



# HISTORIC CONTEXT STATEMENT: SUBURBANIZATION & RACE

CITY OF LONG BEACH

MAY 19, 2022  
FINAL ADMINISTRATIVE DRAFT



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DEVELOPMENT  
SERVICES

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An aerial photograph of the California State University, Long Beach campus in 1960. The image shows a large, organized campus with numerous rectangular buildings, parking lots, and walkways. The campus is situated on a hillside, with a residential area visible in the background. A semi-transparent white box is overlaid on the upper right portion of the image, containing the text 'PART I Introduction'.

## PART I Introduction

*Aerial view of California State University, Long Beach, facing northwest, 1960.  
Source: Los Angeles Public Library*

## INTRODUCTION

The City of Long Beach has been referred to as “Iowa By the Sea” due to the influx of Midwesterners to the city in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century; however, this only reflects part of the story. Largely overlooked in written histories about the development of Long Beach are the stories of its communities of color and the development patterns associated with those communities, including exclusionary practices that played a significant role in settlement patterns in the city.

Housing discrimination was a fact of life for all people of color in Long Beach, as it was in cities throughout Southern California. In the post-World War II era, the city aggressively annexed adjacent farmland and orange groves to create new suburban communities in response to the immense population growth in the region after the war. Many residential tracts had Covenants, Conditions and Restrictions (CC&Rs) that restricted the purchase and rental of homes to White residents. Lenders and insurers of the period often followed “redlining maps” which outlined neighborhoods containing “subversive racial groups,” or those they defined as “deteriorating” due to the presence of non-White residents. This coincided with the migration of White residents from areas that were becoming more racially or culturally diverse to more homogeneous suburban or exurban areas known as “White flight.”

What emerges after additional analysis of the history of Long Beach is a story of the significant and groundbreaking efforts by the community to overcome those practices. In the early 1950s, Long Beach became a central player in the fight for fair housing in Southern California. During the mid- to late-20<sup>th</sup> century, Long Beach was transformed by immigration.

This context statement uses the multiple property documentation approach to identify and provide guidance for the evaluation of the built environment as it relates to the intersection of race and suburbanization in Long Beach in the post-World War II era. It is intended to supplement the broader residential development themes and the ethnographic study provided in the *City of Long Beach Citywide Historic Context Statement*.<sup>1</sup> The approximate period of study is 1945-1979, to correspond to development patterns that began in the immediate post-World War II period. It is recommended that future studies of the city include immigration patterns and changing demographics of the late 20<sup>th</sup> century.

After a brief background on discriminatory practices of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the history of race and suburbanization in Long Beach is traced chronologically under the broad themes of Segregation and Discrimination in Long Beach, 1945-1964; Integration in Long Beach, 1964-

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<sup>1</sup> City of Long Beach, Development Services Department, *City of Long Beach: Citywide Historic Context Statement*, prepared by Sapphos Environmental, Inc., July 10, 2009. The context statement is available online: <http://www.longbeach.gov/globalassets/lbds/media-library/documents/planning/historic-preservation/historic-pres-docs/lb-historic-context-statement>.

1976; and North Long Beach Transformed, 1976-1979. The context statement then provides a brief overview of nine diverse communities in Long Beach in the post-World War II era: African Americans; Latina/os; Japanese Americans; Filipino Americans; Chinese Americans; Samoan Americans; Cambodian Americans; Laotian and Hmong Americans; Vietnamese Americans; and Korean Americans. The context closes with a brief section entitled Realizing the International City, 1980-2020, which examines the demographic shifts in Long Beach in the recent past.

## **CONTRIBUTORS**

This historic context was prepared by Historic Resources Group. Sian Winship was the primary author, supported by Christine Lazzaretto and Molly Iker-Johnson. The project was managed by the City of Long Beach Development Services Department, including Patricia Diefenderfer, Planning Bureau Manager; and Alejandro Plascencia, Planner.

As part of the outreach for this project, an Advisory Committee was convened to provide input on the overall development of the context statement, provide important context and firsthand accounts of life in Long Beach, and identify those places that are significant within the community from a cultural perspective. This input was invaluable, and the project team is grateful to the Advisory Committee for their commitment to the project. The members of the Advisory Committee were: Julie Bartolotto, Historical Society of Long Beach; Martha Cota, Latinos in Action; LaVerne Duncan, Andy Street Community Association; Sarah Locke, former Executive Director of Long Beach Heritage; Fran Lujan, Pacific Island Ethnic Art Museum (PIEAM); Malou Mariano; Carl McBride; Sithea San, Cambodia Town, Inc.; and Audrey Yamagata-Noji, Leadership Education for Asian Pacifics (LEAP).

In addition, the context was greatly enhanced by the contributions of many other individuals and organizations in Long Beach. Notable among them are the Long Beach Public Library; Long Beach Heritage; the Historical Society of Long Beach; California State University, Long Beach (CSULB); and the Assistance League of Long Beach. In particular, we want to thank June Aguilar, Floyd Ancheta, Marie Perez Adamos, Lauren Herrera, Al Hodson, Chan Hopson, Annette Kashiwabara, Pam Young Lee, Michael Martin, Maureen Neeley, Jessica Quintana, Cynthia Terry, Stella Verdeja, Jade Wheeler, and Jeff Whalen for all of their assistance and support.

A group of noted local authors and historians acted as peer reviewers/readers during the development of the context statement. They include Kaye Briegel, Ph.D., professor emeritus at CSULB; Rita Cofield, preservation professional/public historian; Louise H. Ivers, author and historian; Sarah Locke, Executive Director of Long Beach Heritage; Cara Mullio, author and University of Southern California professor; and Jennifer M. Volland, author.

## **LAND ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

We acknowledge that Long Beach occupies the traditional and ancestral territory of the Tongva/Gabrieleño and the Acjachemen/Juaneño peoples. We recognize the

Tongva/Gabrieleño and the Acjachemen/Juaneño peoples as the traditional caretakers of this land. Long Beach is home to, Puvungna, a village site where California State University, Long Beach now stands. Puvungna remains sacred to several tribes as a spiritual center.<sup>2</sup>

### **SCOPE AND METHODOLOGY**

As noted above, this context statement is a study of how discriminatory practices and the fight for fair housing in Long Beach intersects with development patterns in the post-World War II era. The study is not intended to be a definitive history of suburban growth, or a complete ethnographic study of each community in the city. Rather, this context is intended to foster understanding of the influence of race and discriminatory practices on the built environment after World War II, provide background information on subsequent waves of immigration in Long Beach, and document an important layer of the city's history. This document is intended to supplement the *Citywide Historic Context Statement* and to provide additional guidance on the identification and evaluation of potential historic resources in Long Beach from the post-World War II era.

In preparation of this historic context statement, the research team utilized primary sources including online databases for the *Independent Press-Telegram*, *Long Beach Independent*, *Sentinel*, *Long Beach Sun*, *Tidings*, *Los Angeles Times*, the United States Census, and Long Beach City Directories.<sup>3</sup> Prior to shelter in place restrictions due to the COVID-19 pandemic being enacted in California, clippings files and photos from Special Collections in the Long Beach public library were reviewed. Recorded oral histories from CSULB and Rancho Los Alamitos provided invaluable information for the project. In addition, telephone interviews and email correspondence were conducted with knowledgeable experts and current and former residents, including June Aguilar, Floyd Ancheta, Al Hodson, Chan Hopson, Jessica Quintana, Cynthia Terry, Rosario Wells, and Susan Wells, who provided important context for this study.

Note that the identification of properties in this context statement does not necessarily indicate eligibility for historic designation. All properties identified in this document were reviewed in the field, to determine whether they are extant and if they appear to have been altered since their original construction. Included in Appendix B is a list of properties identified through research as having an association with one of the themes addressed in the context statement. The focus of this study is on the broad impact of race and racial restrictions on residential development patterns in the city; however, some individual commercial and institutional properties are identified as having an important association

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<sup>2</sup> For additional information about Native American history in Long Beach, see the Citywide Historic Context Statement: <http://www.longbeach.gov/globalassets/lbds/media-library/documents/planning/historic-preservation/historic-pres-docs/lb-historic-context-statement>.

<sup>3</sup> It is of course noted that newspapers often did not provide substantive coverage of communities of color or produced biased articles and content.

with the fight for civil rights in the city; as an important community gathering place; or for a particular association within a cultural community. For the purpose of this historic context, we have cited all addresses with their historic address from the period. The reader should be aware that some street names have changed. For example, California Avenue became Martin Luther King Junior Avenue in 1986. The street was renamed to commemorate the first Martin Luther King Day on January 20 of that year. The first African American City Councilman in Long Beach, James Wilson, was a strong proponent of the name change for the stretch of California Avenue between E. 7<sup>th</sup> Street and E. 21<sup>st</sup> Street.

## INTERSECTIONALITY

*Intersectionality* is “the multivalent quality of lived experience...the complexities of identity and the multiplicity of communities with a stake in the preservation and interpretation of any given historic property.”<sup>4</sup> The concept of intersectionality suggests that seemingly homogenous communities are anything but homogenous. They are diverse with many voices and affected by layers of nuanced history of specific communities and the world writ large. By their very nature, theme studies such as this one often lend themselves to the minimization of cross-group connections and intersectional identities. Associating resources or buildings with one group of people over another “...runs the risk of denying the layering of history and the shared streets of the present.”<sup>5</sup> As described by historians Donna Graves and Gail Dubrow, “applying a single lens of gender, race or ethnicity, sexuality or any category of social analysis to the practice of historic preservation risks misrepresenting the layered histories of place and forecloses possibilities for political mobilization across identity lines in the interest of fostering greater social cohesion.”<sup>6</sup>

This is particularly true in a city like Long Beach, where many different cultural communities have settled in the city, and populations have waxed and waned over time. For example, the central area was primarily African American after World War II, but Japanese Americans and Chinese Americans both lived and worked in this area before the War. In the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, Cambodian Americans made their homes in areas overlapping those occupied by other communities. Other layers of history, including association with the LGBTQ community (outside the scope of this study) may also play a role in development patterns in the city. As such, even identified resources in this document may have a nuanced history that deserves in-depth exploration that is impractical to fully realize in a historic context statement. It is therefore important to note that this context statement is intended to document a particular aspect of history in the post-World War II era in Long Beach, but users of this document are

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<sup>4</sup> Donna Graves and Gail Dubrow, “Taking Intersectionality Seriously,” *The Public Historian* Vol. 41, No. 2, 290 (May 2019), 290.

<sup>5</sup> Graves and Dubrow, “Taking Intersectionality Seriously,” *The Public Historian*, 310.

<sup>6</sup> Graves and Dubrow, “Taking Intersectionality Seriously,” *The Public Historian*, 313.

encouraged to consider and embrace the concept of intersectionality in the study and discussion of the history of Long Beach.

### TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

The following identifies some important aspects of the approach to terminology for this context statement:

Over time, terms to describe the Latina/o communities have evolved. In recent years, the use of the term Latinx has increased in popularity as a non-gendered term describing both men and women whose heritage is tied to Latin American countries, including Mexico. However, recent studies have shown that many Latina/os do not identify with the term Latinx. During telephone interviews conducted for this context, participants were asked their preferred descriptive term. The majority of interviewees preferred Latina/o; therefore, in deference to them, we have elected to use this term in place of Latinx for purposes of this study.

The historic term Chicana/o is used throughout this context to represent the chosen identification of some persons of Mexican American descent, emphasizing an indigenous/mestizo heritage and anti-establishment political view during the 1960s and 1970s. The term Chicana/o was adopted by people of Mexican descent who did not fully identify as either as Mexican or American. At the time, the vast majority of Latina/os in Los Angeles were of Mexican American descent. In recent decades, immigrants from Latin America have created vibrant Guatemalan and Salvadoran communities in Southern California.

With respect to Japanese American history and sociology, generational terms are important for the reader to understand. The first-generation immigrants are known as *Issei*. They came to the U.S. between 1890 and 1924 and were steeped in Japanese culture and tradition. Few attended American schools, except for those who came specifically to pursue a college education. English proficiency varied among this generation. The children of Issei are the *Nisei*, or second generation. Nisei were born in the United States, primarily between 1910 and 1940. They grew up during the Great Depression and were teenagers during World War II. They attended local public schools, and many attended Japanese language schools (*gaku*en). The third generation is the *Sansei*, or members of the post-World War II baby boom. Many Sansei have American first names. Most came of age at the height of the student protest movement of the 1960s, and many attended college and became working professionals. The fourth generation is the *Yonsei*. They were born in the mid-1960s, came of age in the post-Watergate years, and had the highest rates of interracial marriage of any previous Japanese American generation.

Over time, the preferred vocabulary for describing events relating to World War II and Japanese Americans has evolved to reflect a more accurate and authentic terminology. As such, the terms forced removal, incarceration, temporary detention center, incarceration

camp, and illegal detention center are used to describe events and actions that may appear in previous historic documentation as internment, evacuation, and relocation.

With respect to the Filipino community, the spelling of Filipino with the letter “F” is the most commonly used to represent the people and language of the Philippines. When referring to the country and islands, the spelling of Philippines with the letters “Ph” is used because the name stems from Philip, the English equivalent of Felipe referring to Spanish King Felipe II for which the islands are named. People from the Philippines also refer to themselves and their national language as Pilipino with the letter “P,” as most Filipino language and dialects do not include phonetics for the letter “F.”<sup>7</sup>

When the U.S. Congress established Guam as a territory of the United States in 1950, the Guam Organic Act created the term “Guamanian” to distinguish and identify the residents of Guam. This gave rise to a problem of definition and identity for the indigenous Chamorro people of Guam with regard to language, customs, and traditions. Chamorro is a racial, ethnic, and cultural term that describes the indigenous people of the Marianas Islands. The indigenous people speak a common language called Chamorro. There is no Guamanian language. Individuals who have relocated to the mainland U.S. from Guam may identify themselves as Guamanian, Chamorro, or American. Herein, we use all of these terms to represent this cultural group.<sup>8</sup>

The reader may also find the following commonly used abbreviations useful:

CSULB	California State University, Long Beach
CNCP	Center for New Corporate Practices
CORO	Council of Raza Organizations
FHA	Federal Housing Administration
FHF	Fair Housing Foundation
HOLC	Home Owners Loan Corporation
HRC	Human Relations Committee
JACL	Japanese American Citizens League
LARB	Los Angeles Real Estate Board
LBUSD	Long Beach Unified School District
NAREB	National Association of Real Estate Boards
NAACP	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
UCRC	(Long Beach) United Civil Rights Committee

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<sup>7</sup> “Filipino, Pilipino, Pilipinas, Philippines- What’s the Difference?” Center for Philippine Studies, University of Hawaii, Manoa, <http://www.hawaii.edu/cps/filipino.html> (accessed February 4, 2020).

<sup>8</sup> Noreen Mokuau, *Handbook of Social Services for Asian Pacific Islanders*, (New York City: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1991), 172.

## **GEOGRAPHIC ORIENTATION**

The map in Figure 1 is intended to help orient the reader and provide general geographic context for the areas and neighborhoods discussed in this study. The map identifies each of the broadly defined Neighborhoods in the city. These Neighborhood monikers are referenced in this document; in particular the Westside, the Central neighborhood (which includes Zaferia), and East Long Beach. These areas are integral to the settlement patterns of cultural groups in the city and the eastward expansion of Long Beach in the post-World War II period. Note that the boundaries as delineated on this map were developed by the City for planning purposes only and do not strictly adhere to historic boundaries of certain neighborhoods.



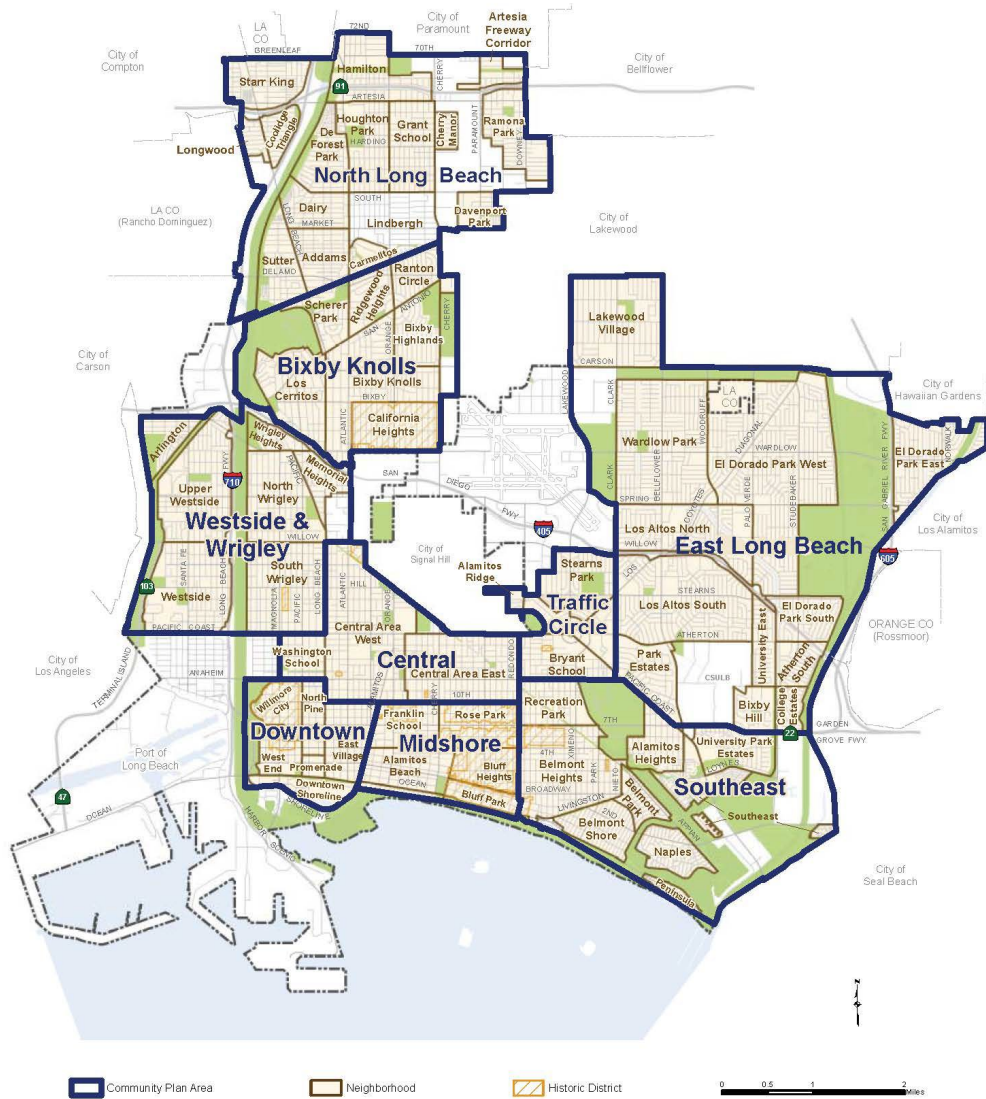


Figure 1. City of Long Beach Neighborhood Map. General delineation of community plan areas and neighborhoods used for planning purposes. Source: Long Beach Development Services, City of Long Beach General Plan: Land Use Element (December 2019), 49.



**PART II**  
**Historic Context**

*Aerial view of East Long Beach, 1947.  
Source: Long Beach Public Library*



## BACKGROUND: DISCRIMINATORY PRACTICES OF THE LATE 19<sup>TH</sup> AND EARLY 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURIES

*Racial segregation in housing was not merely a project of southerners in the former slaveholding Confederacy. It was a nationwide project of the federal government in the twentieth century designed and implemented by its most liberal leaders. Our system of official segregation was not the result of a single law that consigned African Americans to designated neighborhoods. Rather scores of racially explicit laws, regulations and government practices combined to create a nationwide system of urban ghettos, surrounded by white suburbs. Private discrimination also played a role, but it would have been considerably less effective had it not been embraced and reinforced by government.*<sup>9</sup>

Richard Rothstein, *The Color of Law*, 2017

*Long Beach was quite segregated when I first arrived [in 1930]. I saw signs in most of the café windows that said "We don't serve colored." There were only two places in downtown Long Beach where people could eat; Kress Department Store, which had a counter that served sandwiches and Owl Drug Store...Housing and jobs are the most sensitive areas in life that a person needs to be able to control. Those two things affect everything else; your surroundings, your ability to get what you need to live and your family. If you don't have choices in those matters, life isn't as good as it could be. Control over housing and jobs continue to keep people in their places, whether in Long Beach or any other place in America.*<sup>10</sup>

Ernest McBride, *Fighting for the People*, 2007

The patterns of development associated with Long Beach's cultural groups are common throughout Southern California cities and the rest of the country. Alien land laws, restrictive covenants (deed restrictions), segregation and White flight, redlining, and other discriminatory practices were tools at the federal, state, and local levels that supported and perpetuated systemic racism.<sup>11</sup> Early 20<sup>th</sup> century laws and other practices are discussed

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<sup>9</sup> Richard Rothstein, *The Color of Law* (New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2017), xii.

<sup>10</sup> Ernest McBride, Sr. and Sunny Nash, *Fighting for the People* (Long Beach, CA: KSUN Incorporated, 2007), 62-63.

<sup>11</sup> This study focuses on discriminatory practices of the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century; however, it is acknowledged that displacement dates to the initial European settlement of the area and the impact on the local Indigenous communities.

here as background for the study of the post-World War II intersection of suburbanization and race that is the subject of this context.<sup>12</sup>

Documented discrimination against Chinese Americans dates back to the 1880s, when newspapers exacerbated local anti-Chinese sentiments by limiting coverage of the community to incidents of violence, opium abuse, gambling, and murder.<sup>13</sup> In 1887, an ordinance banning Chinese laundries was passed in Long Beach and resulted in the subsequent relocation of these establishments to outside the city limits. Xenophobia at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century against the “Yellow Peril” (primarily Chinese and Japanese immigrants) ranged from discriminatory signage to acts of violence.

California’s passage of the Alien Land Law of 1913 had a profound impact on the Japanese and Chinese communities. In response to anti-Asian sentiment, the law prohibited “aliens ineligible for citizenship” from owning land or holding long-term leases. In 1920, California took land laws a step further by passing an amendment to the law prohibiting short term leases to aliens ineligible for citizenship and prohibiting stock companies owned by aliens ineligible for citizenship from acquiring agricultural lands.<sup>14</sup> This had a profound impact on Japanese flower and produce growers in agricultural areas surrounding the City of Long Beach. Although some Japanese and Chinese residents developed workarounds for the laws by placing land in the name of their American-born children, these restrictive laws effectively prohibited Asians from participating in the real estate market and created generations of renters.

During the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, there is also documented evidence of overt racism against the local African American community, many of whom had migrated West to escape racism and violence in the South. In 1919, African American residents unsuccessfully protested a dunking booth at the Pike, the title of which involved a racial slur. Despite their efforts to remove it, the



Figure 2. Advertisement for Ku Klux Klan Parade in Long Beach. Source: Press-Telegram, September 30, 1926.

<sup>12</sup> Many of the details of discrimination in Long Beach during the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries are excerpted from the City of Long Beach, “Timeline of Racial Inequities in Long Beach,” <http://www.longbeach.gov/health/healthy-living/office-of-equity/reconciliation/equity-timeline/> (accessed July 13, 2020). The timeline was developed as part of the City’s “Framework for Reconciliation in Long Beach” that launched in the Summer of 2020 to address “racism as a public health crisis, the need to restore public trust in City government, and how to reconcile the experiences of impacted and vulnerable people with current City policies, especially the Black community.”

<sup>13</sup> City of Long Beach, “Timeline of Racial Inequities in Long Beach.”

<sup>14</sup> “Alien Land Laws,” Densho Encyclopedia, [http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Alien\\_land\\_laws](http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Alien_land_laws) (accessed March 11, 2020).

game remained at the Pike into the 1950s.<sup>15</sup> In the 1920s, the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) was a powerful force in the city. They held open rallies, including a 1926 parade of 30,000 Klansmen that started in Bixby Park and marched down Ocean Boulevard, during a national KKK convention that was being held in the city at that time. It is estimated that 5,000 of the marchers were local.<sup>16</sup> In oral history passed down through generations of Black families, there are stories of intimidation by local Klan members in the city.<sup>17</sup>



Figure 3. Levi H. Howard boarding house, 1028 12<sup>th</sup> Street, 2020. Source: Historic Resources Group.

The next ten years would see the rise of White resistance to the efforts of Black residents to secure rental and housing ownership in Long Beach. These ranged from complaints that people who would rent or sell to Blacks were doing it “to get even with neighbors,” to outright defiance and threats of force when the Second Baptist Church moved to the property it had purchased at 10th Street and Atlantic Avenue.<sup>18</sup> Meanwhile, Westside residents sought the approval of City Council to prevent

W.E. Meyers from building a “Colored Coney Island” in an area that was annually leased to Blacks for picnics and outings.<sup>19</sup> In the 1930s, African Americans who migrated to Long Beach were often steered to boarding houses on 12<sup>th</sup> Street for temporary lodging, including one at 1028 12<sup>th</sup> Street (altered).<sup>20</sup>

## PUBLIC HOUSING

In the 1930s, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt’s New Deal created the nation’s first public housing for civilians who were not engaged in defense work.<sup>21</sup> These projects contributed to institutionalized racism, as these federally-funded projects either constructed separate housing developments for African Americans, segregated buildings within individual developments by race, or excluded African Americans entirely from being able to reside in certain housing projects.<sup>22</sup> The net result was that these Public Works Administration (PWA) projects pushed cities into more rigid segregation than would have existed otherwise.

<sup>15</sup> City of Long Beach, “Timeline of Racial Inequities in Long Beach.”

<sup>16</sup> City of Long Beach, “Timeline of Racial Inequities in Long Beach.”

<sup>17</sup> Sharon Diggs Jackson, telephone interview with the author, May 5, 2022.

<sup>18</sup> City of Long Beach, “Timeline of Racial Inequities in Long Beach.”

<sup>19</sup> City of Long Beach, “Timeline of Racial Inequities in Long Beach.”

<sup>20</sup> An example of a segregated boarding house was the Levi H. Howard residence at 1028 12<sup>th</sup> Street (altered). This boarding house is where Ernest McBride stayed upon his arrival in Long Beach per his memoir, *Fighting for the People*.

<sup>21</sup> Federal housing projects for war workers date back to World War I.

<sup>22</sup> Rothstein, *The Color of Law*, 18-19.

In 1940, Congress adopted the Defense Housing and Community Facilities and Services Act, commonly known as the Lanham Act, which financed housing for workers in defense industries. In some cities, the government provided war housing only for Whites, leaving African Americans to find housing in existing, congested Black areas. In other cases, the government built segregated housing. Examples of both types of development can be found in Long Beach.

Public housing projects constructed just before the United States' entry into World War II played a significant role in segregation and the resettlement of Long Beach after the war. Public housing projects across the United States often displaced existing low-income communities in urban areas. This does not appear to have been the case in Long Beach, where vacant unincorporated land was used for new public housing projects. Long Beach's public housing



Figure 4. Aerial photograph of Carmelitos housing project, 1939.  
Source: Historical Society of Long Beach.

projects are introduced here as background for the later discussion of substandard housing conditions encountered by the city's African American, Japanese American, and Latina/o communities.

Built in 1939, the Carmelitos housing project was the first affordable housing project in the area. It was built by the Los Angeles County Housing Authority on what was then unincorporated county land.<sup>23</sup> The project comprised 88 two-story multi-family residential buildings with a total of 607 units; it was bounded on the north by Lindbergh Junior High School, on the south by the Union Pacific Railroad tracks, on the west by Atlantic Avenue, and on the east by Orange Avenue.<sup>24</sup> Designed by Cecil Schilling and Kenneth S. Wing, the first of the apartments were constructed of reinforced concrete. With materials shortages brought on by World War II, the architects switched to wood and cement plaster for the remaining units. In October 1941, Carmelitos was opened to defense workers by raising the maximum income allowed for residents.<sup>25</sup> By 1958, Carmelitos housed 1,000 adults and 2,000 children.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>23</sup> It was annexed into the City of Long Beach in April 1971.

<sup>24</sup> City of Los Angeles, Department of City Planning, Office of Historic Resources, *SurveyLA: African American Historic Context Statement*, February 2018, 114.

<sup>25</sup> "Carmelitos Project Opened to Civilian Defense Workers," *Press-Telegram*, October 12, 1941.

<sup>26</sup> "Carmelitos Area Annex Pros, Cons Discussed," *Independent Press-Telegram*, January 14, 1958.



Figure 5. Truman Boyd Manor (now American Gold Star Manor), 2020.  
Source: Historic Resources Group.

In 1940, the second Los Angeles County Housing Authority project in Long Beach was constructed. Named Savannah Family Housing (2201 Seabright Avenue, demolished), the 40-acre tract provided 200 duplex units, 22 eight-family units, and 23 four-family units.<sup>27</sup> Although the exact timing is unclear, it appears that the complex started housing Navy personnel sometime during the war.<sup>28</sup>

During World War II, the construction of housing projects for war workers and military personnel resulted in other projects in Long Beach. Truman Boyd Manor (3021 N. Gold Star Drive, altered), consisting of 1,000 units, was constructed in 1941 as temporary housing for defense workers and armed services personnel.<sup>29</sup> Lexington Defense Housing (2390 Grand Avenue, demolished) was built in 1945 to house Navy families. It was located on an irregularly-shaped tract of land roughly bordered by Vernon Street on the north, East 23<sup>rd</sup> Street on the south, Miramar Avenue on the east, and Grand Avenue on the west. It consisted of 38 wood frame, stucco-clad apartment buildings on concrete slab foundations.<sup>30</sup>

According to the *Long Beach Citywide Historic Context Statement*, “By 1945, the city had 11 housing projects built for both military and civilian defense workers.”<sup>31</sup> One of these projects was the Cabrillo Homes War Emergency Housing Complex (2001 River Avenue, demolished). Divided into three tracts, Cabrillo 1 and Cabrillo 2 were for White residents, and Cabrillo 3 was reserved for African Americans.<sup>32</sup> Cabrillo 1 (1,000 units) was built as “permanent” structures, whereas Cabrillo 2 (300 units) was a mix of permanent and temporary structures,

<sup>27</sup> “U.S. Housing Officials Hit on Project Neglect,” *Independent Press-Telegram*, May 14, 1975.

<sup>28</sup> Savannah Housing was occupied until late 1974, after which time the U.S. Government demolished the buildings and sold the land for redevelopment.

<sup>29</sup> In 1953, the American Gold Star Mothers Foundation purchased the 93-acre property. It became the National Home for Gold Star Mothers (a.k.a., American Gold Star Manor) a living facility for the mothers of military service personnel killed on active duty. In 1973, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development provided \$6 million to completely rebuild the complex.

<sup>30</sup> By 1968, the development was called out as “utterly filthy” by the City Park Commission. It was demolished in the mid-1970s in favor of light-industrial use. “Navy Project Assailed as Filthy,” *Independent Press-Telegram*, January 4, 1968.

<sup>31</sup> City of Long Beach, Development Services Department, *City of Long Beach: Citywide Historic Context Statement*, prepared by Sapphos Environmental, Inc., July 10, 2009, 128.

<sup>32</sup> Various historical sources identify the different tracts with a numeral, a word or Roman numeral. The nomenclature used here is reflective of that used in the *Independent Press-Telegram*.



and Cabrillo 3 (300 units over 25 acres) consisted of only temporary structures. It was completed in April 1944 and was the last of the emergency housing centers for war workers.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> "List of Federal Housing Projects in Long Beach," in "Housing 1940s" clippings file, Special Collections, Long Beach Public Library.



## COVENANTS, LENDING DISCRIMINATION, AND OTHER EXCLUSIONARY PRACTICES

Private developers participated in institutionalized racism by prescribing and enforcing racially restrictive covenants to new developments in the 1920s and 1930s in cities across the country, including in Long Beach. Restrictive covenants were legal clauses written into property deeds prohibiting the sale of property to individuals based on race, religion, or ethnicity. In many cases, restrictive covenants dictated that the owner could only sell or rent a property to “Caucasians,” otherwise the owner could lose the property.<sup>34</sup> In some covenants, the excluded groups were mentioned by name, and invariably included African Americans, Mexicans, Asians, and Jews. A typical covenant lasted for 20 to 50 years.<sup>35</sup> Local, state, and federal jurisdictions all became involved in promoting and enforcing restrictive covenants. Restrictive covenants were challenged in the California and U.S. Supreme Courts in 1919 and 1926, but were ultimately upheld as constitutional, which unleashed their widespread use across the United States. The use of covenants diminished after 1948, when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Shelley v. Kraemer* that it was unconstitutional for courts to enforce the agreements. In 1953, the U.S. Supreme Court’s decision in *Barrow v. Jackson* further helped to curb their use, but it was not until the 1968 Fair Housing Act that restrictive covenants were deemed illegal.<sup>36</sup>

The real estate industry also reinforced discriminatory practices and the “color line.” In 1924, the National Association of Real Estate Boards established a “code of ethics” which prohibited realtors from introducing “members of any race or nationality” to a neighborhood if it would threaten property values. This resulted in the practice known as “steering”— not showing properties in White neighborhoods to people of color. The penalty for not adhering to the ethics code, which stayed in effect until the late 1950s, was loss of license.<sup>37</sup>

In his book *Freedom to Discriminate*, author Gene Slater details the ongoing role of realtors, and specifically realty boards, played in perpetuating segregation. From suggesting it was natural that “affinity groups” preferred to live amongst themselves, to promoting the property value argument, realtors increasingly sold and protected the idea of a homogeneity, harmony and common ideals that were appealing to those relocating from

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<sup>34</sup> The development of racial covenants dates back to developers Duncan McDuffie (1877-1951) in the Bay Area and J.C. Nichols (1880-1950) in Kansas City during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. For more on this, see Gene Slater, *Freedom To Discriminate: How Realtors Conspired to Segregate Housing and Divide America* (Berkeley, CA: Heyday, 2021), 56-62.

<sup>35</sup> *SurveyLA: African American Historic Context Statement*, 38.

<sup>36</sup> Douglas Flamming, *Bound for Freedom: Black Los Angeles in Jim Crow America* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2005), 69; Lawrence B. De Graaf and Quintard Taylor, “Introduction,” in Lawrence B. De Graaf, Kevin Mulroy, and Quintard Taylor, eds., *Seeking Eldorado: African Americans in California* (Los Angeles: Autry Museum of Western Heritage, 2001), 3-69; Wendy Plotkin, “Restrictive Covenants,” in *Encyclopedia of American Urban History, Vol. 2*, ed. David Goldfield (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2007), 681.

<sup>37</sup> *SurveyLA: African American Historic Context Statement*, 40. As Richard Rothstein points out in his book, *The Color of Law*, the state licensure of these realtors did not make them government agents but in effect the state did contribute to *de jure* segregation by licensing organizations with these practices.

small town America.<sup>38</sup> In addition to the messaging campaign, realtors were quietly steering clients of color into mixed neighborhoods and perpetuating segregation.

Two New Deal housing initiatives, the Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC, founded in 1933) and the Federal Housing Administration (FHA, founded in 1934), were created by the government to encourage homeownership and protect homeowners at risk of foreclosure during the Great Depression. In practice, they only provided protection for the White community. Through an overt practice of denying mortgages based upon race and ethnicity, the FHA played a significant role in the legalization and institutionalization of racism and segregation.

The Federal Housing Administration (FHA) insured bank mortgages that covered 80 percent of purchase prices. To be eligible, the FHA conducted an appraisal of the property in order to select properties that had a low risk of default. The guidelines included a “Whites only” requirement. The FHA underwriting manual for its appraisers also recommended against “an infiltration of inharmonious racial or nationality groups,” and discouraged loans in older, urban neighborhoods.<sup>39</sup> The 1936 FHA *Underwriting Manual* recommended “deeds to properties for which it issued mortgage insurance should include an explicit prohibition of resale to African Americans.”<sup>40</sup>

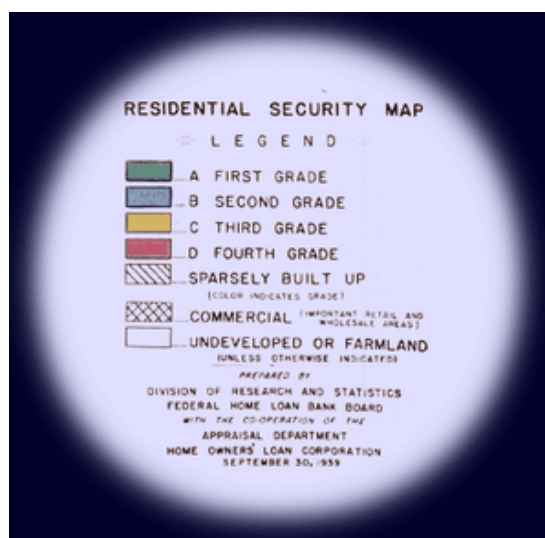


Figure 6: Key to HOLC “Residential Security Map.”

To fulfill their missions of refinancing mortgages and granting low-interest loans to those who had lost their homes, the agencies began rating neighborhoods as “security risks.” What emerged was a racial ranking of neighborhoods that relegated African American, Mexican, and Asian neighborhoods to the bottom. Although other factors such as class, the presence of industry, density, housing stock, and tax blight were also considered, racial composition was a key factor in ranking, or coloring, those neighborhoods red (as in *redlining*). These areas were barred from receiving federal assistance, effectively segregated, and plunged into a vicious circle of decline. The FHA’s original system for appraising risk used letter grades. “A” areas, in green, indicated areas where maximum loans were granted. “B” areas,

<sup>38</sup> Gene Slater, *Freedom To Discriminate: How Realtors Conspired to Segregate Housing and Divide America* (Berkeley, CA: Heyday, 2021), 69.

<sup>39</sup> Rothstein, *The Color of Law*, 67.

<sup>40</sup> Rothstein, *The Color of Law*, 84.

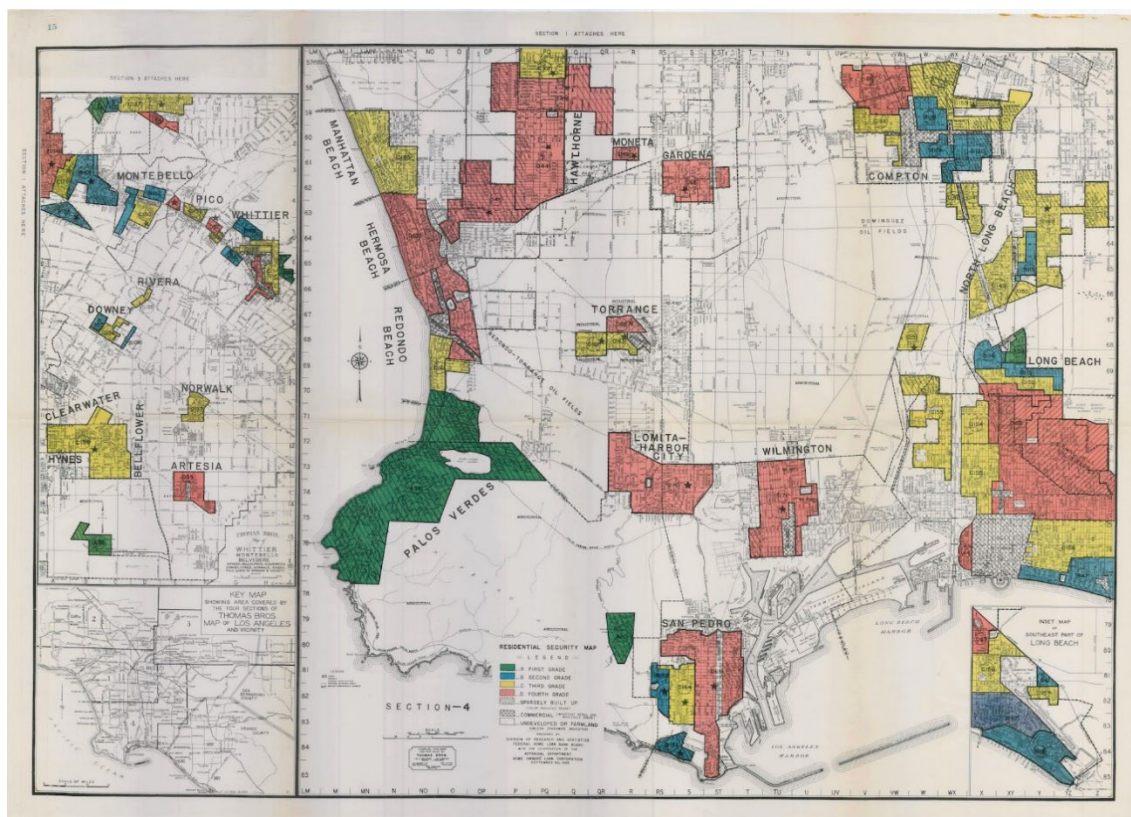


Figure 7: 1939 Redlining Map. Source: LaDale Winling and urbanoasis.org.

in blue, were not as desirable, but still considered relatively low risk. "C" areas, in yellow, were considered in decline. "D" areas, in red, were considered to be in full decline; properties in neighborhoods with a "D" rating were rejected for mortgage insurance.

The 1939 HOLC "redlining" map of Long Beach shows redlined neighborhoods of the Central area, West Long Beach, and the area north of Anaheim to the Signal Hill Oil Fields and eastward to the Pacific Coast Highway (see map in Figure 7). Rural areas of East Long Beach that were later annexed into the city were not included in the appraisal system.

Communities of color also often faced White violence and intimidation. In 1942, anti-Japanese sentiment, fueled by the attack on Pearl Harbor, led to the forced removal and incarceration of all people of Japanese heritage in the United States, regardless of their American citizenship, via Executive Order #9066.

As described in the article "A Vast War Establishment: World War II Comes to Long Beach," during World War II, the city "experienced a significant change in racial composition as African American job seekers flocked to the area and Japanese Americans were rounded up

and incarcerated for the duration of the war.”<sup>41</sup> These shifting populations would forever change the face of the city.

Patterns of institutionalized racial segregation in Long Beach were firmly established by the end of this period. With the end of World War II and the government looking to guarantee mortgages for returning servicemen, it built upon the FHA’s *Underwriting Manual* and the system in place. Racial discrimination, both systemized and on an individual basis, would continue to influence housing practices and the development of the built environment for decades.

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<sup>41</sup> Craig Hendricks and Julian Delgaudio, “A Vast War Establishment: World War II Comes to Long Beach,” *Southern California Quarterly* 99, no. 4 (Winter 2017): 446.

## SEGREGATION AND DISCRIMINATION IN LONG BEACH, 1941-1959

*A) No part of said property shall be sold, conveyed, rented or leased in whole or in part to any person of African or Asiatic descent or to any person not of the Caucasian race. B) No part of said property shall be used or occupied or permitted to be used or occupied in whole or in part by any person who is either wholly or partially of African or Asiatic descent or by any person not of the white Caucasian race, except that domestic servants, chauffeurs, or gardeners of other than the white or Caucasian race may live in or occupy the premises where their employer resides.<sup>42</sup>*

Protective Restrictions of the Members of Los Altos Association, Long Beach, c. 1956

*The magnitude of the economic and social loss with which we are confronted is appalling...The insistence of some Negroes upon moving into areas previously restricted exclusively to the occupancy of Caucasians will necessarily create racial tensions...and do much harm to our national social structure.<sup>43</sup>*

Los Angeles Realty Board to National Association of Real Estate Boards, 1948

White flight,<sup>44</sup> and the practices of deed restrictions, redlining, and other discriminatory policies meant that minority populations coming to Long Beach during and after World War II – including the large influx of African Americans moving to the area for employment opportunities and the 1,000 Japanese Americans returning to Long Beach after incarceration – faced segregated housing conditions. Many public housing projects in Long Beach, which largely housed people of color, were demolished in the post-World War II period. Discriminatory practices embedded



*Figure 8. Lakewood Rancho Estates, exterior, c. 1954. One of 69 postwar subdivisions. Photograph by Maynard L. Parker. Source: Huntington Library.*

<sup>42</sup> Cara Mullio and Jennifer M. Volland, *Long Beach Architecture* (Santa Monica, CA: Hennessey + Ingalls, 2004), 35.

<sup>43</sup> Gene Slater, *Freedom to Discriminate*, 157.

<sup>44</sup> White flight refers to the large-scale migration of White people from areas becoming more racially or ethnically diverse. Starting in the 1950s and 1960s, the term became popular in the United States specifically in reference to White residents leaving racially mixed urban regions to more racially homogeneous suburban communities.



in governmental housing policies also presented obstacles to prospective African American homebuyers.

In the decades after the war, Long Beach was “transformed into a booming bedroom community of 10,000 homes.”<sup>45</sup> Virtually all of the new housing developments were subject to restrictive covenants and off limits to people of color.<sup>46</sup> Prior to the 1960s, Long Beach landlords and sellers could legally refuse to sell or rent to these populations. This included in neighborhoods with existing housing stock as well as new postwar housing developments.

## DISCRIMINATORY HOUSING PRACTICES DURING AND AFTER WORLD WAR II

In June 1941, President Roosevelt signed an executive order that outlawed hiring discrimination in the defense industry. This resulted in a large number of African Americans migrating to Long Beach from the Southeastern United States for defense jobs — specifically at the Long Beach Douglas Aircraft plant and in the ship-building industry at the port. As a result, between 1940 and 1950, Long Beach saw a 600 percent increase in its African American population from approximately 600 to over 4,000 residents.<sup>47</sup> Housing for the defense workers was a significant issue in a city already reeling from the impact of a rapidly growing wartime federal presence.

Existing military and defense housing in Long Beach created *de facto* integrated housing conditions during the war. Longtime Long Beach resident and historian Claudine Burnett remembers African American and other minority residents at the Savannah, Truman Boyd, and Cabrillo housing projects.<sup>48</sup> By 1953, the *Independent Press-Telegram* reported that all 1,200 tenants in Cabrillo 3 and 900 of the 1,200



Figure 9. News article about evictions from Cabrillo 3. Source: “Where Will They Go from Cabrillo?” *Independent Press-Telegram*, August 2, 1953.

<sup>45</sup> City of Long Beach, Development Services Department, *City of Long Beach: Citywide Historic Context Statement*, prepared by Sapphos Environmental, Inc., July 10, 2009, 49.

<sup>46</sup> A notable exception to this is Lakewood Rancho Estates, which at the time of its development in 1953 was outside the city limits of Long Beach. The Lakewood Rancho Estates tract was designed by Cliff May with architect Chris Choate. The planned community consisted of 600 dwellings on tree-lined streets and surrounded by large traffic arteries on all sides. The development catered to the middle-class, offering homes at \$11,000. Telephone interviews with original owners revealed that a few Latina/o families purchased homes in the development. No long-time residents remembered any African American or Japanese American neighbors living in the tract or attending nearby schools. However, if deed restrictions were present for the tract, they were selectively enforced. Note that the original CC&Rs were inaccessible for this project due to COVID-19 restrictions which limited access to archives.

<sup>47</sup> Craig Hendricks and Julian Delgaudio, “A Vast War Establishment: World War II Comes to Long Beach,” *Southern California Quarterly* 99, no. 4 (Winter 2017): 454.

<sup>48</sup> Claudine Burnett, “1968-The Year That Changed America,” *Signal Tribune*, June 7, 2019, <https://signaltribunenewspaper.com/42237/commentary/martin-luther-king-jr-robert-kennedy/> (accessed November 16, 2019).

tenants in Cabrillo 2 were “minority.”<sup>49</sup> In 1950, the *California Eagle* reported that there was a “Mason-Dixon border line across Pacific Coast Highway and Santa Fe Avenue,” separating Cabrillo 1 from Cabrillo 3.<sup>50</sup> By 1957, there were approximately 35 Japanese-born Navy wives living in the Savannah and Cabrillo projects in West Long Beach, and Lexington project in East Long Beach.<sup>51</sup>

During the 1950s, there were several attempts to sell the housing projects. In August 1953, eviction notices were given to residents of 600 units of Cabrillo 2 and 3 and tenants were given six months to move. Initially, it was suggested that evicted tenants be moved into Cabrillo 1 or to the Truman Boyd housing project (which was sold that same year, effectively removing that option). By January 1954, residents of only 112 of the 600 units remained — mostly African American families with more than four children who were unable to find other rental housing.<sup>52</sup> Many African American residents were forced to relocate to the city of Compton, which by then had an open housing policy.<sup>53</sup> Those who stayed were moved into the Central district. In 1955, Cabrillo 2 and 3 were demolished.

African Americans who did not live in public housing during and immediately after the war primarily resided in the Central neighborhood. Those who were able to purchase homes in the area faced the continued impacts of the Central neighborhood having been redlined, as well as additional lending restrictions that continued the racist practices put in place in the 1930s, including “contract sales.” Because FHA restrictions would not insure the homes of Black buyers, these policies often resulted in the sale of homes on inflated “installment plans” in which no equity accumulated. The contracts provided that the ownership would transfer to purchasers after fifteen or twenty years, but if a single monthly payment was late, the seller could evict the would-be owner, who had accumulated no equity in the process. Contract sales often resulted in couples working double shifts to make payments and to defer maintenance. It



Figure 10. Ernest S. McBride residence, 1461 Lemon Avenue, 2020. Source: Historic Resources Group.

<sup>49</sup> George Weeks, “New Tenants Face Ban in Housing Units,” *Independent Press-Telegram*, May 3, 1953. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and an Anti-Discrimination Committee consisting primarily of African Americans, challenged the segregation at Cabrillo 3.

