CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, NORTH RIDGE

NEGRO SETTLEMENT AND RAILWAY GROWTH IN LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA, 1890 TO 1930

A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Geography

by

Paul Alan Smith

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The thesis of Paul Alan Smith is approved:

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ABSTRACT

NEGRO SETTLEMENT AND RAILWAY GROWTH
IN LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA, 1890 TO 1930

by

Paul Alan Smith

Master of Arts in Geography

May, 1973

Dispersion was characteristic of Negro settlement in Los Angeles during the early years of the twentieth century. Isolated Negro settlements sprang up in widely separated areas where there was cheap land. Around these communities black populations clustered. By the year 1930, however, these nodal settlements had expanded to form a contiguous and distinctive ghetto.

Many factors were involved in the formation of the Los Angeles Negro ghetto: prejudicial, legal, economic, social, and geographic. One geographic factor, the intraurban railway provided accessibility of transportation for the Negro. This railway system grew to become the largest intraurban railway in the United States, and from 1890 to 1930 its arrangement furnished service to the Negro community in Los Angeles.

Certain social and economic institutions can be identified with the Los Angeles Negro: the church, employment patterns, and commercial
and recreational areas. These institutions were served favorably by the intraurban railway from 1890 to 1930. Because of the many needs for social interaction and the existence of an intraurban railway system, these institutions became focal points for interaction and stimulated unanimity. The Negro communities around these institutions ultimately expanded and connected with other Negro communities.
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Negro ghetto represents an expanding residential spatial configuration in all of the major metropolitan areas in the United States. The manner of ghetto formation is basically related to the refusal of whites to share residential space, and to the search behavior employed by blacks in seeking housing accommodation. Beyond this sweeping assertion, there is an association of many elements or constituents interacting to produce the ghetto. Often, one or more of the elements will predominate. This thesis examines the expansion of nodal Negro settlements in Los Angeles from 1890 to 1930, which results in a contiguous and distinctive Negro ghetto, and the relationship between the course of expansion and the intraurban railways.

Statement of the Problem

Dispersion was characteristic of black residence in Los Angeles during the early years of the twentieth century. Negroes resided along Third and Fourth streets, east of Figueroa Street between Temple and First streets, and along Jefferson Boulevard between Broadway and Figueroa Street (Figure 1). By 1930, these nodal settlements had expanded to form a contiguous ghetto.

Between 1895 and 1930, a similar growth pattern was also happening

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NEGRO SETTLEMENT IN LOS ANGELES IN 1900

Figure 1

Source: Compiled by author
with the newly developing intraurban railways. The first two lines of the intraurban had been completed by 1895. By 1911, Los Angeles had the largest electric railway system in the United States, and the decade of the 1920's were the most operative years for the intraurban railways (Figure 2). The railways served favorably certain social and economic institutions in the Negro community: the church, employment patterns, and commercial and recreational areas. This means of transportation was inexpensive and provided accessibility to these institutions.

The objective of this study is to examine: (1) to what extent the railways might have affected Negro settlement patterns; and (2) in what way this means of transportation could have served as a integrative element.

Methodology

An explanation of Negro settlement and expansion concerns space and time. A descriptive approach is adopted in this study to show the spatial interaction of Negro settlement patterns, Negro movement, Negro institutions, and the use of railways by Negroes within the time period of 1890 to 1930. The temporal framework of the study, 1890 to 1930, includes growth periods of small increases to substantial increases per annum for both the Negro population and the railway lines in Los Angeles. This study will also focus on growth patterns prior to 1890 for a proper perspective concerning the main body of the thesis. By 1930, Los Angeles developed a distinct physical ghetto rigidly limited socially and with few advantages and
RAILWAY LINES IN LOS ANGELES IN 1930

Figure 2

opportunities for Negroes to live outside its boundaries.\(^2\) Therefore, the year 1930 is an appropriate cut-off date for this study.

**Review of the Literature**

Negro Settlement in Los Angeles

There is very little literature pertaining to the Negro in Los Angeles before 1930. Therefore, it was often necessary to draw upon the general literature concerning the Negro to recreate early settlement patterns.

Concerning the general literature on the American Negro and racial issues, geography has lagged behind sociology, economics, history, and other disciplines in research and publications.\(^3\) From 1948 to 1968,


only fifty-eight articles, abstracts, dissertations and theses were done by geographers dealing with the Negro. The vast majority of these works were descriptive, and only recently have geographers tackled the expanding Negro ghetto systematically dealing with such topics as ghetto formation, patterns of black mobility, housing quality, recreational opportunities, simulation models, and comparisons between African and black American ghettos. Geographic literature on the Los Angeles Negro is particularly sparse, dealing mainly with

No. 2 (June, 1968). Both of these sources provided background information on settlement patterns and transportation accessibility. Comparative analysis can be made on settlement patterns from St. Clair Drake and Horace Clayton's Black Metropolis, New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1945. Dealing with Negro patterns of settlement in Chicago, Black Metropolis pays particular attention to Negro migratory movements between 1900 and World War One.


current issues. There was not a single publication by a geographer found concerning the Los Angeles Negro before 1940.

