blanca's relative isolation and citrus-grove setting shifted as expansive new housing developments were constructed in the 1950s. With the postwar housing boom and construction of the nearby freeway, by the 1960s, Casa Blanca was surrounded by new middle-class residential tracts. The core of the neighborhood continued to consist of about 400 homes, "established almost 40 years ago as a Mexican-American colonia."[62] The neighborhood was

still predominantly single-family residential in character, with an estimated 90 percent of residents owning their own homes. Eastside had a higher rate of rentals and multifamily housing.

Figure 23 Diaz family, ca. 1955 (left); Candelaria and Clementine, Casa Blanca, ca. 1950 (right)



Source: Courtesy of the Riverside Metropolitan Museum and Riverside Public Library

Casa Blanca itself still lacked the basics in infrastructure, with no sewer system, sidewalks or paved streets. In the postwar era, citizens joined forces, organized, and lobbied the City for much-needed municipal improvements to the neighborhood. These efforts were successful. After circulating petitions and securing funding for assessments, modern sewer lines, paved streets, sidewalks, and streetlights arrived in Casa Blanca in the early 1950s. In 1956, in a nine-part series by Harry Lawton, the *Riverside Press Enterprise* took note of these improvements – as well as lingering challenges – in Casa Blanca and other Latino and ethnic neighborhoods in the City. Through this series, Lawton explored many facets of postwar change and empowerment in the Latino community in Riverside:

> During the war, many Casa Blancans found better job opportunities. And veterans returning home had a new sense of pride in their Mexican-American heritage. …The changes which occurred in Casa Blanca can not be attributed to any one person's leadership or any one group. They represent combined efforts of a community, which has acquired a firm sense of civic responsibility.[63]

Post-1970 Demographic Shifts and Diversity

The Latino community in Riverside has historically been (and remains) predominantly Mexican and Mexican-American. In the postwar period, the presence of other groups started to expand, with immigrants arriving from South and Central America, for example.

This pattern is reflected in the US overall, as the country's Latino population grew increasingly diverse beginning in 1970. Immigrants from Central America began arriving in higher numbers through the 1970s. In Los Angeles, for example, between 1970 and 1980 the populations of Salvadorans increased nearly ninefold, from 7,700 to 61,600. Similarly, the population of Guatemalans in Los Angeles increased sevenfold from 5,600 to 38,000 during the same period.[64] According to US Census figures, among 18,493,000 million Hispanic residents of the United States, a total of 86 percent entered the United States after 1980.[65] In subsequent decades, a total of 27 percent, 33.5 percent, and 7.8 percent entered in the 1990s, 2000s, and 2010s.

For new immigrants from Mexico, the draw to the United States remained employment opportunities. Many immigrants were drawn to existing Latino neighborhoods, which provided a sense of community and familiarity. Between 1980 and 2000, among the 15 California counties with the highest Mexican populations, Riverside ranked 8th (1980) and 5th (in 1990 and 2000), following Los Angeles, Orange, San Diego, and San Bernardino.[66]

As of 1970, the share of Latino residents in Riverside was estimated at 12.7 percent in the City overall, but 80.5 percent in Casa Blanca.[67] While Riverside's population had grown from 84,300 to 140,000 between 1960 and 1970, the population of Casa Blanca was stable, growing only 4.7 percent between 1960 and 1970.[68] Many newcomers from Latin American arrived in the Eastside neighborhood, and increasingly other neighborhoods with emerging Latino neighborhoods.

As of 1980, the population of Eastside was just over 11,000 residents, with most living in the neighborhood's eastern half. According to UC Riverside geography professor Paul Wright, this was due to the concentration of new residential development and construction in this area. New arrivals from countries throughout Latin America also helped raise the share of Latino members of Eastside.

Overall, in Riverside, as of July 2017, a total of 52 percent of Riverside's total population, estimated at just over 320,000, identify as Hispanic or Latino.[69] A vast majority of these residents are Mexican-American or Mexican natives.

Visual Overview of Casa Blanca, Eastside, Arlanza, and Northside, 1930s to 1960s

Figure 24 Agricultural fields give way to housing tracts and development in the postwar period, as shown in aerial photographs of Casa Blanca (enclosed in red), in 1938 (top) and 1967 (bottom)

Source: Environmental Data Resources, 2018