<sup>50</sup> Claudine Burnett, *African Americans in Long Beach and Southern California: A History*, (Bloomington, IN, AuthorHouse, 2021), 281.

<sup>51</sup> Bob Whearley, “Japan Comes to City in L.B. Bookmobile,” *Independent Press-Telegram*, December 12, 1957.

<sup>52</sup> “Seek Cabrillo Eviction Deadline Move,” *Independent Press-Telegram*, January 27, 1954.

<sup>53</sup> An open housing policy meant that people of color were not restricted from living there.

also meant that people were tied to their properties long-term, with no ability to move. In his memoir, Ernest McBride, Sr. (1909-2007) related his own experience with a contract sale for the purchase of his house at 1461 Lemon Avenue (extant; Long Beach Historic Landmark). In the book, McBride details extensive negotiations with the realtor, who inflated the price of the house. Ultimately, he purchased it for \$9,500, with \$3,000 down and \$90 per month.<sup>54</sup>

By the end of the 1950s, there was “grudging acceptance” of the fair housing rights of Latina/os. By 1960, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights concluded unanimously that housing discrimination in California was “largely a Negro problem” rather than one affecting Asian and Mexican Americans.<sup>55</sup>

## POSTWAR DEVELOPMENT OF EAST LONG BEACH

### Introduction

As described in the *City of Long Beach Historic Context Statement*, vast acres of agricultural lands to the north and northeast of downtown Long Beach were redeveloped as suburban residential neighborhoods after World War II.<sup>56</sup> Large swaths of land were annexed into the city from the 1950s – 1970s. This was a transformational period that increased the area of the city by 15 square miles—a 50 percent increase in Long Beach’s physical footprint. This area, which became known as East Long Beach, developed differently than pre-World War II Long Beach, mirroring the postwar development patterns across Southern California as an influx of residents created an unprecedented demand for new single-family housing.



Figure 11. Aerial photograph of Lakewood Rancho Estates, view facing north, 1954. Source: Cliff May papers, Architecture and Design Collection. Art, Design & Architecture Museum; University of California, Santa Barbara.

The dramatic expansion of Long Beach in the post-World War II era comprised approximately 188 annexations, large and small, the vast majority of which took place during the 1950s. The rapid pace continued during the 1960s, but activity slowed significantly during the 1970s. As a result of all of this activity, developers changed the face of residential development in Long Beach.

The City of Long Beach had already started to annex surrounding land in the late 1940s; however, activity was slow until the ensuing decades. Between 1945 and 1949,

<sup>54</sup> McBride and Nash, *Fighting for the People*, 72-75.

<sup>55</sup> Slater, *Freedom to Discriminate*, 173.

<sup>56</sup> Sapphos Environmental, Inc., *City of Long Beach Historic Context Statement*, July 10, 2009, 121. While this is not a comprehensive list of Long Beach tract development during the postwar period, it does represent the broad patterns of home development and suburbanization that characterized Long Beach in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century.



1,018 acres were annexed into the City. Only three of these annexations were in excess of 100 acres. Between 1950 and 1959, 6,987 acres were added to Long Beach—approximately six times the acreage of the previous period. The 325-acre Lakewood Rancho Estates, designed by Cliff May with architect Chris Choate and annexed in 1953, represented a significant addition to the city. Eight other annexations during this period were in excess of 200 acres each, including some non-residential acreage, notably the land comprising the present-day CSULB and El Dorado Park. Other large annexations from the period were located around CSULB, including Bixby Hill and the area south of 7<sup>th</sup> Street (now University Park Estates and Bixby Village).

As the map in Figure 12 shows, these additions were primarily located to the northeast of downtown, transforming former agricultural lands into the ultimate California cash crop: tract houses. Many of these neighborhoods were subject to single-family residential zoning, which made it illegal to build multi-family residences on parcels in the new subdivisions. Although the zoning laws were “adopted ostensibly to preserve neighborhood character, they have also had the effect of perpetuating or increasing racial and economic segregation.”<sup>57</sup> Even after the Fair Housing Act was enacted in 1968, these restrictive zoning laws effectively perpetuated housing segregation in postwar subdivisions like those in East Long Beach.

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<sup>57</sup> Will White, “The History and Future of Single Family Zoning,” United Way Bay Area, April 15, 2021, <https://www.uwba.org/blog/stories/the-history-and-future-of-single-family-zoning> (accessed September 2021).

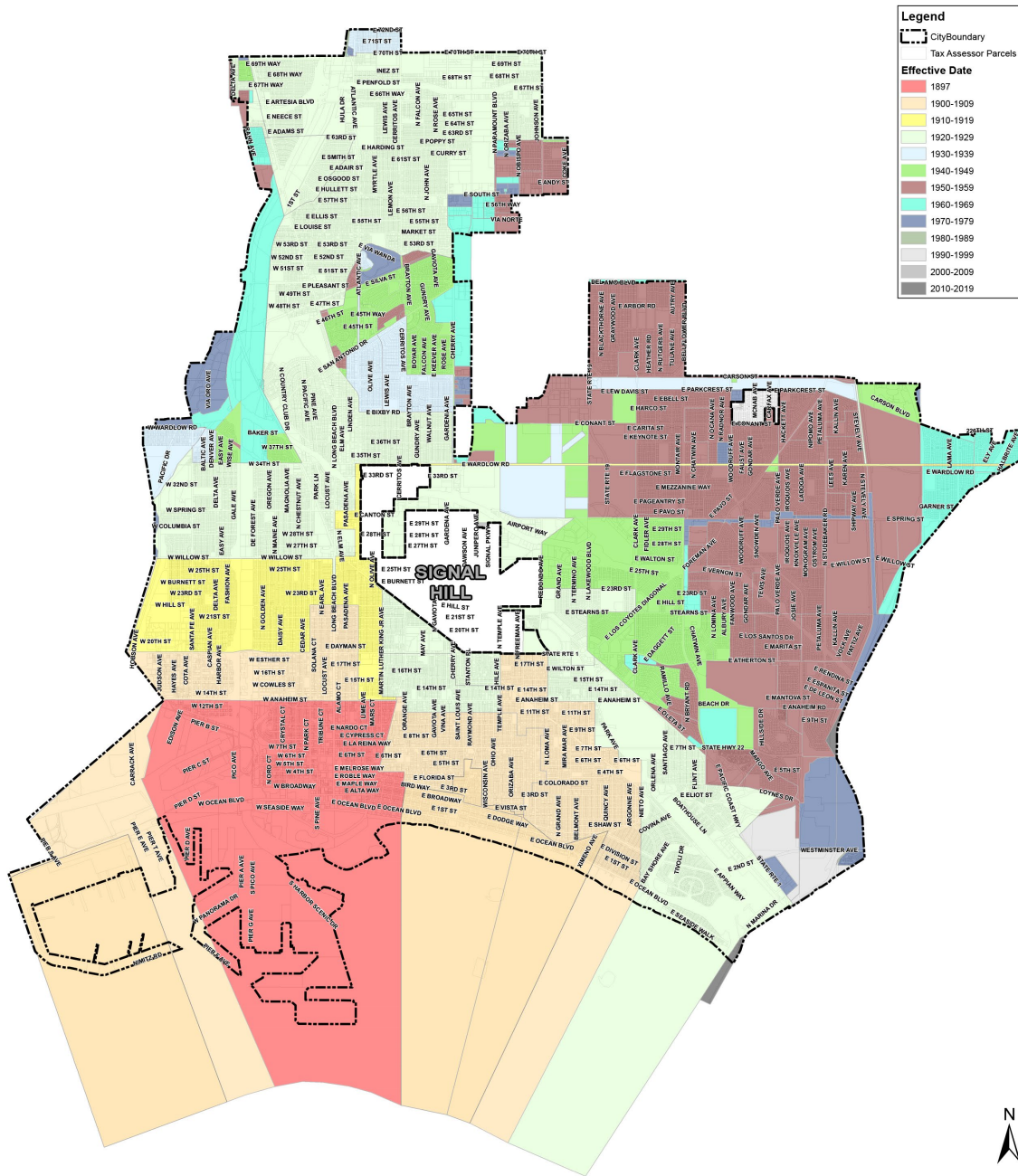


Figure 12. Long Beach annexation map by decade. Annexations representing the eastern expansion of the city from 1950-1959 shown in brown. Compiled by Historic Resources Group with data from the County of Los Angeles.

The establishment of Long Beach State College (originally named Los Angeles-Orange County State College; present-day California State University, Long Beach) in East Long Beach in 1949 was another factor in postwar housing tensions as a result of the restrictive covenants in the surrounding residential neighborhoods which meant that professors of color recruited to teach at the school faced difficulty finding nearby housing. Documented examples of housing discrimination of the faculty include the struggles of Nathan Huggins, a history professor, in 1962; Joseph L. White, a psychology professor, in 1964; Dr. Fillmore Freeman, a chemistry professor, in 1967; and Ora Williams, an English professor, in 1969, none of whom could find a place to live in the predominantly White neighborhoods near the campus.<sup>58</sup> Low turnover in these new tracts also contributed to a lack of housing. Overall, placement of the campus far away from the Long Beach neighborhoods in which diverse people lived contributed to education accessibility issues as well as impacted automobile traffic patterns.



Figure 13. Aerial view of California State University, Long Beach, facing northwest, 1960. Source: Los Angeles Public Library.

### Overview of Postwar Residential Developments in Long Beach

One of the earliest post-World War II residential tract developments in Long Beach was Silverado Park. Located at Wardlow Road and Delta Avenue, the development consisted of 560 three-bedroom homes, designed by local architect Hugh Gibbs, AIA. The homes were offered to Navy dry-dock employees for \$8,850 each.<sup>59</sup> Park Circle, another early postwar development, subdivided in 1949 along Park Avenue at Pacific Coast Highway, offered more than 60 two- and three-bedroom homes, ranging in price from \$8,300 to \$9,400.<sup>60</sup>

In the spring of 1950, veteran homebuying incentives were strengthened by the revised financing plan made possible under Section 213 of the National Housing Act. The new plan made homeownership possible for families who otherwise would be unable to afford it by offering low monthly payments. Long Beach developer L.S. Whaley, head of the Home Investment Company, described the effect of the new legislation, saying, "Long Beach will be one of the major residential construction areas in Los Angeles County during 1950...The outlook is further brightened by the prospect of new mortgage financing for straight G.I. loans. Some 13,750 new homes for the north east and east sections of Long Beach are on

<sup>58</sup> Aaron L. Day and Indira Hale Tucker, *The Heritage of African Americans in Long Beach* (West Conshohocken, PA: Infinity Publishing, 2007), 3.

<sup>59</sup> "More Than \$200,000 Volume of Homes Quickly Sold," *Los Angeles Times*, October 10, 1948, E5.

<sup>60</sup> "65 Park Circle Homes Slated by Christmas," *Los Angeles Times*, November 6, 1949, F6.

the drawing boards.”<sup>61</sup> Whaley’s predictions proved to be correct – as noted above, Long Beach experienced record-setting residential development throughout the 1950s, peaking in 1954 and 1955.<sup>62</sup>



Figure 14. Lloyd Whaley (right) and others gathered around plans for Los Altos Manor, no date. Source: *Historic Long Beach*.

In 1950, the FHA established an office in Long Beach to oversee the financing and construction of FHA projects in the area. The first Long Beach tract authorized by the FHA was Lloyd Whaley’s Los Altos Manor (now referred to as Los Altos), on former Rancho Los Alamitos land.<sup>63</sup> Located on Bellflower Boulevard and bounded by Stearns Street to the south, Lakewood Boulevard to the west, and Los Coyotes Diagonal to the north, the first phase of Los Altos Manor, constructed c. 1950, consisted of 139 two- and three-bedroom homes,

primarily designed in the Ranch style. The location was convenient to the growing Long Beach State College (present-day CSULB) and proved so successful that it inspired two additional subdivisions in 1954. The expansion included a section with custom homes, each valued at \$50,000.<sup>64</sup> Additional amenities, such as the Los Altos Center at the southeast corner of Stearns Street and Bellflower Boulevard (Welton Becket, 1953-1955; expanded 1964) were constructed by the L.S. Whaley Company to cater to new residents in the Los Altos neighborhood.

Lakewood Park Mutual Homes, located just outside of the City of Long Beach, was the first housing development on the west coast to accept the revised financing plan made possible by the amended National Housing Act.<sup>65</sup> The neighborhood, originally subdivided in 1945, continued development into the 1950s, ultimately consisting of 17,150 two- and three-bedroom homes on 3,430 acres.<sup>66</sup> The success of this subdivision in the adjacent Lakewood area likely influenced the development of new subdivisions within the City of Long Beach under the revised financing plan.

Although many developments that took advantage of Section 213 of the National Housing Act were targeted toward veterans, it is well documented that servicemen of color across the

<sup>61</sup> “Great New Building Activity Predicted for Long Beach,” *Los Angeles Times*, November 27, 1949, E3.

<sup>62</sup> “Southland Home Building Record Set,” *Los Angeles Times*, August 6, 1959, C8.

<sup>63</sup> Sapphos Environmental, Inc., *City of Long Beach Historic Context Statement*, July 10, 2009, 123.

<sup>64</sup> “Los Altos Continuing Progress is Described,” *Los Angeles Times*, April 11, 1954, E4.

<sup>65</sup> “Extensive Tract’s Financing Plan Lauded,” *Los Angeles Times*, August 12, 1951, E4.

<sup>66</sup> Sapphos Environmental, Inc., *City of Long Beach Historic Context Statement*, July 10, 2009, 123.

country were often denied the G.I. benefits that their White counterparts enjoyed.<sup>67</sup> Through both restrictive covenants and discriminatory lending practices by the financial institutions that made and serviced G.I. loans, veterans of color were denied access to housing in these developments.

S&S Construction developed several large tracts in East Long Beach in the 1960s. The Beverly Hills-based firm was the largest subsidiary of Shapell Industries Inc., one of the nation's largest home builders and community developers. By 1974, Shapell developed more than 20,000 homes throughout California and Colorado.<sup>68</sup>

In 1960, the College Park Estates development (now University Park Estates) was completed. Located south of 7th Street, across from Long Beach State College (CSULB), the development

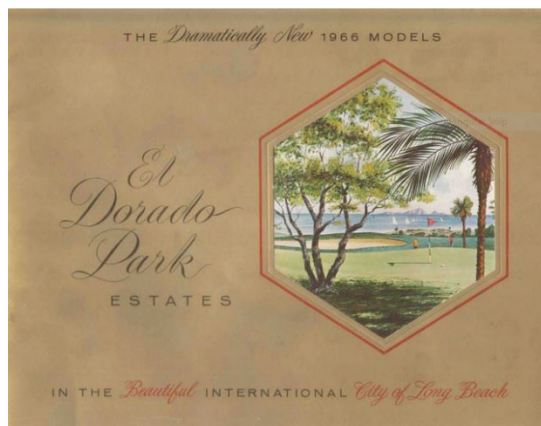


Figure 15. El Dorado Park Estates Brochure, 1966. Source: Activerain.

consisted of seven plans with 28 exterior styles, designed by architect Richard Leitch. The development featured residences ranging from 1,452 to 2,293-square-feet, for a price ranging from \$22,950 to \$33,900.<sup>69</sup> El Dorado Park Estates, also by S&S Construction, was one of the largest residential developments constructed in Long Beach in the early 1960s. The \$40-million building project was located on 300 acres bounded the San Gabriel River Freeway to the west and Norwalk Boulevard to the east, extending northward from Spring Street for approximately 1 mile. The development consisted of 1,360 single-family homes and 400 apartments. The homes featured three- and four-bedroom plans and prices ranging from \$16,000 to \$20,000. As a result of the number of new residents in the area, institutional and commercial amenities were constructed to serve the growing population. This included the Douglas A. Newcomb School and a nearby commercial district.<sup>70</sup>

As a result of the largely single-family residential development that characterized the area, the eastern portion of the City of Long Beach is markedly different than pre-World War II Long Beach. Even commercial development in this part of the city is distinct from that of the rest of the city, with the development of low-rise neighborhood shopping centers negating the need to drive to downtown Long Beach for services. East Long Beach was almost exclusively developed for homeownership as opposed to rental units. The area's network of

<sup>67</sup> Erin Blakemore, "How the GI Bill's Promise Was Denied to a Million Black WWII Veterans," The History Channel, <https://www.history.com/news/gi-bill-black-wwii-veterans-benefits> (accessed August 10, 2021).

<sup>68</sup> "Bixby Hills Popularity Keyed to Prime Location," *Independent Press-Telegram*, June 30, 1974, 30.

<sup>69</sup> "Choice of Exteriors Offered at Project," *Los Angeles Times*, April 10, 1960, F9.

<sup>70</sup> "\$40 Million Tract Project to Be Started," *Los Angeles Times*, October 2, 1960, M2.

single-family residential developments features curvilinear streets; uniform lots, setbacks, and home sizes; and one- and two-story residences. The auto-oriented East Long Beach area has more parks, open space, and amenities than prewar neighborhoods. In addition, these neighborhoods exhibit more homogeneity in their design, as a result of the proliferation of the Ranch style, postwar suburban tract home. These neighborhoods, constructed prior to the 1968 Fair Housing Act (discussed in the next section), were built with racial covenants in place. In addition, the high price of home ownership, and the racist practices in the implementation of the GI Bill, including the difficulty of African American homeowners to get loans, also contributed to the continued racial segregation in these neighborhoods for decades to come.

### **INTERSECTION OF SUBURBANIZATION AND RACE**

The explicit and implicit racism in the postwar housing market and policies, combined with the exponential growth of the city starting in the 1950s, resulted in continued segregation of residential neighborhoods in Long Beach. This is evident in maps illustrating the concentrations of ethnic populations by census tract. Although the tracking of ethnic groups was handled differently in the 1950 and 1960 Censuses, Figure 16 clearly shows the concentration of African American residents in the Central area, and other communities of color on the Westside.<sup>71</sup> Figure 17 shows the growth and expansion of the Central area by 1960 as well as the presence of Latina/o and Asian populations on the Westside, particularly due to the presence of segregated public housing projects in that area. According to census data, the large postwar annexations on the east side of Long Beach were not populated by communities of color, as they were systematically excluded both by policies and market practices such as blockbusting and racial covenants.

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<sup>71</sup> In contemporary news articles, the Westside is often referred to as the “integrated westside” in reference to the area west of the Los Angeles River where both White residents and communities of color resided.



LOS ANGELES, CALIF., AND ADJACENT AREAS BY CENSUS TRACTS

Part 3.-Tracts in Long Beach city (1950)

LEGEND

- Other Non-white
- African American
- Both

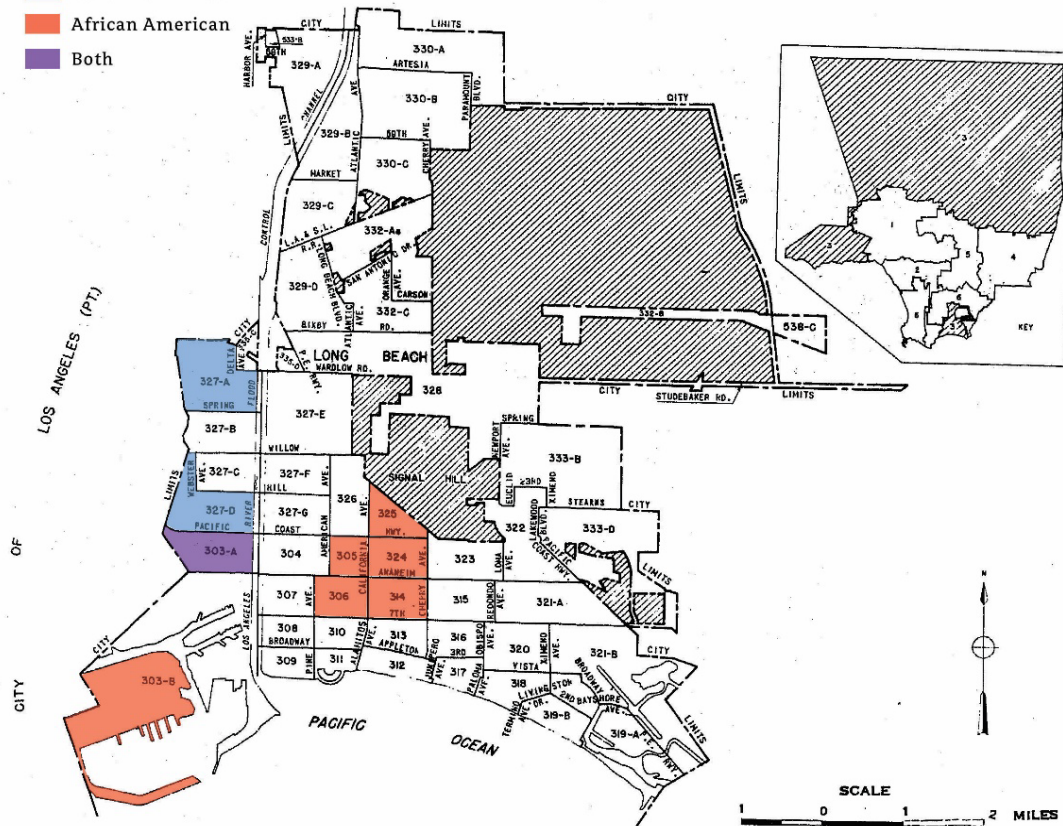


Figure 16. 1950 census tract map depicting the concentration of various groups throughout Long Beach. Source: "Census of Population: 1950, Volume II: Characteristics of the Population, Part 5 California." Color added by Historic Resources Group based on 1950 census data.

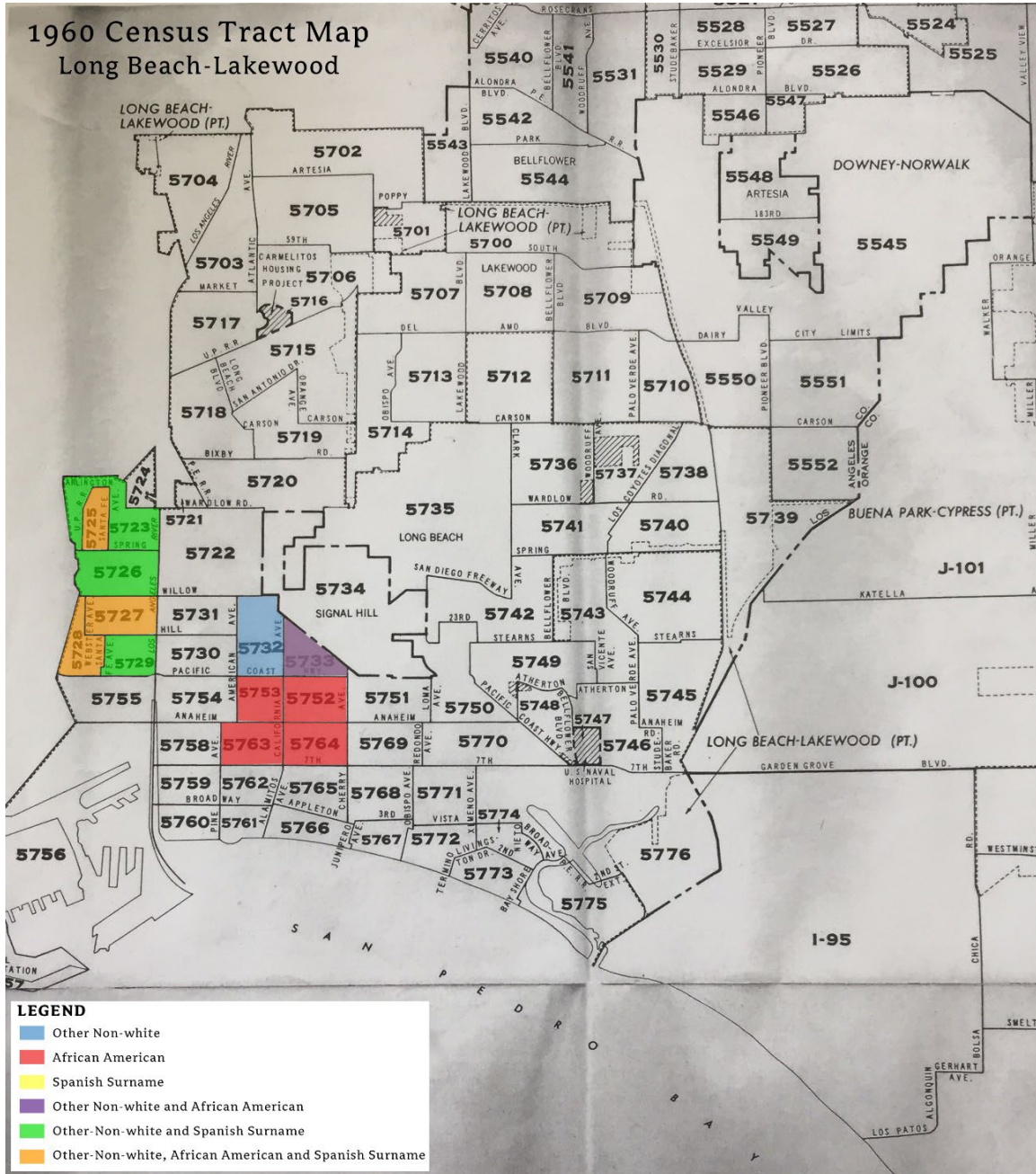


Figure 17. 1960 census tract map showing the concentration of various groups throughout Long Beach. Source: Santa Monica Public Library. Color added by Historic Resources Group based on census data from 1960.



## SUMMARY



Figure 18. 1941 aerial photograph of Long Beach near present-day CSULB. Source: Fairchild Aerial Surveys, Frame 1, C-7219, 1:9,600. University of California Santa Barbara Aerial Photography Collection.



Figure 19. 1965 aerial photograph of Long Beach near present-day CSULB. Source: Aerial Map Industries, Frame 571B, AMI-LA-65, 1:36,000. University of California Santa Barbara Aerial Photography Collection.

Whether in military or defense housing or the traditional real estate market, during this period segregation was the norm in Long Beach, despite advocates who tried to close the gaps. The aerials shown above illustrate the transformation of what is now East Long Beach from agricultural fields to suburbia as a result of the overwhelming demand and available funding and government resources for new housing after the war. Discriminatory covenants and racist practices meant that African Americans and other communities of color were largely excluded from participating in the American Dream offered by these new suburban neighborhoods. Even decades after restrictive covenants were deemed illegal to enforce, many covenants are still on record today, and residential neighborhoods in East Long Beach remained segregated due to the implicit racial bias in the homebuying process and the lack of protections for buyers. The right organization of persistent fair housing advocates would be needed to make a difference in the city.

## CIVIL RIGHTS & INTEGRATION IN LONG BEACH, 1960-1975

*Those who are working hardest to repeal fair housing legislation are those who made it necessary in the first place.*<sup>72</sup>

James K. Strong, 1963

In response to the Civil Rights Movement, Congress adopted laws designed to promote integration and equity in public accommodations, transportation, voting, employment, and housing. However, federal laws designed to address these issues were often less effective than more local efforts. States and local municipalities were powerful actors in the dynamic of segregation, influenced by community and activist groups. This was particularly true in the 1960s and 1970s.

During the 1960s, the California State Legislature passed several bills aimed at discrimination in business, employment, and housing. The Fair Housing Act of 1963, also known as the Rumford Act, made it illegal for “anyone selling, renting or leasing a residence to discriminate based on race, creed, color or national origin.”<sup>73</sup> As described in the report *Housing Long Beach*, “the law was not universally well received and realtor



Figure 20. Protestors marching against proposition 14 in Long Beach, c. 1964. Source: USC Archives.

home association groups in Long Beach collaborated with similar groups around the state to spearhead Proposition 14,” which aimed to repeal the Fair Housing Act.<sup>74</sup> In Long Beach, the 1964 passage of Proposition 14 was the catalyst for the formation of several community-based organizations to fight for equal housing, including the Fair Housing Foundation.

The organization of Long Beach realtors around Proposition 14 reflected a statewide and national pattern of perpetuating segregation by realtors. In his book, *Freedom to Discriminate*, author Gene Slater details decades long efforts by California realtors to

<sup>72</sup> Slater, *Freedom to Discriminate*, 315.

<sup>73</sup> Lawrence P. Crouchett, “Assemblyman W. Byron Rumford: Symbol for an Era,” *California History* 66, no 1 (1987): 19.

<sup>74</sup> “Housing Long Beach: A Brief Historical Context and Framework for Equitable Housing Policy in Long Beach,” <http://www.housinglb.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/HousingLB-Paper5-8-13.pdf> (accessed November 11, 2019), 2.

maintain segregated communities with the support of the National Association of Real Estate Boards (NAREB) and the Los Angeles Board of Realtors (LARB) leadership. These organizations developed unified messaging focused on the rights of homeowners as a patriotic freedom issue. An example of such an organized effort was around the “Property Owners’ Bill of Rights” endorsed by the California Real Estate Association and NAREB which included “the right to determine the acceptability and desirability of any prospective buyer of his property.”<sup>75</sup>

Realtor groups initially focused on two strategies in reaction to the Rumford Act: a referendum to repeal the law, and a state constitutional amendment. The latter won out as it would not only negate the Rumford Act, but also supersede the passage of other new legislation.

Despite the progress made through the 1960s, both on the local level and part of the broader Civil Rights Movement in the United States, Long Beach remained largely segregated. In November of 1965, the Ku Klux Klan was actively recruiting members in Long Beach, distributing business cards door-to-door in the city.<sup>76</sup>

By 1968, it was estimated that 12,000 African Americans were living in 3,000 units between 10<sup>th</sup> and Hill, and Atlantic and Walnut Avenues in the Central area.<sup>77</sup> A 1970 map of African American residents by census tract in Long Beach shows the concentration of this population on the Westside and widening Central area, as well as pockets in and around CSULB. By 1971, the Westside and Central areas contained more than half (57.9%) of the total non-White population of the city and more than three-fourths (76.5%) of the African American population.<sup>78</sup> While inroads were being made into East Long Beach, the percentage of African Americans in eastern Long Beach census tracts remained below 1%.

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<sup>75</sup> “Crusade to Aid Small Property Owners,” *Independent Press-Telegram*, March 3, 1963, R1; R5.

<sup>76</sup> Claudine Burnett, *African Americans in Long Beach and Southern California: A History*, (Bloomington, IN: AuthorHouse, 2021), 299.

<sup>77</sup> “LB Ghetto Needs Urgent,” *Independent Press-Telegram*, May 1, 1968.

<sup>78</sup> Community Analysis Program, “City of Long Beach California...A Condensed Progress Report,” July 1971, 12, in “Housing 1970s” clippings file, Special Collections, Long Beach Public Library.

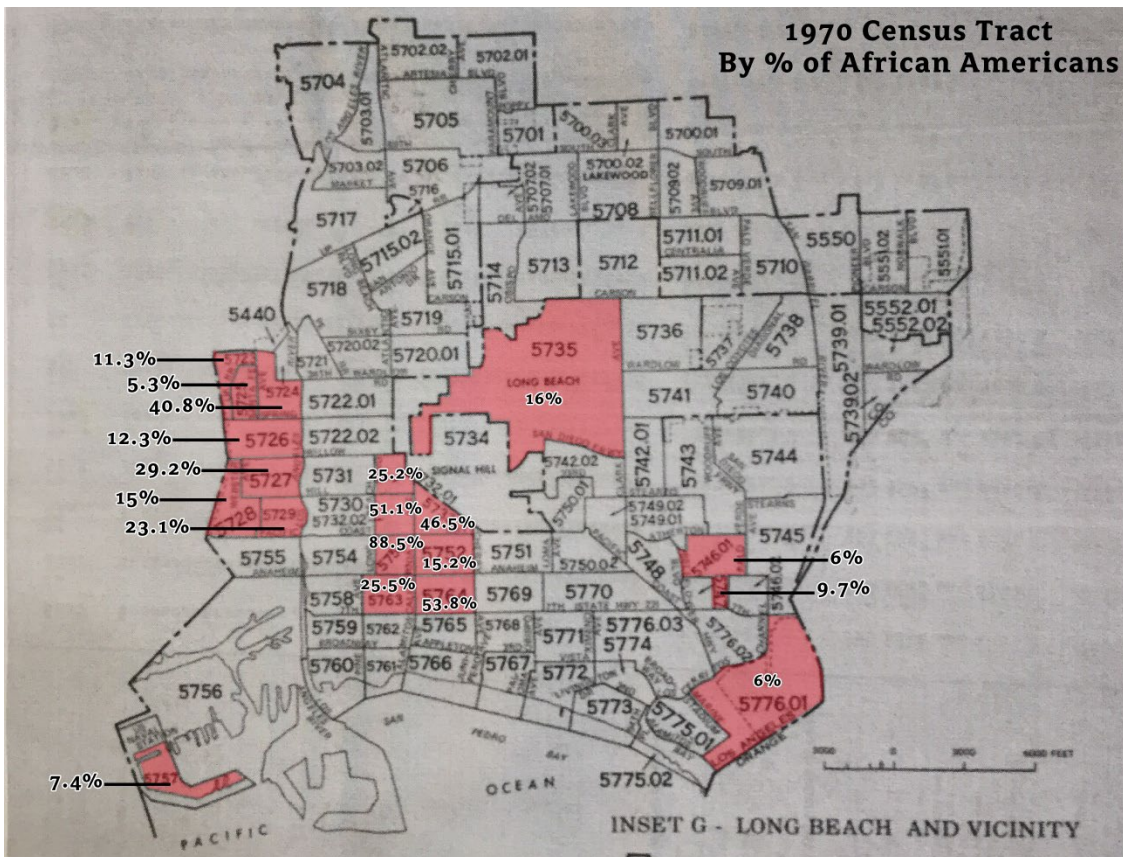


Figure 21. Map of African American residents by census tract in Long Beach, 1970. Color added by Historic Resources Group based on 1970 census data.



## HOUSING & CIVIL RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS

### Long Beach Council of Churches

In the early 1960s, the Long Beach Council of Churches took up the mantle to fight housing discrimination in the city. In July 1963, the group campaigned on behalf of fair housing and to create resources for people of color. The first order of business was to establish “a clearinghouse for information on housing that is available without discrimination and a complaint center to receive reports of restrictive practices in rentals or sales.”<sup>79</sup>

Reverend Donald Cooke, of North Long Beach Methodist Church, and Reverend Robert Walker, of the First Church of the Brethren, led efforts to formulate an open housing covenant in which residents pledged themselves to nondiscrimination. The housing information clearinghouse was operated by Mrs. Carole A. Taube from her residence at 4353 Hazelbrook Avenue (extant). The complaint center was located in nearby Lakewood.



Figure 22. Mrs. Carole A. Taube residence, 4353 Hazelbrook Avenue, 2020. Source: Historic Resources Group.

In 1963, the Long Beach Council of Churches issued a commendation to Long Beach Assemblyman Joseph M. Kennick (c. 1905-1980) who co-authored Assembly Bill 1420 prohibiting discrimination in public housing in the California State Assembly. Kennick served 18 years in the state legislature, first representing the West Long Beach-Lakewood 44<sup>th</sup> District in the Assembly, and then becoming a State Senator in 1966.<sup>80</sup>

Although the early role of the Long Beach Council of Churches in the fight against housing discrimination was later assumed by the Fair Housing Foundation, the organization remained a strong partner on fair housing issues well into the 1970s. Early activist clergy for fair housing included Reverend Jesse L. Boyd, Grant Chapel AME Church; Dr. John N. Booth, Unitarian Church of Long Beach; Reverend James E. Carroll, All Saints Episcopal Church; Reverend William C. Cole, president of the Long Beach Ministerial Union; Reverend Donald B. Cooke, North Long Beach Methodist Church; and Reverend Don Lindbloom, executive director of the Long Beach Council of Churches. Rabbi Yousef Miller of the Harbor Area Board of Rabbis was part of the coalition as well.

<sup>79</sup> Vent Mader, “Fair Housing’ Pledge Campaign Begun Here,” *Independent Press-Telegram*, July 4, 1963.

<sup>80</sup> Kennick is best remembered for his juvenile law reforms. He was Superintendent of the Long Beach City Juvenile Bureau before his election to state government.



### Long Beach United Civil Rights Committee

In June 1963, a crowd of 235 people met at St. Vestal Christian Methodist Episcopal (C.M.E.) Church at 1953 California Avenue (extant) to create a “solid organization for integration.” The result was the formation of the Long Beach United Civil Rights Committee (UCRC), which was intended to act as a steering group to plan effective methods of desegregation in education, employment, and housing.

In response to demands of the UCRC and to ease racial tensions in Long Beach, Mayor Edwin W. Wade created advisory bodies with little actual power. Chief among these was the Long Beach Human Relations Committee (HRC), which held its first meeting in October 1963. The committee largely served as a fact-finding board for civil rights grievances with the power to make recommendations to the City Council. Members included chairman E. John Hanna, along with Dr. Horace Rains, Joseph E. Brooks, Dr. John Kashawahara, James H. Blackburn, C.F. Liebenguth, and Harry and Melvin L. Mould, former head of the Long Beach Realtors Association. The Committee was met with skepticism almost immediately by protestors who felt it should be composed of more multi-racial representatives and not stacked in favor of Whites, apartment owners, and realtors.

In fact, recommendations made by the HRC were largely disregarded by the City Council. A December 1963 recommendation that the City Council take a stand in favor of state and federal fair housing and civil rights legislation was rejected.<sup>81</sup> In addition to rejecting the recommendation, the HRC was reminded it was not to make policy, only to investigate civil rights matters referred to them by City Council. The HRC’s ineffectiveness was also showcased at a June 1965 hearing on blockbusting at which only three of 14 organizations invited to assess the problem and provide solutions were in attendance.



Figure 23. Dr. Horace Rains, date unknown. Source: aaregistry.org.

Dr. Horace Rains was one of the city’s most outspoken civil rights leaders.<sup>82</sup> Appointed chairman of the UCRC in October 1963, he spoke publicly about the ineffectiveness of the HRC. Rains compared the HRC to a car stuck in the mud: “The wheels are spinning in a tremendous show of power and energy output,” Rains testified to the California Fair Employment Practices Commission, “...but it is getting more deeply mired with each turn of the wheel.”<sup>83</sup> In 1965, Rains was honored by a local Jewish War Veterans group for his contribution to the advancement of brotherhood and civic betterment in Long Beach.

<sup>81</sup> “Councilmen Refuse to Take Stand on Fair Housing Law,” *Independent Press-Telegram*, December 25, 1963.

<sup>82</sup> Dr. and Mrs. Rains lived at 2150 Canal Avenue on the integrated Westside in the late 1950s and early 1960s. By 1965, they had moved to 5621 E. El Jardin Street in the predominantly White Park Estates neighborhood.

<sup>83</sup> Charles Sutton, “Negro Leader Says LB Lags in Race Relations,” *Independent Press-Telegram*, April 4, 1964.

On May 28, 1968, the HRC held an event entitled “Open Housing: A Seminar in Human Relations” at the Long Beach Municipal Auditorium Concert Hall. In 1969, the committee was elevated to commission status and re-christened the Human Relations Commission. While having greater power, the Commission mostly relied on outside organizations such as the NAACP or Fair Housing Foundation for real action. The Commission’s greatest achievement may well be the affirmative action program for the City of Long Beach established in 1970, which instituted a concerted effort to hire people of color to work in city government in a variety of occupations. At the time, most of the people of color employed by the City were in services positions, such as janitors.

### The Neighborhood Adult Participation Project

During his administration, President Lyndon B. Johnson declared a “War on Poverty.” One of the policy initiatives was the Neighborhood Adult Participation Project (NAPP), which was enacted under the terms of 1964 federal anti-poverty legislation. The agency worked on various poverty-related issues including housing, displacement, and jobs. In Long Beach, the NAPP was located at 1959 Orange Avenue (demolished). The local NAPP established a credit union for poor Long Beach residents, matched people with jobs, and helped form the Carmelitos Welfare Rights Organization.<sup>84</sup> Services were targeted primarily to the African American community. NAPP closed in February 1968, after three years of operation.

### The Fair Housing Foundation



Figure 24. “No on 14” supporters, including Fair Housing Foundation members, 1964. Source: Los Angeles Public Library.

The most important open housing organization in Long Beach, and one of the most important in the state of California, was the Fair Housing Foundation (FHF). It was founded in November 1964 by citizens who had organized to fight Proposition 14. Proposition 14, the state referendum to repeal the 1963 California Fair Housing Act, was chiefly sponsored by the California Real Estate Association. The Fair Housing Foundation was founded by attorney and activist Myron Blumberg (1919-2008) who became the first Chairman of the Board. The

board was chiefly composed of clergy and White Long Beach residents who believed in integration. They included Mrs. Myron Blumberg, Dr. R.H. Buckland, Rev. William Cole, Rev. Donald Cooke, Donald Drury, Rev. John Gattis, Clive Graham, Dr. Horace Rains, Mrs. C. Waldron Simon, Mrs. Herberg Sommer, and Arthur Zabler. Officers included Mrs. Arthur Zabler, Mrs. Donald Drury, and Mrs. Nard Hart Nibbrig. Other early and important activists

<sup>84</sup> “NAPP Was Willing to Try,” *Long Beach Independent*, February 27, 1968, 11.

with the Fair Housing Foundation included Gracia Drury (1919-2010), a New York native who came to Long Beach in 1933 and graduated from Wilson High School and Long Beach City College.<sup>85</sup> Her husband, Donald A. Drury (1919-1989), was a chairman of the FHF.

The Fair Housing Foundation was designed to act as a clearinghouse for landlords, tenants, buyers, and sellers interested in equal opportunity housing in the city. In their first newsletter, the organization declared: "This will be a non-profit, educational organization devoted entirely to the promotion of fair and open housing practices in our community. Those who worked so hard against Proposition 14 now have an opportunity to be for a positive solution to the housing problem."<sup>86</sup>

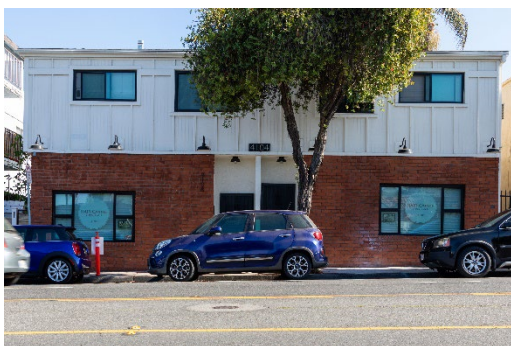


Figure 25. Fair Housing Foundation Office, 4108 E. 7<sup>th</sup> Street, 2020. Source: Historic Resources Group.

In January 1965, the Fair Housing Foundation opened an office at 4108 E. 7<sup>th</sup> Street (extant). The mostly African American clientele included middle-class college instructors/professors, engineers, doctors, and businessmen who could not locate housing outside of the central neighborhood or the integrated majority-minority Westside. Before the FHF, only eight African American families lived in previously non-integrated neighborhoods.<sup>87</sup>

Between February and September 1965, thirty-two African American families found homes or apartments in previously non-integrated neighborhoods thanks to the FHF. Twenty placements were home purchases; the rest were home, duplex, or apartment rentals.<sup>88</sup> Some of the early integration pioneers into predominantly White Long Beach neighborhoods faced vandalism, cross-burnings on lawns, racial slurs, and anti-integration petition campaigns.

The all-volunteer FHF employed unique methods in their mission for open housing. Emma Buckland, Research Director, conducted surveys among home sellers and landlords to determine the prevalence of discrimination in Long Beach. In 1965, Buckland used a telephone survey to determine that only 24 of 110 people with properties for sale on the MLS would consider an offer from an African American buyer.<sup>89</sup> The Long Beach Apartment House Association, and its president Arnold Berg, provided a particularly vociferous presence in the community, taking the position that White residents would move out if African American residents moved in, and property investments would decline in value.

<sup>85</sup> "She Sees a Conflict of Morals, Practice," *Independent Press-Telegram*, July 21, 1969.

<sup>86</sup> *Fair Housing Foundation Newsletter*, no.1, 1964, 1.

<sup>87</sup> "L.B. Negro Home Ownership Increasing," *Independent Press-Telegram*, September 25, 1965.

<sup>88</sup> "L.B. Negro Home Ownership Increasing," *Independent Press-Telegram*, September 25, 1965.

<sup>89</sup> "Bias Ban on City Work Urged," *Independent Press-Telegram*, December 17, 1965.

Another FHF survey from early 1967 found that 57 percent of apartment house managers would object to an African American tenant in their buildings.<sup>90</sup>

In order to secure home sales to African American buyers, the FHF often used the “double escrow” technique. Founder Myron Blumberg would enter into escrow to purchase a home in an exclusive area. The sellers believed the buyers to be White, but Blumberg would then open another escrow to sell the house to a qualified professional African American.<sup>91</sup> Another FHF tactic was the use of “checkers.” When a potential African American buyer or renter came to the Foundation with a report of discrimination, the organization would send potential White clients to see if the property was still available. For the potential White buyer/renter, the property was usually still on the market.

The Fair Housing Foundation often documented housing discrimination by sending White FHF representatives/aides with African American housing seekers. The White FHF aide served as a bridge between the landlord and the prospective tenant. One aide noted, “It has been my experience that a manager is more at ease speaking to me than a black client.”<sup>92</sup> Each aide attended a workshop on types of clients and housing needs; the procedures of informing clients about job, credit, and previous landlord references; and state and federal housing laws. To illustrate discrimination in the rental market, the *Independent Press-Telegram* dispatched a White investigative journalist and an African American man to pose as a married couple apartment hunting in Long Beach. For two and a half weeks, and a total of fifty apartments, the couple was turned away by landlords and managers. FHF sent checkers to each location and verified that there were vacancies for White renters.<sup>93</sup>

When discrimination was substantiated, the FHF suggested victims file complaints with the Fair Employment Practices Commission or other government agencies; they would also make their findings available to attorneys for plaintiffs who decided to go to court. Typically, not many victims went to court due to the time and expense involved. Yet in May-July 1967, six lawsuits were filed in Long Beach under the Unruh Civil Rights



Figure 26. Villa d'Or Apartments, 777 Bellflower Boulevard, c. 2020. Source: Apartments.com.

Act that banned discrimination in business establishments. These were the first such cases

<sup>90</sup> “Apartment Managers Second-Guess Tenants,” *Independent Press-Telegram*, April 13, 1967.

<sup>91</sup> Julie Saunders, “Good Neighbors Come in All Colors: The Social, Political, and Legal History of the Fair Housing Foundation of Long Beach,” May 18, 2005.

<sup>92</sup> “Idealism in Action,” *Independent Press-Telegram*, March 30, 1969.

<sup>93</sup> “Would You Rent to This Couple?” *Independent Press-Telegram Southland Sunday*, October 26, 1969, 1.

in all of California, and every case was successful, having resulted in findings for the plaintiffs.<sup>94</sup> One of these cases was filed against the Villa d'Or Apartments at 777 Bellflower Boulevard (extant) by Dr. Fillmore Freeman, president of the Long Beach chapter of the NAACP and a professor of chemistry at Cal State College Long Beach. Dr. Freeman was awarded \$1,000 in damages.<sup>95</sup> Myron Blumberg and his associates handled all of the housing anti-discrimination cases on a pro bono basis.

The Fair Housing Foundation also worked diligently to document blockbusting activity by realtors in the Westside neighborhood.<sup>96</sup> The FHF identified certain realtors who referred non-Whites first to the integrated Westside, while simultaneously encouraging panic selling among White residents.<sup>97</sup> This activity spawned two anti-blockbusting groups: Westside Neighbors, and the less active Westside Community Association. In the spring of 1965, Westside Neighbors distributed yard signs reading "Not For Sale. We Like Our Neighbors."<sup>98</sup> The effects of blockbusting in this neighborhood resulted in a shift in demographics. In 1960, the Westside was 82% White, 4.1% African American, 6.1% Latino, and 9.0% other (mostly



Figure 27. Ann Trumbore, n.d.  
Source: Legacy.com.

Asian American). By 1968, the area was estimated to be 55-60% White, 15% African American, 12% Latino, 10% Asian, and 6% other non-White.<sup>99</sup> As described by Westside activist Ann Trumbore, "Everything you've heard about realtors doing things to incite panic selling they did here. We had realtors tell us that whether we liked it or not, this area would be totally Negro." Trumbore also claimed that realtors told the residents that the Westside, cut off from Long Beach by the Los Angeles River, would be ideal for a predominantly black community because there were only three or four entrances, and they could prevent riots. African American buyers were told there was nothing in their price range outside of West Long Beach and were referred to real estate offices close to the Westside.<sup>100</sup>

When a Fair Housing Foundation client was placed in a predominantly White neighborhood, FHF staff would also contact their network of "friendly" neighbors. This network would keep their ears open for rumbles at schools and watch for petitions against black occupancy. When opposition verged on hostility, one of the Fair Housing Foundation's clergy board members or advisers, usually Rev. William Cole, was dispatched to make home visits and

<sup>94</sup> "Navy Rental Survey in LB Shows 'White Only' Factor," *Independent Press-Telegram*, September 10, 1967.

<sup>95</sup> "Suits Setting Trend in Open Housing," *Independent Press-Telegram*, September 19, 1967.

<sup>96</sup> The spelling of the term "West Side" varies among sources. This context statement will use "West Side" to refer to the neighborhood but defer to different spellings for related organizations.