Literature on the Negro in Los Angeles before 1930 is scarce, and the credibility on what is available is almost always in question. The single most comprehensive work is J. Max Bond's "The Negro In Los Angeles." Bond provides much insight to the Los Angeles Negro of 1930 because much of his data is based on direct field work and questionnaires. Delilah Beasley's The Negro Trail Blazers Of California is short on analysis and in need of updating, although it did provide locational materials needed. Charlotta Bass' Forty Years gives lengthy individual biographies on Los Angeles Negroes, but it is somewhat biased in approach. Lawrence De Graaf's article, "The City of Black Angels: Emergence of the Los Angeles Ghetto, 1890-1930," broke new ground, presenting an absorbing account of the Los Angeles Negro ghetto's evolution into a slum.

---


8Delilah Beasley, The Negro Trail Blazers Of California, Los Angeles, 1919.

9Charlotta A. Bass, Forty Years, Los Angeles, 1960.

Cartographic materials were entirely lacking in the literature, and ward and assembly boundaries in the figures are from descriptive accounts given in City Charters and other data. Maps of population settlements were also based on descriptive data.

Literature on Railway Growth in Los Angeles

Literature on railway patterns in Los Angeles from 1890 to 1930 is from a variety of sources. The background information is complete, and composite maps showing the intraurban railway systems plus the major steam railway lines are drawn at decade intervals. Two valuable source materials are Spencer Crump's *Ride The Big Red Cars* and Robert Charles Post's thesis, "Street Railways in Los Angeles Robert Widney to Henry Huntington." Crump gave a complete background of the intraurban railway, and Post provided a thorough study on both the intra and interurban railways.

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CHAPTER II

NEGRO SETTLEMENT IN LOS ANGELES

Introduction

Very few scholarly studies have been done concerning the origins of the Negro community in Los Angeles, which in 1930 ranked seventeenth among all black urban populations in the United States.\textsuperscript{14} The predominance of single-family dwellings, in contrast to the appearances of most other ghettos, led most writers\textsuperscript{15} to conclude that Los Angeles did not have an extensive Negro ghetto. Furthermore, growth of the Negro ghetto in Los Angeles was overshadowed by several racial minorities who rivaled blacks in number, and by extensive suburban development.\textsuperscript{16}


\textsuperscript{15}See Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma, New York, 1944; and Christopher Rand, Los Angeles: The Ultimate City, New York, 1967. The only history of blacks in California in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is Delilah Beasley, Negro Trail Blazers Of California, Los Angeles, 1919. However, Beasley deals primarily with Negroes in the San Francisco Bay Area. The nearest work to a comprehensive study on the subject is J. Max Bond, "The Negro in Los Angeles," Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southern California, 1936. Lawrence De Graaf's "The City of Black Angels, Emergence of the Los Angeles Ghetto 1890-1930," Pacific Historical Review (August, 1970) provides substantive conclusions concerning early black settlement patterns and synthesizes the terms "ghetto" and "slum" as they apply to Los Angeles.

Early Negro Settlement In Los Angeles

The origins of the black community in Los Angeles have been traced back to 1781 when the city was founded. Of the forty-four original settlers, twenty-six had some African ancestry. However, by 1790, Los Angeles' first census revealed only twenty-two blacks out of a total population of 141. Few blacks came to Los Angeles during the remainder of the Spanish and Mexican periods. The identified Negro element virtually disappeared. In 1850, only twelve Negroes lived in Los Angeles; and by 1880 the Negro population had increased to only 102, less than one per cent of the total population.

Negro Migration To Southern California

The Negro population in southern California by counties increased steadily following the first census report in 1850 (Table 1). The number of Negro inhabitants in southern California counties increased from twenty-five in 1850 to 56,986 in 1930.

17 Professor Lawrence De Graaf (interview, November, 1971) states that these early black inhabitants were most likely escaped slaves from the West Indies, who were given the alternative by the Spanish government of returning to slavery or serving in the army by exploring the northern frontier of Spanish-America.

18 De Graaf, op. cit., p. 327.


20 Ibid., p. 30.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>1850</th>
<th>1860</th>
<th>1870</th>
<th>1880</th>
<th>1890</th>
<th>1900</th>
<th>1910</th>
<th>1920</th>
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<td>137</td>
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Along with this increase of Negro population, there was an increase in the number of counties in southern California with Negro inhabitants. In 1850, only four counties in southern California had Negro inhabitants. By 1910, Negro inhabitants were found in each of the ten counties in southern California, and with the exceptions of San Luis Obispo County and Orange County each county showed large increases in Negro population after 1900.21

The Negro population in the State increased at a more rapid rate than the total population since 1900. In 1900, Negroes represented 0.7 per cent of the total population and 1.4 per cent in 1930. For the decade of the 1920's, the white population increased by 60.3 per cent in California, whereas the Negro population showed an increase of 109.1 per cent.22

The increase of the Negro population was at a more rapid rate in southern California than in northern California. In 1850, only 2.6 per cent of the Negroes in California resided in southern California; by 1930 it had increased to 70.3 per cent with the greatest concentration in Los Angeles County. For the most part, the increased Negro population was the result of migration from other states.23

Source Areas Of Negro Migration

Before the Civil War, southern California was so isolated and unfamiliar that it attracted only a few sailors, traders, miners, and

22Ibid., p. 31.
23Ibid., pp. 32-33.
pioneers. In the 1870's, the Southern Pacific railway connected southern California with San Francisco and New Orleans.24

Negroes began migrating to California in the 1870's and by 1930 the number born in other states was 77.6 per cent of California's total Negro population, and of this percentage 75 to 80 per cent resided in southern California.25 Table 2 shows the number and percentage of Negro migrants in California and in the City of Los Angeles from other states in 1930.

According to the geographic divisions presented in Table 3, four states in the West South Central Division26 contributed 48.1 per cent of the Negro migrants to the City of Los Angeles by 1930. The number of Negro migrants from the West South Central states, the East South Central states, and the South Atlantic states27 totaled 80.7 per cent in Los Angeles by 1930.28

The above indicates that the source areas of Negro migration were from states with large Negro populations, from mainly southern states, and that Texas and Louisiana were the major contributors to the Negro population of California and Los Angeles.


26Texas, Oklahoma, Louisiana, and Arkansas.

27These three divisions include Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Texas, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, and the District of Columbia.

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<th>Los Angeles Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
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Negro Settlement Patterns in Los Angeles: 1890 to 1930

Between 1880 and 1890 the Negro population in Los Angeles increased over one thousand per cent. Although the seventh and eighth ward districts in Los Angeles had the largest Negro populations according to the 1890 census, Negroes were in fact fairly well distributed throughout the city (Figure 3). There seems to be no distinct single concentration. However, five nodal settlements of Negroes are noted. These are: rooming house settlement along First and Second streets, multiple and single family dwellings along Seventh, Eighth, and Ninth streets, multiple family and railroad house court establishments in Boyle Heights from First Street to Brooklyn Avenue, multiple and single family dwellings at Ninth Street and Central Avenue, and about six families along Normandie and Thirty-fifth streets.29

Between 1890 and 1900 Negro migration to Los Angeles increased sharply. As already noted, most migrants came from southern states. There were also a few efforts at mass importation of Negroes. The Southern Pacific Railway brought nearly 2,000 blacks from the San Francisco Bay Area to Los Angeles in 1903 to break a strike of Mexican construction workers. In 1904 hundreds of Negroes in Texas organized a flight from the racial oppression of that state to settle in California.30 However, when this growth of the Negro population is

30 De Graaf, op. cit., p. 329.
NEGRO POPULATION IN LOS ANGELES IN 1890

--- Ward boundary

more than 200
100-200
Less than 100

Source: Compiled by author

Figure 3
compared with overall trends at the turn of the century, the movement is seen as a small part of a general migration to Los Angeles, not a distinctive racial phenomenon.31

In Table 4 comparisons are made between the ward populations of Negroes for 1890 and 1900. In both instances every ward had a Negro constituent. Six of the nine wards (the 2nd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, and 9th) showed an increase in Negro population, while in the others the Negro population had declined by 1900. A comparison of Figures 4 and 5 indicates similar nodal settlements, increases occurring in most areas, and a slightly larger increase of Negroes in the downtown area of First and Fifth streets.

The census for 1910 shows that the Negro population had increased by 5,468 since 1900 (256.6 per cent). The percentage of increase was in almost equal proportion to the total population of Los Angeles, an increase of 216,719 or 211.5 per cent.32

The distribution of the Negro population in 1910 is shown in Figure 5. Negroes still lived in every section of the city, but the degree of concentration was greater and the black communities showed the first signs of coalescing.33 Negroes began to move and

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TABLE 4

Negro Population Of Los Angeles By Wards 1890 And 1900

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ward</th>
<th>1900</th>
<th>1890</th>
<th>Numerical increase</th>
<th>Numerical decrease</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>88</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>83</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>140</td>
<td></td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>145</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>66</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>335</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>262</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>764</td>
<td>396</td>
<td>368</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>38</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>2,131</td>
<td>1,258</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NEGRO POPULATION IN LOS ANGELES IN 1900

--- Ward boundary

1500

50-100
Less than 50

Source: Compiled by author

Figure 4
NEGRO POPULATION IN LOS ANGELES IN 1910

--- Assembly district

2000-2500
1000-1500
500-1000
Less than 500

Figure 5

Source: Compiled by author
expand to the east and south of First and Temple streets, and began settling along Central Avenue, which was to become the heart of the Negro community. Even before this movement, however, blacks had been attracted to the northern end of Central Avenue because of the comparatively low rents.

By 1920, as a result of white exodus and black concentration, most blacks were living in one physical ghetto stretching approximately thirty blocks down Central Avenue and several blocks east to the railroad tracks. Negroes were also living in a few detached areas, especially West Jefferson, Temple Street, and just south of the city in Watts35 (Figure 6).