<sup>97</sup> "LB Ghetto Needs Urgent," *Independent Press-Telegram*, May 1, 1968.

<sup>98</sup> "Integrated L.B. District Westside: Not for Sale," *Independent Press-Telegram*, July 22, 1968.

<sup>99</sup> "Integrated L.B. District Westside: Not for Sale," *Independent Press-Telegram*, July 22, 1968.

<sup>100</sup> Charles Sutton, "Pride and Prejudice," *Independent Press-Telegram Southland Sunday*, November 11, 1970, 6-7.



quell opposition. For its part, in 1968, the City of Long Beach briefly convened an Inter-Ethnic Dialogue Committee. The group sponsored free lectures on race relations with local and out-of-town speakers on topics relating to Mexican Americans, Japanese Americans, and Chinese Americans.

By the late 1960s, the Fair Housing Foundation made inroads into African American homeownership in the predominantly White neighborhoods of Long Beach. The work of the FHF led directly to an increased presence of African Americans in previously segregated neighborhoods from essentially zero to hundreds of residents. While these strides were significant, there was still a long way to go to get closer to true integration, and housing discrimination against African Americans remains a pervasive issue to this day.

In March 1969, the Fair Housing Foundation reached a significant milestone: it received funding from the City of Long Beach. FHF signed a \$28,500 contract with the Long Beach Commission on Economic Opportunities and later received another \$20,000 from the City Council. Prior to this, the organization, which had 32 field aides and nine office workers, had been funded solely by individual donations and volunteers — many of whom worked more than 30 hours per week at the Foundation.<sup>101</sup>

**\$25,000 Allocated to Fair Housing Foundation**

By DON BRACKENBURY  
Staff Writer

By a 7-4-1 vote Tuesday, the City Council allocated \$25,000 to the Fair Housing Foundation to carry on its program of finding housing for minority-race residents of Long Beach.

The funds will not be released by the city, however, until City Manager John R. Mansell negotiates with the foundation, and the council approves, a contract spelling out how the money is to be used.

Councilman Paul R. Deats cast the only vote against the allocation, saying he opposed "as a matter of principle" the use of public funds for such a project.

On a related matter, councilmen asked Mansell to set up a meeting, or a series of meetings, between the Apartment House Association of Southern Cities, the Long Beach District Board of Realtors, housing officials of California State College at Long Beach, the Fair Housing Foundation and representatives of the news media.

Such a meeting was requested by Robert E. Emrich, president of the Board of Realtors, and Bernie Specht, president of the Apartment House Association.

Emrich told councilmen the joint executive committees of the two organizations "are deeply concerned with the accusations, conclusions and implications" in recent newspaper stories about "racial problems in housing" in Long Beach.

"We would like to have some proof of these accusations," Emrich told the council. "We would like names, dates and places."

"We will work toward the goal of racial harmony in this community — if we don't, in fact, have it now," he said.

In response to a question by Councilman Thomas J. Clark, Emrich said "my purpose here today is not to deny that there has been discrimination," but he said the Board of Realtors and Apartment House Association "stand accused."

Clark said, however, he believed the criticism has been against the community as a whole, not directed at any specific organization.

Mansell said his office would be glad to arrange the suggested meeting, but he cautioned "all people involved should have only one purpose: what's good for the City of Long Beach."

"The charges and counter-charges back and forth are not aiding our city," the city manager said.

Later in the meeting, Clark moved to take the \$25,000 which the council last week placed in the unappropriated reserve and allocate it to the Fair Housing Foundation. He said he did not think the proposed meetings between the various housing groups should delay action on the foundation's request for financial aid.

"I don't agree with Dr. Clark's philosophy on this particularly item," Deats commented. "He is entitled to his position, but it is a matter of philosophy."

Deats repeated his belief that the Fair Housing Foundation's work should be continued on its prior volunteer basis. He then offered a substitute motion to lay the matter over until after the proposed meetings, but received no second.

Councilman Bert Bond, pointing out the foundation already has a \$28,000 federal grant, said he saw no "panic rush" for the city funds, and offered a substitute motion that would have authorized the city manager to negotiate a contract with the foundation. The money, meanwhile, would stay in the unappropriated reserve.

Mansell emphasized the council, in any case, would actually be appropriating funds only at the time it approved a contract with the Fair Housing Foundation.

Deats seconded Bond's motion, explaining that, although he opposed the allocation "in principle," he wanted to make sure "all necessary controls are built in."

Bond's motion, however, was defeated, 5 to 3, with only Deats and Wayne B. Sharp supporting him.

The council then adopted Clark's original motion to allocate the \$25,000 by a 7-4-1 vote, with Deats opposing. Councilman Emmet M. Sullivan was in Sacramento on city business.

**INDEPENDENT**  
FIRST PLACE WINNER  
**SPOT NEWS REPORTING**

WEDNESDAY, JULY 23, 1969 SECTION 8—Page B-1  
MARKETS ON PAGES B-8 & B-9

Figure 28. Article announcing the City Council's decision to allocate money to the FHF, 1969. Source: Long Beach Independent Press-Telegram, July 23, 1969.

The City funding allowed the FHF to hire a professional staff, including Curt Moody as the first salaried executive director. Moody had been with the Council for Civic Unity in San Francisco, and prior to that worked with the Community Relations Conference of Southern California in Los Angeles.<sup>102</sup> Other staff included Michael W. Rocklein, Coordinator of Outposts and Field Services; Ron Arrington, Coordinator of Volunteer Services and Research; and Frieda Klein, Office Manager.<sup>103</sup> The new funds were also critical in expanding the organization's scope and clientele (see Table 1). This included opening much needed "outpost" locations: a trailer at California State College Long Beach (present-day California

<sup>101</sup> "City Is Urged to Aid Housing for Minorities," *Independent Press-Telegram*, March 20, 1969.

<sup>102</sup> "Heads Fair Housing Unit," *Independent Press-Telegram*, June 25, 1969.

<sup>103</sup> Fair Housing Foundation, "FHF Holds the Key" pamphlet, December 1969, "Housing 1960s" clippings file, Special Collections, Long Beach Public Library.

State University Long Beach; exact location of outpost unknown),<sup>104</sup> and a Westside outpost at 2006 Santa Fe Avenue (extant). From November 8-14, 1969, the FHF hosted the first “Equal Opportunity Housing Week.” Awareness-building events included picnics and tolerance sermons given by the activist clergy associated with the FHF. As of 1971, Long Beach was one of only two cities in the nation (the other being Denver) that funded a Fair Housing Foundation.<sup>105</sup> In 1970, the U.S. Justice Department encouraged the Fair Housing Foundation to conduct an investigation of discrimination in rentals of apartment houses in Long Beach. Then executive director Curt Moody “directed 75 volunteers to undertake an intensive investigation of actual rental practices in 243 apartment buildings.”<sup>106</sup> The FHF gathered evidence against the owners of 114 apartment buildings in the city with a total of 2,325 units. However, in 1971, the Justice Department decided not to bring a suit against the owners.<sup>107</sup>

Curt Moody remained as executive director for about a year and a half then was succeeded by Laura Ober who served only a few months. Faith Kortheuer (1926-2006) took the reins of the organization in 1971 and led it until February 1976. Kortheuer is credited with building a better relationship with the Long Beach Apartment Owners Association and expanding efforts geographically. In 1973, the Fair Housing Foundation once again alleged blockbusting by the city’s realtors — this time in North Long Beach.

*Table 1: Cumulative Number of African American Families Placed Outside Central and Westside Neighborhoods by the FHF*

<b>Date</b>	<b>#of African American Family Placements</b>
February 1964	7
February 1965	32
March 1967	60
September 1967	130
December 1968	170
March 1969	190
November 1969	305
June 1970	366
January 1976	1,341
July 1976	1,500

<sup>104</sup> The acute housing shortage faced by college students and faculty was evidenced by the fact that the FHF pop-up campus outpost was only able to place eight minority faculty and 46 minority students prior to the start of the 1969 Fall semester — only about half of their clients. “Campus Fair Housing Unit Successful,” *Independent Press-Telegram*, October 4, 1969.

<sup>105</sup> George Robeson, “Not Just Another Proclamation,” *Independent Press-Telegram*, April 16, 1971.

<sup>106</sup> “A Special Report from the Fair Housing Foundation of Long Beach: ‘With All Deliberate Delay?’” June 1971, 1.

<sup>107</sup> Charles Sutton, “Fair Housing Default Here Points to A Federal Retreat,” *Independent Press-Telegram*, June 21, 1967.

Despite early reticence to go to court, litigation turned out to be one of the most powerful tools for overcoming discriminatory rental practices. By 1973, Myron Blumberg had brought a total of 26 fair housing cases to the courts. One particularly influential case was *Thomas E. and Enako Allen vs. Paul and Planch Shaub*, in which Shaub had refused to rent the interracial couple a small house at 3259 Faust Avenue (altered). The case was a precedent because it established that income producing rental property was



Figure 29. 3259 Faust Avenue, 2020. Source: Historic Resources Group.

considered a business. It also provided evidence that the discriminatory practices extended to people of all colors, not just African Americans. Two other Long Beach cases included *Melvin and Annie Koger vs. Earl and Agnetta Eggleston* for a house rental at 3201 E. 65<sup>th</sup> Street (demolished) in north Long Beach and *Robert Barnett vs. Mr. and Mrs. William H. Brown and Mary K. Turner* for an apartment rental at 4579 Banner Drive (extant) in the Bixby Knolls area.<sup>108</sup> City directory listings for these couples suggest that they ultimately found housing in the nearby communities of Lynwood, Compton, and Carson, but not in Long Beach.

By 1976, in large measure due to FHF efforts, rental housing discrimination in Long Beach had declined significantly to about 25 percent.<sup>109</sup> That same year Sol Frankel became the new executive director of the Fair Housing Foundation. Frankel's leadership sought to widen the focus of the FHF to include discrimination against the LGBTQ community, young mothers with children, and the physically challenged.<sup>110</sup>

### Westside Neighbors Association

Organized in 1965, the Westside Neighbors Association (also known as the West Side Homeowners/West Side Property Owners Association) sought to discourage Westside residents from succumbing to the blockbusting and panic selling activities of Long Beach realtors. Members wanted to welcome all residents without restrictions and worked for better schools. Early steering committee members included Ann Trumbore, Clarence Long, Dorothy Roberts, Mel Kolumbie, and Herb Zimmerman. About half of the members in the mid-1960s were African American. As blockbusting activity waned in the 1970s, the organization took up the issue of neighborhood crime.

<sup>108</sup> Patricia Quinn, "New Ruling a Boon to Fair Housing," *Independent Press-Telegram*, January 31, 1973.

<sup>109</sup> Larry Lynch, "Fair Housing Goals Nearly Achieved in Long Beach," *Independent Press-Telegram*, January 26, 1976.

<sup>110</sup> Brad Altman, "Costs Force Blacks in LB into Ghetto," *Independent Press-Telegram*, July 22, 1976.



Figure 30. Ann M. Trumbore residence, 2830 Baltic Avenue, 2020. Source: Historic Resources Group.

After an initial letter-writing campaign to the Board of Realtors produced no response, the group then contacted the local branch of the NAACP. The NAACP put them in touch with a local real estate agent, Clive Graham (1906-1982), then chairman of the California Fair Employment Practices Committee. Graham arranged for Los Angeles Human Relations Commission to advise the Westside Neighbors. It was Graham's idea to use lawn signs proclaiming, "This Property is Not for Sale. We Like Our Neighbors."<sup>111</sup>

The turning point for the group was a community meeting held at Stephens Junior High School in March of 1965 with 400 attendees. Speakers included a local real estate agent, a Black homeowner, a White homeowner, and representatives from the Los Angeles Human Relations Commission. After the talks, questions were directed at the real estate agent, and the discussion became heated. Ann M. Trumbore described the meeting as follows:

It gave reassurance to those who could not afford to move and those who were undecided. They were pleased to know that there were many who had no intention of moving. Many feared they'd be the last White family on the block and property values would go down. Many came to us and said how relieved and grateful they were that this problem was brought out into the open. Many contemplated remodeling or putting on additions but hesitated because they've seen the exodus of so many White families they felt it was a losing battle.<sup>112</sup>

Westside resident Ann M. Trumbore (2830 Baltic Avenue, extant), a clerk with the County Social Services Department, acted as the public voice of the organization appearing at hearings and composing frequent op-eds printed in the *Independent Press-Telegram*. She was a vocal critic of the Long Beach Human Relations Committee.

In addition to their work in fair housing, the Westside Neighbors Association worked to foster better race relations. In 1975, they created a Multi-Cultural Summer Youth Program at Field Elementary School (1525 Seabright Avenue, demolished) where children received training on their own cultural heritage and shared that learning with other students.

### The Housing Development Project

The Eastside Neighborhood Center<sup>113</sup> (2338 E. Anaheim Street, altered) developed a housing program of their own serving the Latina/o community and bridging the language gap for many non-English speakers. "The Housing Project" started in June 1971 and provided free

<sup>111</sup> League of Women Voters of the Long Beach Area, "Long Beach: Citizens Take Action," 1981, 5.

<sup>112</sup> League of Women Voters of the Long Beach Area, "Long Beach: Citizens Take Action," 1981, 5-6.

<sup>113</sup> In some historic documents, the Center is also referred to as the East Long Beach Community Center.

assistance for rentals or property for purchase. Ron Arias, Program Director, described early problems with the project:

The program has been very difficult because the city of Long Beach is so prejudiced against low-income people. If a person has any financial problems, it is very difficult to find him a place. Family size, long hair, age and racial discrimination are reasons why landlords won't rent to the community people the Housing Project serves. We hope to alleviate much of the discriminatory practices most landlords use.<sup>114</sup>

The program identified a need for an intermediary between unscrupulous rental agencies who charged prospective renters for lists of available house and apartment rentals but provided no low-income rental options. In 1972, in a six-month period the Housing Project placed 78 families in rentals or helped them purchase homes through available FHA programs.<sup>115</sup>

### Public Housing

During the 1960s, living conditions continuously declined at Carmelitos and the other housing projects. In the mid-1960s, a Carmelitos Tenants Union (a.k.a., North Long Beach Tenants Union) was formed to protest the sub-standard housing conditions as well as discrimination against people with disabilities. Because pets, including seeing-eye dogs, were prohibited in the project, the Tenants Union had to lobby for the needs of Kathy Bruce, a blind resident. In 1970, the Carmelitos Tenants



Figure 31. Carmelitos Housing Project, 2020. Source: Historic Resources Group.

Union staged a renters' strike to force the Housing Authority to improve conditions. After Carmelitos' annexation into the City of Long Beach in April 1971, conditions continued to decline, and the project became associated with crime and decay.<sup>116</sup>

### HOUSING DISPLACEMENT

Available housing stock for African Americans in Long Beach received another blow in 1963, when Long Beach City College acquired property for campus expansion.<sup>117</sup> In the process,

<sup>114</sup> Chicano Community News Service, *El ALACRAN*, Summer Issue, "Mexican Americans, 1970s," clippings file, Special Collections, Long Beach Public Library.

<sup>115</sup> Joanne Norris, "Chicano Pride—That's What This Program Is All About," *Independent Press-Telegram*, April 12, 1972.

<sup>116</sup> In 1987, \$24 million was invested in rehabilitating the project and building new facilities. The concrete buildings were restored, and 130 wood frame buildings were demolished and rebuilt for the elderly.

<sup>117</sup> Day and Tucker, *The Heritage of African Americans in Long Beach*, 3.



120 African American families lost their homes north of Pacific Coast Highway and east of Orange Avenue. Real estate agents steered those families to the integrated Westside — thus fueling the blockbusting practices that the West Side Neighbors group and activist Ann Trumbore mobilized against.

One of the more common vehicles for the displacement of diverse communities was the construction of the federal interstate highway system. As described in the book *The Color of Law*, “in many cases, state and local governments with federal acquiescence, designed interstate highway routes to destroy urban African American communities.”<sup>118</sup> The creation of the Long Beach Freeway (Interstate 710) in the early 1950s was largely an exception to this rule, as it was constructed on county-owned land associated with the Los Angeles River. In addition, the construction of the San Diego Freeway (I-405) from 1957-1960 also resulted in relatively little displacement when compared with other freeways, as a portion of the freeway cut through property associated with the Long Beach Airport. However, 23 dwellings near Atherton Street and Studebaker Road were removed as part of the project.<sup>119</sup>



Figure 32. Contextual view along Lemon Avenue north of State Route 91, 2020. Source: Historic Resources Group.

The construction of State Route 91 in the late 1960s, on the other hand, cut through a relatively well-populated area of the city. A review of historic aerial photographs of North Long Beach before and after construction of the 91 reveals the bifurcation of some neighborhoods and housing developments and the loss of many buildings. The State Highways Division began to acquire property north of Artesia Boulevard in the northernmost part of the city in the early 1960s. However, due to

budgetary issues, the actual removal of many of the structures was delayed and by the mid-1960s, the area of vacant homes attracted squatters, vice, and squalor.<sup>120</sup> Known as the Artesia Freeway, State Route 91 opened in September of 1970, displacing many African Americans and other residents.

### PRIVATE SECTOR DEVELOPMENT

During this period, the private sector offered few organized solutions to the shortage of affordable housing. One exception was the establishment of a new Long Beach office for Guaranteed Homes (1081 Atlantic Avenue, demolished) in 1963. Guaranteed Homes was the

<sup>118</sup> Rothstein, *The Color of Law*, 133.

<sup>119</sup> “City Joins Freeway Move Plea,” *Independent Press-Telegram*, February 11, 1958, 17.

<sup>120</sup> “Demolition Asked for Vacant Homes,” *Independent Press-Telegram*, August 12, 1966, B1.

nation's largest "on-your-lot" building organization.<sup>121</sup> Originally founded by Edwin F. Steen and Art Svendsen in 1956, the company specialized in building moderately priced homes and apartment units for lot owners from existing plans. These could include the addition of income/rental units behind existing homes or free-standing units. By 1963, the company had constructed more than 14,000 homes and apartments in California.<sup>122</sup> Owners of vacant lots zoned for multi-family housing could purchase homes or apartments with no money down and 100% financing. Several such units were constructed by owners in Long Beach in an effort to ease the housing shortage and supplement their income. Of course, owners/landlords retained control over who they approved as tenants, and currently there is no evidence that owners of Guaranteed Homes projects were any less likely to discriminate than other property owners.

### HOUSING DISCRIMINATION AGAINST SENIORS

Due to the low supply of rental properties, and in particular, affordable rental properties, seniors in Long Beach often experienced difficulty finding anything other than substandard living arrangements. Many seniors had incomes of less than \$1,000 per year and resided in cheap rooms in the downtown area that lacked plumbing, heating, and daytime electricity.<sup>123</sup> The *Independent Press-Telegram* referred to them as "Long Beach's Forgotten People."<sup>124</sup>

One important senior housing facility in the city was the New Robinson Retirement Hotel (334 E. Ocean Boulevard, demolished). An adaptive reuse project opened in 1958, it was the first of its kind in the city. In 1964, another senior housing facility was constructed - the John Brown Towers (3737 Atlantic Avenue, extant, now known as Bixby Knolls Towers).<sup>125</sup> Hugh Gibbs (1908-1990) was the architect for this Mid-century Modern style project that included 169 apartments and a restaurant. Each unit featured all-electric kitchens, wall-to-wall carpeting and drapes.

The housing crisis for seniors became another important cause of local activist clergy, who looked to create a new solution. Reverend H.J. Kilpatrick, of New Hope Baptist Church, formed New Hope Homes, Inc. Funded with a loan from the Department of Housing and Urban Development, the \$1.2 million, eight-story, modern building (1150 E. New York Street, extant) was designed by the

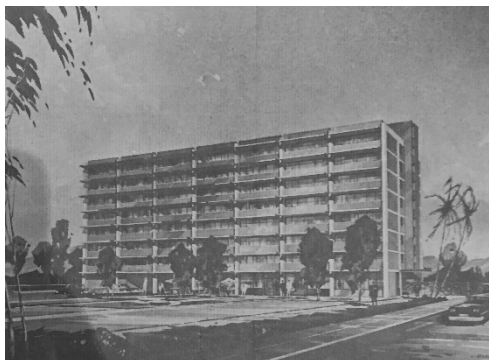


Figure 33. Rendering of the New Hope Home by Daniel, Mann, Johnson, Mendenhall, c. 1969. Source: *New Hope Home Brochure*, Special Collections, Long Beach Public Library.

<sup>121</sup> "On-Your-Lot Builder Opens 5 New Offices," *Los Angeles Times*, April 14, 1963.

<sup>122</sup> "Guaranteed Homes Notes Seventh Year," *Independent Press-Telegram*, September 15, 1963.

<sup>123</sup> Louise H. Ivers, *The Remaking of a Seaside City* (Long Beach, CA: Historical Society of Long Beach, 2018), 38.

<sup>124</sup> "Loneliness Besets Long Beach' Forgotten People," *Independent Press-Telegram*, May 23, 1960.

<sup>125</sup> Ivers, *The Remaking of a Seaside City*, 38, 196.

architectural and engineering firm of Daniel, Mann, Johnson, Mendenhall.<sup>126</sup> Opened in 1969, it contained 141 units (including 56 one bedrooms and 84 studio or efficiency units). Tenants aged 62 and over with single incomes of not more than \$4,500 or dual incomes of \$5,400 could apply. It also contained a dining hall, laundry, administration offices, and meeting rooms. New Hope Home was the first integrated senior housing project in the city offering housing "...regardless of race, creed or religious affiliation."<sup>127</sup> The later Plymouth West development, built by First Congregational Church, was not integrated as of 1974, based on available data.

### LONG BEACH STATE COLLEGE

*Many minority faculty and students at California State College at Long Beach are unable to find decent, convenient housing within a reasonable distance of the campus at a price they can afford. This shortage will become more acute during the coming academic year when members of such faculty and students will increase.*

Citizens Advisory Committee for Community Improvement (CACCI) Resolution, 1969

As previously discussed, the establishment of Long Beach State College (present-day California State University, Long Beach) in 1949 played an important role as a catalyst for fair housing in the city.<sup>128</sup> As professors and students of color were recruited by the school, finding adequate housing near campus was extremely difficult. The school worked closely with the Fair Housing Foundation to help rectify the situation, as did various campus organizations including the Black Student Union.<sup>129</sup>



Figure 34. Dr. Maulana Karenga, n.d. Source: Alchetron.com.

The institution was also important to civil rights in Long Beach and beyond in many other ways. This included the organization of the first Educational Opportunity Program, an early and important ethnic studies program; establishment of one of the first Chicana feminist groups in the United States, an early radical women's studies program; and a reparations program for the incarceration of Japanese Americans.

In 1966, the holiday Kwanzaa was created by CSULB professor Dr. Maulana Karenga (b. 1941). Karenga was a leading theorist during the Black Power movement who rose to chairman of the Department of

<sup>126</sup> The project architects were Charles R. Sullivan and Roland Cooper. "New Hope Home" brochure, "Housing 1960s" clipping file, Special Collections, Long Beach Public Library.

<sup>127</sup> "New Hope Home" brochure, "Housing 1960s" clipping file, Special Collections, Long Beach Public Library.

<sup>128</sup> The school's first name was Los Angeles-Orange County State College. Once it secured land for a campus in Long Beach it had the first official name change. Initially begun as a teachers' college, the school expanded its curriculum, student body, and campus facilities to become a leader within the California State College system.

<sup>129</sup> "Urges L.B. Fight Racial Housing Bar," *Long Beach Independent*, April 11, 1969, B1.

African American studies at CSULB. The holiday, celebrating the importance of African American culture, has become part of American culture and is observed by African Americans across the United States.

In 1967, present-day CSULB was a growing campus of about 10,000 students, with a minority population of less than 100 African American and Latina/o students.<sup>130</sup> In 1967, Dr. Joseph L. White (1932-2017) founded the Educational Opportunity Program (EOP), creating a model replicated throughout California and the United States allowing several generations of low-income and students of color to enter and graduate from public colleges. Among the students recruited as part of the EOP program was Armando Vazquez-Ramos who as a student leader was a co-founder of the Chicano and Latino Studies Department—an early, groundbreaking program established in the fall of 1969.<sup>131</sup> At this time the Chicano student population was approximately 400.<sup>132</sup> In the first year, the program was more robust than the few other college programs in Southern California. It had seven teachers with 27 different courses—culminating with a B.A. in Chicano Studies. In May of 1973, California State University, Long Beach was the site of an early and important Chicano Studies Conference.<sup>133</sup> During this period the school also established a Black Studies Department. In 1970, Asian American Studies and Native American studies were added to the curriculum.<sup>134</sup> Evelyn Knight (b. 1933), a local civil rights activist who responded to Martin Luther King Jr.'s call to join him in the march on Selma, Alabama was a longtime teacher of Black Studies at the University.

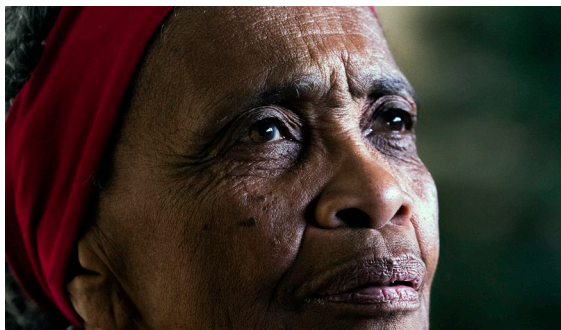


Figure 35. Evelyn Knight, 2020. Source: Thomas R. Cordova via Long Beach Post.

One of the first Chicana feminist groups in the nation was *Las Chicanas de Aztlan*, a 1968 consciousness-raising group at CSULB founded by Leticia Hernandez and Anna Nieto-Gomez.<sup>135</sup> Later it published a newsletter *Las Hijas de Cuauhtemoc* (The Daughters of Cuauhtemoc); the organization became synonymous with the publication as it expanded its reach beyond the campus across the Latina feminist community. When *Las Hijas de*

<sup>130</sup> Armando Vazquez-Ramos, "Former CSULB Professor Who Helped Minority Students Advance Deserves Landmark," *Long Beach Post*, December 8, 2017, <https://lbpost.com/news/op-ed-former-csulb-professor-who-helped-minority-students-advance-deserves-landmark> (accessed February 25, 2020).

<sup>131</sup> "Chicano Course Holds Mirror to Others, Too," *Los Angeles Times*, June 17, 1970, 1.

<sup>132</sup> "Chicano Course Holds Mirror to Others, Too," 1.

<sup>133</sup> "Chicano Conference at Cal State University, Long Beach," Pollak Library, California State University, Fullerton. <https://californiarevealed.org/islandora/object/cavpp%3A14682> (accessed July 21, 2020).

<sup>134</sup> Sunny Nash, ed., *Untold Legacies*, 35.

<sup>135</sup> Benita Roth, *Separate Roads to Feminism: Black, Chicana, and White Feminist Movements in America's Second Wave* (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 129.



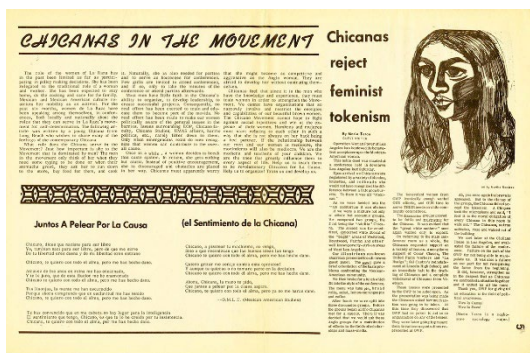


Figure 36. Two-page spread on *La Mujer in La Raza Magazine*. Source: Anna Nieto-Gomez.

Northridge (CSUN) in 1976. Sondra Hale, a feminist and the first women's studies professor at CSUN and later Coordinator of Women's Studies at CSULB, characterized the CSULB program as activist, the UCLA program as academic and detached from activism, and the CSUN program as somewhere in between.<sup>136</sup> Hale remembered, "I was so overjoyed at the possibility of being hired there because Long Beach had become legendary already, even though it wasn't that old, but legendary in terms of radical Women's Studies programs, infamous in some circles, but definitely famous in especially radical feminist circles. A large number of lesbians were teaching in the program."<sup>137</sup> Important CSULB faculty in the program also included Sherna Berger Gluck, Gail Goldstein, and Denise Wheeler. In 1977, the University Women's Center was opened to provide a "supportive environment for all campus women and to begin work with the campus community to prevent sexist practices."<sup>138</sup>

When Hale received pressure from the community and the institution about the radical nature of the curriculum, she filed a lawsuit *Sondra Hale et. al v. Board of Trustees of the California State Universities and Colleges, et. al.* claiming that the university violated their academic freedom and accused them of sex discrimination. The plaintiffs won the suit after nine years.



Figure 37. Aerial view of California State University, Long Beach, c. 1961. Source: Long Beach Public Library, Long Beach Collection Digital Archive.

<sup>136</sup> Interview by Susan McKibben, "TEI Project, UCLA, Center of the Study of Women and the UCLA Oral History Archive Project," March-August 2011.

<sup>137</sup> Interview by Susan McKibben, "TEI Project, UCLA, Center of the Study of Women and the UCLA Oral History Archive Project," March-August 2011.

<sup>138</sup> David Bernstein and Kaye Briegel, "California State University, Long Beach, A Historical Overview: 1949-1989," 1991, 346.

*Cuauhtemoc* ceased publication in 1971, a new feminist journal, *Encuentro Femenil*, took its place. The journal's editorial staff included Anna Nieto-Gomez (b. 1946), Martha Lopez, Corinne Sanchez, and Los Angeles feminist activists Adelaida R. Del Castillo and Francine Holcom.

The first women's studies program in Southern California was established at CSULB in 1973. Subsequent programs were founded at UCLA in 1975, and at California State University



In the fall of 1972, enrollment neared 20,500. That same year, the name of the institution was changed to California State College, Long Beach. In the early 1970s, concurrent with the arrival of Dr. Stephen Horn as president, the school began reaching out to minority students.<sup>139</sup> As part of CSULB's commitment to diversity and educational equity, Alan Nishio (b. 1945) was named associate Vice President for Student Services in 1973; in this capacity he administered the EOP program. Nishio was also founder and co-chair of the National Coalition for Redress/Reparations (NCRR). Formed in 1980, the NCRR was one of three Japanese American Organizations that successfully pushed for reparations for the wartime incarceration of Japanese Americans on the west coast.

### LONG BEACH POLYTECHNIC HIGH SCHOOL

Founded two years prior to the establishment of the city, the school that would eventually become Long Beach Polytechnic High School (a.k.a., Poly) is a microcosm of the story of the diversity in the city. It reflected the changing demographics of the city and the broader unrest in all American cities in the 1960s and early 1970s, where housing discrimination and school segregation and discrimination went hand-in-hand.

Poly was built in 1911 as an alternative school to Long Beach High School emphasizing manual arts. The original building was designed by A. Burnside Surges on the present-day site of the school.<sup>140</sup>

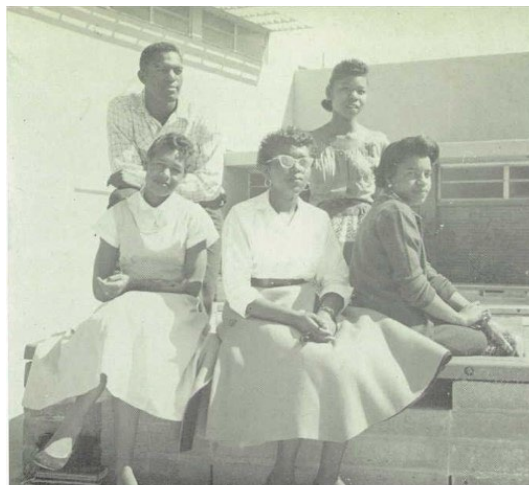


Figure 38. Organizers for the Poly Teen Tavern in 1955. Front row: Neomie Hill, Yvonne Thompson, Patsy Smith. Back row: Art Eddins, Joanne Watson. Source: Long Beach Polytechnic High School *Caerulea* yearbook, 1955, via [ancestry.com](http://ancestry.com).

In the 1920s, the school had African American, Japanese American, and Latina/o students, although the student body remained overwhelmingly White through the 1940s. This began to change in the 1950s as more African Americans moved to the area around campus, more diverse populations moved to the integrated Westside, and housing developments on the Westside became home to Japanese Americans returning from incarceration.<sup>141</sup> As a result, Poly's enrollment both increased and became more diverse after the war. During the mid-

<sup>139</sup> Bernstein and Briegel, "California State University, Long Beach, A Historical Overview" 34.

<sup>140</sup> Ivers, *Long Beach: A History Through Its Architecture*, 202.

<sup>141</sup> To accommodate the suburban growth to the east after World War II, two new high schools, Millikan and Lakewood High Schools, were established.

1950s, two Japanese Americans, Toot Uchida and Ray Sugiyama, were elected student body president, and Poly held its first International Carnival in 1957.<sup>142</sup>

Off campus, “segregation was well understood,” according to Bob Bro, a Poly alum.<sup>143</sup> In addition to drawing from the surrounding neighborhood and the Westside, Poly students included White families living in Bixby Knolls and the closer-in developments to the east. While photos show integrated activities on campus, from dances to sports, off-campus, White students frequented “the Hutch,” while African American students socialized at the “Teen Tavern.” Run by students, the Teen Tavern, located in the California Avenue Recreation Center in the mid-1950s, offered recreational activities such as ping-pong and the latest popular music.<sup>144</sup>

The racial unrest that gripped Los Angeles and the nation in the mid-1960s eventually found its way to Long Beach Polytechnic High School. According to the paper “Race Relations in an Urban School: The Poly Interracial” prepared for the Historical Society of Long Beach, “White students complained of being hassled in the hallways by Black students,” and felt African Americans were given preferential treatment.<sup>145</sup> A Los Angeles County Commission on Human Relations survey found that many teachers felt there had been a change at the school after the Watts Riots, and were confused about their own feelings about race and authority.<sup>146</sup>

On April 11, 1965, two Poly students, one Black and one White, got into a fistfight. A White teacher stepped in and was later accused of using unnecessary force on the African American student. Poly students organized, with all of the Black athletes on the nationally-ranked track team walking out in solidarity on the day of a large track meet. The NAACP intervened in support of the Poly students. As a result of the incident, the Poly Interracial Human Relations Committee was funded by the Long Beach Unified School District and headed by Bill Barnes. Among the issues that the Committee identified was the need for more African Americans in the Poly administration.

It was around this same time that the first voluntary integration efforts in Long Beach schools were established. This “one way” diversification effort offered selected students the opportunity to go to predominantly White schools, but not vice-versa. In 1955, Sharon Diggs Jackson transferred from Lincoln school to Minnie Gant Elementary (1854 N. Britton, extant) for her fifth-grade year. Jackson’s experience was mostly positive. “It wasn’t always easy

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<sup>142</sup> Mike Guardabascio and Tyler Hendrickson, *The History of Long Beach Poly: Scholars and Champions* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2019), 65.

<sup>143</sup> Guardabascio and Hendrickson, *The History of Long Beach Poly*, 65.

<sup>144</sup> *1955 Caerulea*, Long Beach, CA: Long Beach Polytechnic High School, no page.

<sup>145</sup> Emily Gonzalez, “Race Relations in an Urban School: The Poly Community Interracial,” Historical Society of Long Beach, 4.

<sup>146</sup> Bill Duncan, “Poly’s Problem: Alienation,” *Independent Press-Telegram*, August 20, 1967, B4.

being the first Black,” remembers Jackson, “But it forced me to focus and set a clear path for myself.”<sup>147</sup> In 1971, she was among the first African American students to attend Wilson High School.<sup>148</sup> Other members of her family attended Poly.



Figure 39. Black Panther Captain “Squeaky” Jones addresses Poly High School students from Administration Building canopy, 1969. Source: Stan Leppard and George Laine, “Boycott Threat at L.B. Poly,” *Long Beach Independent*, May 29, 1969.

On May 27, 1969, another confrontation occurred after an off-campus group reportedly circulated anti-African American, Neo-Nazi propaganda on campus. Subsequently, widespread fighting broke out on campus. After the fighting was stopped, 200 Black students assembled in the quad in front of the administration building. Alfred “Squeaky” Jones, a Poly graduate and Black Panther area captain, addressed the crowd, telling them to not let their emotions take control, but rather meet at Martin Luther King Jr. Park to discuss the problems.<sup>149</sup> The group came up with a list of demands for Poly administrators, including “the expression of just grievances, that police be removed

from campus, more student participation in administration meetings, teachers mishandling students be fired, the installment of an African American principal, an investigation into the source of the pamphlets, the formation of a Black Student Union, and a committee to investigate administration policies and rules.”<sup>150</sup> Two days later, police assembled in front of the school wearing riot gear to separate 200-300 White students and parents from 150 African Americans who marched to the school from King Park.<sup>151</sup>

Three years later, a skirmish between a White Poly student who was an usher at the Rivoli Theater and some African American youth became the subject of widespread violence at Poly. One afternoon a fight between 500 students dominated the campus quad. One student was hospitalized and 28 were treated on-site. Twenty-one students were suspended. For the remainder of the school year, police officers were stationed on campus.

<sup>147</sup> Sharon Diggs Jackson, telephone interview with the author, May 5, 2022

<sup>148</sup> Sharon Diggs Jackson, telephone interview with the author, May 5, 2022.

<sup>149</sup> Emily Gonzalez, “Race Relations in an Urban School: The Poly Community Interracial,” *Historical Society of Long Beach*, 7.

<sup>150</sup> Stan Leppard and George Lane, “25 Students Hurt in Campus Melee,” *Independent Press-Telegram*, May 29, 1969, A1.

<sup>151</sup> Guardabascio and Hendrickson, *The History of Long Beach Poly*, 73.

The former Human Relations Committee, now known as the Poly Community Interracial Committee (PCIC) increased its activity in the early 1970s, meeting multiple times a week to address issues and create new programs. The first African American president of the PTA, Mary Butler, helped found the PCIC.

Chicano students formed a *Federacion Estudiantil Chicana de Azatlan* (FEChA) organization at Poly in 1971. The group sought more representation of its students as well as more Spanish-speaking staff and faculty. The Asian American Club at Poly was also formed in 1971. The end of the Vietnam War in 1975 also brought a wave of Vietnamese refugee students to Poly, followed by a wave of Cambodian students.

The Poly Community Interracial Committee successfully implemented several programs. The Program of Additional Curricular Experiences (PACE), a college-prep program designed to make Poly an academic magnet school, was one of the earliest in the country. PACE offered a series of Advanced Placement (AP) classes that provided high school students with college credit. In addition to raising the academic standards at Poly, the program was widely credited with stemming “White flight” from the school.<sup>152</sup>



Figure 40. Long Beach Polytechnic High School, 2020. Source: Historic Resources Group.

Another powerful program was the replacement of the Homecoming queen and court with International Ambassadors in 1976. The group was composed of both male and female race-specific representatives from the African American, Latina/o, White, and Asian communities. Another program to promote cultural understanding between students was the Poly North Human Relations Camp, held over a weekend in the mountains of Southern California.

The success of Polytechnic High School’s PACE program is illustrated by the academic career of Julie Jakosalem, a Long Beach Filipina student who won the Seymour Award, California’s highest academic award, in 1978. Jakosalem’s family immigrated to Long Beach from the Philippines in 1963. In addition to exceptional scholastic achievement, Jakosalem served as president of Poly’s Filipino-Guamanian Club, president of the Girls League, and was a teachers’ aide in a local Head Start program.<sup>153</sup> The following year, the student body president at Poly was Pete Cunanan, the son of a Filipino father and a Guamanian mother. Cunanan sat on the Long Beach Board of Education as a nonvoting representative of

<sup>152</sup> Guardabascio and Hendrickson, *The History of Long Beach Poly*, 89.

<sup>153</sup> “Long Beach Girl Wins Seymour Award,” *Los Angeles Times*, April 27, 1978, SE\_A10.

students in 1979—suggesting that student and parental requests for diversity and representative leadership had made great strides since the 1950s.<sup>154</sup>

Not all new policies and programs were a success, however. The Board of Education enacted a policy in 1973 that any new Black student who moved into the Poly district had to attend a school at which they were promoting racial diversity, instead of their neighborhood school. The African American community felt this policy was unfair. Then-president of the Long Beach Chapter of the NAACP, Frank Berry, filed a suit against the Board, and the policy was ultimately revoked in 1979.<sup>155</sup>

Over the years, along with the population of Long Beach, the student body of Long Beach Polytechnic High School has continued to diversify. As a microcosm of Long Beach, Poly reflects the promise of “the International City.”

### **SUMMARY**

In sum, integration in Long Beach would not have been possible without the remarkable work of the Fair Housing Foundation. Their innovative practices and persistence made them one of the leading fair housing organizations in the state. CSULB played a transformative role in building a more diverse population and diverse culture in the city, and students and policies at Poly High School helped further the cause of civil rights and integration of diverse populations in the city. Yet more work was still to be done as parts of the city still remained predominantly White, and a new form of multi-family housing would once again affect the supply of affordable housing in the city.

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<sup>154</sup> “Not Old Enough to Vote, He’s on School Board,” *Los Angeles Times*, July 26, 1979, SE\_A6.

<sup>155</sup> Dorothy Korber, “Lawsuit Asks ‘New Resident’ Busing Include Whites,” *Independent Press-Telegram*, May 18, 1979, B2.



## NORTH LONG BEACH TRANSFORMED, REDLINING CONTINUES & THE CONDO CONVERSION MOVEMENT, 1975-1979

As early as 1969, a few African American families started moving into North Long Beach and were met with the same blockbusting tactics used in other neighborhoods. By 1976, these blockbusting efforts were largely unsuccessful and North Long Beach became integrated with a mix of White, African American, Latina/o, and Asian American residents.<sup>156</sup> The *Independent Press-Telegram* estimated that approximately 10 percent of North Long Beach's population consisted of middle-class African Americans.<sup>157</sup>



Figure 41. Contextual view along Harbor Avenue in the College Square neighborhood, 2020. Source: Historic Resources Group.

The College Square housing tract in the northwest corner of Long Beach was the earliest part of North Long Beach to integrate.<sup>158</sup> College Square is located at the northwestern corner of the city; its boundaries are roughly East Greenleaf Boulevard on the north, West Artesia Boulevard on the south, Long Beach Boulevard on the east, and Compton College on the west.<sup>159</sup> In 1976, the College Square area also experienced a rise in crime and gang activity, which some residents correlated with neighborhood integration.<sup>160</sup>

The College Square Neighborhood Association, an interracial citizens group, was formed to combat discrimination in the area in December of 1975, becoming fully organized in February of 1976. Its most visible co-chairman was Tim Closs. The interracial nature of the group reflected the composition of the neighborhood where “there are four blacks to every six Whites.”<sup>161</sup>

The College Square Neighborhood Association was reflective of a national grass-roots movement to make integration work on a neighborhood basis. The *Independent Press-*

<sup>156</sup> “Natives, Newcomers Find Niche in Long Beach Neighborhoods,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 23, 1979.

<sup>157</sup> Charles Sutton, “Middle Class Blacks Find Haven in North L.B.,” *Independent Press-Telegram*, May 18, 1976.

<sup>158</sup> The name College Square was derived from its adjacency to Compton College.

<sup>159</sup> The College Square home development of 1951-52 (Tract No. 15768) by Ajax Construction Co., from which the neighborhood takes its name was bounded by the alley north of W. Cummings Street on the north, Artesia Boulevard on the south, the east side of Gale Avenue on the east and Compton College on the west. It is currently unclear if the integration described above was confined to the tract or the neighborhood more generally.

<sup>160</sup> Charles Sutton, “Residents Form Anti-Crime Co-ops in N. Long Beach,” *Independent Press-Telegram*, May 16, 1976.

<sup>161</sup> Sutton, “Residents Form Anti-Crime Co-ops in N. Long Beach.”

*Telegram* reported, "There's little doubt that the College Square association, even though it is not a member of National Neighbors<sup>162</sup> is part of that larger movement."<sup>163</sup> Group meetings were often held at the Starr King Presbyterian Church (120 E. Artesia Boulevard, extant) and covered crime, along with fair housing issues such as redlining practices. The group remains active to this day.

According to a 1975 study conducted by the Center for New Corporate Priorities (CNCP), redlining was actively practiced in Long Beach, including in North Long Beach, the Westside, and Zaferia (see Figure 42). In 1976, redlining was once again at the forefront of the fight for fair housing in the city. During this period, banks refused to fund mortgages in certain areas of the city due to discriminatory attitudes and the assumption of deterioration of neighborhoods in black neighborhoods and communities of color including North Long Beach, West Long Beach, and the Wrigley district.<sup>164</sup> The Ad Hoc Coalition on Redlining called on city officials to crack down on redlining and withdraw city business from financial institutions that practiced it. In support of their position, the coalition cited a report submitted by Jan Taylor, a CSULB student who confirmed through interviews with realtors that redlining was taking place in the city. Again, it was activist clergy leading the charge, including Reverend Galal Gough of the Citizen Housing Task Force and Reverend John Clement, chairman of Los Angeles-based Coalition on Redlining. In May 1976, the clergy staged a meeting at Westminster Presbyterian Church (244 Pacific Avenue, demolished). During the meeting leaders of the NAACP, Legal Aid Foundation of Long Beach, the Fair Housing Foundation, and bankers came together to discuss the situation.

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<sup>162</sup> National Neighbors was a Philadelphia-based federation of 54 interracial neighborhood groups.

<sup>163</sup> Sutton, "Residents Form Anti-Crime Co-ops in N. Long Beach."

<sup>164</sup> "Crackdown Urged on Redlining," *Independent Press-Telegram*, January 18, 1976.

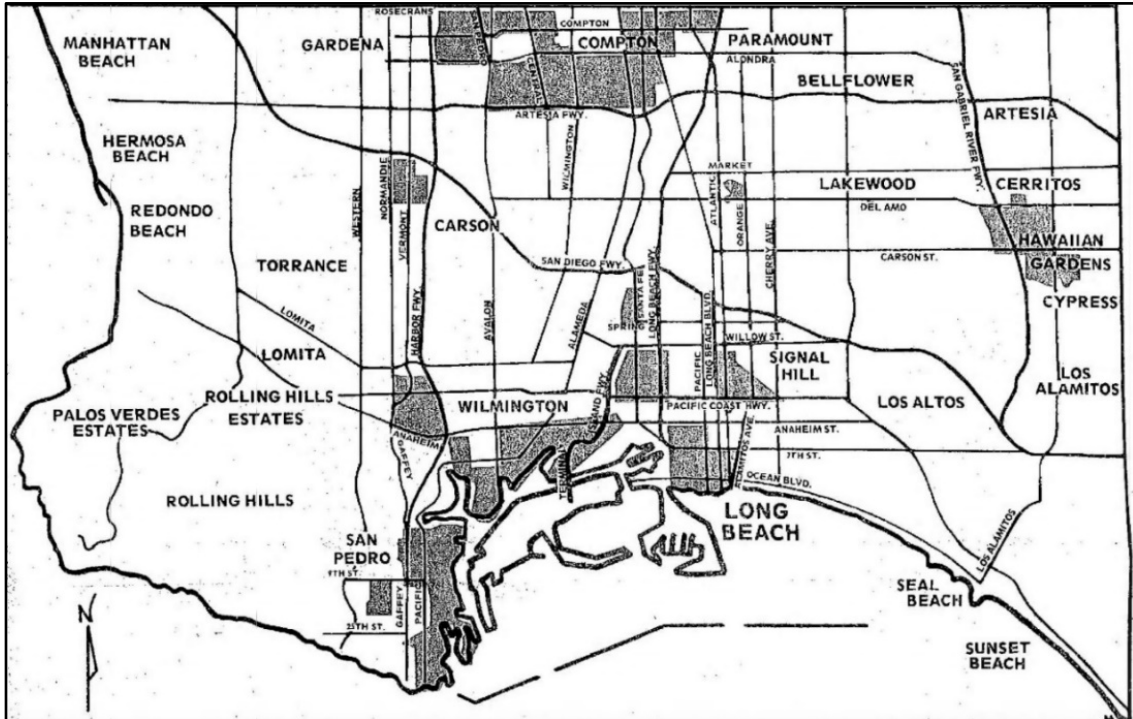


Figure 42. 1975 Redlining Map (redlined areas indicated in gray). Source: Independent Press-Telegram.

## URBAN RENEWAL IN DOWNTOWN/CENTRAL AREA

In 1975, the City of Long Beach embarked on a 25-year multi-billion-dollar redevelopment program, extending the work that was begun by the Long Beach Redevelopment Agency in 1961.

The 421-acre downtown Redevelopment Project area was bounded on the north by Seventh Street, on the South by Shoreline Drive, on the east Atlantic Avenue between Ocean Boulevard and First Street and Elm Avenue from First Street to Seventh Street, and on the west by Queens Way and Magnolia Avenue to Third Street and by Pacific Avenue from Third Street to Seventh Street.<sup>165</sup> The project was overseen by James Hankla, executive director of the Redevelopment Agency. Projects included the 14-story City Hall, the civic center superblock, Convention Center, Harbor Bank Headquarters, Long Beach Plaza mall, and the Home Savings Tower. As with most urban renewal projects, it resulted in the wholesale displacement of existing businesses and residents.