Negroes had advanced as far south as Jefferson Street and had established a business center at Twenty-second Street and Central Avenue. This concentration was accentuated by the location of most black churches and businesses in the Central Avenue area. Thus, by 1920, nearly seventy-five per cent of the Negro population resided in three of the City's twelve assembly districts.36

The 1930 census shows that from 1920 to 1930 blacks increasingly settled in white neighborhoods. The number of Negroes had doubled and the percentage of the total population was larger than it had ever been. In 1930, there were 38,894 Negroes, comprising 3.1 per cent of

34Bond, op. cit., pp. 76-77.
35De Graaf, op. cit., p. 335.
NEGRO POPULATION IN LOS ANGELES IN 1920

Assembly district

- more than 4000
- 2000-4000
- 500-1000
- Less than 500

Scale in Miles

Source: Compiled by author
NEGRO POPULATION IN LOS ANGELES IN 1930

Scale in Miles

Source: Compiled by author

Figure 7
the population of Los Angeles. Meanwhile, the total population of Los Angeles had increased from 576,673 to 1,238,048 \(^3\) (Table 5).

A comparison of Figures 6 and 7 indicates that, as the number of assembly districts decreased, Negroes became even more concentrated in the 62nd assembly district by 1930. Whites began to move out and built miles of residential tracts along the coast and in rural lands adjacent to the City. Blacks were barred from such expansion and had to absorb the influx into their existing community. The result was increased concentration, a deterioration of property values, and a less optimistic view of their community.

**Restrictive Covenants**

When substantial numbers of Negroes arrived in Los Angeles in the early twentieth century, they were chiefly relegated to the most menial and unskilled labor. This brought low income, poor living and sanitation conditions, high hospital rates, and above-average juvenile delinquency. Unfortunately, the Los Angeles community often interpreted these statistics on the basis of inherent racial characteristics rather than on the environmental conditions to which Negroes were assigned. This resulted in the restrictive racial covenant, a device which attempted to exclude any obnoxious intrusions upon the stature of a neighborhood. Until 1948, these covenants were the principal

TABLE 5

Negro Population By Assembly Districts,
Los Angeles, 1930

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Assembly district</th>
<th>Total population</th>
<th>Negro population</th>
<th>Per Cent of Negro population/district</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>51,636</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>74,398</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>0.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>109,955</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>33,522</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>123,752</td>
<td>590</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>91,340</td>
<td>849</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>73,538</td>
<td>2,880</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>110,875</td>
<td>913</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>81,672</td>
<td>830</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>76,503</td>
<td>27,227</td>
<td>35.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>64,843</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>80,443</td>
<td>1,092</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>20,506</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>67,283</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>72,884</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>0.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>104,898</td>
<td>3,500</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>1,238,048</td>
<td>38,894</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

method used by the real estate industry to maintain residentially segregated areas in Los Angeles and other American cities. 38

By 1910, the major factor governing the location of Negroes in Los Angeles was increasing restrictions to certain areas by Caucasians. Prior to this, forcible exclusion of blacks was confined to isolated acts, and there is little evidence of a sustained organized effort to confine blacks to certain neighborhoods. However, by World War I, the use of block protective association restrictions as well as individual deed covenants meant a more rigid and efficient era of residential segregation in Los Angeles. 39

Although discrimination in certain places of public accommodation was prohibited by state law in 1906, many Los Angeles restaurants and theaters flouted the law. And while schools had been integrated since the 1880's, school segregation was widely practiced in most Los Angeles communities. 40 Land developers realized that a homogeneous population and compatible land-use were essential, and to this end they devised appropriate deed restrictions. These restrictions not only prohibited occupancy by Negroes in most tracts, but also fixed minimum costs for houses. It was not just the influx of Negroes that threatened homogeneity, but whites felt so little attachment to the neighborhoods and devoid of any meaningful institutional ties. Thus, so long as the real


39 De Graaf, op. cit., p. 337.

estate market remained active, these people moved to the more prestigious suburbs in Los Angeles.\textsuperscript{41}

Residential segregation owed its success in part to support by the courts. In 1928, the California Supreme Court upheld neighborhood restrictive agreements\textsuperscript{42} even when Negroes had occupied the area and ruled that black families must vacate restricted properties.\textsuperscript{43} By 1930, the effect of such court decisions, restrictive covenants, and exclusion, was to contain nearly all Negroes to one assembly district (the 62nd), running along Central Avenue. So rigid had segregation become that the ghetto grew little during the 1930's, even though more blacks came to Los Angeles than in any previous decade.\textsuperscript{44}

\textsuperscript{41}\textcite{Fogelson, op. cit., pp. 145-146.}

\textsuperscript{42}Neighborhood restrictive agreements is a device whereby all the property owners on a given block would come together and form a protective association to restrict buying and selling of homes.

\textsuperscript{43}\textcite{De Graaf, op. cit., p. 349.}

\textsuperscript{44}\textcite{Ibid.}
CHAPTER III

RAILWAYS AND NEGRO SETTLEMENT IN LOS ANGELES

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the influence of the railways in affecting Negro settlement patterns in Los Angeles. The impact of the railways on the Negro communities at various time periods will be examined in detail. The settlement patterns of Negroes to be examined in this chapter are in the south central portion of the City of Los Angeles. The area of this study, because of changes in ward and assembly district boundaries, has not remained static through time. The precise spatial extent of the area is, however, of secondary importance; more fundamental are (1) the patterns of Negro settlement, and (2) the locational factors of Negroes in that portion of urban Los Angeles.

Data Sources and Procedure

Although Negroes can be located within a ward or an assembly district, exact block and street locations are almost impossible to discern. The 1880 census materials were helpful, as street locations of Negroes were given for that period, but at that time there were only 102 Negroes living in Los Angeles. Small, yet notable settlements are discernible for 1880, but substantive conclusions cannot be drawn on
the growth of these areas until later census materials are released. Lack of information on street addresses and names presented a major problem establishing precise locational situations. Other criteria had to be used.

The Negro has been allowed acculturation by law, while on the other hand, he has been denied acculturation by our society. Certain social and economic institutions thus can be identified with Negroes. Three are most important for the study period: (1) the Negro church, (2) Negro occupational patterns, and (3) Negro recreational and commercial areas. The location of Negro churches and occupational areas can be determined with a fair degree of accuracy. Recreational and commercial areas are used rather than social space which has much broader applications and is out of the range of analysis for the purposes of this study. Social space overlaps with the church and occupational patterns, and is view multidimensional. By Negro recreational and commercial areas are meant areas that Negroes would travel to for social reasons such as other Negro communities, and recreational and entertainment areas. Recreational and commercial areas can not be determined at decade intervals as with churches and occupational areas, but may be established at various years within the period 1890 to 1930.

Each of these institutions can be mapped along with railway patterns for various periods. These maps can then provide the basis for

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45 There is a ninety year non-disclosure law before census data with names and addresses can be released. For example, 1890 census data giving names and addresses will be released in 1980.
analyses of railway growth patterns and the degree of availability to existing Negro institutions. This approach is necessary as statistical data concerning Negroes and the specific use of the railways is practically nonexistent.

Negro Churches and Railway Patterns

Perhaps the most powerful institution in the Negro's world from 1890 to 1930 was the church. Barred as he was from many areas of social and political life, the Negro turned more and more to the church for self-expression, recognition, and leadership. Nothing in his world was so completely his own as his church. As Negroes migrated to the cities, old denominations increased in membership, and new denominations sprang up. It was an exhilarating experience for Negroes to participate in the ownership and control of their own institutions. It stimulated their pride and preserved the self-respect of many who had been humiliated in their efforts to adjust themselves in American life. The lack of opportunities for Negroes to participate fully in the affairs of other institutions caused many to concentrate their energies and attention on the church. Religious services offered opportunities for social intercourse as well as spiritual uplift.46

Los Angeles was no exception, and Negro churches stimulated a high degree of unanimity among blacks. Figures 8 through 12 show the location of the major Negro churches by decade from 1890 to 1930, and

MAJOR NEGRO CHURCHES AND EXISTING RAILWAY LINES IN LOS ANGELES IN 1890

--- Los Angeles Railway

▲ Negro Churches

Source: Compiled by author

Figure 8
MAJOR NEGRO CHURCHES AND EXISTING RAILWAY LINES IN LOS ANGELES IN 1900

LOS ANGELES RAILWAY
△ NEGRO CHURCHES

Source: Compiled by author

Figure 9
MAJOR NEGRO CHURCHES AND EXISTING RAILWAY LINES IN LOS ANGELES IN 1910

- Los Angeles Railway
- Negro Churches

Source: Compiled by author

Figure 10
MAJOR NEGRO CHURCHES AND EXISTING RAILWAY LINES IN LOS ANGELES IN 1920

Source: Compiled by author

Figure 11
MAJOR NEGRO CHURCHES AND EXISTING RAILWAY LINES IN LOS ANGELES IN 1930

Figure 12

Source: Compiled by author
railway lines. In 1890 the Second Baptist Church on Maple Avenue and the First African Methodist Episcopal Church at 8th Street and Towne Avenue were the only Negro churches in Los Angeles (Figure 8). These two churches served a Negro population of 1,258 that resided between Temple Street and Sixth Street to the north. The Second Baptist Church was particularly popular with a membership of 234.⁴⁷ It should be noted that both churches were located in the center of the beginning intrarurban railway system. Other than horse and buggy, the cable and trolley cars of the Los Angeles Railway Company provided transportation for the majority of the Negro population.