## CONDOMINIUM CONVERSIONS

In the mid-1970s, another real estate trend was affecting the available housing stock of Long Beach: condominium conversion. Condominium development, generally, reflected a movement away from single-family residences as older, empty nesters elected to downsize and eliminate backyard maintenance. The condominium movement was born out of an initial trend toward co-op apartments. However, condominiums diverged from co-op apartment arrangements in that the residences were not technically owned collectively; each unit was owned individually but common areas were subject to collective ownership. Typically, homeowners' associations were established, and monthly ownership dues funded maintenance of the common areas. A lack of financing for the new ownership concept, however, suppressed development until the mid-1960s. In 1961, the FHA was authorized to insure mortgages on condos for 85 percent of the appraised value. Yet, it wasn't until September 1963 that tax appraisal methods for condominiums were settled and developers began building condominiums in force.<sup>166</sup>

### Downtown renewal plan scheduled for hearing

By MARY ELLIS CARLTON  
Urban Affairs Editor

Businessmen and residents will have an opportunity to see, firsthand, what veteran shopping mall developer Ernest W. Hahn has on the drawing board for a six-block area of downtown Long Beach. The public meeting, arranged by the Project Area Committee for Long Beach's proposed downtown redevelopment project, is slated for Thursday, 7:30 p.m., in the Veterans Memorial Building, Cedar and Broadway.

Ray Brosterhous, director of the Long Beach Redevelopment Agency, said all interested persons are invited to attend. Jack Spencer, redevelopment coordinator for Ernest W. Hahn Inc., will discuss plans for his company's proposed development of a six-block, two-level mall with three major department stores, multi-deck parking structures and other amenities to lure shoppers back downtown.

Schematic drawings and slides of the architectural concept, designed by Gruen & Associates, also will be presented. Boundaries for the proposed shopping mall are from Ocean Boulevard north to Broadway, Long Beach Boulevard west to Pacific Avenue.

Hahn has noted on visits to Long Beach that the energy crisis, environmental concerns and new tax breaks are causing his company, one of the largest regional shopping center developers in the nation, to turn attention to downtown areas.

He pointed out that the proposed shopping mall is not an island unto itself, but that it could and should be the spark for a much greater downtown renaissance.

"Such downtown revitalizations are made possible through the California Redevelopment Law," he said.

With this legislation, a city can go into a blighted area, declare it a redevelopment project area and sell tax-increment bonds for purchase of the properties for resale, thereby offsetting prohibitive land and demolition costs to the developers.

The technology that has made the super-regional centers so successful is then easily adaptable to land sites cleared of deteriorated 50-year-old structures rather than orange groves and lemon trees.

Hahn has noted, however, that since downtown land costs are still considerably higher, designs must be more vertical. Two-level roofed malls, three-level department stores and multilevel parking structures are the only answer, he said.

At Thursday night's meeting, the 21-member Project Area Committee also will discuss the Long Beach Redevelopment Agency's recently completed Environmental Impact Report for the proposed downtown redevelopment project.

Boundaries for the total area extend, roughly, from the Pacific Ocean to Seventh Street, from Atlantic to Magnolia avenues, with some residential areas north of Third Street excluded.

Figure 43. Article announcing downtown redevelopment plan, 1975. Source: Mary Ellis Carlton, "Downtown renewal plan scheduled for hearing," *Long Beach Press-Telegram*, April 23, 1975.

<sup>165</sup> "Redevelopment Reflects Renaissance in Lifestyles," *Independent Press-Telegram*, July 6, 1975.

<sup>166</sup> Dan MacMasters, "Condominiums—The Most Exciting Housing Development in 15 Years," *Los Angeles Times*, July 26, 1964.

The condominium craze took a different form in Long Beach. Between 1975 and July of 1979, 2,350 existing apartments were converted from rental units to homes for purchase.<sup>167</sup> By this time, the city was composed of 50 percent renters, with an “unusually high percentage of poor and senior citizens on fixed incomes who cannot afford to buy.”<sup>168</sup>

Table 2: Number of Apartment Units Converted to Condominiums by Year. Source: *Los Angeles Times*, July 12, 1979.

Year	Units Converted to Condominiums
1975	41
1976	62
1977	28
1978	2,094
1979 (6 months only)	522

Among the first apartment conversions was the Lafayette Condominiums at 140 Linden Avenue (extant; Long Beach Historic Landmark). Constructed as an apartment house in the 1920s, the building began converting some of its apartments to condominiums in 1969. Consisting of 171 residential and 44 commercial units in three structures, by 1975 101 of the residential units had been sold.<sup>169</sup> The transition appears to have been made through organic vacancies rather than a mass eviction policy. In March 1975, an additional 23 condominium units were put up for auction. The Lafayette Condominiums included three buildings: the Campbell Apartments, a 10-story structure built in 1928 by R.E. Campbell, who in 1941 acquired the adjoining seven-story Lafayette Hotel built in 1929, and its eight-story annex, built in 1936.<sup>170</sup> The complex was sold to Hilton Hotels in 1967 and it functioned as such until it was redeveloped as a condominium.<sup>171</sup>

The rapid increase in conversions in 1978 coincided with both a revision to state law permitting conversions without an amendment to a city’s general plan, and a movement to restrict conversion and implement a rent control policy in the city sponsored by a group known as Long Beach Area Citizens Involved. The group was named by the *Los Angeles Times* as one of the most powerful groups in Long Beach in 1979 due to “its numbers and

<sup>167</sup> Marcida Dodson, “Condo Conversion Hits ‘Em Where They Rent,” *Los Angeles Times*, July 12, 1979.

<sup>168</sup> Dodson, “Condo Conversion Hits ‘Em Where They Rent.”

<sup>169</sup> The *Los Angeles Times* called it “the first California condominium project to combine residential and commercial units.” Dodson, “Condo Conversion Hits ‘Em Where They Rent.”

<sup>170</sup> “Auction Set for 23 Condo Homes in Long Beach,” *Los Angeles Times*, February 23, 1975.

<sup>171</sup> Conflicting historical sources on the construction dates of these buildings are found among different scholars and documentation sources. Further investigation into the construction dates may be required.



persistence.”<sup>172</sup> The group mobilized to collect 10,300 signatures to put a rent-control measure on the November 1979 ballot.<sup>173</sup> Long Beach Area Citizens Involved also advocated on issues such as the use of city funds for the Long Beach Grand Prix and school segregation.



Figure 44. Former Geneva Presbyterian Church, no date. Source: Long Beach Public Library, Long Beach Collection Digital Archive.

The Long Beach Housing Action Association, the chief renters’ rights organization in Long Beach, and its chairman Stephen Bass, led the advocacy campaign for rent control and limitations on condominium conversions from their office in the Geneva Presbyterian Church at 2625 E. 3<sup>rd</sup> Street (extant).<sup>174</sup> They were supported by other organizations including the Gray Panthers, the 1<sup>st</sup> District Neighborhood Association, REACH Housing Clinic and once again, a long list of churches. In December 1978, the Housing Action

Association asked City Council to adopt a four-point rent rollback program endorsed by 4,000 residents. The Council responded that they wanted the consensus of the electorate and put Proposition 1 on the ballot for the March 20, 1979 election. The measure was defeated with a two-thirds majority.

In November 1979, the City Council agreed to draft a moratorium on conversions but reversed itself two weeks later. A study commissioned by the City Council that recommended against stopping or slowing the rate of conversion further polarized the two factions. Ongoing tensions between owners/developers and renters only increased the momentum for conversion; by December 1979, 3,407 rental units had been converted.<sup>175</sup>

### URBAN RENEWAL EFFORTS BEGIN

Like many cities, Long Beach began to consider the redevelopment of its downtown and Central areas in the late 1960s as part of a nationwide emphasis on urban renewal. Around 1967, the Long Beach City Council commissioned the noted architectural and planning firm Victor Gruen Associates, along with Development Research Associates, to conceive of a plan to redevelop the entire Central city south area between the Los Angeles River and Los Alamitos Avenue.

<sup>172</sup> Robert J. Gore, Marcida Dodson, “Power, Once Domain of Few Diffuses in Long Beach,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 16, 1979.

<sup>173</sup> Dorothy Townsend, “Renters Seek Controls,” *Los Angeles Times*, June 6, 1978.

<sup>174</sup> Marcida Dodson, “Rent Control Heads for L.B. Showdown,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 10, 1978.

<sup>175</sup> Marcida Dodson, “Council is Referee in Condo Conversion Fight,” *Los Angeles Times*, November 22, 1979.

The first phase called for redevelopment of a 28-block, high density retail, commercial, and office center bounded by Ocean Boulevard, Pacific Avenue, 7<sup>th</sup> Street, and Elm Avenue.<sup>176</sup> Additional features included a pedestrian mall on portions of Pine and Locust Avenues and 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> Streets; elevated roadways; a tunnel below Ocean Boulevard; and an aerial tramway.<sup>177</sup>

While the Gruen plan was never fully realized, the “solution to urban ills” as described by the *Los Angeles Times*, was a thinly disguised effort to displace and redevelop areas occupied by low-income residents. It was a contributing factor in the ensuing years of redevelopment, displacement, and gentrification in Long Beach.

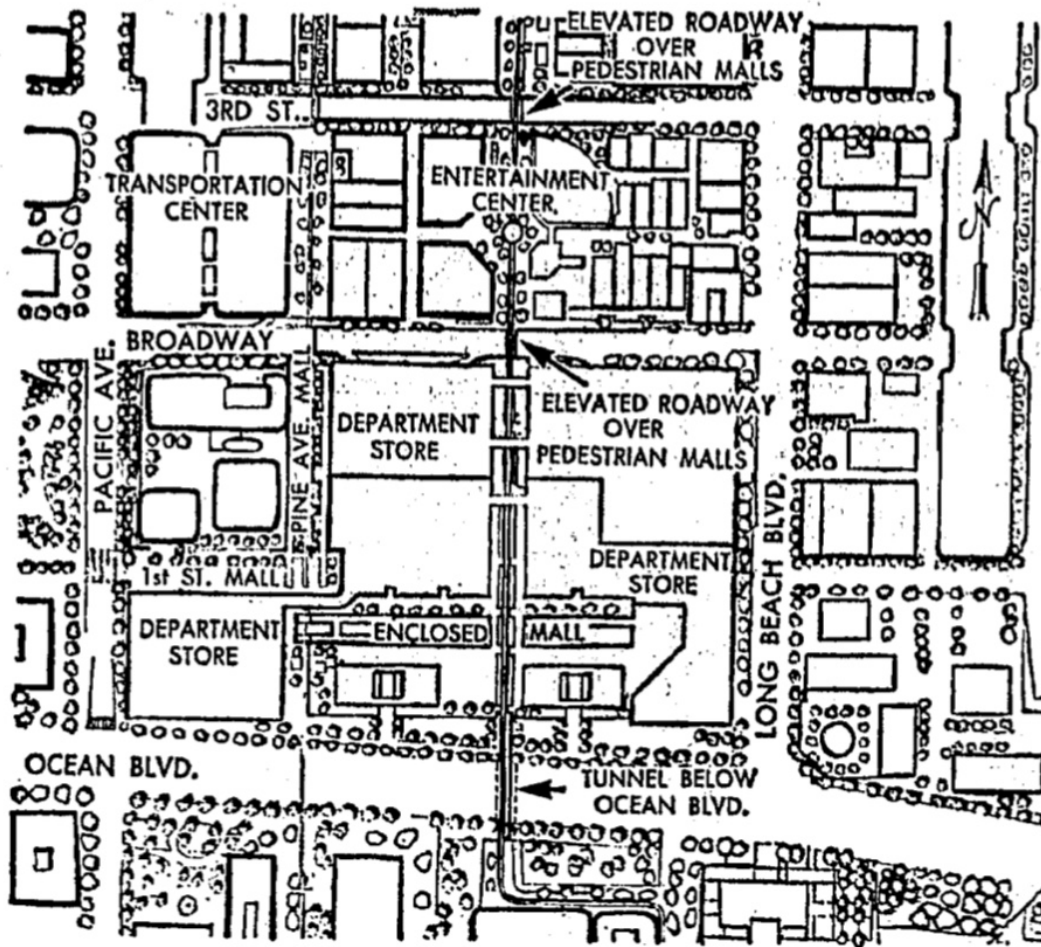


Figure 45. The Gruen Plan for downtown Long Beach (unrealized) included pedestrian malls, tunnels, and elevated railways, dividing modes of transportation vertically. Source: *Los Angeles Times*.

<sup>176</sup> "\$500 Million Long Beach Revival Renewal Plan Told," *Los Angeles Times*, December 21, 1969, E1.

<sup>177</sup> "LA Firm Probes Urban Ills," *Los Angeles Times*, January 31, 1971, I1.

**SUMMARY**

In summary, the narrative history of race and suburbanization in Long Beach has been fraught with many forms of housing discrimination — from blockbusting and redlining along racial lines to discrimination against senior citizens and members of the LGBTQ community. The pressures of real estate prices, urban renewal efforts, and aging housing stock, combined with a postwar eastward expansion of new deed-restricted residential communities, created a significant housing gap between low-income and middle-class residents. Yet, through the hard work of organizations like the Fair Housing Foundation and community advocates, Long Beach made significant progress in becoming a more diverse and integrated community.

## RACIAL AND ETHNIC GROUPS OF LONG BEACH

Diverse cultural groups thrived in Long Beach after World War II. Following is a brief summary of each of the major cultural groups in the city from the period of approximately 1945-1979. This is not intended to be a thorough history of each community; it is meant to supplement the Ethnographic Study in the Citywide Historic Context Statement and provide additional context for the waves of immigration and migration to Long Beach in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The discussion focuses on the postwar history of each group to provide a basic framework for the identification of properties that may have an important association with development patterns in the city, the fight for fair housing, support of new communities of color arriving in the city, or are otherwise significant to a cultural community during the postwar period. While the emphasis of this context statement overall is on fair housing and civil rights in the immediate postwar period, important cultural organizations, institutions, and businesses established outside the postwar period have been noted where known or relevant. It is also acknowledged that the indigenous Gabriellino people remain present in the community of Long Beach; however, given the postwar focus of this study, a discussion of their history is outside the scope of this report. Their history and culture are discussed in the Long Beach Citywide Historic Context Statement.<sup>178</sup>

Research reveals a number of common influences that drew a wide variety of cultural groups to the area:

- Rancho Los Alamitos was an early and important factor in the growth and development of a variety of cultural populations in Long Beach. The ranch employed Chinese Americans and Mexican Americans; and the ranchlands were home to Japanese American farmers, and, eventually, the Filipino farmers who replaced them during incarceration.
- The local defense industries (the shipyards and Douglas Aircraft) drew a large number of African Americans to the city seeking better jobs and opportunities than those available in the South.
- The Navy itself, with its military presence on the islands and active recruitment of locals, was a catalyst for an influx of Asian Pacific Islander populations from the Philippines, Guam, and the Samoas.
- The robust exchange student program at California State University, Long Beach helped to establish populations of Southeast Asians in the city. Many students

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<sup>178</sup> For a discussion of Native Americans in Long Beach, see the Citywide Historic Context Statement: <http://www.longbeach.gov/globalassets/lbds/media-library/documents/planning/historic-preservation/historic-pres-docs/lb-historic-context-statement>.

stayed in Long Beach and then brought family and friends fleeing from persecution and war in places like Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia.

Appendix A includes “Cultural Maps” which provide general geographic information related to concentrations of cultural groups in the city, where data is available. There are four maps, created by dividing the city into four quadrants. Note that these maps are intended to orient the reader and illustrate how certain areas of the city have been occupied by different cultural groups over time. The map in quadrant three (that corresponds to East Long Beach) indicates a lack of cultural groups in that part of the city in the years after World War II, due to racial covenants and other discriminatory practices in the postwar subdivisions in that part of the city. Information in the maps reflects research and input from the Advisory Committee.

It must be acknowledged that many of the cultural groups discussed in this study have overlapping geographies in Long Beach neighborhoods. This contributes to a significant complexity in understanding the layers of history within the built environment. Given the evolution of individual properties and neighborhoods in response to changing demographics, it is often difficult to understand or identify significant physical features. It is therefore important to note that this intersectionality may result in historic resources that are connected to more than one community, and/or may have been altered over time such that a revised approach to evaluating historic integrity may be warranted in the identification of potential historic resources.

For each cultural group in the city, the following discussion addresses the influences that brought an influx of each population to the area; information about neighborhoods and settlement patterns, where available; and an overview of important or long-term institutions, community organizations, businesses, and community leaders. The section is organized roughly chronologically, based generally on when each group arrived in the city; however, it should be noted that represented ethnic groups coexisted and overlapped throughout Long Beach history. For those groups who arrived in the city toward the end of the period of study for this context statement, a brief summary is included here to assist future researchers and lay the groundwork for additional study of these communities.

As described in the previous sections, the intersection of racial covenants and other discriminatory practices in the immediate postwar period were primarily targeted at African American residents. However, institutionalized discrimination against African Americans established development patterns (or more accurately stifled access to housing) for people of color generally, including for other immigrant groups and people of color who arrived in the city in later decades. The history of the fight for racial justice is also intersectional, with communities of color organizing in support of migrant and immigrant groups. The information in this section is therefore also intended to provide some insight on the impact of these practices on the settlement patterns of communities of color in Long Beach.



## AFRICAN AMERICANS IN LONG BEACH

*Our people need better housing, they need to be able to own their homes, and they need better jobs. The Long Beach policy has been to confine Negroes to a limited area. You can't cram a lot of people into an area large enough for only a few people and not eventually create a slum. When people are denied the right to own their own houses, the property they occupy runs down...[In] May 1948 the United States Supreme Court ruled that the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment in the Constitution made restrictive covenants in owning and occupying property invalid, but when we want to buy property outside of this Myrtle to Orange, 10<sup>th</sup> to Hill area, we run into barriers, technicalities that prevent our buying. Even we who are veterans can't buy. We see all these signs about 'Veterans Housing-\$300 Down,' but that never means us.<sup>179</sup>*

Robert H. Minor  
President of the NAACP, Long Beach  
Insurance and Real Estate Agent

The period between 1940 to 1970 is often referred to as the Second Great Migration, when more than four million African Americans left the South for the North or West.<sup>180</sup> As shown in Table 3, the African American population of Long Beach increased significantly during this period, particularly in the postwar years. It more than doubled between 1950 and 1960, then doubled again in 1970 and 1980, with African Americans eventually accounting for more than fourteen percent of the city's total population by 1990.

Long Beach, as a center of war production (shipyards and aircraft assembly), was a magnet for African American men in search of jobs. In 1941, the Roosevelt administration signed an executive order to prevent discrimination in war production plants. The order created the Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC), which could recommend cancellation of defense contracts for discrimination violations. Yet, the FEPC and other federal agencies both tolerated and supported joint management-union policies that kept African Americans from doing all but the most poorly-paid tasks in the defense industry. This led to suppressed incomes for Blacks and a widening gap in generational wealth between Whites and African Americans.<sup>181</sup> This was exacerbated in California, and in Long Beach specifically, by

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<sup>179</sup> Vera Williams, "Negro in Long Beach: 15,000 Find Special Problems," *Independent Press-Telegram*, November 9, 1952.

<sup>180</sup> Rothstein, *The Color of Law*, 155. For the history of African Americans in Long Beach pre-dating this period, see the Citywide Historic Context Statement: <http://www.longbeach.gov/globalassets/lbds/media-library/documents/planning/historic-preservation/historic-pres-docs/lb-historic-context-statement>.

<sup>181</sup> Rothstein, *The Color of Law*, 159.

escalating home values in predominantly White suburbs during the last half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Immediately after the War, employment of former African American servicemen in civilian jobs in Long Beach was severely restricted. In 1947, the Long Beach Civil Rights Committee was created to fight against such discrimination. Their first success came that same year, with the hiring of Black clerks at the Ed & Roy Market (1523 Caspian Avenue, not extant) and the A & J Market (1036 E. Anaheim Street, extant). The Long Beach Ford Motor Plant was a rare example of private industry in Long Beach that employed African Americans during this period. Regardless of these small victories, African American access to employment in private industry in Long Beach was primarily restricted to those organizations that had government contracts (such as Douglas Aircraft and the Navy shipyard) that required non-discrimination in hiring.

Discrimination in post-World War II Long Beach affected tourism as well. Although Long Beach was a long-time tourist destination, the city was not welcoming to African American tourists. In 1948, Leon H. Washington, publisher of the *Los Angeles Sentinel*, protested Long Beach as the location of the 1948 Democratic National Convention because local restaurants practiced segregation, and there were no hotels in the city that welcomed African Americans.<sup>182</sup> A review of Green Book listings for this period bear out this claim.<sup>183</sup> The convention was subsequently moved to another location.

In November 1952, a three-part series on the African American community of Long Beach appeared in the *Independent Press-Telegram*. The first of the three articles describes the wartime migration from southern states including Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Oklahoma for open jobs in the shipyards and war plants in Long Beach. It also chronicles how many African American servicemen were stationed in Long Beach or passed through as they shipped out for duty. After the war, these men returned with their families and made Long Beach their home.<sup>184</sup> The article documents that the majority of the population lived in the housing projects: Cabrillo Homes, Truman Boyd Manor, Carmelitos, and the Navy Housing Project; and in the Central area roughly bounded by Myrtle Avenue, Orange Avenue, 10<sup>th</sup> Street, and Hill Street.

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<sup>182</sup> "Oppose Long Beach for Democratic Meet," *Los Angeles Sentinel*, October 16, 1947.

<sup>183</sup> The Green Book was the travel guide for African Americans to help them navigate travel in a discriminatory society.

<sup>184</sup> Williams, "Negro in Long Beach: 15,000 Find Special Problems."

Table 3: African American Population in City of Long Beach, U.S. Census<sup>185</sup>

Year	African American Population	Total Population	% African American
1910	100	17,809	.6%
1920	142	55,593	.3%
1930	353	142,032	.2%
1940	610	164,271	.4%
1950	4,267	250,767	1.7%
1960	9,531	344,168	2.8%
1970	18,991	358,633	5.3%
1980	40,738	361,334	11.3%
1990	58,761	429,433	13.7%
2000	68,767	461,522	14.9%
2010	62,603	462,257	13.5%
2020	59,276	466,742	12.7%

### Housing Discrimination

In 1955, the Civic League of Long Beach engaged local sociologist John Hepler (born c. 1925) to conduct a study that “disclosed that a substantial number of [African American] families would have liked to live in areas like North Long Beach, Belmont Heights, Belmont Shore and West Long Beach.”<sup>186</sup> Seventy percent of respondents indicated they had residential preferences outside the Central area. The study also found that ability to pay was not a factor; an estimated 300 African American families had the desire and ability to pay.<sup>187</sup> When asked if the respondents had any objection to being the only non-White on a block, “the answer was almost universally negative.”<sup>188</sup>

The report assessed “open supply” on the Westside and found that discrimination against African Americans far exceeded that of other races. Of the twelve sellers on the Westside,

<sup>185</sup> U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Census Statistics on Population Totals By Race, 1790 to 1990*, <https://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0076/twps0076.pdf> (accessed January 9, 2020).

<sup>186</sup> Charles Sutton, “Pride and Prejudice, Part II,” *Independent Press-Telegram Southland Sunday*, November 29, 1970, 14.

<sup>187</sup> Herb Shannon, “Non-White Housing Lack Builds Up Pressure Here,” *Independent Press-Telegram*, July 17, 1955.

<sup>188</sup> “Comprehensive Community Survey by John Hepler,” in “Housing 1950” clippings file, Special Collections, Long Beach Public Library.

ten had no objection to selling to “Orientals,” yet only one expressed no objection to selling to African Americans.<sup>189</sup> The report also warned that residential segregation was on the rise in the city. Suggested remedies included integration, establishment of a Mayor’s Commission on Intergroup Relations, and the formation of an Urban League chapter in Long Beach. None of these recommendations appear to have been implemented.

An example of the kind of hate crimes African Americans who attempted to move into White neighborhoods faced was the vandalism experienced by Dr. Charles Terry and his family.<sup>190</sup> In 1958, they purchased a \$45,000 home at 4240 Cerritos Avenue (extant) in the Bixby Knolls area; vandals caused \$15,000 in damage to the home the night before the Terry family was to move in. The police determined the crime to be the work of adults.<sup>191</sup> Mrs. Ruby Terry blamed the incidents

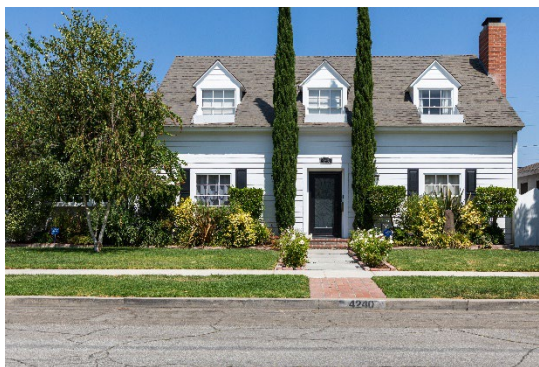


Figure 46. Dr. Charles Terry residence, 4240 Cerritos Avenue, 2020. Source: Historic Resources Group.

on realtors who “encouraged hysteria” when they purchased the home.<sup>192</sup> A group of “concerned” neighbors offered to repurchase the house from the Terry family.<sup>193</sup> The Long Beach Council of Churches condemned the crime. The incident rated newspaper headlines as far away as Washington, D.C., and was aired on radio and TV news. In response, the Long Beach NAACP held a meeting to protest the “atrocious and savage vandalism” of the home in the Grant Chapel of the A.M.E. Church (1129 Alamitos Avenue, extant).<sup>194</sup> In July, the City Council unanimously condemned the vandalism.

Despite the trauma, the Terry family moved in. The incident was remembered this way by Cynthia Terry, one of the Terry’s seven children, who was ten years old at the time:

We had a three-bedroom, one-bathroom home on Myrtle Avenue for my parents and seven children. I remember [my parents] looking for a new home. They looked all over Long Beach: in Belmont Heights, Alamitos Bay, as well as Bixby Knolls. Most of the bigger homes were in White neighborhoods. When they found the house in Bixby Knolls it was like a dream. On the day we were supposed to move in, they left us with a babysitter, went to open the house, with the promise they would come

<sup>189</sup> “Comprehensive Community Survey by John Hepler,” in “Housing 1950” clippings file, Special Collections, Long Beach Public Library.

<sup>190</sup> Dr. Terry had moved to Long Beach in 1950. A graduate of Howard University, he served three years in the U.S. Army Medical Corps.

<sup>191</sup> “Vandalism Reported to Be Work of Adults,” *Independent Press-Telegram*, July 4, 1958.

<sup>192</sup> “Real Estate Minority Curbs Hit,” *Independent Press-Telegram*, January 20, 1960.

<sup>193</sup> “Residents Rap Vandalism,” *Independent Press-Telegram*, June 24, 1958.

<sup>194</sup> “Meeting to Assail Race Ban,” *Independent Press-Telegram*, June 29, 1958.

back and get everyone. We waited for hours. When they came home, they were somber. They sat us all down and shared with us that our home had been vandalized. That was my first confrontation with racism: something really tangible. They handled it so well...they didn't do it in a bitter way. No animosity. They were very factual. But what I remember them saying is, "Don't worry, we are still moving in." Moving in was not only symbolic for our family but for the African American community. My parents didn't model fear. They modeled that it was the right thing to do.<sup>195</sup>

The Terry family was subjected to more vandalism in September of that same year, when a rock was tossed through a bay window at the rear of the home while occupied by three of the Terry children and a babysitter, causing \$7,500 in damage.<sup>196</sup>



Figure 47. Otis M. Williams residence, 3821 E. 15<sup>th</sup> Street, 2020. Source: Historic Resources Group.

Otis M. Williams and his family decided to build a home at 3821 E. 15<sup>th</sup> Street (extant) in 1961. While under construction a sign that read "We don't want you in our neighborhood," was posted in front of the house. Williams, a 44-year-old mathematics and drafting professor at the Business and Technology Division of Long Beach City College and his wife, Delia, a Compton elementary school teacher, were undaunted and the construction of the three-bedroom/bathroom, two-story home

continued. On May 27, 1961, six more anti-African American signs were posted on the property including one reading "Go West Williams, Go West. West of Orange," an obvious reference to the integrated Westside neighborhood.<sup>197</sup> That was followed by an offer from a group of neighboring property owners to purchase the parcel. Despite the harassment, the Williams family persisted and moved in.<sup>198</sup> The Williams were one of the six families reported to have lived in White neighborhoods of Long Beach in 1963.<sup>199</sup>

<sup>195</sup> Cynthia Terry, telephone interview with Sian Winship, August 21, 2020.

<sup>196</sup> "Vandals Hit Home of Doctor," *Independent Press-Telegram*, September 1, 1958.

<sup>197</sup> "Group Asks to Buy Negro's Property," *Independent Press-Telegram*, May 27, 1961.

<sup>198</sup> As confirmed by their appearance in the 1963 City directory at that address.

<sup>199</sup> "Negroes Find Housing in Only 2 Long Beach Areas," *Independent Press-Telegram*, September 13, 1963.



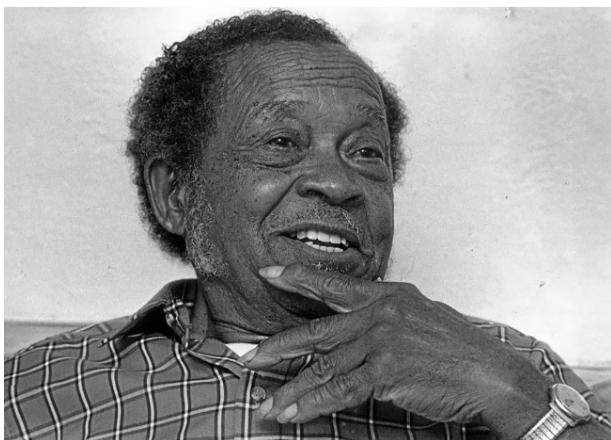


Figure 48. Ernest McBride, 1987. Source: Press-Telegram.

Ernest McBride and his wife Lillian also personally faced housing discrimination in the city. Friends encouraged them to move to East Long Beach, near Wilson High School, in an effort to integrate the area. Lillian vetoed the idea, as she was already receiving phone threats due to their NAACP activity. They elected to move to 1461 Lemon Avenue (designated a Long Beach Historic Landmark in 1994) in the Central neighborhood.<sup>200</sup> The McBrides were the

second African American family to move into their new neighborhood. Before they moved in, a petition was circulated to keep them from purchasing the home.

As Polly Johnson documented in the Landmark nomination for the house:

Their Black neighbor told the other neighbors that he had known McBride as long as he had been in Long Beach, so he knew that even if they burned his house down, McBride would get a tent and live on that ground. He said that passing the petition was a waste of time. He refused to sign, and that was the end of the petition. After Ernest and his family moved in, other houses in the neighborhood went up for sale.<sup>201</sup>

White sellers also faced harassment. Fred and Trude Gabor recounted threats that they received for showing a vacancy to an African American family. "We got horrible telephone calls," Mrs. Gabor explained, "some as late as 3AM. One man threatened to 'break every bone in your body.' One person called my husband's employer, got through to a vice president and demanded that my husband be discharged as a Communist."<sup>202</sup>

Even within the Central district, home ownership by African Americans was relatively rare. Examples of Black families that owned their homes during the late 1950s and early 1960s included the Craigs (2017 Lewis Avenue, extant), the Fowlkes (2369 Olive Avenue, extant), and Estells (1446 Olive, extant).<sup>203</sup>

<sup>200</sup> Aaron L. Day and Indira Hale Tucker, *The Heritage of African Americans in Long Beach* (West Conshohocken, PA: Infinity Publishing, 2007), 86.

<sup>201</sup> Polly Johnson, "The Ernest and Lillian McBride Home," Historical Landmark Designation, September 6, 1994, 3.

<sup>202</sup> George Weeks, "West Side Blockbusting Ghetto Planning Alleged," *Independent Press-Telegram*, April 16, 1965.

<sup>203</sup> Sharon Diggs Jackson, telephone interview with the author, May 5, 2022.

## Watts Rebellion

The Watts Rebellion, or Watts Riots, which lasted for six days, was the largest urban rebellion of the Civil Rights era.<sup>204</sup> On August 11, 1965, Marquette Frye, a young African American motorist, was pulled over and arrested by Lee W. Minikus, a White California Highway Patrolman, for suspicion of driving while intoxicated. As a crowd of onlookers gathered at the scene of Frye's arrest, strained tensions between police officers and the crowd erupted in a violent exchange. The outbreak of violence that followed Frye's arrest immediately touched off large-scale civil unrest centered in the commercial section of Watts, an African American neighborhood in South Los Angeles. The rebellion was a result of the Watts community's longstanding grievances with the history of police brutality against African Americans, and growing discontentment with high unemployment rates, substandard housing, and inadequate schools.



Figure 49. Newspaper headline about riot and curfew, August 16, 1965. Source: Independent Press-Telegram.

For several days, rioters overturned and burned automobiles and looted and damaged grocery stores, liquor stores, department stores, and pawnshops. Over the course of the six-day riot, over 14,000 California National Guard troops were mobilized in South Los Angeles and a curfew zone encompassing over forty-five miles was established in an attempt to restore public order. All told, the rioting claimed the lives of thirty-four people, resulted in more than one thousand reported injuries, and almost four thousand arrests before order was restored on August 17.

On August 15, 1965, the violence of the Watts Riots spread to Long Beach. That day, fires were set in central Long Beach by rioters who had fled the Watts area.<sup>205</sup> In response, then City Manager John Mansell imposed a curfew on a 10-block area bordered by Long Beach Boulevard, Alamitos Avenue, 10<sup>th</sup> Street, and Pacific Coast Highway. The evening of August 16, people began throwing bricks at passing cars outside an apartment on California Avenue near New York Street. Two Long Beach police officers intervened. During a scuffle, one of the officer's guns discharged killing Officer Richard Lefebvre and wounding his partner, George

<sup>204</sup> Description of the event adapted from Civil Rights Digital Library, "Watts Riots," [http://crdl.usg.edu/events/watts\\_riots/?Welcome](http://crdl.usg.edu/events/watts_riots/?Welcome) (Accessed September 1, 2020).

<sup>205</sup> "Watts Riots Touched L.B.," *Press-Telegram*, August 11, 2005, A12.

Medak. In the wake of the Watts Riots, a local group of teenagers formed the “Long Beach Junior Rioters;” members of the group were arrested for setting more than 50 fires in the area bounded by Atlantic Avenue, Alamitos Avenue, 12<sup>th</sup> Street and 20<sup>th</sup> Street.<sup>206</sup>

Throughout the late 1960s there was continued urban unrest throughout the country. Incidents in Long Beach were relatively minor, although they did occur and were part of pattern of protest reflective of the nation. On July 26-27, 1967, police were called to the Central district.<sup>207</sup> On the second night of the disturbance, police surrounded about 75 African Americans outside of the California Recreation Center. Tensions escalated and windows were smashed in buildings along Pacific Coast Highway. These incidents coincided with rioting that was happening in Detroit. Protest efforts in Long Beach continued into the late 1960s and were commonly located in or around Long Beach Polytechnic High School (see section on Long Beach Polytechnic High School).

### Long Beach NAACP

As told by Ernest McBride, Sr., “my wife and I were fed up with discrimination in Long Beach and decided to try to form a local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).”<sup>208</sup> It was October 1940 when they received their official charter. They recruited friends Roscoe Hayes, L.J. Jones, and Nathan Holly. Nathan was the President and Lillian was the Secretary/Treasurer. Ernest was the Field Secretary. The first meeting was held at the McBride’s residence (1917 ½ Lewis Avenue, extant).<sup>209</sup> They later moved the general meetings to the African American churches: Christ Second Baptist Church and Grant African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church.



Figure 50. NAACP members, c. 1948. From left to right: Ernest McBride, Jr., Annabelle Colhn, Lillian McBride, Ernestine Cheatham, Hildren Cheatham, and Percy Anderson. Source: Long Beach Public Library, Long Beach Collection Digital Archive.

In Long Beach, the local NAACP chapter took the lead in addressing issues raised in the national Civil Rights Movement. Housing and employment discrimination were identified as two early and important issues. Advocating against discriminatory false arrests and police brutality were also common NAACP activities. The group sued the Long Beach Unified School District (LBUSD) because of unfair busing, and helped elect the first African American, Bobbie

<sup>206</sup> Ivers, *The Remaking of a Seaside City*, 37.

<sup>207</sup> “Fires Set in Central L.B. Area,” *Independent Press-Telegram*, July 27, 1967, 1.

<sup>208</sup> McBride and Nash, *Fighting for the People*, 89.

<sup>209</sup> Sunny Nash, ed., *Untold Legacies*, 53.

Smith, to the school district board.<sup>210</sup> The NAACP also advocated against the eviction of people of color from Long Beach's Cabrillo Homes War Emergency Housing Complex. The Long Beach NAACP also formed a youth group. Early members of the group included Polytechnic High School student James Wilson (c. 1928-1986), who in 1970 became the city's first African American City Councilman.<sup>211</sup> In his memoir, Ernest McBride, Sr. remembered that the police department and the post office attempted to identify NAACP members and tag them as Communists.<sup>212</sup>



Figure 51. Woolworth, 345 N. Pine Avenue, 2020. Source: Historic Resources Group.

One of the first issues the local NAACP tackled was to eliminate employment discrimination at Douglas Aircraft,<sup>213</sup> followed by integrating the Local 507 Union, city employment, city bus drivers, and taxi drivers.<sup>214</sup> NAACP president Percy Anderson fought to eliminate discrimination in public accommodations, specifically using passive resistance to demonstrate against separate lunch counters at the Woolworth store at 345 N. Pine Avenue (extant) and the S.H. Kress

Store at 449 N. Pine Avenue (altered; Long Beach Historic Landmark) in March of 1960.<sup>215</sup> The organization led advocacy efforts for open housing prior to the establishment of the Fair Housing Foundation.

The NAACP fought against many incidents of discrimination. In his memoir, Ernest McBride recalled his efforts to integrate African American workers into the retail markets of Long Beach. McBride had urged young Black men to attend Long Beach City College and study business. However, program graduates could not join the Retail Clerks Union—which barred African Americans. McBride approached local store managers to hire the graduates. However, it took months of NAACP picketing of the Cole's Market (1843 Santa Fe Avenue;

<sup>210</sup> Chapter presidents of the Long Beach NAACP included Nathan Holly, Charles Watkins, R.B. White, Robert Jackson, Robert Minor, Aaron Herrington, Zelma Lipscomb, Joseph Brooks, Horace Rains, John Grigsby, Joseph Kennerson, Percy Anderson, Lloyd Pittman, Eddie Bernard, and Frank Berry.

<sup>211</sup> "Racism Was Tradition in Long Beach," *Press-Telegram*, February 12, 1999.

<sup>212</sup> McBride and Nash, *Fighting for the People*, 90.

<sup>213</sup> The United Auto Workers (UAW) charged Douglas with discrimination on behalf of Thomas Allen and John R. Watkins, two African American employees who were "downgraded" and received pay cuts.

<sup>214</sup> "Long Beach Branch," *Los Angeles Sentinel*, July 5, 1990.

<sup>215</sup> "Negroes in Long Beach Support Southern Strike," *Los Angeles Times*, March 29, 1960.

demolished) to engender just one hire. After that first success, McBride moved onto other Long Beach markets, effecting change one store at a time.<sup>216</sup>

In addition to their other advocacy efforts, the NAACP worked to end housing discrimination in the city. The group assisted three African American families who had moved into the deed-restricted neighborhood bordered by Hill Street to the north, Pacific Coast Highway to the south, present-day Martin Luther King, Jr. Avenue to the east, and Atlantic Avenue to the west. Shortly after moving in, the families received notices from the court telling them they had to relocate.<sup>217</sup> As secretary of the NAACP, Ernest McBride reached out to Loren Miller, then head of the national NAACP housing committee, to answer the court order. Before the case went to court, however, the Supreme Court outlawed restrictive covenants.

### Other Community Trailblazers



Figure 52. Zelma Lipscomb, date unknown. Source: Aaron L. Day and Indira Hale Tucker, *The Heritage of African Americans in Long Beach* (West Conshohocken, PA: Infinity Publishing, 2007).

Postwar civil rights activist Zelma Lipscomb (1911-2006) arrived in Long Beach in 1937 and founded the Benevolent Club of Long Beach in 1946. The Benevolent Club was a philanthropic/service club that raised money and provided volunteers for other charities.<sup>218</sup> Benevolent Club meetings rotated among the homes of its members including that of Zelma Lipscomb, who was president in 1954. At the time, Lipscomb lived at 1436 Lemon Avenue (extant).

In addition to her work with the Benevolent Club, Lipscomb was involved in the American Council of Negro Women, the Long Beach Council of Churches, and the Fair Housing Foundation. In the late 1960s, while serving as president of the Long Beach chapter of the NAACP, she also was a member of the Long Beach Human Relations Commission and represented the city at the funeral of Martin Luther King, Jr. in 1968.<sup>219</sup> She worked for 35 years for the Long Beach Public

Library.

<sup>216</sup> McBride and Nash, *Fighting for the People*, 109-112.

<sup>217</sup> Polly Johnson, "The Ernest and Lillian McBride Home," Historical Landmark Designation, September 6, 1994, 2.

<sup>218</sup> A 1964 brochure about the Benevolent Club's building fund campaign contains advertisements for Guaranteed Homes of Long Beach, and Ashby Real Estate (run by real estate salesman and educator George R. Ashby who had an office at 2330 Santa Fe Avenue, extant). Little is known about the specific involvement of either of these firms in the Long Beach African American community, but their financial support of the Benevolent Club suggests they may have been supportive of the community; however, no direct evidence of this has been found.

<sup>219</sup> Linda Zink, "Shares Her Time, Effort and Love with Others," *Independent Press-Telegram*, February 9, 1975.





Figures 53-56, Left to Right: Frank Bowman, date unknown. Source: CSULB. Mary Butler, date unknown. Source: Historical Society of Long Beach. Warren Dubois Jordan, c. 1948. Source: Long Beach Police Officers Association. Ebenezer Bush, Jr., date unknown. Source: Press-Telegram.

Another vocal leader for fair housing in Long Beach was Frank Bowman (1930-1991), Director of Housing at Long Beach State College. Bowman settled in Long Beach in 1957. During the 1960s, he worked extensively with the Fair Housing Foundation to find housing for students and faculty and established the outpost program on campus. Bowman was also vocal about the dislocation of African Americans from potential urban renewal projects in the city's Central area in 1966.<sup>220</sup> In 1972, Bowman was appointed to the City's Citizens Advisory Committee for Community Improvement.

The Reverend Joe D. Croom (1952-2005) was chairman of the Long Beach Anti-Discrimination Committee and an ardent advocate for civil rights. While speaking before City Council in October 1955, he shared: "Our committee feels that with the tremendous growth in new homes in Lakewood, Lakewood Plaza and Los Altos, the fact that not one Negro family, veteran or non-veteran has been able to purchase a home in that area is a shameful example of the discrimination in housing that exists in Long Beach." Croom was a longtime resident at the Cabrillo housing project and the first licensed contractor in Long Beach.<sup>221</sup>

Mary Butler (1924-1986) was an activist in Long Beach in the 1960s. Dubbed "Long Beach's Most Beautiful Activist," she spent 40 years as a tireless community and school activist.<sup>222</sup> First involved in community affairs in 1948, Butler is best known for her work in the area of parks and recreation, but was also a multi-decade member of the PTA. In addition to her activist work, she was employed full-time as an emergency room technician at St. Mary Medical Center.

In 1948, Warren Dubois Jordan (1922-2005) became the first African American policeman in the city. Charles B. Ussery (1933-2008), who joined the force in 1959, became the first Black chief of police in 1979. A long-time resident of the Westside at 2388 Caspian Avenue (extant),

<sup>220</sup> Charles Sutton, "Powers Doubted on Fair Housing," *Independent Press-Telegram*, November 10, 1966.

<sup>221</sup> Sharon Diigs Jackson, "Growing Up Black in Long Beach," February 22, 2022.

<sup>222</sup> "10 Long Beach Trail Blazers," *Long Beach Register*, February 20, 2014, 4.

he retired in 1986. Marcus Tucker (1934-2015) became Long Beach's first African American municipal court judge in 1976. Appointed by then-Governor Jerry Brown, Tucker earned a reputation as the "education judge" for keeping youth on probation until they earned high school diplomas or general equivalence degrees.<sup>223</sup>

Dr. Ebenezer Bush, Jr. (1920-2016) became the city's first African American dentist when he moved to Long Beach in 1954. A graduate of Howard University, he and his wife Wynonna were activists. He was a tireless advocate for hiring local African Americans. His office was located at 1625 Atlantic Avenue (extant) from 1955 through the mid-1960s. He was also active with civic organizations, including founding and serving as the first president of the Long Beach Community Credit Union, and serving on the board of the Long Beach City College Foundation.

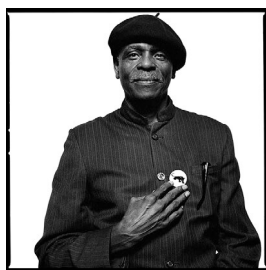


Figure 57. B. Kwaku Duren, c. 2009. Source: Bryan Shih, *The Black Panthers: Portraits from an Unfinished Revolution*.

In September of 1975, Long Beach resident Betty Scott-Smith and her partner George Smith were shot by the California Highway Patrol (CHP) during a traffic stop in Pleasanton, California. Scott was the sister of Long Beach activist B. Kwaku Duren (b. 1943).<sup>224</sup> Duren and his family formed the Scott-Smith Committee for Justice to investigate the incident, and then sued the CHP in an unsuccessful wrongful death suit. In February 1976, Duren helped create the Coalition Against Police Abuse (CAPA) and became its co-chairman. He officially joined the Black Panther Party in 1976 and helped establish a new office of the Southern California Chapter of the Black Panther Party in South Los Angeles. In June of 1976, Duren led a CAPA march from Martin Luther King, Jr. Park to MacArthur Park with holding signs with slogans such as "Stop Racism," "End Police Terrorism," and "Honk If You Believe in Justice."<sup>225</sup> They sought justice for police violence victims Cartier Quemoy Reedus, Anthony B. Wilkins, Gene Lowe, and Kevin Michael Leary.

Prior to Betty Scott-Smith's death, Betty, Duren, and Mary Blackburn founded The Intercommunal Youth Institute (IYI) at 1525 Alamos Avenue (extant). This alternative school, sponsored by the Experimental Educational Institute, Inc., was modeled after the successful Black Panther Party community school in Oakland, California. Duren was the Institute Director, and taught world history with the philosophy that "the world is a classroom." Betty Scott was the business manager, and Mary Blackburn was a teacher. The school, which eventually received a certification from the State Board of Education and federal funding, was active until after the death of Betty Scott-Smith.

<sup>223</sup> "10 Long Beach Trailblazers," *Long Beach Register*, February 20, 2014, 4.

<sup>224</sup> Duren was also known by the names Robert Donaldson Duren and Bob D. Duren.

<sup>225</sup> "L.B. Rally Calls for Public Review of Police Actions," *Independent Press-Telegram*, June 20, 1976, A3.



Figure 58. Doris Topsy-Elvord, 1969. Source: CSULB Prospector Yearbook, 1969.

Doris Topsy-Elvord (1931-2021) was born in Vicksburg, Mississippi and moved to Long Beach with her family in 1942, when she was eleven years old. She went on to become the first Black student to graduate from St. Anthony High School in 1949. After a long career in the justice system, Topsy-Elvord went back to school at California State University, Long Beach, and graduated with a degree in Social Welfare in 1969.<sup>226</sup> She was also a member of the Black Student Union. In 1988, Topsy-Elvord retired from her civil service career, and joined the City of Long Beach Civil Service Commission, serving one term as president. In 1992, Topsy-Elvord became the first African American woman elected to the Long Beach City Council. She was re-

-elected in 1996 and was unanimously selected to be Vice Mayor twice during her tenure on the City Council. In 1993, the Long Beach Junior Chamber of Commerce named Topsy-Elvord Woman of the Year; in 1994 she received the same honor from the California State Senate. In 2003, Topsy-Elvord became the first African American and the third woman to serve on the five-member Port of Long Beach Commission.<sup>227</sup> In August 2021, the Doris Topsy-Elvord Community Center at Houghton Park was named in her honor.<sup>228</sup>

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<sup>226</sup> Rich Archbold, "Doris Topsy-Elvord, legendary Long Beach leader, dies at 90," *Press-Telegram*, December 15, 2021.

<sup>227</sup> Doris Topsy-Elvord, "Honorable Doris Topsy-Elvord," Historical Society of Long Beach, <https://hslb.org/doris-topsy-elvord/> (accessed September 2021).

<sup>228</sup> Hayley Munguia, "Long Beach celebrates newly renamed Doris Topsy-Elvord Community Center at Houghton Park," *Press-Telegram*, August 22, 2021.

## Community Organizations & Institutions



Figure 59. Original California Avenue Recreation Center, 1490 California Avenue (demolished), 1945. Source: Long Beach Public Library.



Figure 60. Interior of the original California Avenue Recreation Center, on its dedication day, 1945. Source: Long Beach Public Library, Long Beach Collection Digital Archive.