By 1900 three more Negro churches were built: the Mt. Zion Baptist Church, the Tabernacle Baptist Church, and the Azusa Street Mission (Figure 9), and the Negro population had increased to 2,131. The Mt. Zion Baptist Church was located on 3rd Street in the area with the largest Negro population. The Azusa Street Mission was located on Azusa Street, an area that served both Negroes and whites, and soon became the most sought-after religious center in the City. Both of these churches were located along Los Angeles Railway Company lines, providing easy access to and from the center of the City.⁴⁸

An increasing Negro population during the decades of 1910 and 1920 resulted in the growth of seven new major Negro churches in the City plus many smaller splinter churches and new denominations that had

⁴⁷Charlotta A. Bass; Forty Years, Los Angeles, 1960, p. 18.
⁴⁸Ibid.
separated from the older denominations. Figures 10 and 11 show that these new churches continued to be built between Main Street and Central Avenue, and between 7th and 24th Streets. During this period the intraurban railways also had the largest growth. In 1910 the Los Angeles Railway, stimulated by a close connection with real estate development, made many extensions until the system comprised 344 miles of track and 550 cars.49

By 1930, ten major Negro churches had been built in Los Angeles: the African Methodist Church, Mason Chapel, the Second Baptist Church, the Tabernacle Baptist Church, the New Hope Church, the Westminster Presbyterian Church, the Christian Church, The Mission of St. Philip, Wesley Chapel, and the Azusa Street Apostolic Faith Mission (Figure 12). A number of smaller churches had also been built during this period. Concerning these early Negro churches, Bass stated: "The early church was not only a place of worship; it was likewise the social, civic, and political headquarters where the people assembled for spiritual guidance, and civic analyses, political discussions, and social welfare talks and lectures."50

As an institution, the church was an important element for the early Negro communities in Los Angeles. These churches were, for the most part, located near Central Avenue and between First Street and Washington Boulevard. This area was extensively served by the Los


50 Bass, op. cit., p. 21.
Los Angeles Railway and the Pacific Electric Railway. These lines also penetrated out to other communities, both black and white.

While there were few extensions of the Los Angeles Railway from 1910 to 1925, the number of cars operating doubled. An era of high prices followed World War I causing severe financial losses, and the management was faced with the alternative of rendering important operating economies or increasing the fare. The former course was chosen, and in 1920 a radical change in routing was made, which resulted in economies in operation and made possible the continuance of a five-cent fare. The marked increase in population in the area served by the various lines enabled the company to provide service without increasing the rate of fare. The major portion of the Negro community in Los Angeles was served by the lines of the Los Angeles Railway by 1920 (Figure 11). In 1925 it operated 370 miles of single track and 1,172 passenger cars, and also twenty miles of bus routes and forty-two buses. During the year 1924 the street railway lines operated by the Los Angeles Railway carried 250,195,588 revenue and 96,017,853 transfer passengers, a total of 346,213,241, while the bus lines, most of which were established in 1923 to supplement the street railway service, carried 2,203,685 revenue and 1,155,921 transfer passengers, a total of 3,361,606.51

Between 1900 and 1920 the major lines of the Pacific Electric Railway, as well as those of its constituent companies, were built. By

1920, the system formed a network of city, suburban, and interurban standard gauge trolley lines evolved from narrow and standard gauge horse car, cable, steam, and electric lines (Figure 11). The total number of passengers carried on this system for the year 1923 was 106,963,592, consisting of 100,073,544 revenue and 6,890,048 transfer passengers. The Pacific Electric Railway was, for the most part, an interurban electric railway carrying passengers from downtown Los Angeles to San Bernardino, Santa Monica, Redondo Beach, San Pedro, the San Fernando Valley, and other outlying suburbs. The system also brought passengers to the City. In 1923 it operated approximately 1,114 miles of single track, and 4,000 cars of which 879 were passenger cars. At this time, it also operated 164 miles of bus routes and 125 motor buses, providing an intraurban service, and serving as feeders to the rail lines.52

The influence of these railway lines and the church can be summarized as follows. Because of the many needs for the church, the existence of a complex intraurban railway system, and the low fares offered by the railways, a linear extension of residential area followed. The church became a focal point, and the communities around them ultimately expanded and connected with other communities. Thus, railway transportation to the Negro church and the Negro communities helped to close the spatial gap between the two.

Negro Occupations and Railway Patterns

There were many reasons for Negroes to settle in Los Angeles, but the attraction for most was economic. The migrants were neither markedly elite nor proletarian, but they were optimistic about their ability to make a better life for themselves. De Graaf states: "Typical was the civil servant who attributed his decision to move from Georgia in 1904 to a series of contacts he had with persons who had been to California and found it was a place to make more and easier money." 53 Quite a few Negroes did have money, and were intent on investing in California lands. De Graaf further states: "Above all, commentators refer to the enterprising nature of the black population and the ability of those who came with very modest means to acquire considerable wealth." 54 While a great many Negroes brought money, however, the large majority had their determination to succeed as their only capital.