One of the most significant African American community institutions was the California Avenue Recreation Center, which was originally located at 1490 California Avenue (demolished).<sup>229</sup> In November 1944, the Long Beach City Council authorized the construction of a recreation building for the city's African American community. At a cost of \$8,700, the wood frame structure was 90 feet long and 30 feet wide. Today, the Recreation Center stands at 1550 California Avenue (now Martin Luther King Jr. Avenue) at McBride Park; the current building was completed in 1957 (dedicated in 1958) and included a large recreation hall, office, and restroom facilities.<sup>230</sup> Warren Dedrick was the architect and George Dever was the contractor.<sup>231</sup> As historian and author Louise H. Ivers described, "It was the site of many activities pertinent to civil rights during the fifties and sixties."<sup>232</sup> The NAACP met at the California Recreation Center for many years. It was also the location of an important press conference for eight African American leaders including Dr. Joseph White and Ernest Clark. Covered topics included discrimination, harassment, educational inequality, and the failure of the poverty program.<sup>233</sup>

An important service organization was the Community Improvement League. Established in 1963, their mission was to provide services to low-income families in Long Beach including child tutoring, adult education, family counseling, and neighborhood programs. Initially it operated out of the basement of St. John's Baptist Church (741 E. 10<sup>th</sup> Street, extant). Following the success of its Project Tutor program, they needed expanded facilities. After formal incorporation, the League moved to 2222 Olive Avenue (extant). In 1965, this was the

<sup>229</sup> There is conflicting information about the address and dates of construction. Permit research is needed for confirmation.

<sup>230</sup> It is located in what is now known as McBride Park, named for Ernest and Lillian McBride.

<sup>231</sup> "Community Hall To be Built for Negro Residents," *Press-Telegram*, November 11, 1944.

<sup>232</sup> Ivers, *The Remaking of a Seaside City*, 35.

<sup>233</sup> Ivers, *The Remaking of a Seaside City*, 35.

location of the first Head Start program in the entire western region.<sup>234</sup> In 1967, the League expanded their operations again into a new office at 2121 Atlantic Avenue (demolished),<sup>235</sup> while programming continued at the Olive Avenue location. The League moved some operations into an office building at 555 E. Pacific Coast Highway (extant) around 1970.

Within a ten-year period, the League expanded their Head Start program to nine locations in Long Beach including Grant Chapel AME Church (1129 Alamitos Avenue, extant), Antioch Baptist Church (1535 Gundry Avenue, extant), St. Luke's Episcopal Church (523 E. 7<sup>th</sup> Street, extant; Long Beach Historic Landmark), MacArthur Park (1321 E. Anaheim Street, extant), Covenant Presbyterian Church (5220 Via Wanda, demolished). By 1972, the League also operated two child-care centers: 815 E. Hill Street (altered) and 1490 California Avenue (demolished). The Improvement League's Family Service Center (2240 Atlantic Avenue, extant) offered counseling, medical services, and a nutrition center. Presidents of the League included Ernest Clark (mid-1960s), Reverend Harvey Williams (acting Director/President in 1967-1968), and William E. Martin (Executive Director in the early 1970s). Eddie Barnard (1920-1978) was also Chairman of the Community Improvement League as well as President of the NAACP.<sup>236</sup>



L: Figure 61. Christ Second Baptist Church congregation in front of the former church building, 1934. Source: Long Beach Public Library, Long Beach Collection Digital Archive. R: Figure 62. Christ Second Baptist Church, 1471 California Avenue, no date. Source: Long Beach Public Library, Long Beach Collection Digital Archive.

The African American community of Long Beach was served by dozens of churches, and much of the social fabric, social gathering, and community organizing of the African American community happened in and through churches and faith-based networks. *The Heritage of African Americans in Long Beach* lists 20 different congregations.<sup>237</sup> Christ Second

<sup>234</sup> Community Improvement League Website, <https://www.lbcil.org/aboutus.php> (accessed February 5, 2020).

<sup>235</sup> "Betterment League in New Offices," *Independent Press-Telegram*, January 27, 1967.

<sup>236</sup> Sunny Nash, ed., *Untold Legacies*, 39.

<sup>237</sup> In addition to those discussed in the text, others include: Greater Open Door Church of Christ (132 Long Beach Boulevard), St. Luke Holy Baptist Church (1401 W. 24<sup>th</sup> Street), Grace Memorial Baptist Church (1021 E. 19<sup>th</sup> Street), St. John Baptist Church (741 E. 10<sup>th</sup> Street, City of Long Beach Landmark), Temple Baptist Church (2825 E. 10<sup>th</sup> Street), 1<sup>st</sup> Providence Missionary Baptist Church (801 E. Hill Street), North Long Beach Community Prayer Center



Baptist Church was the first African American Church in Long Beach. It was originally established as the 1<sup>st</sup> African American Mission Church in 1903, and later became Christ Second Baptist. The congregation purchased a lot at 10<sup>th</sup> and Atlantic in 1906; they moved to 1471 California Avenue (extant) in 1927. Given the significant increase in the African American population of Long Beach after the war, a larger edifice was constructed in 1967. With a membership of over 1,000, it was the largest in the city.<sup>238</sup>

The Grant A.M.E. Church, founded in 1911, moved from Myrtle Street to 1129 Alamos Avenue (extant) in the 1950s to accommodate its 300 members.<sup>239</sup> The New Hope Baptist Church (1160 E. New York Street (extant), was started by the Rev. N.J. Kilpatrick at his home at 1332 Myrtle Avenue in 1943 (demolished). As discussed earlier, Rev. Kilpatrick built the New Hope Home for seniors. St. Vestal Christian Methodist Episcopal Church (1953 Martin Luther King Avenue, extant) was established in 1945 as a series of prayer meetings. In 1946, Rev. John R. Woods purchased a permanent location for the church at 1953 California Avenue (altered). In 1961, the Antioch Missionary Baptist Church was established by Rev. Joe Chaney in a storefront; later that year they moved to a purpose-built building (1535 Gundry Avenue, altered).<sup>240</sup> Antioch's membership grew from 5 in 1961 to 3,000 by the 1970s.<sup>241</sup> The first building site was remodeled in 1975 and in 1984 it was rebuilt, adding educational spaces.<sup>242</sup> The church's current location is 350 Pine Avenue (extant).

Other African American Churches in Long Beach included St. Mark Baptist Church (1703 Lemon Avenue, extant). established in 1944 and White Rose Church of God in Christ (1001 E. Anaheim Street, extant) established in 1945. St Mark was started in the nursery of the Cabrillo Housing project, and for years continued its focus on youth.

During the 1950s, St. John Baptist (741 E. 10<sup>th</sup> Street, extant), The Greater Harvest (1144 Olive Avenue, extant) and Golgotha Trinity (1630 E. 14<sup>th</sup> Street, extant) were all founded. The importance of these churches to the community cannot be understated. They were the social, spiritual, and activity centers of the community. The construction of a gymnasium for the community by the St. Mark Baptist Church likely spurred the construction of the California Recreation Center by the city.

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(5239 Atlantic Avenue), Spiritual Truths Unity Fellowship Church (717 E. Pacific Coast Highway), St. Mark Baptist Church (1703 Lemon Avenue), New Liberty Baptist Church (2091 Lewis Avenue), Long Beach Community Worship Center Church (1309 E. 3<sup>rd</sup> Street), Gospel Memorial Church of GIC (1480 Atlantic Avenue), Christ Second Baptist Church (1471 California Avenue), Church of Destiny International Worship Center (3846 California Avenue), Hill Street Church of God & Christ (Corner of Hill and California Avenue), First Southern Baptist Church (5640 Orange Avenue), and Church of Issachar (2000 Locust Avenue, #2).

<sup>238</sup> Day and Tucker, *The Heritage of African Americans in Long Beach*, 28.

<sup>239</sup> Sunny Nash, ed., *Untold Legacies*, 37.

<sup>240</sup> Sunny Nash, ed., *Untold Legacies*, 34.

<sup>241</sup> Day and Tucker, *The Heritage of African Americans in Long Beach*, 33.

<sup>242</sup> Day and Tucker, *The Heritage of African Americans in Long Beach*, 33.



Figure 63. Long Beach Westernette Club, 1964.  
Source: Long Beach Public Library.

With an increasing African American population, many local chapters of regional or national African American organizations were founded in the postwar period. In addition to the National Council of Negro Women (founded in 1935), local organizations included *Entre Nous*, founded circa 1950; the associated Bougess-White Scholarship Foundation, founded in 1956, which provided college scholarships for students of color; and the Westernette Club in 1958.

Long Beach was also home to a chapter of the Black Panthers. Established in 1968, it was one of sixteen local chapters established in the wake of the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. The chapter was headquartered at 1814 California Avenue (present-day Martin Luther King, Jr. Avenue, demolished).<sup>243</sup> As described in the book *Black Against Empire: The History and Politics of the Black Panther Party*, the assassination of Dr. King changed how the Black Panthers were perceived in the Black community.<sup>244</sup> Young Blacks contacted the Party asking how they could join, and new chapters, including the Long Beach chapter, were formed without having to recruit. By 1977, the Long Beach chapter was one of 40 headquartered across the U.S.<sup>245</sup>

### African American Social Clubs

During and immediately after World War II there were two social clubs that were popular among the many African American war workers who flocked to Long Beach: the Congo Room (520 W. Esther Street, extant) and the Little Brown Jug (location unknown). The Congo Room, which opened in 1939 and advertised itself as “Harlem in Long Beach,” was owned by Clarence Chambers (1892-unknown). The Congo Room was located on the second floor of the Colored Elks Lodge and operated under a social club permit in the name of the lodge.<sup>246</sup> In July 1945, there was a public outcry against vice in the city, and the perceived “girlie shows” performed at the Congo Club were a particular target.<sup>247</sup> By November 1945, the City Council no longer recognized the Congo Club as a social club under the auspices of the Colored Elks, requiring prohibitive fees. Chambers decided to close the Congo Club and by 1948, another business was using the space.

<sup>243</sup> “Youth, 15, Arrested as Sniper,” *Independent Press-Telegram*, October 24, 1968, 4.

<sup>244</sup> Joshua Bloom and Waldo E. Martin Jr., *Black Against Empire: The History and Politics of the Black Panther Party*, (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2013), 159.

<sup>245</sup> “Black Panthers On Prowl Again in Southland,” *Independent Press-Telegram*, May 29, 1977, 24.

<sup>246</sup> Claudine Burnett, *African Americans In Long Beach and Southern California: A History*, (Bloomington, IN, AuthorHouse), 2021, 253.

<sup>247</sup> Claudine Burnett, *African Americans In Long Beach and Southern California: A History*, (Bloomington, IN, AuthorHouse), 2021, 254.

The Little Brown Jug, owned by Milton P. Griffin (1900-1981), was identified as the most notorious center for vice in Long Beach by the *Long Beach Independent*.<sup>248</sup> In 1946, Griffin decided to fight against the new restrictions on social clubs. He lost the fight and by July 1946, the space was operating as a restaurant under new ownership with a new name, the Casino Café.

After World War II, social clubs continued to thrive among the Black community in Long Beach. Notable clubs from the period included the Negro Citizens Associated, the Optimistic Ladies Guild, the 20<sup>th</sup> Century Social Club, and the 4-20 Social Club. There were also African American chapters of national social clubs and organizations such as the Booker T. Washington chapter of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, Sunset Lodge 26 of the Most Worshipful Prince Hall AF&AM (Ancient Free and Accepted Masons), Ocean View Lodge 86 of the Independent and Benevolent Protective Order of Elks, Victoria Temple 609 of Daughter Elks, Dorie Miller Post 647 of American Legion, and Queen Beach Chapter 33 of Eastern Star. A review of local newspapers suggests that events and meetings often took place in private homes, or in the existing halls of other organizations. However, it is believed that the Booker T. Washington chapter of the Veterans of Foreign Wars met in the Veterans Memorial Building (245 W. Broadway, demolished) and the Most Worshipful Prince Hall AF&AM chapter continues to meet at their Hall (516 W. Esther Street, extant), as does the Queen Beach Eastern Star Lodge.<sup>249</sup> Some organizations held meetings and events at the California Recreation Center.

### African American Businesses

#### **HOUSING-RELATED BUSINESSES**

In an era of housing discrimination based on race, African American businesses and institutions were significant in providing services to the community, helping African Americans avoid some of the most discriminatory and financially destructive real estate practices, and enabling more African American homeownership than may have been possible otherwise.

A significant example is the establishment of a Golden State Mutual Life Insurance office in the city in 1950.<sup>250</sup> Golden State Mutual Life Insurance was founded in Los Angeles by William Nickerson, Jr., Norman Houston, and George Beavers, Jr. in 1925, and became the largest African American-owned insurance company in the West. White-owned insurance companies did not offer African Americans the same wealth-building policies they offered their other clients. Blacks were offered “burial policies” for pennies per week that did nothing

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<sup>248</sup> Claudine Burnett, *African Americans In Long Beach and Southern California: A History*, (Bloomington, IN, AuthorHouse), 2021, 253.

<sup>249</sup> Kaye Briegel, email to Sian Winship, September 21, 2021.

<sup>250</sup> Located at 1491 California Avenue (present-day Martin Luther King, Jr. Avenue; extant). The Long Beach branch was opened under the supervision of Adolph Lecense, then the post was briefly held by Kenneth W. Sanford. By 1951, the branch was manager by Robert Minor.

to pass down wealth.<sup>251</sup> Golden State offered industrial and whole life insurance policies to African Americans. After World War II, the firm got into the mortgage loan business for African Americans, which was a major catalyst for Black home ownership in the greater Los Angeles area.<sup>252</sup> Golden State Mutual Insurance operated the Long Beach branch office through the mid-1960s.

In April of 1966, the Peoples Credit Union was founded by African Americans in Long Beach to benefit African Americans in the Central neighborhood. Early Credit Union leaders included Dr. E. B. Bush, Everett Ricks, Jr., Larry Jones, and Clyde F. Ladd. A grass-roots program, it was designed to encourage savings and provide low-cost loans. During its first four months, it attracted 250 members with \$5,500 in deposits.<sup>253</sup> Patterned after the People's Credit Union of Watts, the organization was chartered by the California Credit Union League. Initially, it operated out of the Neighborhood Adult Participation Project, located at 1959 Orange Avenue (demolished), but by July of 1969 had moved to 555 E. Pacific Coast Highway (extant).

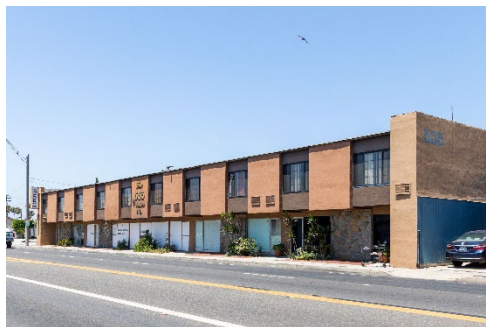


Figure 64. Peoples Credit Union, 555 E. Pacific Coast Highway, 2020. Source: Historic Resources Group.

The first president was Dr. Ebenezer B. Bush. He was joined by Everett Ricks, Jr., Larry Jones, and Clyde F. Ladd as board members. James H. Wilson was an early organizer. By August of 1969, the Credit Union had boosted its membership to 350 people and \$15,000 in capitalization.<sup>254</sup> That same year, it extended membership to people throughout the city of Long Beach. By January of 1970, the organization declared its first dividend: 5 percent with more than \$19,000 in assets.<sup>255</sup> In 1970, the organization also received its first support from the Long Beach City Council in the form of \$15,000 to employ a full-time manager. The organization had previously been staffed by volunteers.

In addition to the important advocacy work on fair housing from the nonprofit sector, during the post-World War II era, a number of African Americans became local real estate agents, several of whom opened their own firms. The impact of these African American real estate firms on the fight for fair housing in the city requires additional study; however, it is notable that as early as the 1940s there were African Americans in the local real estate industry.

<sup>251</sup> "The Pride of West Adams," CurbedLA, <https://la.curbed.com/2020/2/18/21138451/golden-state-mutual-life-insurance-building-los-angeles> (accessed July 13, 2020).

<sup>252</sup> "Black Leadership in Los Angeles," interview with Ivan J. Houston by Ranford B. Hopkins, August 1986-February 1987, Department of Special Collections, University of California, Los Angeles, 180.

<sup>253</sup> "People's Credit Union Deposits Growing," *Independent Press-Telegram*, August 28, 1966, B4.

<sup>254</sup> "Economic, Social Progress by Peoples Credit Union," *Independent Press-Telegram*, August 8, 1969, B1.

<sup>255</sup> "People's Credit Union Declares 1<sup>st</sup> Dividend," *Independent Press-Telegram*, January 9, 1970, B4.

Charles Ennis Haynes (1910-1978) was the first African American member of the Long Beach Board of Realtors. After his discharge from the Army in 1945, he moved to Long Beach where he got a job at the Long Beach Naval Shipyard. At the same time, he enrolled in real estate courses, earning his license in 1947. Haynes opened up his own office working with primarily an African American clientele in the Central district. During the mid-1960s, his real estate office was located at 1703 Atlantic Avenue (extant). In 1965, Haynes was appointed to the City Human Relations Committee.



Figure 65. Francis and Horace Rains residence, 2150 Canal Avenue, 2020. Source: Historic Resources Group.

Around 1963, Haynes hired another African American agent, Johnie Lee Flenoil (1926-2017). In the 1940s, Flenoil worked at the California Shipbuilding Corporation, and during the 1950s, as a forklift operator for Ford Motor Company.<sup>256</sup> Flenoil lived in the Central district while an associate with Haynes Realty. He later moved to Carson. Flenoil stayed with Haynes Realty until 1978, when he moved to Century 21 Realty.<sup>257</sup>

Another early African American realtor was Frances M. Rains (1911-2006, née Frances M. McHie), wife of Dr. Horace Rains (1912-1998). They married in Riverside, California in 1949. She moved to Long Beach in 1954 with her husband and two-year-old son. According to *Untold Legacies: A Pictorial History of Black Long Beach 1900-2000 & Beyond*, she assisted new families in finding housing in segregated Long Beach in the early 1950s.<sup>258</sup>

Born in Minneapolis, Rains was denied entrance to the School of Nursing at the University of Minnesota due to her race. Upon complaint, the state ordered the Board of Regents to admit her and she went on to become the first African American woman to graduate from the School of Nursing. In 1953, she moved to Los Angeles and became senior instructor of the School of Nursing at Los Angeles County and University of Southern California Medical Center.



Figure 66. Francis Rains, date unknown. Source: African American Registry.

<sup>256</sup> In *Untold Legacies: A Pictorial History of Black Long Beach 1900-2000 & Beyond*, it is stated that Johnie L. Flenoil started with Haynes Realty in 1950. City directories for Long Beach show Flenoil's primary place of employment as Ford Motor Co. until 1963.

<sup>257</sup> Sunny Nash, ed., *Untold Legacies: A Pictorial History of Black Long Beach 1900-2000 & Beyond* (Long Beach, CA: National Council of Negro Women), 2007, 129.

<sup>258</sup> Sunny Nash, ed., *Untold Legacies*, 133.



In the early 1960s, Frances assisted in the practice of her husband, Dr. Horace Rains. In 1967, at the suggestion of Charles Haynes, Frances M. Rains earned a real estate license. She initially worked for Haynes, then became associated with Elron Means Realty in the mid-1970s. In 1977, she received her broker's license.<sup>259</sup>

Joseph Arlington Kennerson (1934-2016) came to Long Beach during his service in the Navy from 1955-1959. Prior to getting involved in real estate, Kennerson worked for the Long Beach Gas Department. Kennerson obtained a real estate license in 1967, and his broker's license in 1973.<sup>260</sup> His wife Lucy K. Kennerson came to Long Beach in 1958 to join her husband in the Navy. She obtained her real estate license in 1974, and "assisted many [African Americans] in Long Beach to acquire housing."<sup>261</sup>



Figure 67. Joseph and Lucy Kennerson, c. 1955. Source: Kennerson family, via Dignity Memorial.

Sylvester R. Harris (1937-1999) owned and managed Syl Harris and Associates at 2425 Atlantic Avenue (altered) specializing in sales, managing, leasing, upgrading, and exchange of income properties. The firm's clients included corporations and large individual investors.<sup>262</sup>

Albert Alphonse Magee (1931-1997) was a Korean War veteran who took his post-graduate studies at California State University, Long Beach. In 1966, he established Magee's Realty at 1886 W. Willow Street (extant).<sup>263</sup>

Samuel W. Anderson came to Long Beach in 1945. For years he owned and operated the Community Hand Laundry (1220 California Avenue, extant). In 1973, he founded Anderson Realty. His wife Theola and sons Maurice and Thurman followed in the new family business. In 1977, Anderson joined Electronic Realty Associates (ERA) a nationwide real estate franchise.<sup>264</sup>

### **OTHER AFRICAN AMERICAN BUSINESSES**

One of the first successful African American businessmen in Long Beach was John R. Barner (1875-1961). Rising from his position as a janitor at the Long Beach Bathhouse, he started a moving and storage business and built the Black community's first shopping center at Anaheim and California Street (present-day Martin Luther King Avenue). He eventually

<sup>259</sup> Sunny Nash, ed., *Untold Legacies*, 133.

<sup>260</sup> Sunny Nash, ed., *Untold Legacies*, 30-1.

<sup>261</sup> Sunny Nash, ed., *Untold Legacies*, 130-1.

<sup>262</sup> Sunny Nash, ed., *Untold Legacies*, 129.

<sup>263</sup> *Untold Legacies* says that Magee's Realty was established in 1971, but classified ads in the *Independent Press-Telegram* appear for this address as early as 1966.

<sup>264</sup> Sunny Nash, ed., *Untold Legacies*, 128.

owned a laundry, café, beauty shop, and several barber shops. He and his wife were also instrumental in the foundation of Christ Second Baptist Church.

Percy Anderson (1912-1986) owned a restaurant at the site of the former Lew's Roundhouse Café (1335 W. Anaheim Street, demolished) on the Westside. As described in the book *Untold Legacies*, Anderson moved to Long Beach in 1945 and ultimately purchased the café—a formerly White-owned restaurant that had previously refused him service.<sup>265</sup> Anderson went on to serve as president of the local NAACP from 1956-1961. In 1968, he founded the Long Beach Opportunities Industrialization Center (1325 Alamitos Avenue, extant). The next year he founded People's Strive, Inc., and pioneered many social programs in the city.

African American-owned businesses were primarily concentrated along Atlantic Avenue. Notable examples include Coleman's Restaurant (1700 Atlantic Avenue, demolished; later moved to 1473 Atlantic Avenue, altered), which opened in 1964. Other well-known African American-owned businesses in the city included V.I.P. Records (1008 E. Pacific Coast Highway, established 1978), the iconic sign of which was designated as a Long Beach Historic Landmark in 2017. Another important African American business was the used car outlet operated by Herbert Stephenson (b. 1939) on N. Long Beach Boulevard in the mid-1960s.<sup>266</sup> Stephenson would eventually go on to become the first African American new car dealer in Los Angeles when he opened Friendly Chrysler-Plymouth in Los Angeles in 1970.<sup>267</sup>

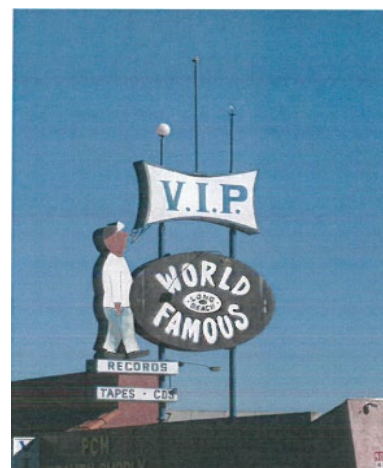


Figure 68. VIP Records sign, 2016.

Source: ESA.

The aforementioned Dr. Charles T. Terry (1920-1975), whose family was the victim of hate crimes when they moved into the Bixby Knolls neighborhood, was an early African American doctor in the city. He was recruited to Long Beach by the only other African American physician in the city at the time, Dr. Amos Garland, at the time of Garland's retirement. Terry arrived in Long Beach in 1950. He had been educated at Dillard University, then Howard University and served three years in the U.S. Army Medical Corps. Once in Long Beach, Dr. Terry's wife Ruby took up community activism in addition to raising her family of seven children. She joined the NAACP and the PTA. In the late 1950s, Dr. Terry fulfilled a personal dream by purchasing a building for his own independent practice at 1711 Atlantic Avenue

<sup>265</sup> Sunny Nash, *Untold Legacies*, 49.

<sup>266</sup> The name and address of this business is currently unknown.

<sup>267</sup> "First Negro-Owned Automobile Dealership Opens Locally," *Los Angeles Sentinel*, June 4, 1970, A4.

(extant), near Long Beach Polytechnic High School and was highly revered within the African American community.<sup>268</sup>

Although they did not have practices located in Long Beach, two African American architects had significant commissions in Long Beach. In 1942-43, Paul R. Williams (1894-1918) designed Long Beach's Roosevelt Naval Base (demolished) in partnership with Adrian Wilson and Donald R. Warren. Williams was one of the earliest and most important African American architects in the United States. Residential commissions in Long Beach by Williams include the J.W. Wood Residence at 4265 Country Club Drive (1941, extant) and the Fox Boswell Residence at 4221 Country Club Drive<sup>269</sup> (1942, extant). Williams also designed an interior and exterior remodel for the Bank of America located at 350 Pine Avenue (1965, extant) and the Angelus Funeral Home (718 E. Anaheim Street, extant/altered).

The other African American architect to work in Long Beach during this period was Roy Anthony Sealey (1917-2008), who was employed by Williams during the design of the Roosevelt Naval Base. Sealey left in 1945 to pursue independent practice. By 1950, Sealey was profiled in *Ebony* magazine as a success story for African American architects. His late 1950s design for the Belmont Shores Mobile Estates Clubhouse (6230 E. Marina View Drive, extant) was exceptional among mobile home park developments from the period. In 1963, Sealey was awarded the commission to design the Edgewater Inn Marina Hotel at the corner of Pacific Coast Highway and 2<sup>nd</sup> Street (demolished). Sealey's design for the \$3,000,000 hotel was Mid-Century Modern in style, featuring expressive use of concrete and concrete block. The project was developed by Homer Toberman & Associates in conjunction with the San Gabriel River Improvement Company.<sup>270</sup> Homer Toberman (1907-1992), a wealthy, Los Angeles-based, White developer, knew Paul Williams from time served on the Los Angeles Municipal Art Commission. It may be through his association with Williams that Toberman became acquainted with Sealey. Toberman's philanthropic interests focused on the African American community—notably through the establishment of the Homer Toberman Settlement House in nearby San Pedro that offered support and services to Black families in need.<sup>271</sup>

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<sup>268</sup> Cynthia Terry, telephone interview by Sian Winship, August 21, 2020.

<sup>269</sup> The residence at 4221 Country Club Drive is not fully visible from the public right-of-way but is believed to be extant based on permit history and historic aerial photographs of the property.

<sup>270</sup> "Display Ad," *Independent Press-Telegram*, June 4, 1963, L/S 2.

<sup>271</sup> Some historical records refer to the building as the James Toberman Settlement House. It was located at 131 N. Grand Avenue in San Pedro.

### Summary

Despite facing racism and housing discrimination, Long Beach's African American population continued to grow during the late 20<sup>th</sup> century. For decades, it was the largest community of color in the city. Eventually, the African American population would expand well out of the Central and Westside neighborhoods to areas of North Long Beach including the greater Carmelitos area, College Square, Friendly Circle, and the Northpointe (5441 N. Paramount Boulevard, extant) and Seaport Village (5601 N. Paramount Boulevard, extant) apartment complexes in North Long Beach.<sup>272</sup> In the 1970s, the Latina/o population superseded African Americans as Long Beach's largest non-White ethnic population.

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<sup>272</sup> Carl McBride, Advisory Committee Meeting, July 9, 2020.

## LATINA/O COMMUNITY IN LONG BEACH

*"Well that depends on his shade."*<sup>273</sup>

Curt Moody responding to a question about housing discrimination  
against Mexican Americans in Long Beach  
September 28, 1969

There was a long legacy of Mexican American workers at Rancho Los Alamitos (6400 E. Bixby Hill Road, Long Beach Historic Landmark), a working ranch, which continued after the war.<sup>274</sup> Many of these workers lived with their families in eight vernacular houses on the west side of Palo Verde Avenue, without electricity or running water. Fred Bixby, owner of the ranch, referred to the enclave as "Little Mexico," because Spanish was the primary language spoken.<sup>275</sup> The area was alternately referred to as "Little Juanito."<sup>276</sup> Oral histories of the children who lived there talked about the situation fondly and spoke of the kindness of Mrs. Bixby and the other ranch employees.

In addition to the ranch workers, many individuals of Mexican heritage were tenant and lessee farmers on Rancho Los Alamitos.<sup>277</sup> A wide variety of crops was produced including tomatoes, string beans, sweet corn, and watermelons. After Fred Bixby died in 1952, Rancho Los Alamitos gradually ceased operations. The government took land for the hospital, university, and freeway. In 1961, Florence Bixby died. The property was sold off over time, and in 1968 the Bixby heirs deeded the remaining 7.5 acres to the City of Long Beach.

Early Latino families were also associated with Rancho Los Cerritos. Originally from Mexico, George Encinas came to the Long Beach area in the late 1870s or early 1880, with other family members following him. Ultimately, George Encinas farmed land on the Rancho and eventually purchased Ranch land for cultivation. In 1960, the extension of the San Diego Freeway forced the demolition of the Alfred Encinas family home (625 Baker Street, demolished), in the area north of present-day Baker Street Park.<sup>278</sup>

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<sup>273</sup> "Fair Housing Lawsuit Won," *Independent Press-Telegram*, September 28, 1969.

<sup>274</sup> For the history of Mexican and Mexican Americans in Long Beach pre-dating this period, see the Citywide Historic Context Statement: <http://www.longbeach.gov/globalassets/lbds/media-library/documents/planning/historic-preservation/historic-pres-docs/lb-historic-context-statement>.

<sup>275</sup> Interview with Angie Sisneros Mariscal and her daughter Virginia Sisneros LeGaspi, August 25, 1988, Rancho Los Alamitos Archive.

<sup>276</sup> Interview with Jose Vasquez, February 6, 1988, Rancho Los Alamitos Archive.

<sup>277</sup> In the early days of the ranch, Mexican laborers and farmers lived in Zaferia. The extension of the Red Cars through Zaferia in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century changed the nature of the village, driving land subdivision, commercial development and White settlement. Many Latinx families left the area, but some remained, and it continued to offer supportive institutions for the Latinx community.

<sup>278</sup> "Freeway Dooms Home That Had Three Addresses," *Independent Press-Telegram*, June 5, 1960, 10.



According to authors Alejandra Marchevsky and Jeanne Theoharis in their book, *Not Working*, in the 1940s, people of Mexican descent, like their African American counterparts, were drawn to Long Beach to work in the defense industry. By 1943, 15 percent of Long Beach Latino men and 25 percent of Long Beach Latina women were employed in defense-related industries.<sup>279</sup> By 1950, the authors estimate that there were 5,000 Latina/o residents in Long Beach.<sup>280</sup> An *Independent Press-Telegram* story suggests that more than 6,000 Latina/o people lived in Long Beach by February of 1953.<sup>281</sup> Due to irregularities in the way the U.S. Census counted Latina/o from decade to decade, the precise numbers in this community are hard to estimate (See Table 4).

Table 4: Latina/o Population in City of Long Beach. Source: U.S. Census<sup>282</sup>

Year	Spanish Surname Population	Total Population	% Spanish Surname
1910	N/A	17,809	N/A
1920	945	55,593	1.7%
1930 <sup>283</sup>	1,691	142,032	1.2%
1940 <sup>284</sup>	N/A	164,271	<1%
1950 <sup>285</sup>	2,734	250,767	1.1%
1960 <sup>286</sup>	7,857	344,168	2.3%
1970	21,343	358,633	6%
1980	99,878	361,334	14%
1990	101,419	429,433	23.6%

<sup>279</sup> Alejandra Marchevsky and Jeanne Theoharis, *Not Working: Latina Immigrants, Low-Wage Jobs, and the Failure of Welfare Reform* (New York: New York University Press), 2006, 84.

<sup>280</sup> Marchevsky and Theoharis, *Not Working*, 85.

<sup>281</sup> Vera Williams, "6000 In L.B. Area Live for This Day," *Independent Press-Telegram*, February 15, 1953.

<sup>282</sup> U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Census Statistics on Population Totals By Race, 1790 to 1990*, <https://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0076/twps0076.pdf> (accessed January 9, 2020).

<sup>283</sup> Figure based on U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Population-California: Composition and Characteristics; Table 17. Indians, Chinese and Japanese 1910 to 1930, and Mexicans, 1930, for Counties and For Cities of 25,000 or More," in *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930; Population Volume III, Part 1* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1932).

<sup>284</sup> Roger W. Lotchin, *The Bad City in the Good War: San Francisco, Los Angeles, Oakland, and San Diego* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press: 2003), 145.

<sup>285</sup> Figure based on U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Special Reports: Table 8. Characteristics of White Persons of Spanish Surname, for Selected Standard Metropolitan Areas, Urbanized Areas, and Urban Areas of 10,000 or More in Selected Southwestern States," *U.S. Census of Population and Housing*, 1950.

<sup>286</sup> Figure based on U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Table P-1. General Characteristics of the Population, By Census Tracts: 1960; Los Angeles County," *U.S. Censuses of Population and Housing: 1960. Census Tracts: Los Angeles-Long Beach, Calif.* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1962), 25.

Year	Spanish Surname Population	Total Population	% Spanish Surname
2000	165,225	461,522	35.8%
2010	188,412	462,257	40.8%
2020	198,832	466,742	42.6%

Much of the Latina/o population was concentrated in the Zaferia neighborhood near Anaheim Street and Redondo Avenue; however, many also resided in the integrated Westside. It is believed that there were other pockets of Latino residents dispersed throughout the city, including near Wardlow Avenue and the Los Angeles River.<sup>287</sup>

By 1971, the Community Analysis Program report, "City of Long Beach California," found that a concentration of Latina/o residents existed on the "lower east side of the central area."<sup>288</sup> The report noted, "[Latinos] have recently migrated to this area due to the availability of housing stock." The quote by Curt Moody, a leader of the Fair Housing Foundation, included at the beginning of this section suggests that light skinned, English-speaking Latina/os likely had better luck integrating into White neighborhoods than others.

During this same period, the *Independent Press-Telegram* described the highest concentration of the Latina/o population as "a ten-block area between Seventh Street and Anaheim Street, Alamitos and Cherry," and noted that "Spanish surname residents are spread at about five percent levels through the rest of the city."<sup>289</sup> In 1985, the *Los Angeles Times* reported the presence of an actual Long Beach "barrio [...] in the southwestern part of downtown, north of Broadway, west of Magnolia Avenue and south of Anaheim Street."<sup>290</sup> In addition to the invisible lines that delineated Latina/o communities, economic factors played a role in where these families could live. For this community, housing discrimination was also complicated by racism and other forms of discrimination, including discrimination based on immigration status and languages spoken.

### Civil Rights

As described in the statewide study *Latinos in Twentieth Century California*, "In the 1960s and 1970s, the struggle [against discrimination] accelerated, swept forward by the momentum of national civil rights movement and the continued need to combat discrimination."<sup>291</sup> The Chicano Civil Rights Movement championed Mexican American identity and fought for an

<sup>287</sup> Kaye Briegel, email to Sian Winship, September 22, 2021.

<sup>288</sup> Community Analysis Program, "City of Long Beach California...A Condensed Progress Report," July 1971, 12, in "Housing 1970s" clippings file, Special Collections, Long Beach Public Library.

<sup>289</sup> "Our City Is A Miniature Melting Pot," *Independent Press-Telegram*, September 2, 1973, 58.

<sup>290</sup> Daryl Kelley, "Latino Center Makes Grand Plans," *Los Angeles Times*, September 12, 1985, LB1.

<sup>291</sup> Teresa Grimes, Laura O'Neill, Elysha Paluzek, Becky Nicolaides, *Latinos in Twentieth Century California*, National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form, February 2015, 103.

end to racial discrimination. The movement spawned a number of national organizations, including the National Council of La Raza, the Mexican American Legal Defense Fund, and the United Farm Workers (formed by Cesar Chavez and Delores Huerta).

In Long Beach, the main advocacy organization for Chicano rights was the Council of Raza Organizations (CORO). The group was dedicated to ensuring civil rights to the Spanish surname population in Long Beach. Areas of emphasis included affirmative action, Chicano/a rights, farm legislation, and bi-lingual voting rights. The group operated with no official offices and a post office box, but several conferences and lectures were held at the Golden Sails Restaurant (6285 E. Pacific Coast Highway).<sup>292</sup> Officers included Ramon Cruz, President; Louis Rosales, Vice President; David Rios, Director of Cultural Affairs; and Helen De La Rocha, Director of Women's Affairs.



Figure 69. Golden Sails Restaurant, 6285 E. Pacific Coast Highway, 2020. Source: Historic Resources Group.

Between December 1969 and January 1971, a series of marches took place in East Los Angeles known as the Chicano Moratorium marches. The Chicano Moratorium movement was born when anti-war activists engaged with Chicanos to oppose the Vietnam War.<sup>293</sup> Of the 5,572 Californians who were killed in action during the Vietnam War, 823 (or 15%) were Mexican Americans.<sup>294</sup> The Chicano Moratorium marches opposed the Vietnam War and brought attention to the disproportionate number of young Mexican American men who were killed. According to the Los Angeles Conservancy, "Among scholars of Chicano history in Los Angeles, there is broad-ranging consensus that the Chicano Moratorium marches...not only had a profound effect on the larger Latinx population in Los Angeles, but that its ideas and outcomes galvanized a new outlook on Latinx civil rights across the country."<sup>295</sup>

In September 1970, Chicanos in Long Beach were active participants in one of the marches. Francisco "Frank" Sandoval (b. 1942), professional sociologist and chairman of the Mexican American studies program at California State University, Long Beach, led the Long Beach delegation. During the event, protestors marched to Laguna Park (now Ruben Salazar Park)

<sup>292</sup> The hotel which housed the Golden Sails is extant; according to photographs available online, it appears that the interior where the restaurant was located has been altered.

<sup>293</sup> *Latinos in Twentieth Century California*, 91.

<sup>294</sup> *Latinos in Twentieth Century California*, 91.

<sup>295</sup> Los Angeles Conservancy, "Chicano Moratorium," <https://www.laconservancy.org/issues/chicano-moratorium> (accessed September 1, 2020). The Los Angeles Conservancy prepared a Multiple Property Documentation Form to record the context and important places associated with the Chicano Moratorium; the final document was approved by the State Historical Resources Commission on August 14, 2020.

in Los Angeles. The event ended with a violent visit by the LAPD riot squad, 200 arrests, and two deaths. Sandoval waited in the area to make sure that all the Long Beach participants were accounted for. Three Long Beach residents were arrested and later released.<sup>296</sup>



Figure 70. Orizaba Park, 2020. Source: Historic Resources Group.

Long Beach Chicanos continued to actively participate in the protests over the next several months. For a protest in East Los Angeles on Sunday, January 31, 1971, Long Beach was one of five other communities with delegations (in addition to Pomona, San Fernando, Venice, and Wilmington-San Pedro) to make the two-day walk to Belvedere Park in Los Angeles. The Long Beach delegation gathered at Orizaba Park (Orizaba Avenue and Spaulding Street) at 9:00 am on Friday, January 29, 1971, to

begin their walk. Father Alberto Carillo, a teacher at Whittier College, said Mass and blessed the march.<sup>297</sup>

Long-time Long Beach resident Jessica Quintana remembered how exhilarating it was to march with Cesar Chavez:

Armando Vasquez had organized for us to meet the march on the Westside at Pacific Coast Highway and Santa Fe Avenue at the Casa Center. To see the marchers coming, an endless flow of people, with the big boycott sign and the United Farmworkers flag and Cesar Chavez at the front with his two dogs. It gives me goose bumps to this day. We marched over the bridge to Banning Park in Wilmington.<sup>298</sup>

In March of 1973, Chicano students at Long Beach Polytechnic High School presented demands to the school board for more representation in the teaching and administrative staff.<sup>299</sup> Arthur Valenzuela was the rare example of a Mexican American teacher at Poly, serving at the school since 1959.<sup>300</sup> The school administration claimed they faced challenges in finding qualified applicants for a counselor position, given state requirements. As a stopgap measure, the school hired student teacher Arminda Lozano as an “independent expert.”<sup>301</sup> A month later, Long Beach City College professor and activist Raymond Rodriguez

<sup>296</sup> Tom Willman, “Police Called Scapegoats: Perspective on Riot,” *Independent Press-Telegram*, September 6, 1970, B1.

<sup>297</sup> Tom Willman, “CSLB Chicanos Score ‘Communist’ Charges,” *Independent Press-Telegram*, January 23, 1971, B1.

<sup>298</sup> Jessica Quintana, telephone interview by Sian Winship, August 25, 2020.

<sup>299</sup> Patricia Quinn, “Siesta is Over, Chicanos State,” *Independent Press-Telegram*, April 1, 1973, W3.

<sup>300</sup> Patricia Quinn, “La Familia: Wants Own Educators,” *Independent Press-Telegram*, April 2, 1973, A16.

<sup>301</sup> Quinn, “La Familia: Wants Own Educators,” A16.

called for more Mexican Americans to be represented as teachers and counselors in public schools and in administration at City Hall as certified employees rather than just blue-collar workers. Rodriguez believed young children needed more role models for inspiration and confidence building.

### Social Clubs & Benevolent Organizations

In 1907, the Alianza Hispano American Lodge, or the Spanish American Alliance, was organized in Long Beach at a meeting at the Riviera Hotel. The Long Beach chapter of the Tucson-based organization was both a social club and benevolent organization for people of Spanish descent who had become American citizens.<sup>302</sup> The duration of the organization is currently unknown but appears to have been quite active in the city in the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

In 1923, the original St. Anthony's Church building, built by Henry Starbruck, was relocated from the corner of Olive Avenue and 6th Street to 1851 Cerritos Avenue (extant), where it was renamed Our Lady of Refuge and became a mission for Latina/o congregants.<sup>303</sup>

In 1933, the Latin-American Club (a.k.a., Club Latino Americano) was founded by Jesus Garcia. Garcia collected dues of 10 cents per person per month in order to provide help to Long Beach's Latina/o community during the Great Depression.<sup>304</sup> Their work continued after World War II, and the club sponsored numerous social gatherings for the community. During the late 1940s, Long Beach's Latina/o population rallied in support of the victims of severe flooding in the Mexican state of



Figure 71. Labor Temple Hall, 2020. Source: Historic Resources Group.

Sonora. The community collected clothing and supplies for an estimated 50,000 homeless Mexicans when the Mayo and Yaqui Rivers flooded their homes.<sup>305</sup> The Latin-American Club was key to this effort. By 1950, the club was meeting weekly at the West Branch Adult Center at 1794 Cedar Avenue (demolished).<sup>306</sup> In the 1950s and 1960s, they also held events at other locations throughout the city, including the Labor Temple Hall, (1231 Locust Avenue; altered). By 1976, Manuel Larragoitiy, Jr. was the president of the club.

Another important social club/benevolent organization within the community was the Club Arco Iris (a.k.a., Rainbow Club). The club partnered with the Latin-American Club in the relief efforts for Mexican flood victims. In 1949, officers for Club Arco Iris included Celia Halicus, Albert Ganz, Raymond Ganz, Margaret Roa, Jim Halicus, Robert Sanchez, Rosie Moreno, and

<sup>302</sup> "Spanish Lodge Is Organized Sunday," *Long Beach Tribune*, July 9, 1907, 8.

<sup>303</sup> Louise Ivers, email to Sian Winship, September 16, 2021.

<sup>304</sup> Centro CHA, "Centro CHA Presents A History of Latinos in Long Beach," <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nKvR03fM0b4&t=124s> (accessed August 27, 2020).

<sup>305</sup> "Local Groups Ask Help for Mexican Flood Victims," *Press-Telegram*, February 3, 1949, 4.

<sup>306</sup> "Clubs Plan for Year," *Press-Telegram*, January 11, 1950, B2.



Lucy Galaz.<sup>307</sup> The board appears to have met in officer's homes. They organized annual benefit dances and other social events, which were held in venues including the Municipal Auditorium (demolished) and Lakewood Country Club.

One of the most formidable figures in the Latina/o community of Long Beach during the postwar period was John Northmore (b. 1941). After graduating from Long Beach Polytechnic High School, Northmore attended CSULB and began a long career of service to the community. After working as a counselor in the city's Boys Clubs (specifically the Boys Club of East Long Beach) during the 1950s, Northmore became active in the Teen Post. Teen Post was started by the Office of Economic Opportunity's War on Poverty Program. Teen Posts offered cultural programming and constructive outlets for restless energy. John Northmore became an area supervisor for more than a dozen Teen Posts. By the late 1960s, the city appears to have had two Teen Post locations: Teen Post 119 at the New Theater at 2157 Atlantic Avenue (demolished); and one in an unidentified location in downtown Long Beach. The Theater offered classes in English, spelling, math, and history, along with training in the arts through the production of plays, musical ensembles, silk-screen printing, and other art forms.

In addition to a variety of educational and recreational activities, Teen Post offered special counseling in the areas of job opportunities, education, tutoring, the legal system, substance abuse, and health. By many accounts, Northmore was beloved. "Trust is the important thing," described a young Larry Valenzuela to the *Independent Press-Telegram*. "You know Johnny is honest and open. People my age can open up to him, tell him our problems. There's some kind of magical force within him—I don't know what it is—that enables him to work with young people."<sup>308</sup>

### Community Organizations & Institutions

The *Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán* (MEChA), a group affiliated with the Mexican American studies department at California State University, Long Beach (6101 E. 7<sup>th</sup> Street) was an early community-based Chicano organization in Long Beach. MEChA was a powerful Chicano student organization at CSULB that advocated for Mexican American rights. They sought to encourage more Chicano enrollment in college and advocated for Chicano students at the high school level. The aforementioned Frank Sandoval, was also part of a group of 13 students pursuing master's degrees in public administration at Pepperdine University to dispel the city's argument that there were no Latinos qualified to serve in city government.

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<sup>307</sup> "Officers Elected," *Press-Telegram*, January 28, 1949, 12.

<sup>308</sup> Louis Viperman, "John Northmore Street Gang Trouble Shooter," *Independent Press-Telegram*, November 24, 1974, 9-14.



Figure 72. Eastside Neighborhood Center, 2020. Source: Historic Resources Group.

In the western part of Zaferia, at the corner of Anaheim Street and Junipero Avenue, the Eastside Neighborhood Center, also known as the Centro de la Raza and East Long Beach Neighborhood Center (2338 E. Anaheim Street, altered) played an important role in the community.<sup>309</sup> In addition to being home to “The Housing Project,” the Center worked to engender Chicano pride in Long Beach. Although the Center started with a more charitable mission in the late 1960s with the group *La*

*Raza Unida* (a.k.a., *Congreso de la Raza Unida/Concillio de la Raza Unida*), programming appears to have shifted to education and service under the direction of Rod Martin in the 1970s. It offered youth training programs, fought against segregation in education, and acted as a social hub for the 76% Latina/o population in the Zaferia neighborhood.<sup>310</sup> Children and adult classes in Mexican dance, meals, and other cultural activities were held at the Center. In 1979, the East Long Beach Neighborhood Center rehabilitated its multipurpose building with a grant from the East Los Angeles Community Union.<sup>311</sup> By this time, according to the *Los Angeles Times*, the Eastside Neighborhood Center was one of the city’s most active and powerful groups.<sup>312</sup>

According to the *Independent Press-Telegram*, a robust community of 300 Cubans and Cuban Americans were living in Long Beach by 1970.<sup>313</sup> In the 1970s, the Cuban Association (a.k.a., Club Cubano Americano) was founded. It was housed at the East Long Beach Neighborhood Center at 2338 E. Anaheim Street. Through the Center, Cubans were provided with clothing, transportation to doctors, legal aid, interpreters, and employment assistance. In addition to support services, the Cuban Association held social gatherings and celebrations of Cuban heritage, history, and culture. Leaders of the Cuban Association included Dr. Rafael Diaz-Duque, Marcelino Siero, and Jose A. Pena.

<sup>309</sup> In September of 1985, the Centro took possession of the Christian Science Church building downtown and three turn-of-the-century homes according to the *Los Angeles Times*, September 12, 1985, LB1. It changed the name of the Center in August of that same year to the Pam-American Community Center, Inc./Centro de la Raza to reflect a broader appeal and the changing demographics of the city.

<sup>310</sup> David Ferrell, “Project Helps Chicano Youths Survive Under System,” *Los Angeles Times*, August 20, 1978.

<sup>311</sup> John R. Chavez, *Eastside Landmark: A History of the East Los Angeles Community Union, 1968-1993* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998), 160.

<sup>312</sup> Robert J. Gore and Marcida Dodson, “Power, Once Domain of Few, Diffuses in Long Beach,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 16, 1979.

<sup>313</sup> “Help for Cubans,” *Independent Press-Telegram*, January 21, 1970, B2.

In 1970, seven leaders from other organizations formed the *Raza Unida Hispano-Americana* (RUHA) to represent all Spanish-speaking communities in Long Beach. The first president was Jose Casares. Their goal was to increase civic engagement among the estimated 12,000 Spanish-speaking people in the city.<sup>314</sup> The group also operated out of the East Long Beach Neighborhood Center at 2338 E. Anaheim Street (altered).