Employment conditions for Negroes in Los Angeles from their earliest settlement to the evolution of the black ghetto showed signs of discrimination and poverty. Many Negroes held service jobs, and the influx of whites created a market for more such jobs, especially a demand for servants. From the late nineteenth century to the 1920's most Negroes held jobs such as common laborers, janitors, porters, and domestic servants. Less than five per cent of the males were in


54 Ibid., p. 332.
business or the professions. These jobs were not always an accurate reflection of educational or previous employment levels, as many migrants, who had worked as teachers or skilled laborers in other states, accepted lower status jobs in Los Angeles out of necessity.55

Negroes from the start were restricted to certain types of employment. Los Angeles did not have as many industrial jobs as northeastern cities, and Negroes were largely relegated to the position of laborer. They received some jobs as chauffeurs and draymen, but were virtually excluded from the more prestigious positions in transportation. The United States Census for 1930 showed that 2,194 Negroes (approximately seventeen per cent of the total Los Angeles Negro population) were employed in transportation in Los Angeles. Of this seventeen per cent, approximately twenty per cent (407) were employed directly by the railways as unskilled workers, porters, and laborers.56 Most Negroes who worked on the railway received low wages. Wage rates, however, for even the most menial jobs were high by southern standards, a porter's position returning four or five times what many Negroes made in farming.57 The most significant restriction was their absence from retail trade and non-professional white collar jobs, the largest area of employment in the city. In 1910 there were 6,177 store salesmen,


57De Graaf, op. cit., p. 343.
of whom eight were Negro; in 1920 Los Angeles had 11,341 salesmen, twenty-eight of whom were Negro. In 1929 approximately two hundred stores were operated by Negroes in Los Angeles, with a net sales of approximately two million dollars. The number of employees averaged one and one-half per store. Grocery stores, automotive stores, restaurants, and cigar stores and cigar stands were the leading Negro retail establishments.

Los Angeles lagged behind many other cities in the United States in the jobs it offered Negroes, especially during the 1910-1920 period. In most other major cities, the percentage of Negroes, males and females, holding industrial jobs sharply increased. In Los Angeles, however, the percentage of Negroes holding industrial jobs declined during the decade, and their overall job status by 1920 was more similar to that of northern cities before the Great Migration than after World War I. This occupational pattern was not the result of a lack of skill on the part of Negroes, for college graduates, teachers, and other professional men were found holding custodial jobs. It was rather the result of extensive competition from European and Mexican immigrants and discrimination on the part of employers. Negroes were also restricted to the lower rungs of public service work, though they

58 De Graaf, op. cit., p. 342.


secured a disproportionate share of some of these jobs. In 1912 a Georgia migrant was given the position of head of the janitors' department of Los Angeles County; by 1920 he had expanded the janitor's staff from 35 to 178, nearly all of them Negro. Los Angeles was ahead of many cities in opening some public service positions to Negroes. The first Negro policeman was hired before 1900, and 23 served the Los Angeles Police Department by 1920. Los Angeles was also one of the first major cities to employ Negroes in its fire department. But efforts of Negro women to gain jobs as nurses in the County Hospital during World War I caused threats of resignation by white nurses and employment came only after a series of legal battles.

In a 1919 survey of Negro families in Los Angeles it was found that they averaged only two-thirds of the United States government minimum family income. An important emendable factor, however, was the opportunity to buy land and houses at a low price, either for personal use, or for resale in the boom of urban expansion that prevailed through much of this period. De Graaf describes the scene:

This 'bungalow boom' was particularly noticeable in the Central Avenue area where most of the houses were four or five room 'California cottage' which were advertised at prices ranging from $900 to $2500 and usually sold for $100 to $200 down with monthly payments of $20.

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62 Ibid.
64 De Graaf, op. cit., p. 343.
65 Ibid.
Many Negroes of modest means and occupation found these homes quite desirable.

The period from 1920 to 1930 was in many ways the reverse of the previous decade in the Los Angeles Negro ghetto, for the 'bungalow boom' had ended. This change was partly rooted in the volume of migration to Los Angeles. The Negro community experienced growth of unprecedented magnitude during the 1920's. Its population increased from 15,579 to nearly 39,000 (250 per cent), while the City of Los Angeles as a whole grew from 576,000 to nearly one and a quarter million (217 per cent). Negroes entering the city met a pattern of racial discrimination and restrictive employment opportunities that differed little from conditions in earlier decades. Employment patterns continued to be little different with most women employed in domestic service, and service work and common labor being the leading areas of male employment.66

The extent of employment did not change significantly from 1890 to 1930. Table 6 shows the extent of employment among those persons ten years of age and over in 1930. On the basis of this data several observations may be made. The figures show that the Negro in 1930 had the highest employment percentage. This is also true when females are separately considered. In the per cent distribution of those gainfully occupied, the Negro had a percentage of 3.7 of the City's total. Of the total population ten years of age and over, the Negro was 3.1 per

66De Graaf, op. cit., p. 343.
TABLE 6

Number And Proportion Of Persons Ten Years And Older 
Gainfully Occupied In Los Angeles, By Race, 1930