1972 marked a turning point for unity within Long Beach's Latina/o community with the formation of the Spanish-speaking Community Unity Council. For the first time, different organizations serving the community came together under one banner to address community issues. Participating groups included a range of conservative and more militant organizations, including *La Raza Unida Hispano-Americana* (RUHA); the Long Beach chapter of the League of United Latin-American Citizens (LULAC); MEChA at CSULB and Long Beach City College; a chapter of the Association of Mexican-American Educators (AMAE); a unit of the Mexican American Political Association (MAPA); the Academic Halfway House; and *Federacion Estudiantil Chicana de Aztlán* (FEChA), a student group at Long Beach Polytechnic High School. The chairman of the council was Ray Rodriguez, with active participation by David Rios, Arthur Valenzuela, and Mary Hernandez.

The Spanish-Speaking Community Unity Council sought to raise the economic and social levels of the Spanish-speaking community with an emphasis on education, employment rights and opportunities, and housing. The group raised awareness that Latina/os were poorly represented not only in the City Housing Authority, but in the number of homes they occupied under the city's leased housing program.<sup>315</sup>

In 1972, the Long Beach chapter of the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) was founded. Olivia Nieto Herrera was a founding member, along with Dave Rios, Ray Rodriguez, Armando Vasquez, Jess Granado, and Ron Arias. The purpose of the organization was to help persons of Latin American origin "get into the mainstream of the country."<sup>316</sup> In May of 1975, the Long Beach Edgewater Hyatt House was the site of the 28<sup>th</sup> annual state convention of the League of United Latin American Citizens. By 1972, Long Beach had also become the site of an office of the Mexican American Opportunities Foundation—a Los Angeles-based organization promoting job opportunities for Spanish-speaking people. The leader of the organization was Dave Rios.

In 1972, the *Escuela de la Raza* was organized to "educate Spanish surname youngsters in their traditional culture and language."<sup>317</sup> Located at Gaviota Avenue and 14<sup>th</sup> Street, the *Escuela de la Raza* was formed following a confrontation between Chicano and Black

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<sup>314</sup> "Latin American Group Formed," *Independent Press-Telegram*, February 8, 1970, B4.

<sup>315</sup> Charles Sutton, "Chicanos Working Under One Banner for Goals in L.B.," *Independent Press-Telegram*, November 26, 1972, B1; B5.

<sup>316</sup> "Of Things Spanish," *Independent Press-Telegram*, November 19, 1972, W2.

<sup>317</sup> Quinn, "La Familia: Wants Own Educators," A17.

residents in May 1972 over poverty program funds. The program, the motto of which was “Yo me conozco” (I know myself), provided students with a sense of cultural identity and confidence.<sup>318</sup> By 1973, the Escuela served 50 families, and was headed by Armando Vasquez-Ramos, a former member of MEChA.

The Latina/o community of Long Beach was served by several houses of worship, including the Mexican (a.k.a., Latin American) Methodist Church (1350 Redondo Avenue, demolished); Our Lady of Mount Carmel (1861 Cerritos Avenue, extant); Chapel of Our Lady of Guadalupe (Chestnut Avenue and Pacific Coast Highway, demolished); and St. Lucy’s Catholic Church (2301 Santa Fe Avenue, extant).



Figure 73. St. Lucy's Catholic Church, 2020. Source: Historic Resources Group.

The Mexican Methodist church was founded in 1918. In 1977, the minister at the Church asked teacher and activist Olivia Nieto Herrera to create a social services center.<sup>319</sup> Known as Centro Shalom, the center provided food, clothes, and other services for anyone in need. Herrera’s work within the community continued for decades. She had previously worked with Cesar Chavez, creating the Campesino Center in Coachella, California, serving the needs of farm workers.<sup>320</sup>

### Community Trailblazers



Figure 74. Henry Taboada, c. 2012. Source: Patch.com.



Figure 75. Jenny Oropeza, c. 2010. Source: Long Beach Post.

Beginning in the mid-1970s, Latina/os began to make significant inroads into Long Beach city government. Henry Taboada (b. 1941) was appointed the city’s first Latino Affirmative Action Officer in 1975. By 1977,

the *Independent Press-Telegram* described how Taboada had “contributed significantly to progress by the city toward equal employment opportunity goals.”<sup>321</sup> In 1973, Taboada had

<sup>318</sup> Kathie Estelle, “Escuela de la Raza Builds Sense of Pride in Chicanos,” *Independent Press-Telegram*, June 24, 1974.

<sup>319</sup> Herrera was known throughout her life by various names including Olivia Alvillar, Olivia Alvillar Nieto, and Olivia Herrera.

<sup>320</sup> Karen S. Harper, *Olivia Herrera* (Long Beach, CA: Long Beach Unified School District and the Historical Society of Long Beach, 2006), 14-15.

<sup>321</sup> Don Brackenbury, “L.B. Minority Employment Up,” *Independent Press-Telegram*, May 11, 1976, B1.

served as president of the League of Latin-American Citizens. In 1999, he became the first Latino City Manager of Long Beach and served as such until 2002.<sup>322</sup>

Another community trailblazer was Jenny Oropeza (1957-2010). While attending CSULB in the mid-to late 1970s, Jenny became the first Latina student body president. While still in college, she was appointed by then-governor Jerry Brown as a student member of the CSU Board of Trustees. In the 1980s, Oropeza became the first Latina to serve as a member of the Long Beach Unified School District Board of Education.<sup>323</sup>

### Latina/o Businesses

According to Floriza Garcia Martinez, some of the earliest Latino businesses in the city were located in the area around Pacific Coast Highway and Pacific Avenue.<sup>324</sup> Latina/o-owned businesses in the 1950s included Eddie and Naomi Cardenas' service station (7<sup>th</sup> Street and Locust Avenue, demolished).

### Summary

Today, the Latina/o community in Long Beach includes residents of Mexican descent, and individuals of Guatemalan, Salvadoran, and other Central & South American heritage. The City is now over 40% Latino. Zaferia continues to be home to a significant Latina/o population, but the area now boasts a strong Southeast Asian population as well. The Latina/o population has expanded into the Central, north, northwest, and southwest areas of the city.<sup>325</sup>

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<sup>322</sup> Nancy Wride, "Long Beach Fires Manager," *Los Angeles Times*, September 6, 2002.

<sup>323</sup> Given the timeframe of this study, later Latina/o trailblazers such as Diana M. Bonta, David Segura, Robert Torres, and Larry Herrera are not covered in this context.

<sup>324</sup> Centro CHA, "Centro CHA Presents A History of Latinos in Long Beach," <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nKvRQ3fM0b4&t=124s> (accessed August 27, 2020).

<sup>325</sup> "Economic Profile Provides Insight Into Long Beach Latino Community," <http://www.cla.csulb.edu/departments/economics/economic-profile-provides-insight-into-long-beach-latino-community/> (accessed March 3, 2020).

## JAPANESE AMERICANS IN LONG BEACH

*"li kimochi da ne!!!! My, it feels good to be back!"*<sup>326</sup>

Joichi Shimazu,  
Long Beach farmer upon stepping off the train at Union Station  
August 1, 1945

In October 1945, the *Los Angeles Times* announced the return of 1,000 previously incarcerated Japanese Americans to Long Beach.<sup>327</sup> The pre-World War II Japanese American



Figure 76. Mrs. H. Kanow aboard the Rohwer Special, returning to Long Beach, 1945. Photograph by Hikaru Iwasaki. Source: UC Berkeley, Bancroft Library, *Voices in Confinement: A Digital Archive of Japanese-American Internees*.

population of Long Beach is believed to have been about 1,200.<sup>328</sup> A 1940 map of Japanese Americans in Los Angeles County (see Figure 77) shows enclaves of Japanese Americans in eastern Long Beach east of Pacific Coast Highway, and in southeastern Long Beach east of Ximeno Avenue and north of Vista Avenue.<sup>329</sup> After incarceration, many Japanese Americans throughout the United States did not return to the neighborhoods they had lived in prior to the war; this appears to have been the case in Long Beach as well. Of the 1,000 Japanese Americans mentioned in the *Los Angeles Times* article, only 400 individuals of Japanese descent were estimated to be living in the city by 1953.<sup>330</sup> An additional 200 Japanese Americans were estimated to be living in San Pedro, Bellflower, Downey, and other nearby communities.

Japanese Americans returning to Long Beach were initially housed in 400 trailers at the Los Cerritos Trailer Court (2391 Judson Avenue, demolished). Those who wanted to find more permanent housing in the city faced both racial discrimination and low vacancy rates.

Los Cerritos Trailer Court was initially built in 1943 as an emergency FPHA housing facility for veterans' families.<sup>331</sup> When returning Japanese Americans first arrived at Los Cerritos in the fall of 1945, they were met with conditions that offered little improvement over the incarceration centers they had just left, including no place to convene or recreate. Rollin McGroarty, a volunteer, noted this and lobbied to have the community hall, which was being

<sup>326</sup> "Jap-American Group Back from Arkansas," *Los Angeles Times*, August 1, 1945.

<sup>327</sup> For the history of Japanese Americans in Long Beach pre-dating this period, see the Citywide Historic Context Statement: <http://www.longbeach.gov/globalassets/lbds/media-library/documents/planning/historic-preservation/historic-pres-docs/lb-historic-context-statement>.

<sup>328</sup> Robert Heard, "After Darkness, the Dawn," *Independent Press-Telegram*, October 27, 1963.

<sup>329</sup> This may be what was known as the "open area" in Rancho Los Alamitos oral interviews.

<sup>330</sup> Vera Williams, "600 Japanese Families Live in Area," *Independent Press-Telegram*, February 8, 1953.

<sup>331</sup> "His Leadership Instills Confidence," *Rafu Shimpo*, August 24, 1946.



used for storage, cleaned out and made available for social and recreational use. Ultimately, the community hall became the social center of the Court and was also used by Japanese Americans living at the nearby Truman Boyd Manor Federal Public Housing Project. McGroarty also encouraged the formation of the Los Cerritos Residents' Tenant Council. Kenji Ito, Helen Hutton, Tommy Enomoto, and Frances Uchida were founding members. Meetings for the reconstituted Japanese American Citizens' League (JACL) were also held in the community hall. By September 1946, only 150 of the 400 trailers at the Los Cerritos Trailer Court were still occupied by Japanese Americans.<sup>332</sup> In 1949, 70 of the trailers were sold to veterans.<sup>333</sup>

After the War, there was a concentration of Japanese Americans residing in the public housing projects of Truman Boyd Manor and Cabrillo Homes.<sup>334</sup> Other enclaves included the neighborhoods around 20<sup>th</sup> Street and California Avenue, as well as Chestnut Avenue and Pacific Coast Highway. The *Independent Press-Telegram* also reported some Japanese Americans purchasing homes in the integrated the Westside.<sup>335</sup> By 1960, the Westside was nine percent "Asian" (largely Japanese, but also some Filipino residents) and ten percent "Asian" by 1968.<sup>336</sup> In 1961, the *Independent Press-Telegram* estimated that 2,660 Japanese Americans were living in the City of Long Beach. Although the census numbers shown in Table 5 includes all Asians, the majority were Japanese Americans. After the closure of Truman Boyd and Cabrillo Homes, many Japanese residents moved out of Long Beach. It is likely that they joined existing enclaves in San Pedro or Gardena. Fred Ikeguchi described the difficulty in finding housing after the war, "I'd just come back from the relocation center and I looked everywhere—East Long Beach, North Long Beach, everywhere. The only place I could buy was the Westside."<sup>337</sup> Within a few years between 2,500 and 3,000 Asians were living there.<sup>338</sup>

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<sup>332</sup> U.S. Department of the Interior, War Agency Liquidation Unit, "People in Motion: The Postwar Adjustment of the Evacuated Japanese Americans," Washington, D.C., 1949, 185.

<sup>333</sup> "70 Trailers Up for Sale Today," *Independent*, May 27, 1949.

<sup>334</sup> A review of the 1953 Long Beach City Directory listings for Japanese surnames beginning with "N" shows roughly half of those listed lived in Truman Boyd.

<sup>335</sup> Williams, "600 Japanese Families Live in Area," *Independent Press-Telegram*, February 8, 1953.

<sup>336</sup> "Integrated L.B. Westside: Not for Sale" *Independent Press-Telegram*, July 22, 1968.

<sup>337</sup> "Westside Profile," *Independent Press-Telegram*, July 21, 1968, 7.

<sup>338</sup> "Westside Profile," 7.

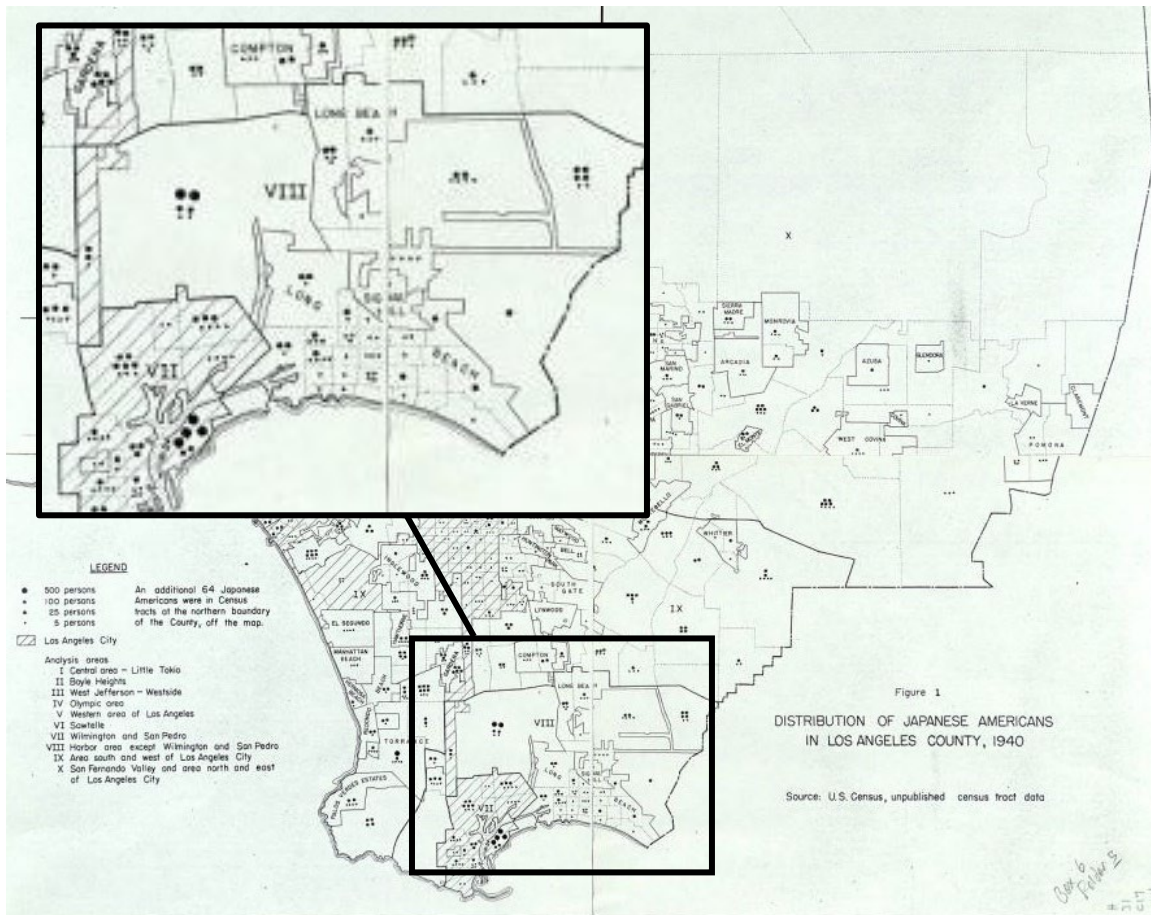


Figure 77. Distribution of Japanese Americans in Los Angeles County, 1940. Pop-out at upper left shows Long Beach vicinity. Source: CSU Japanese American Digitization Project, California State University, Dominguez Hills.

Table 5: Asian American Population in City of Long Beach. U.S. Census (includes Japanese, Chinese and Filipinos combined).<sup>339</sup>

<b>Year</b>	<b>Asian Population</b>	<b>Total Population</b>	<b>% Asian</b>
1910	154	17,809	.9%
1920	409	55,593	.7%
1930	784	142,032	.6%
1940	1,027	164,271	.6%
1950	1,823	250,767	.7%
1960	4,230	344,168	1.2%
1970	9,903	358,633	2.8%
1980	19,609	361,334	5.4%
1990	58,226	429,433	13.6%
2000	55,844	461,522	12.1%
2010	59,496	462,257	12.9%
2020	61,143	466,742	13.1%

<sup>339</sup> U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Census Statistics on Population Totals By Race, 1790 to 1990*, <https://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0076/twps0076.pdf> (accessed January 9, 2020).

By the mid-1950s, Japanese Americans were able to more easily find housing in a variety of neighborhoods in the city. There is documentation of some families living in the area near Wilson High School, and some in Belmont Shore. In 1955, construction began on a new home in East Long Beach for James J. Nakanishi (an aerospace engineer at Douglas Aircraft) and his wife Laura. The construction of the Nakanishi residence represents the first known example of a Japanese American family moving to East Long Beach after the war. Prior to building the house, the Nakanishis lived in the integrated Westside. The residence (690 Havana Avenue, extant) was designed by Japanese American architect Kazumi Adachi (1913-1992) and was featured in the *Independent Press-Telegram* in 1956.



Figure 78. Profile of the Nakanishi Residence, “Echoing a Pattern of Living,” *Independent Press-Telegram*, May 27, 1956.

### Community Institutions & Leaders

While fewer in number than before the war, Long Beach’s Japanese American residents did establish new social clubs and sporting leagues following their return to the area. Social clubs from the postwar period included the Knidens, Emanons, and Stardusters. Basketball and baseball leagues included the Long Beach Gaels and the Modern Food Five.<sup>340</sup>

During this period, the leading activist organization was the Long Beach-Harbor Japanese-American Citizens League (JACL).<sup>341</sup> Originally founded in the 1930s, after the war they were at the table with the NAACP at workshops conducted by Long Beach’s Human Relations

<sup>340</sup> A large number of local Japanese American clubs and sports teams had existed before World War II. Clubs included the KojoKai, Long Beach Vandals, Long Beach Young People’s Society, Nipponettes, Shira Youri Club, and Gakuyu Kai. Teams included the Long Beach Asahis, Independents, and many others.

<sup>341</sup> The JACL of Long Beach appears to have merged with the JACL of the Harbor Area in the 1950s or 1960s.

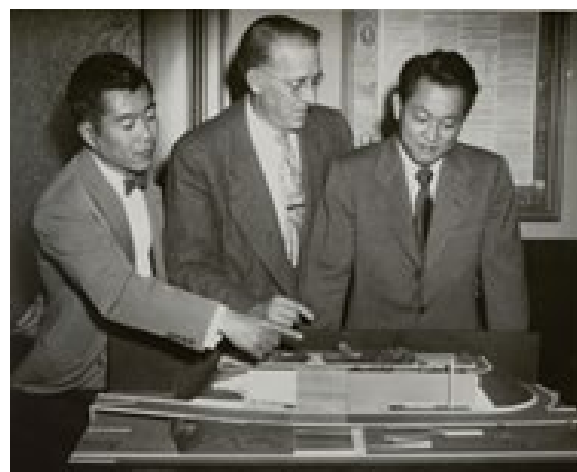


Figure 79. Kazumi Adachi, Supervisor John Anson Ford, and Dike Nagano looking at a model in 1951 of the Fort Moore Pioneer Memorial, designed by Adachi and Nagano and still standing today at 451 N. Hill Street in Los Angeles’ Little Tokyo. Source: KCRW.

Committee and at a May 1968 open housing seminar. The JAACL sponsored events such as voter registration drives and the selection of the “Harbor Queen” to represent the area at Little Tokyo’s Nisei Week Festival in Los Angeles. Often, these events were held at the Japanese Community Hall/Japanese Community Center (1766 Seabright Avenue, extant).

The Japanese Community Hall (Cultural Center) was, and continues to be, one of the most important sites for the Japanese American community of Long Beach. Originally a manufacturing plant, the site became the center for the community in the mid-1950s. In addition to hosting events for groups like the JAACL, the local gardeners’ association, and a women’s auxiliary, it was the site of training and performance for judo, karate, traditional folk music, Japanese language studies, and traditional arts



Figure 80. Japanese Community Hall, 2020. Source: Historic Resources Group.

programs like *ikebana* and *sumi* painting. It was also the site of the Harbor Japanese Credit Union Office and a satellite office of the Los Angeles County Department of Public Social Services, which provided support to aging Issei. The annual Japanese Carnival (now referred to as a festival) featuring cultural displays, demonstrations and activities) was first held at the Community Hall in 1949. A celebration of Japanese culture and tradition, the carnival featured traditional *Ondo* dancers, with Japanese cultural exhibits and Japanese food.

In 1971, community leaders Edday Hamade, Dr. John Kashiwabara, and Art Noda studied options for moving the center to a larger, more modern facility. The decision was ultimately made to remodel the center, and a grand reopening was held in June of 1973. The Seabright Avenue building continues to serve the community today and contains a small museum.

Another important community institution from this period was the Harbor Area Community Center at 2391 Judson Avenue (demolished). Before its acquisition as a community center, the 5,000 square-foot building had been used as administrative offices for the Los Cerritos Trailer Park. In 1950, 5.5 acres of land was acquired from the federal government, and voluntary donations and labor were used to convert the building to serve community needs. In addition to building repairs, a baseball diamond and other recreational facilities were added. Activities included citizenship and religious classes, youth instruction, and judo classes. It also served as the site of the Japanese language school, one of the most important educational institutions in every Japanese community.<sup>342</sup> In 1954, the County Board of

<sup>342</sup> Paul Frame, “Japanese-American Group Loses Center,” *Independent Press-Telegram*, March 19, 1954.



Education claimed the property for the construction of a new high school,<sup>343</sup> and paid the community \$38,000 for the building. At the time, Long Beach JACL President, Fred Ikeguchi mused, “we had only paid off the property last year.”<sup>344</sup>

Fred Ikeguchi (1915-1983) was an important figure within the Japanese American community in Long Beach. After the war, Ikeguchi was a real estate broker, drawing on his experience with housing discrimination in Long Beach. In addition to being active in the revival of the JACL, he was president of the Japanese American Society. In 1959, he was appointed to the Mayor and City Council’s Advisory Public Improvement Committee and participated in the city’s Housing Task Force. During the mid-1970s Ikeguchi was also on the board of directors for the Japanese Community Center. By the early 1960s, Ikeguchi had switched to selling insurance.



Figure 81. Japanese Presbyterian Church (now Centro De Vida Cristiana), 2020. Source: Historic Resources Group.

Another important community institution was the Japanese Presbyterian Church (1333 Locust Avenue, extant).<sup>345</sup> It was built for the church in 1925-26 by architect High Davies. It contained an auditorium that seated 300 people, five classrooms on the second floor, a playroom, and kitchen. It also included living quarters for the Reverend Kozo Ito.<sup>346</sup> During World War II, the building was taken over by the Long Beach Boys Club but returned to the church in 1946.<sup>347</sup> Reverend George Hirose and Rev. Kiyoshi Noji were pastors there during the late 1940s. In 1948, the church conducted Sunday School at the

Judson Street Trailer Court.<sup>348</sup> The church conducted Japanese-language and English-language services for its 200 parishioners. The church’s Women’s Society was active in the fight for adequate public-school facilities in the mid-1950s.

The Long Beach Harbor Japanese Credit Union was founded by local Japanese Americans who pooled their funds to provide loans within the community when traditional financial institutions would not lend to them. Many Japanese Americans became members to acquire loans for gardening equipment, trucks, and cars.

<sup>343</sup> No high school currently exists on the area acquired, which was a total of 25 acres between Burnett Street and 15th Street, Webster Avenue, and the Terminal Island Freeway, as described in Frame, “Japanese American Group Loses Center.”

<sup>344</sup> Frame, “Japanese-American Group Loses Center.”

<sup>345</sup> The church was not originally affiliated with the Presbyterian denomination.

<sup>346</sup> Ivers, *Long Beach: A History Through its Architecture*, 157.

<sup>347</sup> “Boys Club Seeking Tax Deeded Lots,” *Press-Telegram*, January 23, 1946.

<sup>348</sup> “Standing Calendar of Church Activity,” *Press-Telegram*, July 24, 1948.



As in many Japanese communities, a Long Beach gardeners' association was formed in early 1953.<sup>349</sup> The group became an important social and philanthropic organization and helped build goodwill outside the Japanese community. It was open to any gardener working in the City of Long Beach. Mas Narita was the first president, supported by an all-Japanese American board. The intent was to arrange lectures by experts, and conduct field trips and research. It also provided a means to obtain health insurance. By 1963, it had grown to more than 200 members. Like many gardeners' associations, the group occasionally donated their services in the community. This was the case when the Association executed the landscape plan for the Fairfield Community Services Building (3515 Linden Avenue, extant), which had been drawn up by Edward R. Lovell, landscape architect. The gardeners' association not only provided all the labor for the project, but they also coordinated donated materials from a variety of sources, including Japanese American-owned businesses.<sup>350</sup>



Figure 82. Japanese garden (demolished) with former City Hall in the background, c. 1974. Source: Long Beach Public Library, Long Beach Collection Digital Archive.

In 1959, the Long Beach Gardeners Association fielded a bowling team.<sup>351</sup> Bowling leagues were an extremely important part of Japanese American postwar social culture. Given the Japanese American diaspora after incarceration, bowling leagues were often a way for former neighbors to get together and reconnect. Other local Japanese American leagues included the "Oriental Market" and "New Hustler" teams. The Ken Mar Bowl (21 S. Cedar Avenue, demolished) on the Pike was home to the Nisei Mixed League, a league composed entirely of Japanese Americans, including Koya Kurihara, the Long Beach Class A Singles champion; and Aiko Fujimoto, national singles champion of the Japanese American Citizens League.<sup>352</sup>

In 1964, the City of Long Beach constructed an underground parking structure that required the Washingtonia Palms be removed from Lincoln Park (Broadway Street and Pacific Avenue). When the park was reconstructed, park director Don Obert designed a Japanese garden to commemorate the sister city relationship between Long Beach and Yokkaichi, Japan. The park featured "a low waterfall bubbling from a volcanic feather rock base

<sup>349</sup> "Gardeners in L.B. Form Association," *Independent Press-Telegram*, March 23, 1953, B9.

<sup>350</sup> "Fairfield Community Building Landscaping Work is Donated," *Independent Press-Telegram*, December 25, 1963, 5Z.

<sup>351</sup> "Bowling Along," *Independent Press-Telegram*, May 14, 1959, C4.

<sup>352</sup> "Bowling, Long-Time Favorite Here, Still Attracts Throngs," *Independent Press-Telegram*, October 21, 1952, DD15.

channeled into a stream...passing beneath an arched red and black Japanese bridge."<sup>353</sup> A small granite pagoda stood in the pool; featured plants included azaleas, abelia, and star jasmine. Garden trees included coral, flowering peach, olive, and Monterey pine. Stone and metal Japanese lanterns lit the walkway. Prior to the park's dedication, however, the local JACL pointed out that the bridge was Chinese, not Japanese, in its design. Roy Shiba, a member of the JACL and the operator of Nisei Landscaping, alerted the City, and a more suitable wooden bridge was installed before the dedication on August 9, 1964 in the presence of Yokkaichi mayor Sukenori Hirata.<sup>354</sup> The Japanese garden was demolished as part of the construction of a new library and city hall in 2019.

Mary Arimoto (b. 1925), an influential Japanese American woman in Long Beach, offered support to Asian women in the city. A graduate of Westminster College in Salt Lake City, Arimoto did graduate work in human development in Elmhurst, IL, after which she moved to the San Fernando Valley where she raised a family and became a teacher-trainer for Head Start. After a divorce that was not viewed as acceptable within the Japanese American community, Arimoto took the position of project director for the Reaching Out Service to Asian Women at the Westside Neighborhood Center in 1973.<sup>355</sup> By 1976, Arimoto was director of counseling and supportive services at the Asian Pacific Outreach. In this capacity she served the Cambodian, Laotian, and Hmong refugee communities.



Figure 83. Eunice Sato, no date. Source: Long Beach Public Library, Long Beach Collection Digital Archive.

Finally, no discussion of Japanese Americans in Long Beach would be complete without mention of Eunice N. Sato (b. 1921). Sato moved to Long Beach in 1953 and had a long career in public service. Between 1972 and 1974, Sato served as president of the Long Beach Area Council of Churches, president of the Long Beach PTA Council, and a representative of the JACL and the Human Rights Commission. She was elected to the City Council in 1975, and served as a councilmember until 1986. From 1980-1982, Sato was the Mayor of Long Beach—the first Asian American mayor of a major American city. Throughout her long career, she remained committed to interracial cooperation.<sup>356</sup>

<sup>353</sup> Lana C. Phelan, "The Park With 1000 Gardeners," *Southland Magazine*, August 2, 1964, 8, 25.

<sup>354</sup> George Eres, "Building a Japanese Garden in LB Isn't So Simple," *Independent Press-Telegram*, August 9, 1964.

<sup>355</sup> "Reach Out Meshes Asian Culture, American Ways," *Independent Press-Telegram*, September 20, 1973, A19.

<sup>356</sup> "Three Recognized for Service," *Independent Press-Telegram*, May 23, 1975.

### Japanese American Businesses

Prior to World War II, Rancho Los Alamitos was home to many Japanese American tenant and lease farmers who worked the land. According to oral history files in the Rancho Los Alamitos archives, the ranch property south of 7<sup>th</sup> Street was known as “Little Tokyo” for its high concentration of Japanese Americans.<sup>357</sup> Still other Japanese Americans farmed on other parts of the ranch. The Shigematsu family grew radishes on a plot north of the ranch house with ten Mexican American laborers to help. They all resided together in the small vernacular structures on the ranch.<sup>358</sup> None of the Japanese American tenant farmers



Figure 84. This Japanese agricultural enclave from the 1920s is believed to be “Little Tokyo” at Rancho Los Alamitos. Source: *Japanese Yearbook*, Private Collection.

returned to Rancho Los Alamitos after World War II. Other documented professions for Japanese Americans include store operator (restaurants, beauty shops, fruit and vegetable stands), fishermen, gardeners, and truck farmers.<sup>359</sup>

Multi-generational families of Issei and Nisei working in business together was common. A prominent example was grocers Charles Nobuichi Yamagata (1886-1957), Mary Asako Yamagata, and their son George K. Yamagata (1911-1973). The elder Yamagata’s fruit business appears in the Long Beach City Directory of 1922. By 1931, they had two stores (3932 ½ E. 4<sup>th</sup> Street, demolished; 3342 E. 7<sup>th</sup> Street, demolished). By 1935, they operated a third location in Belmont Shore (5322 E. 2<sup>nd</sup> Street, demolished). After incarceration, George returned to Long Beach and became a gardener, as the family had lost possession of their business.

In fact, many Japanese Americans turned to gardening after the war – the gardening business required a small capital investment to start, and there was a long-standing mentoring tradition in the Japanese community. The large number of single-family residences in Long Beach also made this an attractive proposition. A review of the 1948 *Long Beach City Directory* reveals many Japanese men, often multiple people from the same family, were working as gardeners.

<sup>357</sup> Interview with Angie Sisneros Mariscal and her daughter Virginia Sisneros LeGaspi, August 25, 1988, Rancho Los Alamitos Archive.

<sup>358</sup> Interview with Marion Hataye, August 8, 1988, Rancho Los Alamitos Archive.

<sup>359</sup> Truck farmers are agricultural workers who harvest produce for sale out of their trucks.



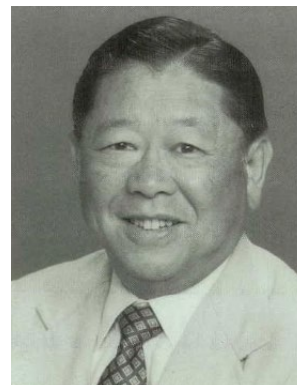
Figure 85. Frank and Hisa Ishii residence, 728 Mira Mar Avenue, 2020. Source: Historic Resources Group.

Although most Japanese Americans did not have the social or financial capital to start or re-start businesses after incarceration, there were some notable exceptions. The Ishii family originally came to Long Beach in 1908 and started a retail floral business in 1917. Both Frank Ishii (1902-1960) and his brother Joe worked in the family business before the war. After incarceration, Frank returned to Long Beach and in 1947 was able to start a new flower shop (2292-2294 American Avenue, demolished); this shop was operated by the Ishiis at this location until 1977.<sup>360</sup> After initially living in the storefront, Frank and his wife Hisa became some of the few Japanese Americans during this period to live in the area around Wilson High School. Their daughter Frances Ishii became a well-known and respected member of the Long Beach medical community, serving as the medical librarian at Long Beach Memorial Hospital for several decades.

In general, however, it took years after incarceration for many Japanese Americans to be able to start retail businesses. Perhaps the greatest concentration of postwar Japanese American retail businesses was located on the Westside along Santa Fe Avenue. The Yamasaki Grocery (1566 Santa Fe Avenue, altered) run by Matsuko Yamasaki (1922-2009) was established by 1952. It was joined by a significant number of other Japanese American businesses by the early 1960s. These included the Nisei Mobil Service Station located at 2293-2295 Santa Fe Avenue (demolished); Fred Ikeguchi, insurance agent (2050 Santa Fe Avenue, altered); Santa Fe Cleaners (2052 Santa Fe Avenue, altered); Santa Fe Jewelers (2054 Santa Fe Avenue, altered); Azuma Fit Shop (2070 Santa Fe Avenue, altered); the Mikado Café (2173 Santa Fe Avenue, altered); Santa Fe Lawn Shop (3002 Santa Fe Avenue, altered), and Happy Shoe Service (2412 Santa Fe Avenue, altered). Lawn mower repair shops were an important fixture in the Japanese American community, as they served as de facto social clubs for the many Japanese gardeners. The 1968 Long Beach City Directory indicates that the location of the M' Hara Lawn Mower Shop (2080 present-day Martin Luther King Jr. Avenue, extant) was on California Avenue. Owned by Victor Fukuhara, the business still operates in a new location. The interiors shop Scand Asia owned by Koo Ito, started on the Westside (3922 Atlantic Avenue, extant), then moved to Belmont Shore (5217 E. 2<sup>nd</sup> Street, extant) and the Los Altos Center (5525 Stearns Street, extant). Ito was both a leader in the Japanese American community and a respected authority on interior design who frequently gave talks to women's groups in the greater Long Beach area.

<sup>360</sup> "Ishi Family Again in Flower Business Here," *Press-Telegram*, March 16, 1947.

A few Japanese American medical professionals emerged to serve the community in the postwar period. They included John G. Kuroda, optometrist (2010 Santa Fe Avenue, altered); Marimichi Fukada, physician at the VA Hospital; and Dr. Richard Y. Sugiyama, a Long Beach-born dentist.<sup>361</sup> Dr. John Kashiwabara (1921-2010) was a prominent and active member of the Japanese community. A prominent family physician in the Japanese American community from 1954-1990, he also took part in civic affairs. He was heavily involved in sports medicine for Long Beach teams at the high school, community college, and university level. He was an active member of the Downtown Lions Club, Yokaichi Sister Cities, Boys and Girls Clubs of Long Beach, the JAACL, Chamber of Commerce, and the National Conference of Christians and Jews. He also served on the City Human Relations Committee.



*Figure 86. Dr. John Kashiwabara, 1984. Source: Jordan High School Trailblazer yearbook, 1984, via Ancestry.com.*

### Summary

Residential development patterns associated with Japanese Americans in Long Beach reflect the diaspora common in other communities in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century. However, important institutions founded after World War II continue to unify the local community. This includes the Long Beach Japanese Cultural Center (LBJCC), which still serves the community with 250 members 65 years after its founding. The Cultural Center continues to host an annual Japanese Cultural Festival and houses a Japanese Language School, judo, kendo, ikebana and other classes in Japanese culture and tradition. The Japanese Garden at CSULB, dedicated in 1981, remains a source of pride in the community.

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<sup>361</sup> Dr. Suhiyama served on the City's Planning Commission in the mid-1970s.



## CHINESE AMERICANS IN LONG BEACH

Although Chinese Americans have a long history in California, they comprised the smallest ethnic population in Long Beach in the immediate postwar period.<sup>362</sup> Congress' enactment of the 1945 War Brides Act and 1946 Fiancée's Act allowed entry of foreign spouses and minor children of citizen members of the armed forces and stimulated Chinese migration to Southern California after the war. However, the impact of this legislation on the Long Beach Chinese American community appears to have been minimal.



Figure 87. Women at a park in Long Beach.  
Source: Los Angeles Public Library Shades of L.A.  
Collection: Chinese American Community.

By 1953, it was estimated that there were between 150 and 200 Chinese Americans in the city.<sup>363</sup> The *Independent Press-Telegram* described that Chinese residents lived in "various parts of the city, but the population is centered in the Hill and Atlantic area."<sup>364</sup> The population and related services included four dentists, two physicians, three herbalists, eight cafes, two grocery stores, a garage, and a several fruit and vegetable stands. The Quan Lee Laundry at 630 W. Pacific Coast Highway (demolished) was the oldest operating Chinese American-owned business (established 1893) in Long Beach in 1953.

Consistent with the cluster of Chinese Americans in the Hill and Atlantic area, businessman Frank Choy, who worked for National Dollar Stores, and his wife lived at 1934 Atlantic Avenue (demolished) in the mid-1950s. Dr. William Y. Lee operated his practice out of the same office previously used by his father Dr. Sue P. Lee as Sue P. Lee & Sons in 1938 at 1033 Atlantic Avenue (demolished).<sup>365</sup>

In 1961, the *Independent Press-Telegram* reported that there were 316 Chinese Americans living in the City of Long Beach.<sup>366</sup> Chinese American-owned businesses in the city during the 1960s included Lee's Market at 1100 E. 10<sup>th</sup> Street (altered) owned by Bin Fong and Lyman C. Lee, and the House of Fong restaurant owned by Stanley Fong at 1538 E. 4<sup>th</sup> Street (extant).

By late 1969, some Chinese American residents of Long Beach had integrated into other neighborhoods. The Frank Choy family moved northward to 1723 E. Marshall Place (extant).

<sup>362</sup> For additional information about the early history of Chinese Americans in Long Beach, see the Ethnographic Context included in the Citywide Historic Context Statement: <http://www.longbeach.gov/globalassets/lbds/media-library/documents/planning/historic-preservation/historic-pres-docs/lb-historic-context-statement>.

<sup>363</sup> Vera Williams, "Laundry First Chinese Business," *Independent Press-Telegram*, February 1, 1953.

<sup>364</sup> Williams, "Laundry First Chinese Business."

<sup>365</sup> Sue P. Lee lived in Los Angeles and maintained two additional branches of Sue P. Lee & Sons there.

<sup>366</sup> "Beach Combing," *Independent Press-Telegram*, November 12, 1961.



The widow of Dr. Sue P. Lee moved to Belmont Shore, residing at 103 Argonne Avenue (altered).

Although he did not have an office in Long Beach, Los Angeles-based Chinese architect Eugene Kinn Choy (1912-1991) designed two homes in Long Beach. The Park Estates home located at 1230 Los Altos Avenue (extant) was built in 1956. The house was later purchased and occupied by Carl Liedholm, president of Long Beach City College. The other residence, 700 Havana Avenue (extant) was built in 1977 in collaboration with Barton Choy.<sup>367</sup>

The Chinese American community of Long Beach appears to have maintained strong ties to the Chinese American community of Los Angeles and Chinatown. Currently, no Chinese American social or cultural organizations based in the city of Long Beach have been identified.

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<sup>367</sup> Sarah Locke, email to Sian Winship, September 22, 2021.

## FILIPINO AMERICANS IN LONG BEACH

In the 1940s, the largest concentration of Filipino Americans outside of Los Angeles' Little Manila was in the Los Angeles Harbor area "especially around West Long Beach, San Pedro and Wilmington."<sup>368</sup> A likely causal influence was the fact that military enlistment was a significant pathway to the U.S. for Filipinos.<sup>369</sup> Joining the armed forces was a way to seek a more prosperous life in the U.S. During World War II, Manila fell to the Japanese on January 2, 1942. During the war, only Filipinos serving in the U.S. military were permitted to move to the United States.



Figure 88. Friends at the Colorado Lagoon, c. 1945.  
Source: Los Angeles Public Library, Shades of L.A. Filipino American Collection.

When Japanese American tenant farmers were incarcerated during World War II, Filipino tenant farmers farmed the land at Rancho Los Alamitos south of 7<sup>th</sup> Street that was formerly known as "Little Tokyo." When the Japanese were evacuated from nearby Terminal Island and incarcerated during World War II, Filipino Americans took the place of the missing workers in the canneries.

On July 2, 1946, a naturalization bill for Filipino Americans was brought forth by Claire Booth Luce. The Luce-Cellar Act was passed two days before President Harry Truman proclaimed Philippine Independence. After World War II, many Filipina women immigrated as war brides, transforming Filipino American communities in Long Beach and elsewhere. From 1944 to 1952, Filipino American veterans took advantage of the GI Bill's home loan guaranty, which aided in the purchase of homes on the Westside.

As early as 1948, Long Beach became home to a Filipino social club, the Corregidor Cavern Club (1699 W. Ocean Boulevard, demolished).<sup>370</sup> The club served some 100 Filipino Americans who worked at the canneries.<sup>371</sup> Although the club attracted Filipino Americans from Wilmington and Terminal Island, a few members lived in the integrated Westside.

Filipinos in Long Beach also maintained close ties to the Filipino community of Los Angeles, participating in LA-based clubs and professional associations such as the Filipino Technical

<sup>368</sup> City of Los Angeles, Department of City Planning, Office of Historic Resources, *Survey LA Filipino Americans in Los Angeles, 1903-1980*, August 2018.

<sup>369</sup> In 1901 President McKinley authorized the enlistment of 500 Filipinos in the U.S. Navy. It was more costly to recruit and ship American soldiers to the U.S. controlled Philippines.

<sup>370</sup> This address appears twice in the *Press-Telegram*; however, this address corresponds to a bridge over the river. The Club is not listed in City Directories for 1948 or 1951.

<sup>371</sup> "Delay Club Permit Hearing," *Press-Telegram*, May 26, 1948.



Figure 89. Postcard of the Pacific Coast Club. Source: CardCow.com.

and Professional Society.<sup>372</sup> One of the most significant regional cultural institutions was the Filipino Community Center (323 Mar Vista Avenue, Wilmington), founded in 1949. The Center was home to an annual salo-salo (luau), boxing matches, spring dances, and even a debutante ball in the late 1960s.<sup>373</sup> The fraternal organization known as Supreme Fraternal Council Legionarios del Trabajo had a local branch, Liwang Lodge 540, but it was disbanded by 1953 because

most Filipino Americans belonged to the Wilmington branch.

By 1953, it is estimated that there were 250 Filipino Americans living in Long Beach and another 250 in nearby San Pedro and Wilmington.<sup>374</sup> In addition to being employed at the fish canneries, hospitality was also a popular occupation. Fifteen Filipinos were employed at the Pacific Coast Club (850 E. Ocean Avenue, demolished).<sup>375</sup> Classified ads from the period in the *Independent Press-Telegram* recruiting Filipinos for service positions resulted in many Filipino Americans working as in low-wage jobs such as bus boys or as domestic workers in private homes in the city. Long Beach's Filipino American population was stable during this period; the *Independent Press-Telegram* identified 254 Filipino American residents in the city in 1961.<sup>376</sup>

A number of Filipino American businesses blossomed in Long Beach during the postwar period. These included several restaurants: Far Eastern Coffee Shop (45 Magnolia Avenue, demolished), and Manila Sands (25 N. Magnolia Avenue, demolished), both owned by Sal San Agustin. Along Santa Fe Avenue in the heart of the Westside, Filipino Market (2525 Santa Fe Avenue, altered) served the integrated community. During the mid-to-late 1970s, the State Theater (104 E. Ocean Boulevard, demolished) screened movies in Tagalog. An early real estate broker, Reynaldo Gutierrez of Crown Equity, was also known throughout the community.<sup>377</sup>

In the early 1960s, The Filipino-American Voter League became active in the greater Long Beach Harbor area. In the early 1970s, the Pangasinan Association and Zambales Circle

<sup>372</sup> Rosario Wells, telephone interview by Sian Winship, July 14, 2020.

<sup>373</sup> During the 1970s, the Center was home to cultural classes for children and adults to engender pride in their Filipino heritage.

<sup>374</sup> Vera Williams, "Filipinos Active as Long Beach Residents," *Independent Press-Telegram*, February 22, 1953.

<sup>375</sup> Filipino Americans working at the Club dates back to the 1920s. Vincent "Vicente" Quijano worked at the Club beginning in 1926 and encouraged other members of the Filipino American community to work there as well.

<sup>376</sup> "Beach Combing," *Independent Press-Telegram*, November 12, 1961.

<sup>377</sup> Rosario Wells, telephone interview by Sian Winship, July 14, 2020.

engaged the community as well. A 1972 Filipino Christmas celebration held at the Bret Harte Branch Library (1595 W. Willow Street, extant) brought together the Cumbacheros (Filipino boys and girls from Head Start), the Bicol Club of Long Beach (a dance troupe), and a group of third graders from St. Lucy's School. St. Lucy's Church and School (2301 Santa Fe Avenue and 2320 Cota Avenue, extant) were spiritual hubs for the community.

With the Immigration Act of 1965, national origins quotas were lifted, and family reunification was emphasized. This coincided with the dictatorial rule of President Ferdinand Marcos, and fueled a large wave of Filipino immigration to the U.S. Significant numbers of engineers, physicians, and nurses emigrated, resulting in a "brain drain" from the Philippines.<sup>378</sup> By 1970, the U.S. Census counted 3,000 Filipino Americans in Long Beach.<sup>379</sup> By 1974, 15 percent (144) of Hudson School students (2335 Webster Avenue, extant) were Filipino Americans. St. Lucy's Catholic School three blocks away was 36 percent Filipino American.<sup>380</sup>

The Filipino Migrant Center, founded in 2010, continues to advocate for the Filipino American community in Long Beach. In 2018, the Long Beach Filipino American community celebrated the first Long Beach Filipino Festival on the Westside. The tradition continued in 2019, featuring Filipino American cuisine, art, performances and culture. This modern tradition is steeped in a long-standing Filipino American community.

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<sup>378</sup> Benjamin Carino, "The New Filipino Immigrants to the United States: Increasing Diversity and Change," Papers of the East-West Population Institute, Honolulu, Hawaii.

<sup>379</sup> James M. Leavy, "25,000 Asians in Long Beach," *Independent Press-Telegram*, November 11, 1976.

<sup>380</sup> "School Grant is Sought," *Independent Press-Telegram*, January 29, 1974, B1.

## KOREAN AMERICANS IN LONG BEACH

The first wave of Korean immigration to California began in 1905 by way of Hawaii. Most of the early Korean immigrants settled in Northern California; however, a small number came to Southern California during this period.<sup>381</sup> According to the *Independent Press-Telegram*, Koreans did not arrive in Long Beach until the 1920s.<sup>382</sup> However, the 1940 Census shows just two Korean-born individuals living in Long Beach. One was the wife of a Lt. Commander in the U.S. Navy; the other was Dr. Robert Null, a dentist in private practice outside the city.

The second wave of Korean immigration had more impact on Long Beach. The Korean War began on June 25, 1950. The communist-backed Northern forces fought the Southern forces supported by several Western countries, including the United States. The conflict lasted three years until an armistice was signed on July 27, 1953. To ease suffering on the Korean Peninsula, the Korean American community of Southern California rallied to support a wave of Korean orphans. Returning U.S. servicemen from the Korean War also brought Korean brides with them. Korean students also started making their way to the U.S. in the years after World War II.

In 1952, the Immigration and Nationality Act (also known as the McCarran-Walter Act) was passed which relaxed the limits on immigration from certain Asian countries, including Korea. Afterwards, a number of Korean professionals, including doctors and teachers, migrated to Long Beach. Like many immigrants, many were unable to follow their chosen professions in their new land, taking factory jobs or opening small businesses.

In 1976, the *Independent Press-Telegram* estimated that there were 1,500 Korean Americans in the city of Long Beach.<sup>383</sup> A 1976 survey of Korean American children found that approximately 60 Korean American children were attending Collins Elementary School in



Figure 90. Korean Community Church, 2020.  
Source: Historic Resources Group.

North Long Beach, suggesting that this area was home to many in the Korean community.<sup>384</sup>

Support services for the local Korean community were provided by the Rev. John Park of Long Beach Baptist Mission (3435 San Anseline Avenue, extant). By the mid-1970s, The Korean-American Cultural Society, Inc. had been established under the leadership of Rev. John Kim, Director. Kim was also pastor at the Korean Community Church (4919

<sup>381</sup> The City of Los Angeles' *SurveyLA Historic Context Statement: Korean Americans in Los Angeles: 1905-1980* documents a small, but significant Korean community in Los Angeles before World War II with its own social, religious, and cultural institutions.

<sup>382</sup> James M. Leavy, "25,000 Asians in L.B.," *Independent Press-Telegram*, November 21, 1976.

<sup>383</sup> James M. Leavy, "25,000 Asians in L.B.," *Independent Press-Telegram*, November 21, 1976.

<sup>384</sup> "District Will Survey Needs of Korea Born," *Los Angeles Times*, July 1, 1976.

Centralia Street, extant) that was established in October of 1975.<sup>385</sup> Kim was described by the *Independent Press-Telegram* as the “head of the Korean community” of Long Beach. A former major in the Korean Air Force, he spoke English, Japanese, and Korean, and as such, helped Korean immigrants find jobs and navigate the language barrier.<sup>386</sup> Today, Los Angeles’ Koreatown serves as the hub for the Korean American community throughout Southern California.

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<sup>385</sup> “Goings On,” *Independent Press-Telegram*, October 9, 1975.

<sup>386</sup> “CETA Helps Some Beat Recession,” *Independent Press-Telegram*, August 3, 1975.



## SAMOAN AMERICANS IN LONG BEACH

Other than Hawaiians, Samoan Americans represent the largest group of Asian Pacific Islanders in the United States.<sup>387</sup> This includes Samoans who emigrated from the independent state of Samoa or who relocated to the United States from American Samoa.<sup>388</sup> The first migration of Samoans to Long Beach began with Samoan women who married American servicemen while they served in American Samoa.<sup>389</sup> However, this was a small group relative to the “Great Migration” of the early 1950s.

In 1878, the United States signed a treaty to establish a naval station in Pago Pago Harbor, on the Samoan island of Tutuila. In 1899, colonial powers divided Samoa into spheres of influence: Germany gained control of the western islands, while the United States took the eastern islands. By 1904, the eastern islands had all been formally ceded to the United States, although the U.S. Congress did not formally accept the deeds of cession until Feb. 20, 1929. The U.S. Navy administered American Samoa until 1951, when the Department of the Interior assumed responsibility and appointed a governor.<sup>390</sup> The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 made American Samoans U.S. nationals. In 1967, American Samoa adopted a constitution, and in 1977 the territory held its first constitutional elections.<sup>391</sup> In 1981, American Samoans elected a non-voting delegate to serve in the U.S. House of Representatives.<sup>392</sup>

When the Navy closed the Pago Pago base in 1951, those Samoans who worked for the Navy were offered free transportation and relocation assistance to the United States. It is estimated that over 1,000 Samoans migrated as the result of the Navy offer; therefore, this first group of Samoans to migrate to California were predominantly young men.<sup>393</sup> By the late 1950s the ratio of men to women migrants had equalized, but the age of the migrants remained young (between 18 and 30 years old). Many of the women who migrated during the 1950s and 1960s were young and unmarried, and moved to California to help with childcare and household chores. Samoan American children in Long Beach in the mid-1950s experienced racism. As one man recalled, when he attended Daniel Webster Elementary

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<sup>387</sup> Pacific Islanders include many nations and cultures of Oceania including Palau, Micronesia, Guam, Samoa, Tonga and Fiji. By November 1976, the *Independent Press-Telegram* estimated that there were also approximately 300-400 families from Guam, and a few Tongans, living in Long Beach.

<sup>388</sup> Western Samoa became an independent Polynesian state in 1962.

<sup>389</sup> A review of the 1940 Census for Long Beach reveals only four individuals born in Samoa living within the city limits.

<sup>390</sup> Peter Raymond Creevey, “American Samoa,” *Britannica*, <https://www.britannica.com/place/American-Samoa> (accessed September 16, 2020).

<sup>391</sup> U.S. Department of the Interior, Office of Insular Affairs, “American Samoa,” <https://www.doi.gov/oia/islands/american-samoa> (accessed September 16, 2020).

<sup>392</sup> Creevey, “American Samoa,” *Britannica*.

<sup>393</sup> Craig R. James, “From Village to City: Samoan Migration to California,” in *Pacific Diaspora: Island Peoples in the United States and Across the Pacific*, ed. Paul Spickard, Joanne L. Rondilla, and Debbie Hippolite Wright (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 2002), 121-122.

School at 11 years old, "They called us 'natives.' I couldn't understand what that word native was until I saw some of the Jungle Jim and Tarzan movies...they thought of people right out of the jungle."<sup>394</sup> After 1970, Samoan migrants tended to be older, including parents of earlier migrants, coming to live with their children or other family members.<sup>395</sup>

Because Samoan Americans are U.S. nationals, there are no immigration records that track their migration to the mainland United States. As a result, the exact number of people of Samoan heritage living in the United States is difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain. By 1979, the number of Samoans in Southern California was believed to be between 60,000 to 90,000.<sup>396</sup> Not surprisingly, Samoans who came to the United States in the 1950s tended to live near the Naval installations in San Diego and in Long Beach. With housing in short supply in Long Beach and more reasonable prices available in other places, the Samoan community spread to neighboring communities such as Wilmington, Harbor City, Carson, Torrance, and Compton.

Those who did settle in Long Beach primarily lived in the integrated Westside. Known Samoan residents of the neighborhood include Mr. and Mrs. Melvin Jungblut (2227 Webster Avenue, demolished). Mrs. Jungblut was the former Princess Alaileula Tosi Malietoa, the eldest child of His Highness Nalietoa Tanumafili II, head of state of what was then Western Samoa. She married a Navy man and relocated to Long Beach in the early 1960s.<sup>397</sup>

By 1969 it was estimated that 3,000 Samoans lived in the city of Carson, with another 4,000 living in other parts of Los Angeles County, primarily Long Beach.<sup>398</sup> By 1972, it was estimated that more than 17,000 people of American and Western Samoan descent lived in the greater Los Angeles area, with a majority of them in the "greater Long Beach area."<sup>399</sup> By 1978, it was estimated that there were two to three times more Samoans living in Southern California than in Samoa.<sup>400</sup>

In terms of employment, as noted, Samoans who came to Long Beach starting in the 1950s were primarily serving in the military. Women were most often housewives, but many also worked as registered nurses. Subsequent waves of Samoans coming to the U.S. did not have military service as a potential source of employment. They also faced a language barrier. As a result, many took low-wage jobs in manufacturing.

Over the years, many Samoan Americans from Long Beach proved themselves to be gifted athletes. These included a number of early wrestlers, former Long Beach City College/NFL

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<sup>394</sup> Interview with Tuiofu Foisa, Jr. by Sojin Kim, Shades of L.A. Interview Project, June 17, 1994.

<sup>395</sup> James, "From Village to City: Samoan Migration to California," 121-122.

<sup>396</sup> "The Samoans Amongst Us," *Los Angeles Times*, January 2, 1979, SD\_A8.

<sup>397</sup> "Island Royalty Born in Long Beach," *Independent Press-Telegram*, February 28, 1963, B1.

<sup>398</sup> "Samoans Whoop It Up at Carson Ritual," *Independent Press-Telegram*, November 23, 1969, B1.

<sup>399</sup> "Island Festival Slated," *Independent Press-Telegram*, August 6, 1972, W9.

<sup>400</sup> "Culture Shock Traps Growing Samoan Colony," *Los Angeles Times*, November 26, 1978, CS1.

football player Terry Tautolo (b. 1954), and the UCLA/NFL football star Manu'ula Tuiasosopo (b. 1957).<sup>401</sup>

### Community Organizations & Institutions

Christianity was brought to Samoa in the 1830s by the London Missionary Society, and church remains a central focus of the community. The Samoan Americans worshipped in their own language, as a means of keeping a tie to their homeland.

The Samoan Congregational Church of Long Beach was established July 15, 1956, with 63 members.<sup>402</sup> Tuiofu Foisia, Sr. (1918-1982) was the first minister of the Samoan Congregational Church of Long Beach. According to an oral interview with his son, Foisia, who served in the U.S. Navy, approval from the church elder in Samoa was required to start the church in Long Beach, and for Tuiofu Foisia to be the lay minister. In March of 1959, it became the second Samoan Congregational Church to be incorporated in the United States.<sup>403</sup> The group initially held its services in Foisia's home in Carson, then moved to Pilgrim Hall at First Congregational Church (241 Cedar Avenue, extant; Long Beach Historic Landmark).<sup>404</sup> The First Congregational Church allowed them to use the space for free.



Figure 91. Los Altos United Methodist Church, 2020. Source: Historic Resources Group.

In 1967, the Second Samoan Congregational Church of Long Beach was formed with 200 congregants and Reverend Lusemaka Tuliau (1935-1969) as pastor. Without a building of its own, this church met at the Long Beach Salvation Army Chapel (455 E. Spring Street, demolished).<sup>405</sup> In 1994, the church purchased the former Second Church of Christ Scientist (655 Cedar Avenue, extant; Long Beach Historic Landmark, listed in the National Register of Historic Places).<sup>406</sup>

A congregation of Samoan Methodists worshipped in the Los Altos United Methodist Church (5950 E. Willow Street, extant).<sup>407</sup> There also appears to have been community outreach by Reverend Ione Afoa of the Silverado United Methodist Church (2990 Delta Avenue, extant). A small number of Samoan Catholics worshipped at Holy Innocents Church (425 E. 20<sup>th</sup> Street,

<sup>401</sup> "Reach Out Meshes Asian Culture, American Ways," *Independent Press-Telegram*, September 20, 1973, A22.

<sup>402</sup> "Samoan Congregational Church Incorporates Here," *Independent Press-Telegram*, March 7, 1959, 5.

<sup>403</sup> "Samoan Congregational Church Incorporates Here," 5. The first was in San Diego.

<sup>404</sup> Interview with Tuiofu Foisia, Jr. by Sojin Kim, Shades of L.A. Interview Project, June 17, 1994.

<sup>405</sup> "Samoans Will Form New Long Beach Congregation," *Independent Press-Telegram*, September 23, 1967, B5.

<sup>406</sup> U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, "Second Church of Christ Science," National Register of Historic Places Nomination #05222212, 2005, Section 8, Page 2.

<sup>407</sup> "Church That Grew in Bean Field," *Independent Press-Telegram*, September 20, 1975, B6.

extant), St Lucy's Catholic Church (2301 Santa Fe Avenue, extant), and St. Anthony's Catholic Church (540 Olive Avenue, extant; Long Beach Historic Landmark).

Samoan cultural practitioners in areas such as dance and music were active in Long Beach. During the 1960s, the United Samoan Organization was founded as a social club to help younger Samoan Americans explore their culture. They held dances, educational programs, and other mixers. Common meeting places included many community centers outside of the City of Long Beach, but also the Polynesian restaurant Mr. C's (5305 E. Pacific Coast Highway, altered) which offered dancing nightly and a Polynesian revue.<sup>408</sup> One Samoan American in Long Beach remembered the importance of Veterans Park as a location for community gatherings and the clubhouse (101 E. 28<sup>th</sup> Street, extant) as a place for community meetings.<sup>409</sup>

Around 1967, a group of Samoan Americans in the greater Los Angeles area started a group called the *Omai Fatassi* ("Come Together"). This was a radical organization, taking inspiration from sources like the Black Panthers, Malcom X, and Karl Marx. Many elders in the Samoan American community felt the group was too extreme.

There were several leaders in the local community who helped Samoan Americans adjust to life in Southern California. Flo Viena, along with Mary Arimoto, provided services through the Asian Pacific Family Outreach at the Westside Neighborhood Center (1372 W. Willow Street, demolished). Fluent in English and Samoan, Viena acted as a liaison for Samoan American women in need. In 1975, the Westside Neighborhood Center offered free training and job placement for Samoan residents through Los Angeles County Regional Occupational Programs. Dick Tenorio was the Guamanian-Samoan Coordinator.<sup>410</sup> Although not in the City of Long Beach, an important support organization for the community was the Samoan Community Center in Carson. It was staffed by volunteers, a representative of the Samoan Affairs Council, and Loy Te'o of the Samoan Affairs Council.

A sizable Samoan American community remains in the city today, with additional churches and businesses now serving residents on the Westside. Cultural practitioners in dance,



Figure 92. Mr. C's Polynesian Restaurant interior, 1968. Source: Long Beach Public Library, Long Beach Collection Digital Archive.

<sup>408</sup> Display Ad, *Independent Press-Telegram*, October 27, 1966, 29. It is believed that this was a Samoan-owned business.

<sup>409</sup> Marie Perez Adamos, email to Sian Winship, July 9, 2020.

<sup>410</sup> Classified Ad, *Independent Press-Telegram*, May 4, 1975, 79.

music and song continue to teach traditional practices at the Homeland Cultural Center (1321 E. Anaheim Street, extant).

### VIETNAMESE AMERICANS IN LONG BEACH

Some of the earliest Vietnamese community members in Long Beach were exchange students at CSULB. In 1968, there were two main groups of immigrant Vietnamese students studying abroad, who created two separate Vietnamese student organizations.<sup>411</sup> Both organizations shared the common purpose to unite Vietnamese students and create a sense of belonging at CSULB. In 1972, two CSULB students, Doan Dhi Nam-Hau, a journalism student, and Bui Van Dao, an engineering student, staged a press conference to demand that the U.S. stop the bombing and blockade of North Vietnam and withdraw support from the Thieu regime. After the Vietnam War ended in 1975, the two Vietnamese student organizations merged, creating what is now known as the Vietnamese Student Association of California State University, Long Beach. By 1975, CSULB had 58 Vietnamese exchange students enrolled.<sup>412</sup>

The end of the Vietnam War produced a large wave of immigrants from South Vietnam to the U.S. The first wave included over 100,000 high-skilled and well-educated Vietnamese who had been friendly to U.S. interests during the war and were airlifted out of the country. In 1975, President Gerald R. Ford signed the Indochina Migration and Refugee Act that granted the refugees special status to enter the country. Most of this wave of immigrants came to California and Texas. In 1976, the *Independent Press-Telegram* estimated that there were 1,000 Vietnamese Americans in the city.<sup>413</sup> In 1977, the *Independent Press-Telegram* detailed the harrowing story of Chung Pham's family's escape from Vietnam through Malaysia to be



Figure 93. Vietnamese Alliance Church, 2020. Source: Historic Resources Group.

settled in Long Beach with the help of his brother-in-law (a student at CSULB) and a local sponsor, an engineer of Vietnamese heritage. The family eventually found their way to an apartment on Rose Avenue.<sup>414</sup>

The Vietnamese Alliance Church (3331 Palo Verde Avenue, extant) was formed in 1975. The first pastor was Dang Ngoc Bau, who at the age of 25 created the "church within a church" in the Christian and Missionary Alliance Church. The Asian Pacific Family

<sup>411</sup> The names of these organizations are not currently known.

<sup>412</sup> "Viet Students in L.A. Put in Bind," *Los Angeles Times*, April 14, 1975.

<sup>413</sup> James M. Leavy, "25,000 Asians in Long Beach," *Independent Press-Telegram*, November 11, 1976.

<sup>414</sup> Walt Murray, "Saigon to Long Beach: Story of Pham Family's Flight to Freedom," *Independent Press-Telegram*, August 21, 1977.

Outreach, led by Mary Arimito, also provided services to the Vietnamese community. In November of 1975, the Vietnamese restaurant, Yellow Dragon (132 W. Third Street, demolished), was opened in Long Beach. Owned by Binh Thao, the restaurateur employed several refugees who arrived through Camp Pendleton.

The second wave of immigration from Vietnam began in 1978 and lasted to the mid-1980s. These immigrants fled communist re-education camps and the 1979 Chinese invasion of Vietnam. A 1979 survey conducted by the Southeast Asian Refugee Mental Health Training and Prevention Project (SEAR) of Vietnamese refugees in California found “depression and helplessness” the most frequently expressed feelings, with more than half between the ages of 21 and 40 being jobless.<sup>415</sup>

The Westside Neighborhood Center became an important resource for Vietnamese refugees. The Center’s Asian Family Outreach and Manpower programs helped refugees find employment, housing, English language training, and financial consulting. Andres Capitulo was the director of the program and worked closely with Mary Arimoto at the Center.

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<sup>415</sup> Penelope McMillan, “View Refugees in U.S. Migrating to California,” *Los Angeles Times*, August 24, 1979.



## GUAMANIAN AND CHAMORRO AMERICANS IN LONG BEACH

Guamanians and the indigenous people of the island of Guam, the Chamorro, have been citizens of the United States since the U.S. won the Spanish-American War and declared Guam an official U.S. Territory in 1898. Guam's history is one of multi-colonialism. In addition to Spanish and American colonial interest, the island was subject to Japanese colonialism during World War II, having been bombed mere hours after Pearl Harbor. After the war, Guam reverted to U.S. control. With the strong U.S. Naval presence on the island, the Navy served as a primary conduit for Guamanians and Chamorro to relocate to Long Beach. Hundreds were recruited by the Navy and served until retirement, often settling around Naval Stations in the United States.<sup>416</sup>

In 1964, it was estimated that more than 300 Guamanians and Chamorro lived in the greater Long Beach area.<sup>417</sup> A smaller group of Guamanians also populated San Diego. In fact, the concentration of Guamanians in Long Beach was significant enough that a University of California, Berkeley study of health conditions in Guamanians was fielded in Long Beach, at the Long Beach Health Department (2655 Pine Avenue, demolished). By 1970, it was estimated that some 370 Guamanian households, consisting of 1,853 people, were living in the Long Beach area.<sup>418</sup>

One of the most prominent Guamanian Americans to settle in Long Beach was Dr. Ramon Manalisay Sablan (1901-1970). Sablan was the first Guamanian to become a Doctor of Medicine.<sup>419</sup> Sablan was sent by the U.S. Navy to study medicine in the U.S. and graduated from the University of Louisville in 1938. He returned to Guam, where he became the first private physician of Western medicine to practice there.<sup>420</sup> He also wrote the Guam Hymn, the island's national song, and was Speaker of the House of Assembly in the Guam Congress. Sablan practiced medicine covertly under Japanese occupation and fled to the U.S. in 1941. The Sablans moved to Long Beach in 1951. In the early 1960s, he was a physician at Long Beach General Hospital. His wife, Conception Sablan (1903-1990), was an early Samoan American business owner; in 1952 she was the proprietor of the clothing store, the Plaza Shoppe (4923 E. 2<sup>nd</sup> Street, extant).<sup>421</sup> The Sablans were also pioneers in the integration of Belmont Heights, when they moved to 125 Termino Avenue (extant) in 1952. By 1962, they lived at 2831 E. Ocean Boulevard (extant).



Figure 94. Dr. Ramon Sablan, date unknown. Source: Guam War Survivors Memorial Foundation.

<sup>416</sup> The 1940 U.S. Census reveals only two residents born in Guam, children of a Navy man and a physician.

<sup>417</sup> "Medical Detectives to Test Guamanians in Survey," *Independent Press-Telegram*, December 31, 1967, B4.

<sup>418</sup> Ben Zinser, "Medicine and You," *Independent Press-Telegram*, January 1, 1970, B3.

<sup>419</sup> "Beach Combing," *Independent Press-Telegram*, July 20, 1959, B1.

<sup>420</sup> "Wartime Guam Doctor Ramon Sablan Dies: Was U of L Graduate," *Louisville Courier-Journal*, April 15, 1970, B3.

<sup>421</sup> "Burglars Raid Clothing Store," *Independent Press-Telegram*, September 17, 1952, B1.

Wherever there were concentrations of Guamanian/Chamorro residents, social clubs were established. According to Noreen Mokuau, author of the *Handbook of Social Services for Asian and Pacific Islanders*, the first social clubs date back to the early 1950s.<sup>422</sup> In 1963, the Guamanian Association of Long Beach was formed.<sup>423</sup> A founding member of the organization and president in 1968 was Jess Cabrera. Other officers included Frank Castro, Mrs. Ernest Medrano, Joaquin Perez, and Jess Castro.<sup>424</sup> The club held receptions for visiting Guamanian officials, dignitaries, and celebrities including the governor of Guam.<sup>425</sup> By 1973, the Guamanian Association of Long Beach was led by Enrique Cruz and Veronica San Nicholas. Faye Munoz, a member of the Guamanian Association of Long Beach during the mid-1970s, was an outspoken advocate for skills training to better the employment prospects of retired Guamanian service men.

Another Guamanian American activist was Alicia M. Leitheiser (b. 1939). Born Alicia M. Sablan, she was a medical student at USC in 1959, but never graduated. She became an active member of the Long Beach Chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW) leading a task force on the images of women in the media and conducting letter-writing campaigns to boycott companies whose depictions of women were demeaning, such as National Airlines' "Fly Me" campaign.<sup>426</sup>

Many Guamanian and Chamorro residents of Long Beach appear to have lived on the integrated Westside. In 1975, the Westside Neighborhood Center (1372 W. Willow, demolished) offered free training and job placement for Guamanians through Los Angeles County Regional Occupational Programs. Dick Tenorio was the Guamanian-Samoan Coordinator.<sup>427</sup> Guamanian and Chamorro culture was also the subject of the 1975 Multi-Cultural Summer Youth Program offered by Ron Holmes at Field Elementary School as a service of the Westside Neighborhood Center.

Although the Guamanian and Chamorro populations of Long Beach were not as large as some of the other cultural groups, they were acknowledged by the City throughout the 1970s as deserving of translated materials for city informational campaigns in their native Chamorro.

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<sup>422</sup> Mokuau, *Handbook of Social Services for Asian and Pacific Islanders*, 180.

<sup>423</sup> A Guamanian Association of Southern California was in existence as early as 1966.

<sup>424</sup> "Guamanians Install Board," *Independent Press-Telegram*, August 15, 1968, B12.

<sup>425</sup> Oral history has suggested there might also be a Chamorro Club of Long Beach. It is currently unclear if this was the same as or different from the Guamanian Association.

<sup>426</sup> "New Image is Goal of Liberationists," *Independent Press-Telegram*, August 25, 1972, L/S A17.

<sup>427</sup> Classified Ad, *Independent Press-Telegram*, May 4, 1975, 79.

## CAMBODIAN AMERICANS IN LONG BEACH

*The Khmer Rouge killed the soldiers first, then all the educated people. I could let no one know that I was a schoolteacher. They killed my entire family...I first arrived in Long Beach In 1980. And I wondered, where are all the Cambodian people? Then I went to Pacific Avenue and saw the sign for the Cambodian Association of America.*<sup>428</sup>

Long Beach Resident Chan Hopson

The history of Cambodians in Long Beach can be traced back as early as the 1950s and 1960s, when Cambodian students attended CSULB as part of an exchange program. Cambodian students in Long Beach between 1962 and 1964 were exclusively men, and most studied engineering or agriculture. By the mid-1960s, the group of over 100 Cambodians, who participated in a USAID program to learn industrial skills, were the largest single group of foreign exchange students at CSULB.<sup>429</sup> These exchange students were typically urban professionals, government officials, and diplomats who were specifically recruited to the U.S. sponsored program that partnered with CSULB.<sup>430</sup> The first Cambodian Student Association was formed in 1959.<sup>431</sup>

Several Cambodian exchange students elected not to return to their home country when their studies were complete. One of the earliest Cambodian students and pioneers of Long Beach was David Viradet Kreng (1938-2015). Kreng was a student in the 1950s who remained in Long Beach and took a job at Bechtel Corporation in 1968.<sup>432</sup> He became a naturalized citizen in 1978, while living in Monterey Park. Another Cambodian student who decided to stay in Long Beach was Ell Sean (1941-2014). Around 1966, after deciding to stay in the United States, Sean bought a four-unit apartment building in Long Beach. He later bought the house next door and began helping colleagues from CSULB find places to live nearby.<sup>433</sup>

In the 1960s, although Cambodia remained neutral in the Vietnam War, the Vietcong army set up bases there because of the country's proximity to Vietnam. As a result, beginning in 1969, American military forces heavily bombed Cambodia. Between 1970 and 1975, the communist Khmer Rouge gradually gained control of Cambodia. Within days, cities were evacuated and destroyed, money and property were deemed worthless, and hundreds of thousands were executed immediately in "the killing fields." Led by Pol Pot, the Khmer Rouge murdered over 1.5 million Cambodians (approximately 15 to 20 percent of the population)

<sup>428</sup> Chan Hopson, telephone interview with Sian Winship, September 4, 2020.

<sup>429</sup> "Refugee Fears New Cambodia War," *Independent Press-Telegram*, June 1, 1975, 4.

<sup>430</sup> University of California, Los Angeles, "The State of Cambodia Town," 2013, 7.

<sup>431</sup> Cambodian Student Society, "Cambodian Student Society: CSULB Division," <http://web.csulb.edu/~camss/about.html> (accessed May 13, 2020).

<sup>432</sup> Susan Needham and Karen Quintiliani, *Cambodians In Long Beach* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2008), 19.

<sup>433</sup> David Holley, "Refugees Build a Haven in Long Beach," *Los Angeles Times*, October 27, 1986.

over the next four years. When the Vietnamese army invaded in 1979, many Cambodians fled the country, many to refugee camps in Thailand. More than 100,000 refugees later relocated to the United States.<sup>434</sup> Those refugees still bear the lasting impacts of loss and trauma from their experiences.

In 1975, with the fall of Cambodia to the Khmer Rouge, Ell Sean, a Cambodian graduate of CSULB, began to help refugees arriving at Camp Pendleton resettle in Long Beach. Soon the city had hundreds of Cambodian American residents, who in turn, attracted their friends and family to the area.<sup>435</sup>

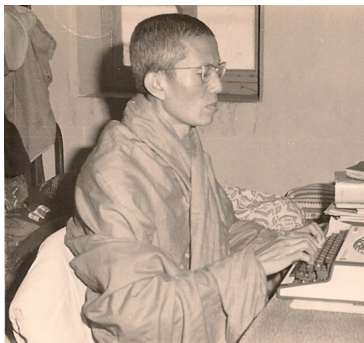


Figure 95. Kry Lay, 1965. Source: *Long Beach Post*.

Another important figure in the development of the Cambodian community in Long Beach was Kry Lay (1941-2021). Lay was an influential figure in establishing the Cambodian Association of America, the city's first Cambodian Buddhist temple and implementing a bilingual Khmer/English program in the Long Beach Unified School District.<sup>436</sup> He consulted with the school district for over 24 years.

The passage of the Indochina Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1975 provided important support in helping Cambodian refugees migrate and settle in Long Beach. In 1975, the first migration wave of 4,600 Cambodian immigrants arrived in the U.S.<sup>437</sup> Illustrating the interconnected nature of communities of color in Long Beach, "persistent Black protest and organizing called for refugee entry," which was pivotal in the immigration of Cambodian refugees to Long Beach.<sup>438</sup>

In 1976, there were 3,000 Cambodian refugees in the city, although the *Los Angeles Times* reported that this number significantly increased in 1978 and 1979.<sup>439</sup> Initially, Cambodian refugees settled in an area bordered by Orange and Ximeno Avenues, Pacific Coast Highway and Seventh Street.<sup>440</sup> By 1979, Long Beach was known as "the Cambodian capital of America."<sup>441</sup> By the close of the 1970s, Cambodians from Long Beach were finding their

<sup>434</sup> "Refugee: War & Cambodia," *Independent Lens*, PBS, [https://www.pbs.org/independentlens/refugee/war\\_cambodia.html](https://www.pbs.org/independentlens/refugee/war_cambodia.html) (accessed September 27, 2020).

<sup>435</sup> Holley, "Refugees Build a Haven in Long Beach," *Los Angeles Times*.

<sup>436</sup> Crystal Niebla, "A Great Loss: Kry Lay Helped Found Long Beach's Cambodian Community," *Long Beach Post News*, July 8, 2021, <https://lbpost.com/news/kry-lay-one-of-founders-of-long-beachs-cambodian-community-dies-at-79> (accessed August 10, 2021).

<sup>437</sup> *Cambodia Town Thrives: Community Vision Plan*, 2021, 28. <https://www.cambodiatownthrives.org/community-vision-plan> (accessed November 16, 2021).

<sup>438</sup> *Cambodia Town Thrives: Community Vision Plan*, 2021, 24. <https://www.cambodiatownthrives.org/community-vision-plan> (accessed January 6, 2022).

<sup>439</sup> "Natives, Newcomers Find Niche in Long Beach Neighborhoods," *Los Angeles Times*, December 23, 1979.

<sup>440</sup> "25,000 Asians In L.B.," *Independent Press-Telegram*, November 21, 1976, L/S1.

<sup>441</sup> "Natives, Newcomers Find Niche in Long Beach Neighborhoods."

voice. They organized a protest in downtown Long Beach against Russian support of Vietnam, as well as a protest against the atrocities of the Khmer Rouge, which took place in downtown Los Angeles. Cambodian culture thrived in Long Beach in the mid-1970s, with the first Cambodian New Year celebration at Wilson High School in April of 1976.<sup>442</sup>

In the early 1980s, the second wave of about 158,000 Cambodian immigrants made their way to Long Beach, and Cambodian businesses and institutions expanded.<sup>443</sup> The 1982 opening of Bayon Market (1181 E. 10<sup>th</sup> Street, extant) was an anchor for the community. By 1986,<sup>444</sup> the community had two Cambodian-run service organizations, four Cambodian Christian churches and a Cambodian Buddhist temple, and there were four Cambodian newspapers published in the city.<sup>445</sup>

### Community Organizations & Institutions

A number of former CSULB exchange students formed the Cambodian Association of Southern California (CASC), the oldest Cambodian mutual aid society in the U.S., in response to the first wave of refugees. CASC was incorporated on December 29, 1975 and renamed the Cambodian Association of America (CAA).<sup>446</sup> Lu Lay Sreng, a graduate of CSULB, was a spokesman for the CAA.<sup>447</sup>



Figure 96. CSULB International Club, 1963, featuring Lu Lay Sreng at far left of row 3. Source: Long Beach State College Prospector, 1963, via ancestry.com.

Cambodian American residents of Long Beach were reportedly active in the Cambodian Association of America, and in 1976, the organization's first national conference was held in Long Beach.<sup>448</sup> There are references to a "storefront" operation for the Cambodian Association of America in the *Independent Press-Telegram* in 1976, but no address has yet been identified. The aforementioned Kry Lay was the longest serving chairman of the Cambodian Association of America; he held the post for 37 years. In July of 1978, Lon Nol,

<sup>442</sup> Needham and Quintiliani, *Cambodians In Long Beach*, 79.

<sup>443</sup> *Cambodia Town Thrives: Community Vision Plan*, 2021, 29. <https://www.cambodiatownthrives.org/community-vision-plan> (accessed November 16, 2021).

<sup>444</sup> These business are technically outside the period of significance for this historic context statement.

<sup>445</sup> Maria L. La Ganga, "Asian Horatio Algiers Learn Yankee Trades," *Los Angeles Times*, July 19, 1984.

<sup>446</sup> Cambodian Student Society website, <http://web.csulb.edu/~camss/about.html> (accessed May 13, 2020).

<sup>447</sup> Sreng had returned to Cambodia after his education in Long Beach and attempted to construct a neutral government after the ouster of President Lon Nol and before the seizure of Phnom Penh by the Khmer Rouge. He returned to Long Beach as a refugee after the fall of Phnom Penh.

<sup>448</sup> Exact location currently unknown.

the exiled former President of Cambodia, along with 300 Cambodians, attended a Cambodian American picnic at a Long Beach park sponsored by the CAA.

Several other institutions aided Cambodian refugees in Long Beach. Serving Cambodian Americans as well as the other ethnic groups in the city was Asian Pacific Family Outreach, Inc. The organization operated out of an office at 213 E. Broadway (extant) and provided help with jobs and housing and supervised an English language basics class. The Westside Center also offered help to these communities. If CSULB was an important educational institution to the early Cambodian community, Long Beach City College was equally important to ensuing waves of refugees. Government assistance was tied to English as a Second Language (ESL) education, jobs, and skills training.

In 1977, the leaders of the Los Angeles-based CAA formed a second service organization known as the United Cambodian Community (UCC), Inc. The UCC had a storefront in Long Beach, located at 2338 E. Anaheim Street, Suite 200.<sup>449</sup> Both the CAA and the UCC “became national models for the development and implementation of job training, literacy skills, health, and other social adjustment programs for refugees.”<sup>450</sup>

The majority of Cambodians in Long Beach were Theravada Buddhists. Initially, many joined the Long Beach Buddhist Church (2360 Santa Fe Avenue, extant). Reverend Roy Ryscho Kokuzo invited members of the Cambodian community to attend his services, but also to use the temple as a gathering place for religious services of their own. However, he only conducted services only in Japanese and English. In 1979, members of the Long Beach community sponsored the Venerable Dr. Kong Chhean to come to the United States. Dr.

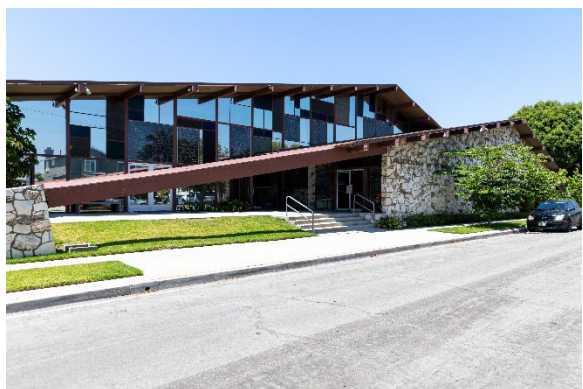


Figure 97. Long Beach First Church of the Nazarene, 2020.  
Source: Historic Resources Group.

Chhean had been studying in India when Cambodia fell to the Khmer Rouge. Initially he established a small temple in an apartment in nearby Hawaiian Gardens.<sup>451</sup> The first Cambodian Buddhist temple in Long Beach, Wat Vipassanaram, was established in 1985.<sup>452</sup>

Several Christian denominations embraced the area’s influx of Cambodian refugees. The Long Beach Cambodian Evangelical Church of Christian and Missionary Alliance

<sup>449</sup> According to email correspondence between Sian Winship and Kanha Soun, United Cambodian Community, June 23, 2021.

<sup>450</sup> Needham and Quintiliani, *Cambodians In Long Beach*, 79.

<sup>451</sup> Needham and Quintiliani, *Cambodians In Long Beach*, 35.

<sup>452</sup> It and subsequent temples were virtually all established in former residences. Wat Vipassanaram was located at 1239 E. 10<sup>th</sup> Street in Long Beach.



was founded in 1978 by Reverend Paul Ellison, Reverend Hay Sen San, and Chhem Nhem. Located at 2416 E. 11<sup>th</sup> Street (extant), it is one of the first Cambodian Christian Churches in the United States.<sup>453</sup> Long Beach First Church of the Nazarene (2280 Clark Avenue, extant) created a “bus ministry” in 1979 as outreach to the Cambodian community. A church bus was dispatched to the neighborhoods where refugees were concentrated to transport them to and from Sunday services.<sup>454</sup>

Long Beach Friends Church (850 Atlantic Avenue, extant) also began a Cambodian ministry in late 1979. Soon over 100 Cambodians were attending Sunday services. An assistance center was added in the following decade. The Catholic ministry, under the guidance of Mary Batz, established the Our Lady of Mount Carmel Cambodian Center (formerly Our Lady of Refuge, 1851 Cerritos Avenue, extant). The present-day Cambodian Temple of Long Beach is housed in the former Second Presbyterian Church (2625 E. 3<sup>rd</sup> Street, extant). The Centro Shalom also provided vital services to refugees. Long Beach is also home to the first and only Cambodian ward of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints in the United States. The Cambodian ward was first established in 1979 when community members began attending services at 1500 Pine Avenue (demolished).<sup>455</sup>

### Cambodian American Businesses

In 1975, when Cambodians began settling Long Beach in earnest, the area was economically depressed. The first Cambodian-operated businesses in Long Beach were located on 10<sup>th</sup> Street, one block south of Anaheim Street. They quickly expanded to Anaheim Street, which was more conducive to commercial enterprise. According to authors Susan Needham and Karen Quintiliani, early Cambodian businesses were often automotive-related. Other early Cambodian-owned businesses included small establishments with an emphasis on food service: restaurants, donut stands, and grocery stores. Horn’s Auto, owned by Krithny Horn, was among the first Cambodian businesses in Long Beach. Horn also trained other Cambodians in auto mechanics.<sup>456</sup> Lu Lay Sreng, a graduate of CSULB and spokesman for the CAA, was another pioneering Cambodian businessman in Long Beach. He was a restaurant and grocery store owner, and in 1976, he operated a doughnut shop in East Lakewood. In 1979, Sreng returned to Cambodia to fight against the Vietnamese.<sup>457</sup>

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<sup>453</sup> Needham and Quintiliani, *Cambodians In Long Beach*, 45

<sup>454</sup> Needham and Quintiliani, *Cambodians In Long Beach*, 47

<sup>455</sup> Needham and Quintiliani, *Cambodians In Long Beach*, 48.

<sup>456</sup> Needham and Quintiliani, *Cambodians In Long Beach*, 109.

<sup>457</sup> “Cambodian Leader Welcomed Back With Gratitude,” *Press-Telegram*, September 25, 2007, <https://www.presstelegram.com/2007/09/25/cambodian-leader-welcomed-back-with-gratitude/> (accessed June 11, 2020).

## Summary

Today, Long Beach is home to “approximately 20,000 Cambodians—the largest population of Cambodians outside of Cambodia.”<sup>458</sup> Many Cambodian Americans in Long Beach settled in the residential areas around 10<sup>th</sup> Street between Martin Luther King Street and Temple Avenue, which became the heart of the Cambodian American community. The former Eastside Neighborhood Center is now in the heart of Long Beach’s Cambodian community, serving as the United Cambodian Community Plaza.



Figure 98. United Cambodian Community Plaza, 2338 E. Anaheim Street, 2020. Source: Historic Resources Group.

In 2001, Cambodia Town, Inc. spearheaded the campaign to formally designate Cambodia Town in Long Beach to recognize the concentration of Cambodian American-owned restaurants, boutiques, and grocery stores along the business corridor along Anaheim Street.<sup>459</sup> The volunteer organization continues to work in the city to “revitalize the neighborhood by attracting more businesses, visitors and tourists to the area.”<sup>460</sup> The group uses Cambodian culture and tradition to improve health access, promote local businesses, advance social and economic well-being for low- and moderate-income Long Beach residents, and educate the public.<sup>461</sup> The UCC continues to be a significant resource for the community today. Annual Cambodian New Year festivals in Long Beach draw Cambodian Americans from throughout Southern California.

In 2007, the East Anaheim Street corridor was officially designated as Cambodia Town.

<sup>458</sup> “Khmer Cataloging Project Begins @ LBPL,” Long Beach Public Library, January 8, 2019, <http://www.longbeach.gov/library/news/khmer-cataloging-project/> (accessed September 18, 2020).

<sup>459</sup> Adebiji, et al, “The State of Cambodia Town,” 8.

<sup>460</sup> Cambodia Town, Inc., “About Us,” <http://www.cambodiatown.com/> (accessed September 18, 2020).

<sup>461</sup> Cambodia Town, Inc., “Our Mission,” <http://www.cambodiatown.com/> (accessed September 18, 2020).

## LAOTIAN AND HMONG AMERICANS IN LONG BEACH

Laotian immigration to the United States started after the Vietnam War. The Hmong were a minority population in Vietnam and Laos who were persecuted for their cooperation with the U.S. government during the Vietnam War.

A Communist government attained power in Laos in 1975. By 1976, it was estimated that there were 1,500 Laotians in Long Beach. Similar to the pattern of Cambodian immigration, they came in two groups: the first were students at CSULB, followed by a group of refugees in 1975.



Figure 99. Men in traditional Hmong dress in El Dorado Park, c. 1996. Source: California State Library.

The Hmong are from mountainous regions in Laos. In 1979, it was estimated that there were 500 Hmong Americans in the city.<sup>462</sup> The earliest Hmong refugees to come to Long Beach (nine of them) worked for the U.S. military and were driven out of Laos by the Communist party.<sup>463</sup> The International Institute sponsored the early Hmong families in Long Beach.

An early leader in the Long Beach Hmong American community was Dang “Tou Yer” Moua, who worked to obtain clothing, housing, language training and other services for the community. Hmong immigrants faced difficulty with employment, with many having no skills other than farming, and no English language skills.<sup>464</sup>

Because Laotian immigrants were also primarily Buddhist, the Reverend Roy Ryoshu Kokuzo extended an invitation to the Laotians to use his Buddhist temple for their own religious services.

Prior to 1980, it does not appear that Laotian and Hmong communities had unique social or cultural institutions or social services organizations in Long Beach. Organizations focused on Southeast Asian refugees served the Cambodian, Laotian, and Vietnamese communities. In the 1980s, the Laotian community would develop their own church and other institutions.

<sup>462</sup> University of California, Los Angeles, “The State of Cambodia Town,” 2013, 7.

<sup>463</sup> James M. Leavy, “25,000 Asians in Long Beach,” *Independent Press-Telegram*, November 11, 1976.

<sup>464</sup> He would later establish the Hmong American Republican Association and the Hmong Lao Human Rights Council in Orange County.

## CONCLUSION: REALIZING THE INTERNATIONAL CITY, 1980-2020

In 1960, a coalition consisting of the City of Long Beach, the Chamber of Commerce, the Convention Bureau, and other organizations came together to examine how to change the image of Long Beach. The official city motto, City of Friendship, was hardly ever used or promoted. Public relations, advertising, and communications experts were hired to understand how Long Beach was perceived. The conclusion was that it was perceived as a “sleepy town full of retired oldsters which is rapidly sinking into the sea.”<sup>465</sup>

The result was a new theme: “Long Beach—the International City.” It was generally believed that the city’s harbor, airline industry, and tourism already delivered on the promise. However, a number of new projects were also in the works to underscore the city’s new identity, including international hotels, an international commerce and exhibit hall, international amusement park, international trade mart, international restaurant row, international maritime and commerce museum, and an international music festival. On March 16, 1960, the City Council adopted a resolution in favor of the International City program. Plans coalesced to “spread the fame of Long Beach around the world.”<sup>466</sup>

While some of the most ambitious international projects never materialized, the city’s increasingly diverse population lived up to the name. As mentioned above, a second wave of Cambodian refugees came to Long Beach in the 1980s. As described in the report, “The State of Cambodia Town,”<sup>467</sup> Long Beach became a destination for its availability of affordable property that allowed many refugees to start their own businesses and establish the cultural institutions that exist today.<sup>468</sup> Today the ethnic Cambodian population of approximately 20,000 is the largest outside of Asia.

Over the last forty years, Long Beach has truly become an international city. No longer “Iowa by the Sea,” it is now home to a widely diverse population. In the 2010 Census, the racial composition was 46.1% White, 40.8% Latina/o, 13.5% African American, .7% Native American, 4.5% Filipino, 3.9% Cambodian, .9% Vietnamese, .6% Chinese, .6% Japanese, .4% Indian, .4% Korean, .2% Thai, .1% Laotian, .1% Hmong, .8% Samoan, .1% Guamanian, and .1% Tongan. The upcoming 2020 Census will update this mix. Regardless, the story of Long Beach with respect to race and suburbanization is that despite segregation and institutionalized racism,

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<sup>465</sup> “International City Slogan to Combat Sleepy Impression,” *Independent Press-Telegram*, March 3, 1960.

<sup>466</sup> “Global City Theme for Long Beach Making Headway,” *Independent Press-Telegram*, March 20, 1960.

<sup>467</sup> These immigrants congregated in an area now known as Cambodia Town, roughly bordered by Willow Street to the north, Anaheim Street to the south, Cherry Avenue to the east, and Martin Luther King, Jr. Avenue to the west. However, a substantial number of Cambodian Americans reside to the east, west, and south of that area. Anaheim Street is the heart of the Cambodian American business corridor, boasting many Cambodian American-owned restaurants, boutiques, and grocery stores.

<sup>468</sup> University of California, Los Angeles, “The State of Cambodia Town,” 2013, 8.

community members and civic leaders fought for the integration of Long Beach neighborhoods. Their activism resulted in Long Beach becoming a leader in the fight for fair housing. However, the disparities that were established early in the City's history has persisted through overt discrimination and systemic injustices that continues to impact communities of color. Acknowledging this history and its impact on the built environment is essential to honoring the totality of Long Beach history.

## REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS

This section is intended to assist with the identification and evaluation of properties that may be significant for their association with post-World War II settlement patterns as they relate to housing discrimination in the city; Civil Rights and the fight for fair housing in Long Beach; or for an important association with a cultural community in the city. As noted above, properties and neighborhoods identified in the narrative have not been evaluated for eligibility as part of this study, and no properties will be formally designated as a result of this project. Identified properties are intended to help link the stories of the cultural communities in Long Beach with the built environment; provide geographically-based information about where certain populations lived over time and show the layers of history in various areas of the city; provide information for consideration in future planning efforts in the city; and identify properties that may qualify for historic designation. A Study List and Map of the properties and neighborhoods identified as part of the research for this study and through community outreach efforts is included in Appendix B.

### DESIGNATION CRITERIA

A property may be designated as historic by Federal, State, and local authorities. In order for a building to qualify for listing in the National Register or the California Register, it must meet one or more identified criteria of significance. The property must also retain sufficient historic integrity to continue to evoke the sense of place and time with which it is historically associated.

#### National Register of Historic Places (NRHP)

The National Register is “an authoritative guide to be used by Federal, State, and local governments, private groups and citizens to identify the nation's cultural resources. Listing of private property in the National Register does not prohibit under Federal law or regulation any actions which may otherwise be taken by the property owner with respect to the property.”<sup>469</sup>

To be eligible for listing and/or listed in the National Register, a resource must possess significance in American history and culture, architecture, or archaeology. Listing in the National Register is primarily honorary and does not in and of itself provide protection of a historic resource. The primary effect of listing in the National Register on private owners of historic buildings is the availability of financial and tax incentives. In addition, for projects that receive Federal funding, a clearance process must be completed in accordance with Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act. State and local regulations may also apply to properties listed in the National Register.

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<sup>469</sup> 36CFR60, Section 60.2.



The criteria for listing in the National Register follow established guidelines for determining the significance of properties. The quality of significance in American history, architecture, archeology, engineering, and culture is present in districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects:

- A. That are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; or
- B. That are associated with the lives of persons significant in our past; or
- C. That embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or
- D. That have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.<sup>470</sup>

### ***INTEGRITY***

In addition to meeting any or all of the designation criteria listed above, the National Park Service requires properties to possess historic integrity. Historic integrity is the ability of a property to convey its significance and is defined as “the authenticity of a property’s historic identity, evidenced by the survival of physical characteristics that existed during the property’s historic period.”<sup>471</sup>

The National Register recognizes seven aspects or qualities that comprise integrity: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. These qualities are defined as follows:

- *Location* is the place where the historic property was constructed or the place where the historic event took place.
- *Design* is the combination of elements that create the form, plan, space, structure, and style of a property.
- *Setting* is the physical environment of a historic property.
- *Materials* are 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.
- *Workmanship* is the physical evidence of the crafts of a particular culture or people during any given period in history or prehistory.

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<sup>470</sup> 36CFR60, Section 60.3.

<sup>471</sup> U.S. Department of Interior, National Park Service, “National Register Bulletin 16A: How to Complete the National Register Registration Form,” Washington D.C.: National Park Service, 1997.

- *Feeling* is a property's expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time.
- *Association* is the direct link between an important historic event or person and a historic property.<sup>472</sup>

In assessing a property's integrity, the National Park Service recognizes that properties change over time. *National Register Bulletin 15* provides:

To retain historic integrity a property will always possess several, and usually most, of the aspects. It is not necessary for a property to retain all its historic physical features or characteristics. The property must retain, however, the essential physical features that enable it to convey its historic identity.

A property that has lost some historic materials or details can be eligible if it retains the majority of the features that illustrate its style in terms of the massing, spatial relationships, proportion, pattern of windows and doors, texture of materials, and ornamentation. The property is not eligible, however, if it retains some basic features conveying massing but has lost the majority of the features that once characterized its style.<sup>473</sup>

A property that has sufficient integrity for listing at the national, state, or local level will typically retain a majority of the identified character-defining features and therefore will retain sufficient integrity to convey its significance. The required aspects of integrity are dependent on the reason for a property's significance. Increased age and rarity of the property type are also considerations when assessing integrity thresholds. For properties that are significant for their architectural merit (Criterion C), a higher priority is placed on integrity of design, materials, and workmanship. For properties that are significant for their association with important events or people (Criterion A or B), integrity of feeling and/or association may be more important:

A property that is significant for its historic association is eligible if it retains the essential physical features that made up its character or appearance during the period of its association with the important event, historical pattern, or person(s).

A property important for illustrating a particular architectural style or construction technique must retain most of the physical features that constitute that style or technique.<sup>474</sup>

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<sup>472</sup> U.S. Department of Interior, National Park Service, "National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation," Washington D.C.: National Park Service, 1995.

<sup>473</sup> National Register Bulletin 15.

<sup>474</sup> National Register Bulletin 15.

### **CRITERIA CONSIDERATIONS**

Typically, cemeteries, birthplaces, or graves of historic figures; properties owned by religious institutions or used for religious purposes; structures that have been moved from their original locations; reconstructed historic buildings; properties that are primarily commemorative in nature; and properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years are not considered to be eligible for listing in the NRHP. However, such properties may qualify for listing if they meet certain criteria considerations. Criteria considerations relevant to this study include:

- Criteria Consideration A: A religious property deriving primary significance from architectural or artistic distinction or historical importance.
- Criteria Consideration G: A property achieving significance within the past 50 years if it is of exceptional importance.

### **California Register of Historical Resources (CRHR)**

The California Register is an authoritative guide in California used by State and local agencies, private groups, and citizens to identify the State's historic resources and to indicate what properties are to be protected, to the extent prudent and feasible, from substantial adverse change.<sup>475</sup>

The criteria for eligibility for listing in the California Register are based upon National Register criteria. These criteria are:

1. Associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of local or regional history or the cultural heritage of California or the United States.
2. Associated with the lives of persons important to local, California or national history.
3. Embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, region or method of construction or represents the work of a master or possesses high artistic values.
4. Has yielded, or has the potential to yield, information important to the prehistory or history of the local area, California or the nation.

### **City of Long Beach Landmarks and Landmark Districts (LB)**

The City of Long Beach has a Cultural Heritage Commission Ordinance (codified as Title 2, Chapter 2.63, of the Long Beach Municipal Code) that establishes a landmark designation process and specifies the criteria for evaluation of significance.<sup>476</sup>

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<sup>475</sup> California PRC, Section 5023.1(a).

<sup>476</sup> City of Long Beach Cultural Heritage Commission Ordinance: [https://library.municode.com/ca/long\\_beach/codes/municipal\\_code?nodeId=TIT2ADPE\\_CH2.63CUHECO\\_2.63.050CR DELALADI](https://library.municode.com/ca/long_beach/codes/municipal_code?nodeId=TIT2ADPE_CH2.63CUHECO_2.63.050CR DELALADI) (accessed September 21, 2020).

### **2.63.050 – Criteria for designation of Landmarks and Landmark Districts.**

Landmarks. A cultural resource qualifies for designation as a Landmark if it retains integrity and manifests one (1) or more of the following criteria:

- A. It is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of the City's history; or
- B. It is associated with the lives of persons significant in the City's past; or
- C. It embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period or method of construction, or it represents the work of a master or it possesses high artistic values; or
- D. It has yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Landmark Districts. A group of cultural resources qualify for designation as a Landmark District if it retains integrity as a whole and meets the following criteria:

- A. The grouping represents a significant and distinguishable entity that is significant within a historic context.
- B. A minimum of sixty percent (60%) of the properties within the boundaries of the proposed landmark district qualify as a contributing property.

### **PROPERTY TYPES & REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS**

This context statement is intended to document those properties that may be significant for a potential association with the intersection of racial discrimination and housing in the post-World War II period, or for a potential association with subsequent waves of immigration in the city. The period of significance for this study is generally 1945-1979. Therefore, properties that may be eligible for an association with one of the themes or cultural groups identified in this context will typically be eligible under NRHP Criterion A/CRHR Criterion 1/LB Criterion A, or NRHP Criterion B/CRHR Criterion 2/LB Criterion B.<sup>477</sup> Properties may be significant under one or more of the eligibility criteria and property types discussed below.

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<sup>477</sup> Properties identified as potentially significant under the themes in this context may also be eligible under other themes in the Citywide Historic Context Statement. For example, a religious building may be significant for its association with the Civil Rights Movement in Long Beach under this context statement, and as an excellent example of its architectural style as identified in the Citywide Historic Context.

### Property Types Eligible under NRHP Criterion A/CRHR Criterion 1/LB Criterion A (association with events or patterns of development)

Properties that may be eligible under this Criterion would include:

- Properties with a known association with an important event or series of events in the Civil Rights Movement in Long Beach and the fight for fair housing. This could include residential, commercial, or institutional property types.
- Neighborhoods with a significant concentration of residents of one of the cultural groups within the city, reflecting important settlement and migration patterns associated with that group or the changing demographics within the city. Enclaves exclusive to a specific cultural group are rare.
- Individual properties with a known association with a cultural group within the city. Properties eligible for this association could include social, cultural, educational, and religious properties that provided important services or served as social and cultural hubs for the community with which they are associated. This includes early or long-term institutions that provided social services for new immigrants or resettlement services for Japanese residents returning after incarceration; educational facilities important within the community; recreational facilities and meeting rooms for clubs and other institutions that were central to the cultural identity of the community or promoted cultural traditions and practices; and the original or long-term home of an organization that was significant in political activism, equality, and civil rights.
- Commercial properties, including retail stores and other commercial enterprises, restaurants, and professional offices with a known association with an important business that served a cultural community within the city. The location of significant businesses illustrates patterns of settlement, migration, and changing demographics and often played an important role in the commercial growth and development of cultural communities in Long Beach. The importance may relate to the particular goods and services provided by the business or the role the business played in local or regional commerce. Resources may be the founding location or the long-term location of an important business. It is common for early businesses to have relocated over time to new locations particularly in the postwar period. Many cultural groups were excluded as customers and sometimes employees at White-owned businesses; therefore, they formed their own businesses to provide services and employment opportunities to members of their communities. A significant concentration of commercial buildings associated with a cultural group in a defined geographic area may constitute a historic district.

### Registration Requirements under NRHP Criterion A/CRHR Criterion 1/LB Criterion A

- Was constructed or achieved significance during the period of significance for this context.
- May represent a significant event or movement in the social history of Long Beach, including an important association with the Civil Rights Movement and the fight for fair housing.
- May represent a significant association with a cultural group in Long Beach which is strongly associated with the civic, social, or cultural identity of that community.
- May represent a collection of residences which have a significant association with the settlement and/or migration of a cultural group in Long Beach.
- Was the founding location or long-term home of a significant business associated with a cultural group in Long Beach; must be strongly associated with the commercial development of the community or represent a business that made important contributions to the community.
- Buildings may have been purpose built for the community or occupied by and/or served the community for a significant period of time.
- Retains most of the essential character-defining features from the period of significance.
- As a whole, retains most of the essential character-defining features from the period of significance (for historic districts).
- Religious properties must derive their primary significance from architectural distinction or historical importance (National Register Criteria Consideration A).
- Properties associated with events that date from the last 50 years must possess exceptional importance (National Register Criteria Consideration G)

### Integrity Considerations under NRHP Criterion A/CRHR Criterion 1/LB Criterion A

The evaluation of integrity is based on the period during which the property achieved significance for its association with an event or series of events or a particular cultural group in the city. Generally, the architectural qualities of the buildings are less important factors in the evaluation under Criterion A/1/A.

In order to convey significance under Criterion A/1/A, the following integrity considerations would apply:

- At a minimum, an individual property should retain integrity of location, design, feeling, and association from the period of significance.
- The setting may have changed (surrounding buildings and land uses).



- Some original materials may have been altered or removed and the property can still reflect its significance under Criterion A/1/A.
- For commercial buildings, the street-facing façade should retain most of the major design features from the period of significance. Some original materials may have been altered or removed; replacement or alteration of storefronts is a common alteration.
- For historic districts, the district overall should retain integrity of location, design, feeling, and association from the period of significance. The district as a whole should convey a strong sense of time and place from the period of significance. Contributors to a district may have a greater degree of alterations than individually significant properties.

### **Property Types Eligible under NRHP Criterion B/CRHR Criterion 2/LB Criterion B (association with important people)**

Properties eligible under this criterion would include:

- Properties associated with prominent persons in Long Beach who made notable contributions to the fight for Civil Rights, fair housing, and/or other social justice issues.
- Properties associated with an early or influential member of a cultural group in Long Beach who made a significant contribution to the community. Individuals include important civic leaders and activists, business owners, educators, doctors, actors, writers, politicians, farmers, athletes, artists, and others.
- Property types eligible under Criterion B/2/B would typically include residential properties, or commercial or institutional buildings with a strong association with a significant person.

### **Registration Requirements under NRHP Criterion B/CRHR Criterion 2/LB Criterion B**

- The individual must be proven to have made an important contribution to one or more areas of significance within this context.
- The individual must have lived in or used the property during the period in which he or she achieved significance, and the property must be directly associated with the productive life of the significant person.
- Determining the property that best represents the person's life needs to be carefully evaluated. If more than one property is associated with a person, the property in which the person spent the productive period of his/her life would be the most representative. In addition, the length of the association should be an important factor when there is more than one property associated with an individual

- The individual achieved significance during the period of significance for this context.
- The property retains most of the essential character-defining features from the period of significance. For multi-family residential properties, the apartment or room occupied by the person must be readable from the period of significance.
- Properties associated with individuals whose significant accomplishments date from the last 50 years must possess exceptional importance (National Register Criteria Consideration G).

### **Integrity Considerations under NRHP Criterion B/CRHR Criterion 2/LB Criterion B**

The evaluation of integrity is based on the period during which a property was associated with the significant individual. Generally, the architectural qualities of the buildings are less important factors in the evaluation under Criterion B/2/B.

In order to convey significance under Criterion B/2/B, the following integrity considerations would apply:

- The property should retain sufficient integrity to convey significance from the period of time in which the significant person lived there or used the property. A basic integrity test for properties associated with an important person is whether a historical contemporary would recognize the property as it exists at the time of the evaluation.
- At a minimum, the property should retain integrity of location, design, feeling, and association from the period of significance.
- The setting may have changed (surrounding buildings and land uses).
- Some original materials may have been altered or removed and the property can still reflect its significance under Criterion B/2/B.
- For commercial buildings, the street-facing façade should retain most of the major design features from the period of significance. Some original materials may have been altered or removed; replacement or alteration of storefronts is a common alteration.
- For historic districts, the district overall should retain integrity of location, design, feeling, and association from the period of significance. The district as a whole should convey a strong sense of time and place from the period of significance. Contributors to a district may have a greater degree of alterations than individually significant properties.

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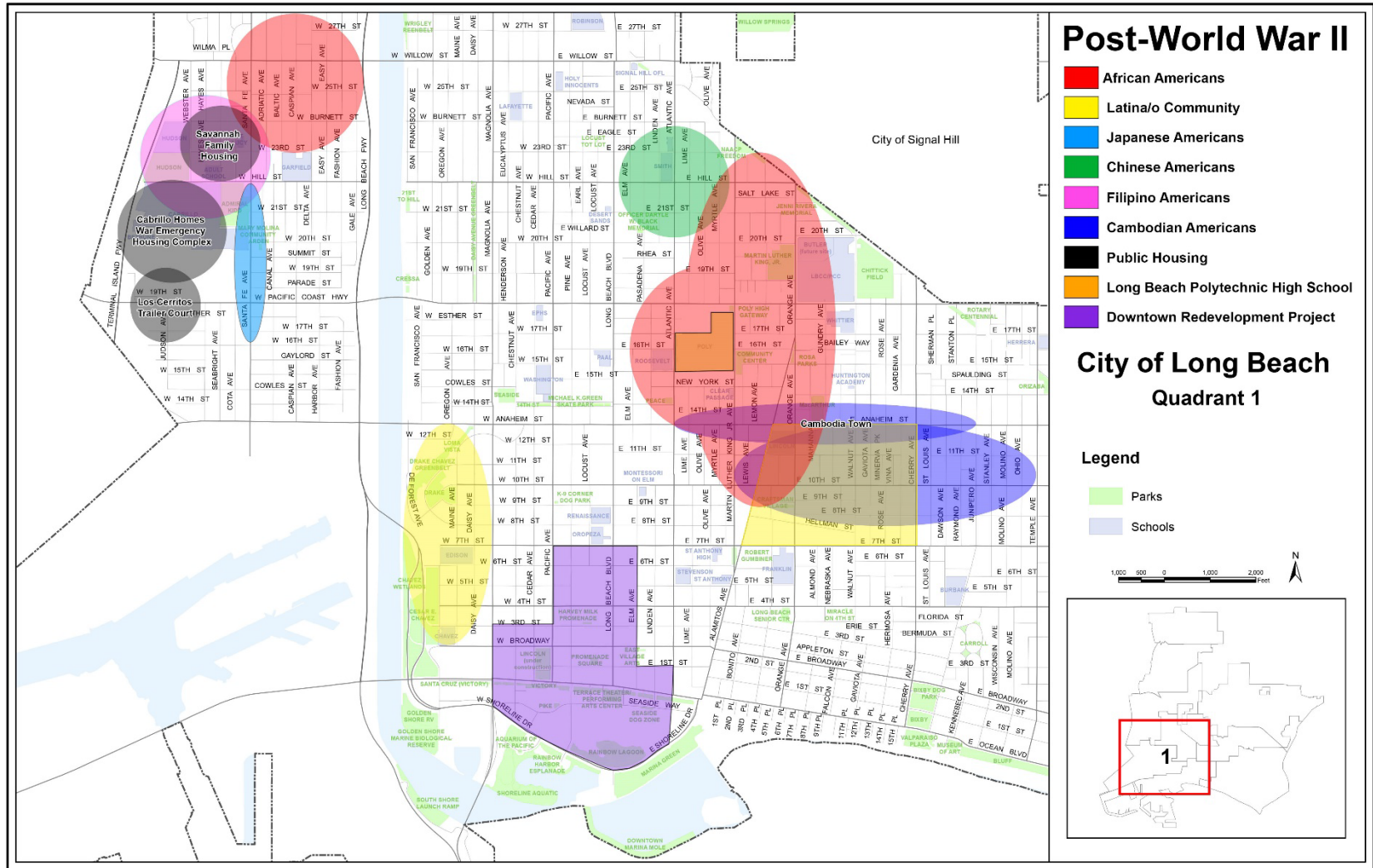
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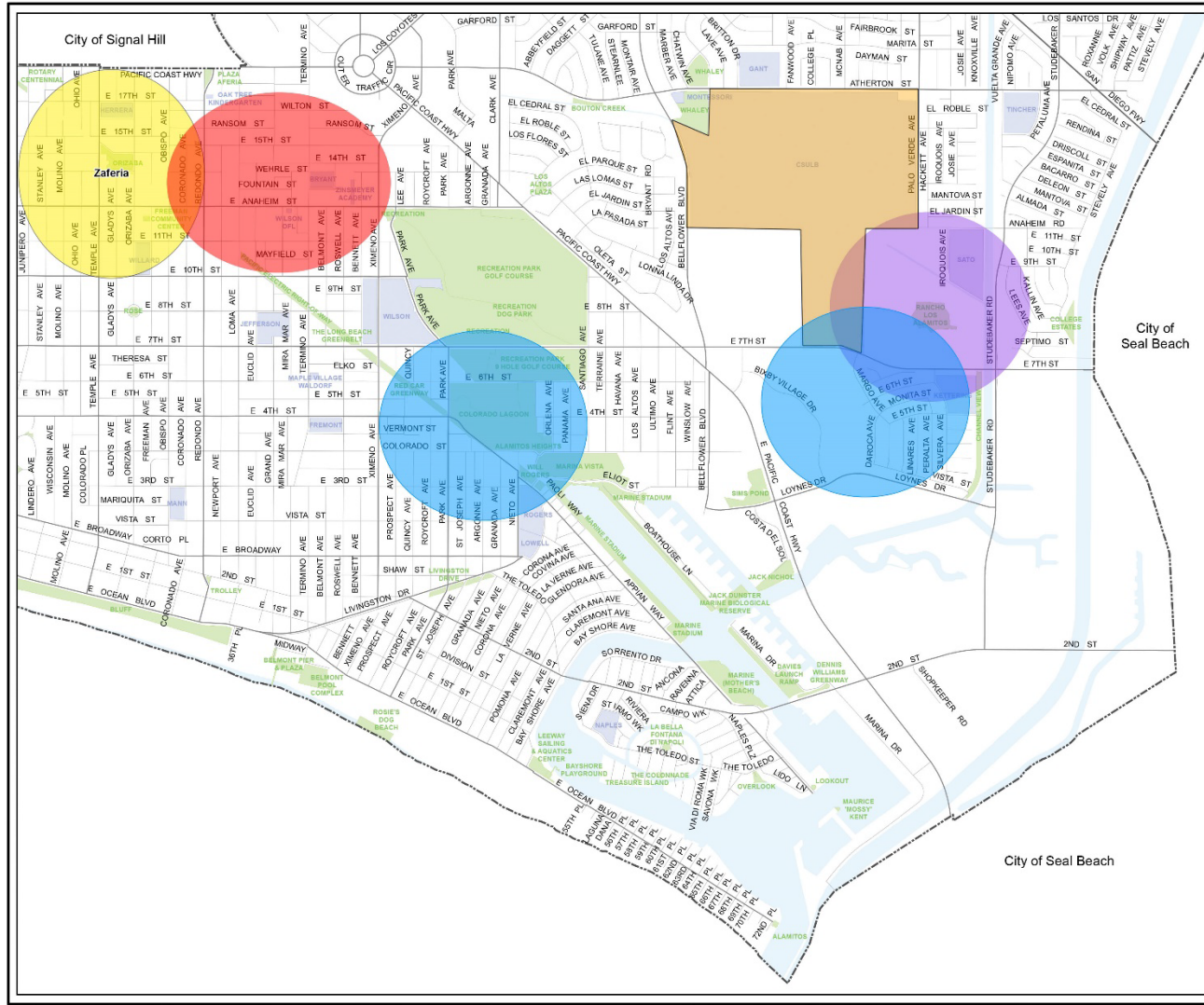
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## **APPENDIX A: CULTURAL MAPS**

Appendix A includes “Cultural Maps” which provide general geographic information related to concentrations of cultural groups in the city, where data is available. There are four maps, created by dividing the city into four quadrants. Please note that these maps are intended to orient the reader. They illustrate the general areas that had concentrations of residents from various cultural groups and show how certain areas of the city have been occupied by different cultural groups over time.







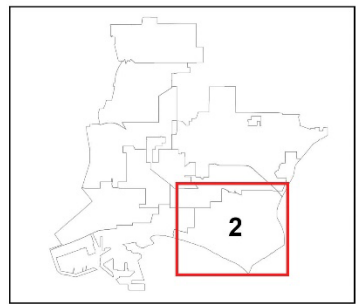
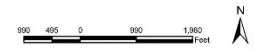
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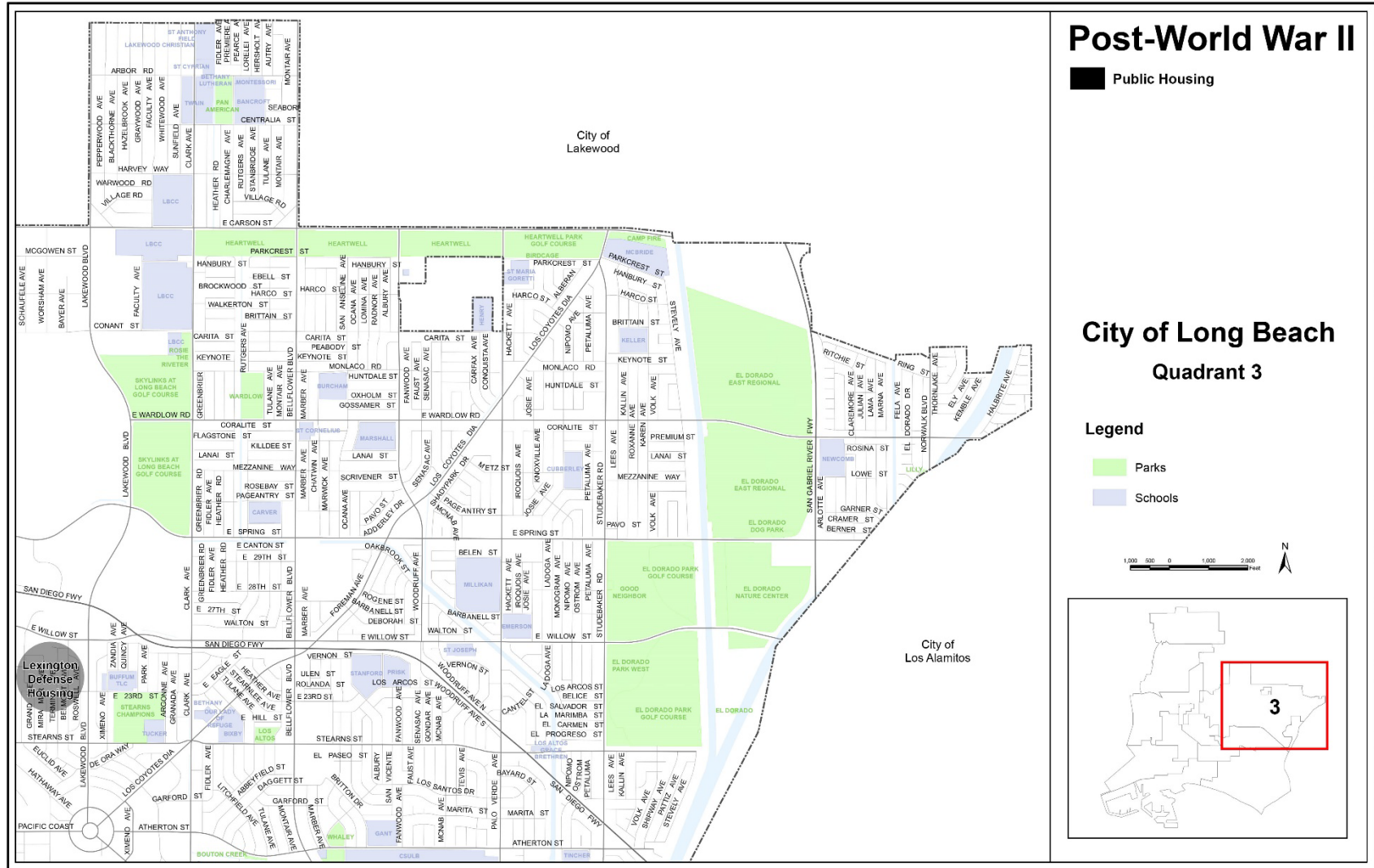
- African Americans
- Latino/o Community
- Japanese Americans (prior to 1942)
- California State Univ. Long Beach
- Rancho Los Alamitos

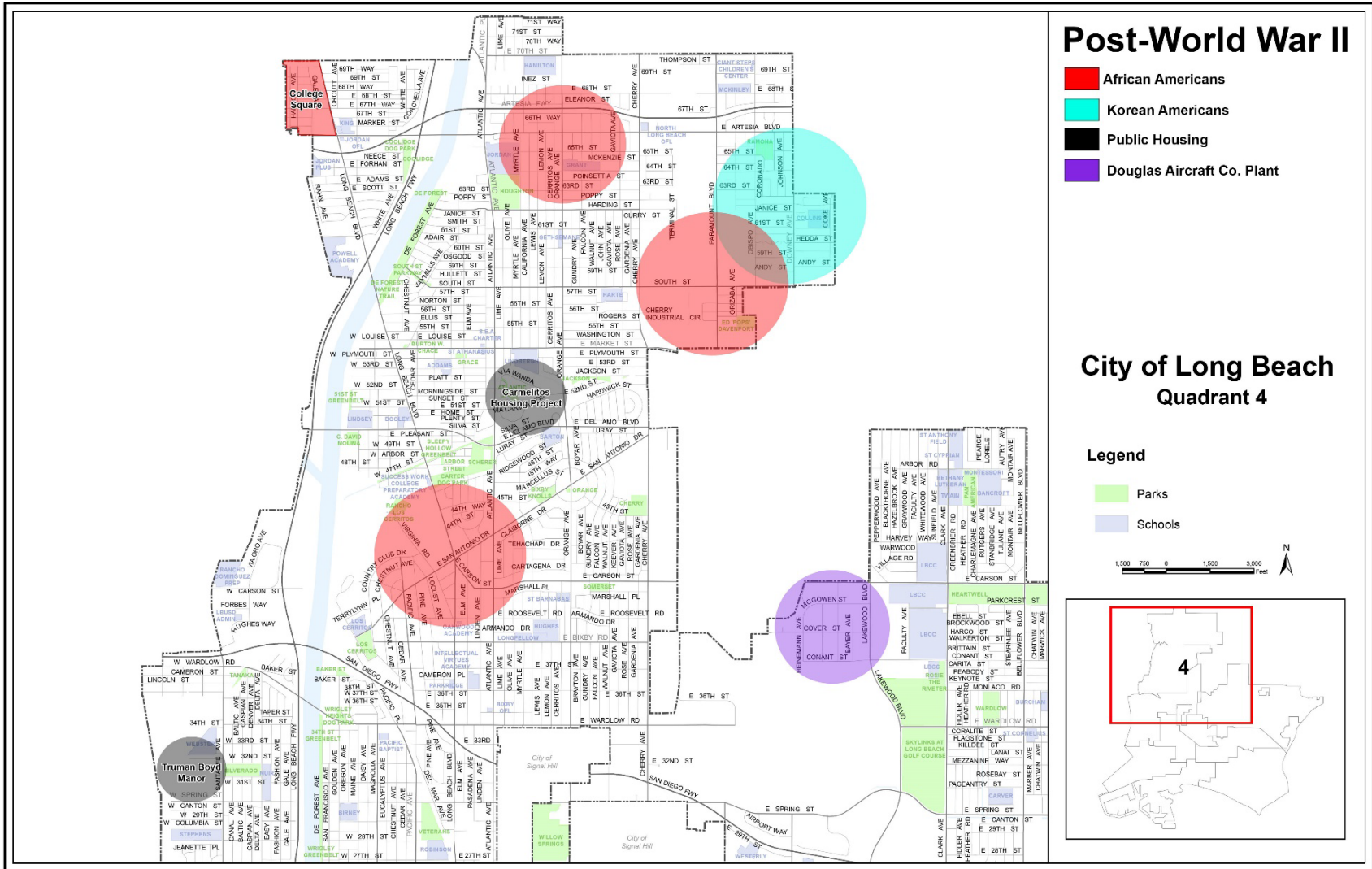
## City of Long Beach Quadrant 2

### Legend

- Parks
- Schools







## **APPENDIX B: STUDY LIST**

Included in the Appendix is a Study List of the properties and neighborhoods identified through research and community outreach for this context statement. As noted above, properties and neighborhoods identified in the narrative have not been evaluated for eligibility as part of this study, and no properties will be formally designated as a result of this project. Identified properties are intended to help link the stories of the cultural communities in Long Beach with the built environment; provide geographically-based information about where certain populations lived over time and show the layers of history in various areas of the city; provide information for consideration in future planning efforts in the city; and identify properties that may qualify for historic designation. Limited fieldwork was conducted to confirm that properties identified on the Study List are extant, and whether they appear to be altered from their original construction.



APPENDIX B: STUDY LIST

APN	Address	Dir	Street Name	Suffix	Name	Location	Community	Construction Date	Architect	Source	Notes	Status
7274012026	741	E	10th	St	St. John's Baptist Church	723 E 10th St	African American	1923			Community Improvement League initially operated out of the basement of this church.	Extant
7267025022	1100	E	10th	St	Lee's Market		Chinese American	1919			Early Chinese-owned business.	Extant - altered
7258001025	2825	E	10th	St	Temple Baptist Church	2841 E 10th Street	African American	1913			Historically African American church	Extant - altered
7267004908	1175	E	11th	St	Lincoln Elementary School		African American	c. 1925			Early integrated school with African American teachers	Extant - altered
7262004001	2416	E	11th	St	Long Beach Cambodian Evangelical Church of Christian and Missionary Alliance		Cambodian American	1939; 1942			Founded in 1978 by the Reverend Paul Ellison, Reverend Hay Sen San and Chhem Nhem.	Extant
7274007002	1028		12th	St	Levi H. Howard boarding house		African American	1906; 1989		McBride and Nash, <i>Fighting for the People</i> ; 1930 Census	Location of one of the 12th Street boarding houses that provided temporary housing for African Americans who came to Long Beach in the early 20th century.	Extant - altered
7253013023	3821	E	15th	St	Otis M. Williams Residence		African American	1961		LB <i>Independent Press-Telegram</i> 5.24.61	One of the six original African American families to integrate white neighborhoods of Long Beach in 1961. The Long Beach City College professor and his wife were targets of harassment and hate crime signage.	Extant - altered
			15th	St	Central neighborhood	Roughly bounded by Myrtle Avenue, Orange Avenue, 10th Street and Hill Street	African American; Japanese American; Chinese American; Cambodian American					Extant
7210019047	1021	E	19th	St	Grace Memorial Baptist Church		African American	1982			Historically African American church	Extant
7209011021	433	E	20th	St	Holy Innocents Catholic Church		Asian Pacific Islanders	1925; 1926		Email correspondence with Marie Perez Adamos	Catholic church serving the Asian Pacific Islander population	Extant
7206005901	101	E	28th	St	Veteran's Park/Clubhouse		Asian Pacific Islanders			Email correspondence with Marie Perez Adamos	Park and clubhouse is the location of many Asian Pacific Islander events, meetings, and social gatherings.	Extant
7249033032	4923	E	2nd	St	The Plaza Shoppe		Guamanian American	1928		LB <i>Independent Press-Telegram</i> 9.17.52	Location of early Guamanian American business; clothing store; burglary in 1952 may have been a hate crime.	Extant - altered

APPENDIX B: STUDY LIST

APN	Address	Dir	Street Name	Suffix	Name	Location	Community	Construction Date	Architect	Source	Notes	Status
7249027025	5217	E	2nd	St	Scand Asia	203 Corona Ave	Japanese American	1930				Extant - altered
7311011002	1401	W	34th	St	St. Luke Holy Baptist Church		African American	1928			Historically African American church	Extant - altered
7623018027	2625	E	3rd	St	Geneva Presbyterian Church; Cambodian Temple of Long Beach		African American; Cambodian American	1914		Los Angeles Times 12.10.78; 1969 City Directory	Location of the office of the Long Beach Housing Action Association. Now the Cambodian Buddhist Temple. The Long Beach Housing Action Association was a leading renters rights organization associated with protecting renters from evictions due to condominium conversions in the 1970s.	Extant
7275007012	1538	E	4th	St	House of Fong		Chinese American	1926			Early Chinese-owned business, owned by Stanley Fong.	Extant - altered
7250017018	4530	E	4th	St	Kingston Apartments		African American	1959		LB Independent Press-Telegram 12.1.66	Owners of building subject to discrimination lawsuit by African American Dr. Fillmore Freeman, CSULB chemistry professor in 1966.	Extant - altered
7274017043	523	E	7th	St	St. Luke's Episcopal Church			1962		LB Independent Press-Telegram 11.13.72	Location of one of nine Head Start Programs operated by the Community Improvement League of Long Beach.	Extant
7254028009	4108	E	7th	St	Fair Housing Foundation Office		African American	1954		LB Independent Press-Telegram 1.17.65; Fair Housing Foundation Pamphlet, "Housing 1960" clippings file, LBPL Special Collections	Location of the first Fair Housing Foundation Organization.	Extant
	2600 Block		Adriatic	Ave	Westside neighborhood	West of Long Beach freeway (710)	African American; Latina/o; Japanese American; Filipino American; Chinese American; Vietnamese American; Samoan American; Korean American; Guamanian and Chamorro American					
7274007038	1129		Alamitos	Ave	Grant Chapel AME Church		African American	1933; 1985		LB Independent Press-Telegram 6.29.58	Historically African American church where a meeting to protest vandalism against African Americans who moved into white neighborhoods in June 1958.	Extant
7268017024	1325		Alamitos	Ave	Long Beach Opportunities Industrialization Center			1947; 1955		LB Independent Press-Telegram 12.15.70; Untold Legacies: A Pictorial History of Black Long Beach 1900-2000 & Beyond	Taught entry level job skills such as private branch exchange (PBX) telephone systems, typing, sewing, and English. Founded partially by Percy Anderson, a local African American community advocate.	Extant - altered



APPENDIX B: STUDY LIST

APN	Address	Dir	Street Name	Suffix	Name	Location	Community	Construction Date	Architect	Source	Notes	Status
7268022045	1525		Alamitos	Ave	Intercommunal Youth Institute			1920; 1990		LB <i>Independent Press-Telegram</i> 9.25.74	A nonprofit community school founded in the summer of 1973. An alternative school, a project of the Experimental Educational Institute, it was organized by B. Kwaku Duren and modeled after the highly successful Black Panther Party community school in Oakland. It received a certification from the state board of education and Title 1 federal funding.	Extant
7268041900	1321	E	Anaheim	St	MacArthur Park; Homeland Cultural Center	1360 N Warren Ave	Samoan American	1955			Site of Head Start Program c 1970s. Samoan American practitioners in dance, music and song continue to teach traditional practices at the Homeland Cultural Center.	Extant
7260031029	2338	E	Anaheim	St	Eastside Neighborhood Center (Centro de la Raza) / United Cambodian Community Plaza		Latina/o	1936		LB <i>Independent Press-Telegram</i> 4.12.72	Site of children's and adult education programs on Mexican heritage to engender Chicano pride in the early 1970s. Also the location of a housing project bridging the gap between the community, rentals and home purchases. Largely Mexican American serving (head Start). This was also the HQ for several important organizations including the Cuban Association and the Raza Unida Hispano Americana (RUHA) in the early 1970s. In 1979, the East Long Beach Neighborhood Center rehabilitated the multipurpose building with a grant from the East Los Angeles Community Union.	Extant-altered
7247017023	103		Argonne	Ave	Mrs. Sue P. Lee Residence		Chinese American	1936			Chinese integration outside of Hill and Atlantic area in late 1960s	Extant-altered
7304032036	120	E	Artesia	Blvd	Starr King Presbyterian Church		African American	1955; 1957			Meeting place for College Square Neighborhood Association on integration.	Extant
7240002023	5450	E	Atherton	St	Unitarian Universalist Church of Long Beach		African American	1957; 1972			Dr. John N. Booth of the Unitarian Universalist Church was among the early activist clergy for fair housing; the Church was part of the Long Beach Council of Churches who advocated for fair housing practices in the 1960s.	Extant
7274016036	850		Atlantic	Ave	First Friends Church		Cambodian American	1924		<i>The History of Long Beach Poly: Scholars and Champions</i> , 97	One of the first churches reach out to Cambodian refugees; provides sermons in English and Khmer.	Extant
7269031021	1473		Atlantic	Ave	Coleman's Restaurant		African American	1946			African American-owned restaurant (moved from 1700 Atlantic Blvd).	Extant - altered
7268009045	1480		Atlantic	Ave	Gospel Memorial Church of God in Christ		African American	1985			Historically African American church	Extant
7268003912; 7268004923; 7268007905	1600		Atlantic	Ave	Long Beach Polytechnic High School			1910			Almost all students of color in Long Beach attended Poly. The high school was the site of several important racially-charged incidents in the late 1960s, which resulted in more representation within the administration and the creation of a number of programs to celebrate and educate students about various cultures.	Extant
7269033017	1619		Atlantic	Ave	Dr. Terry/Dr. Bush practice		African American	1922		Cynthia Terry interview	Building in which Dr. Charles Terry and Dr. Bush (first African American dentist in Long Beach) shared a practice.	Extant

APPENDIX B: STUDY LIST

APN	Address	Dir	Street Name	Suffix	Name	Location	Community	Construction Date	Architect	Source	Notes	Status
7269033017	1625		Atlantic	Ave	Office of Dr. Ebenezer Bush		African American	1922		1955 City Directory	Location of the office of the first African American dentist in Long Beach in 1955	Extant
7269034006	1703		Atlantic	Ave	Real estate office		African American	1914; 1954			Site of Charles Ennis Haynes' real estate office in the mid-1960s. Haynes was the first African American member of the Long Beach Board of Realtors, and was appointed to the City's Human Relations Committee in 1965.	Extant
7269034005	1711		Atlantic	Ave	Dr. Charles Terry Office		African American	1962		Cynthia Terry Interview; City Directories	Office of Dr. Charles Terry; owned independent practice. It is unknown if he built this building, or purchased it after it was constructed.	Extant
7211012006	2240		Atlantic	Ave	Community Improvement League Family Service Center		African American	1956; 1997		LB <i>Independent Press-Telegram</i> ; address transposed incorrectly as 2440 in article dated 11.13.72	Large clearinghouse for family services including a Head Start location, counseling, marriage counseling, medical aid, and a nutrition center.	Extant - altered
7145015017	3737		Atlantic	Ave	John Brown Towers		Senior Citizens	1964	Gibbs & Gibbs	Louise Ivers, <i>The Remaking of a Seaside City</i> , 196	Important early senior housing facility. Now known as Bixby Knolls Towers.	Extant
7138017023	3922		Atlantic	Ave	Scand Asia	3908 Atlantic Ave	Japanese American	1965				Extant
7130006027	5239		Atlantic	Ave	North Long Beach Community Prayer Center		African American	1929			Historically African American church	Extant - altered
	625		Baker	St	Alfred Encinas Residence		Latina/o				Originally from Mexico, George Encinas came to the Long Beach area in the late 1870s or early 1880, with other family members following him. Ultimately, George Encinas farmed land on the Rancho and eventually purchased Ranch land for cultivation. In 1960, the extension of the San Diego Freeway forced the demolition of the Alfred Encinas family home in the area north of present-day Baker Street Park.	Demolished
7313013008	2830		Baltic	Ave	Ann M. Trumbore Residence			1942		LB <i>Independent Press-Telegram</i> 10.10.66	West Side residence of Mrs. Ann Trumbore, chief spokesperson for the West Side Neighbors Association (aka West Side Homeowners) who spoke out against blockbusting practices of Long Beach Realtors on the West Side in the mid-1960s.	Extant

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APN	Address	Dir	Street Name	Suffix	Name	Location	Community	Construction Date	Architect	Source	Notes	Status
7139014002	4579	N	Banner	Dr				1947		LB <i>Independent Press-Telegram</i> 1.31.73	Subject site of an important rental discrimination case, <i>Robert Barnett vs. Mr. and Mrs. William H. Brown and Mary K. Turner</i>	Extant - altered
7240025009	777	N	Bellflower	Bldv	Villa d'Or Apartments		African American	1964		LB <i>Independent Press-Telegram</i> 12.1.66	Owners of building subject to discrimination lawsuit by African American Dr. Fillmore Freeman, CSULB chemistry professor in 1966.	Extant
7239027901	6400	E	Bixby Hill	Rd	Rancho Los Alamitos		Chinese American; Latina/o; Japanese American; Filipino American				Rancho Los Alamitos was an early and important factor in the growth and development of a variety of cultural populations in Long Beach. The ranch employed Chinese Americans and Mexican Americans; and the ranchlands were home to Japanese American farmers, and, eventually, the Filipino farmers who replaced them during incarceration.	Extant; City of Long Beach Landmark
7280019049	213	E	Broadway		Asian Pacific Family Outreach		Cambodian American; Hmong American; Vietnamese American; Korean American	1917			Organization providing supportive services in housing, jobs and basic English language skills for Cambodians, Hmong, Vietnamese and Koreans.	Extant
7255029026	4235	E	Broadway		Ikuo Serisawa Photography Studio		Japanese American	1922		<i>Rafu Shimpo</i> 9.24.36	Site of prewar studio of portrait photographer Ikuo Serisawa. He and his brother Sueo Serisawa were early <i>Nisei</i> (first generation Japanese American) filmmakers with their 1935 silent film "Nisei Parade." Sueo was an acclaimed portrait painter.	Extant
7280022007	245	W	Broadway		Veteran's Memorial Building		African American			Kaye Briegel, email to Sian Winship, 9.21.21.	Possible meeting location of the Booker T. Washington chapter of the Veterans of Foreign Wars.	Demolished
7431003007	2150		Canal	Ave	Dr. Horace Rains and Frances M. Raines Residence I		African American	1941		<i>Untold Legacies: A Pictorial History of Black Long Beach 1900-2000 &amp; Beyond</i> ; City Directories; LB <i>Independent Press-Telegram</i> 10.16.63	Westside residence of prominent African American doctor and civil rights leader in LB during the 1960s. Rains was one of the most outspoken leaders for African American civil rights (including open housing) in Long Beach. He was chairman of the city's Human Rights Committee. His wife was also a pillar of the community and an activist.	Extant - altered
7401019002	2388		Caspian	Ave	Charles B. Ussery residence		African American	1942			Charles B. Ussery (1933-2008) joined the police force in 1959, and became the first Black chief of police in 1979. He retired in 1986.	Extant
7280023008	241		Cedar	Ave	First Congregational Church		Samoan American	1919; 2003		LB <i>Independent Press-Telegram</i> 3.7.59	Pilgrim Hall in this building is the site of the worship services of the Samoan Congregational Church of Long Beach, the second incorporated Samoan congregation in the United States	Extant

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APN	Address	Dir	Street Name	Suffix	Name	Location	Community	Construction Date	Architect	Source	Notes	Status
7181019012	4919	E	Centralia	St	Korean Community Church		Korean American	1937		LB <i>Independent Press-Telegram</i> 6.24.76	Provided services and support for the Korean American community in Long Beach in the mid 1970s.	Extant - altered
7266011900	540		Cerritos	Ave	Franklin Classical Middle School		African American	c. 1935			Early integrated school with African American teachers	Extant - altered
7210032030	1851		Cerritos	Ave	Our Lady of Mount Carmel Cambodian Center; Our Lady of Refuge		Cambodian American	1924			Site of early Cambodian mission of Mary Batz. In 1923, the first St. Anthony's Church (now located at 1851 Cerritos Avenue, extant), became a mission for Latina/o congregants and was renamed Our Lady of Refuge. The church had originally been built by Henry Starbuck and was moved from its location at the corner of Olive Avenue and 6th Street.	Extant
7210032044	1861		Cerritos	Ave	Our Lady of Mount Carmel		Latina/o	1904			Historically Latina/o church congregation.	Extant
7138001006	4240		Cerritos	Ave	Dr. Charles Terry Residence		African American	1948		LB <i>Independent-Press-Telegram</i> 6.24.58	Site of \$15,000 in vandalism when African American doctor and his family purchased a home in all-white Bixby Knolls in 1958.	Extant
7223018014	2280		Clark	Ave	Long Beach First Church of the Nazarene	5253 E Los Coyotes Diagonal	Cambodian American	1958; 1960; 1964			Created an early "bus ministry" for the Cambodian American community	Extant
7402010009	2320		Cota	Ave	St. Lucy's Catholic School		Filipino American	1950			St. Lucy's was a spiritual hub for the Filipino community.	Extant - altered
7140005021	4221		Country Club	Dr	Fox Boswell Residence		African American	1942	Paul R. Williams		Residential commission in Long Beach by Paul R. Williams, one of the earliest and most important African American architects in the United States.	Extant
7140005011	4265		Country Club	Dr	J.W. Wood Residence		African American	1941	Paul R. Williams		Residential commission in Long Beach by Paul R. Williams, one of the earliest and most important African American architects in the United States.	Extant



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APN	Address	Dir	Street Name	Suffix	Name	Location	Community	Construction Date	Architect	Source	Notes	Status
7240016004	5621	E	El Jardin	St	Dr. Horace Rains and Frances M. Raines Residence II		African American	1958		<i>Untold Legacies: A Pictorial History of Black Long Beach 1900-2000 &amp; Beyond</i> ; City Directories	Early example of an African American residence in the predominantly white Park Estates neighborhood. Dr. Rains was a prominent physician and fair housing advocate. Mrs. Rains was a skilled nurse, fair housing advocate, and real estate agent.	Extant - altered
7271015010	510	W	Esther	St	Independent Elks Hall		African American	1928		<i>LB Independent Press-Telegram</i> 11.16.52	Recreation center for the Long Beach African American community; heavily used in 1950s. Meeting place for NAACP branch meetings.	Extant
7271015009	516	W	Esther	St	Most Worshipful Prince Hall Ancient Free & Accepted Masons Hall		African American	1942		Kaye Briegel, email to Sian Winship, 9.21.21.	Meeting place for the Most Worshipful Prince Hall Ancient Free & Accepted Masons chapter and the Queen Beach Eastern Star Lodge.	Extant
7191004015	3259		Faust	Ave				1950		<i>LB Independent Press-Telegram</i> 1.31.73	Subject site of an important rental discrimination case, <i>Thomas E. and Enako Allen v. Paul and Blanch Schaub</i> , identifying a precedent that rental properties were considered businesses.	Extant - altered
7314005016; 7314005018	3021	N	Gold Star	Dr	Truman Boyd Manor		African American	1944; 1971		<i>LB Independent Press-Telegram</i> 11.9.52	Housing project for African Americans and Japanese in Long Beach consisting of 1,000 units. Constructed in 1941 as temporary housing for defense workers and armed services personnel.	Extant - altered
	2390		Grand	Ave	Lexington Defense Housing			1945			Built to house Navy families. It was located on an irregularly shaped tract of land roughly bordered by Vernon Street on the north, East 23rd Street on the south, Miramar Avenue on the east, and Grand Avenue on the west. It consisted of 38 wood-framed, stucco-clad structures on concrete slab foundations.	Demolished
7268035032	1535		Gundry	Ave	Antioch Missionary Baptist Church		African American	1930			Historically African American church.	Extant - altered
			Harbor	Ave	College Square neighborhood	Roughly bounded by E. Greenleaf Boulevard on the north, W. Artesia Boulevard on the south, Long Beach Boulevard on the east, and Compton College on the west					The College Square housing tract in the northwest corner of Long Beach was the earliest part of North Long Beach to integrate.	Extant

APPENDIX B: STUDY LIST

APN	Address	Dir	Street Name	Suffix	Name	Location	Community	Construction Date	Architect	Source	Notes	Status
7241029001	690		Havana	Ave	Nakanishi Residence		Japanese American	1955	Kazumi Adachi		Early example of a Japanese-owned home in East Long Beach. An engineer at Douglas Aircraft. The house was designed by noted Japanese American architect, Kazumi Adachi.	Extant
7241025012	700		Havana	Ave			Chinese American	1978	Eugene Kinn Choy	Sarah Locke, email to Sian Winship, 9.22.21.	Los Angeles-based Chinese architect Eugene Kinn Choy (1912-1991) designed two homes in Long Beach. This house was designed in collaboration with Barton Choy.	Extant
7182006014	4353		Hazelbrook	Ave	Mrs. Carole A. Taube Residence			1937		LB <i>Independent Press-Telegram</i> 7.4.63	Location of the first fair housing information clearinghouse (predating the Fair Housing Foundation) in July 1963, operated by Mrs. Carole A. Taube.	Extant - altered
7211014031	801	E	Hill	St	First Providence Missionary Baptist Church		African American	1914			Historically African American church	Extant - altered
7211014027	815	E	Hill	St	Community Improvement League Child Care Center	825 E Hill St		1920		LB <i>Independent Press-Telegram</i> 11.13.72		Extant - altered
7210024037	1000	E	Hill	St	Hill Street Church of God & Christ	Hill St and Martin Luther King Jr. Ave	African American	1920			Historically African American church	Extant - altered
7182021031; 7182021033	4228		Lakewood	Blvd	Bolero Apartments		African American	1960; 1961		LB <i>Independent Press-Telegram</i> 12.1.66	Owners of building subject to discrimination lawsuit by African American Dr. Fillmore Freeman, CSULB chemistry professor in 1966.	Extant
7268016002	1436		Lemon	Ave	Zelma Lipscomb Residence		African American	1920		California Voter Registration 1954	Residence of Zelma Lipscomb, president of the Benevolent Club, fair housing activist and long time librarian for LBPL. Benevolent Club meetings took place at members' homes, including Lipscomb's home. Lipscomb was also involved in the American Council of Negro Women, the Long Beach Council of Churches, the Fair Housing Foundation, and served as president of the Long Beach NAACP in the late 1960s while also serving on the Long Beach Human Relations Commission.	Extant - altered
7268021034	1461		Lemon	Ave	Ernest S. and Lilian McBride Residence II		African American	1919; 1962			Mid-1950s-1960s residence of the co-founder of the NAACP Long Beach. McBride was known to open his home for civil rights meetings.	Extant; City of Long Beach Landmark
7268025053	1703		Lemon	Ave	St. Mark Baptist Church		African American	1929; 1970; 1982			Historically African American church	Extant - altered
7210019013	1917 1/2		Lewis	Ave	Ernest S. McBride Residence I		African American	1910; 1920		Draft registration card 10.16.40	Co-founder of NAACP in 1940. McBride was known to open his home for civil rights meetings.	Extant
7210021014	2091		Lewis	Ave	New Liberty Baptist Church		African American	1927			Historically African American church	
7274013024	1021		Lime	Ave	Douglas House Center	1017-1021 Lime Avenue		1909; 1921; 1922		Douglas House Center pamphlet, "African Americans" clipping file, LBPL Special Collections	Workshop center in disadvantaged communities started by Budd Schulberg. Holds workshops for artists and writers to meet, communicate and create. Appears to be a small house converted to this purpose.	Extant - altered



APPENDIX B: STUDY LIST




APN	Address	Dir	Street Name	Suffix	Name	Location	Community	Construction Date	Architect	Source	Notes	Status
7281020002 - 7281020238	140		Linden	Ave	Lafayette Condominiums			1928, 1929, 1936		<i>Los Angeles Times</i> 2.23.75	One of three adjacent buildings that were early condominium conversion projects in Long Beach in 1969. The three buildings consist of the Lafayette Hotel and Annex and the Campbell Apartments.	Extant - altered
7415011036	3515		Linden	Ave	Fairfield Community Services Building		Japanese American	1962		<i>LB Independent Press-Telegram</i> 12.25.63	Landscaping for this building was donated by the Long Beach Gardeners Association. This all Japanese organization donated the labor and coordinated the donation of materials from many Japanese American businesses. Landscape plan was donated by Edward R. Lovell, landscape architect	Extant - altered
7269014004	1333		Locust	Ave	Japanese Presbyterian Church		Japanese American	1925		<i>LB Independent Press-Telegram</i> 6.25.66	The oldest Japanese religious institution in Long Beach. Name changed to Grace Presbyterian Church in 1955. This was also the processing location for Long Beach Japanese Americans prior to their removal and incarceration during World War II. Site was taken over by the Boys Club during the war, but was reclaimed by the church after return from incarceration.	Extant
7273004032	1231		Locust	Ave	Labor Temple Hall		Latina/o	1928			Location of events and meetings of the Latin-American Club (a.k.a., Club Latino Americano), founded in 1933 as the first Latino club in Long Beach history.	Extant



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