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Native white</th>
<th>Foreign-born white</th>
<th>Negro</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Male</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number</td>
<td>367,068</td>
<td>93,619</td>
<td>15,709</td>
<td>527,097</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gainfully occupied</td>
<td>285,086</td>
<td>76,739</td>
<td>12,901</td>
<td>417,348</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Female</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number</td>
<td>400,700</td>
<td>86,118</td>
<td>17,942</td>
<td>545,583</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gainfully occupied</td>
<td>124,260</td>
<td>21,944</td>
<td>8,454</td>
<td>163,385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total number</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number</td>
<td>767,768</td>
<td>179,737</td>
<td>33,651</td>
<td>1,072,680</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gainfully occupied</td>
<td>409,346</td>
<td>101,683</td>
<td>21,355</td>
<td>580,733</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Per Cent distribution</strong> of gainfully occupied</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>68.3</td>
<td>19.1</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>76.1</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>70.5</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Vol. IV, p. 188.
cent. The figures also indicate that the percentage of Negro employment is commensurate with the population percentage. This, of course, does not take into account the economic status of the group under discussion.

The major employment areas for Negroes from 1900 to 1930 are shown in Figures 13, 14, 15, and 16. The location of major areas of employment by 1930 were in the central business district and along Alameda Street and Santa Fe Avenue. There were also some light industries along Jefferson Street, Exposition Boulevard, and Slauson Avenue that employed Negroes. All of these industries were along major lines of the Los Angeles Railway and the Pacific Electric Railway. Also, the Southern Pacific Railway served those industries along Alameda Avenue, and the Santa Fe Railway served those industries along Slauson Avenue, although these lines were mainly freight lines.

The most complex network of rail lines was the Los Angeles Railway, for it served practically every industry in the study area, not to mention those industries that employed Negroes. From Macy Street, to the north, to Slauson Avenue to the south, the Los Angeles Railway was not more than two blocks away from any person who wanted to use it (Figures 14, 15, 16). The Pacific Electric Railway was more of an interurban line; but it too had an extensive network of lines in downtown Los Angeles, and also served the black communities along Exposition Boulevard and Compton Avenue and Central Avenue. It also intersected with the Los Angeles Railway lines providing an interchange of lines.
MAJOR EMPLOYMENT AREAS FOR NEGROES IN LOS ANGELES IN 1900

- Los Angeles Railway
- Major Industrial Areas employing Negroes
- Service-type Employment Areas employing Negroes

Source: Compiled by author

Figure 13
MAJOR EMPLOYMENT AREAS FOR NEGROES IN LOS ANGELES IN 1910

- Pacific Electric Railway
- Los Angeles Railway
- Major Industrial Areas employing Negroes
- Service-type Employment Areas employing Negroes

Source: Compiled by author

Figure 14
MAJOR EMPLOYMENT AREAS FOR NEGROES IN LOS ANGELES IN 1920

Source: Compiled by author

Figure 15
MAJOR EMPLOYMENT AREAS FOR NEGROES IN LOS ANGELES IN 1930

Source: Compiled by author

Figure 16
Within the study area, the time required to travel from Slauson Avenue to downtown Los Angeles, for example, was not more than twenty minutes by the Los Angeles Railway in 1920, and the cost was five cents. Similarly, to travel from Jefferson Street or Adams Street to industries and employment areas along Slauson Avenue would have taken ten to twenty minutes and cost five cents. In fact, by 1924, the entire study area was within the five cent fare zone for the Los Angeles Railway and within the six cent fare zone for the Pacific Electric Railway.67

In the 1920's the heaviest railway passenger movement within the study area, from Washington Street to the north to Slauson Avenue to the south occurred. The daily movement in 1925 from 6 A.M. to 10 A.M. and from 3 P.M. to 6 P.M. was 32,550 passengers, which was 15.6 per cent of the total street railway movement in Los Angeles.68

The Negro needed an inexpensive means of transportation to get him to his job; most Negroes were paid small wages, and certainly not enough to purchase cars. Industries and other major employment areas that employed Negroes were well served by a complex network of railway lines that allowed Negroes to be employed and live within any part of the study area.

67 Report On A Comprehensive Rapid Transit Plan For The City And County Of Los Angeles, op. cit., plates 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, and 17.
68 Ibid., p. 72.
Negro Recreational and Commercial Areas and Railway Patterns

It is apparent that a culture value system is partially responsible for the manner in which space is used by Negroes within the community. This is most exemplified by travel to other Negro communities, and recreational and commercial areas. The condition and physical appearance of these areas, and the specific uses to which neighborhood commercial facilities are devoted, emphatically acknowledge the cultural influence upon the urban landscape.

The increases of the Negro population in Los Angeles from 1890 to 1930 were accompanied by attitude changes on the part of both whites and Negroes. Before the Negro migrants came to Los Angeles in large numbers, members of the group interacted more or less freely with the whites. Whites assumed the role of leadership. As the population grew, however, Negroes moved in increasingly large numbers to areas already occupied by members of their own race, and gradually began to predominate in these sections; thus calling attention to their presence. This concentration led to isolation in separate communities. Further, this lessened the opportunities for interaction between whites and Negroes and lengthened the familiarity already existing. Later movements of the Negro out of these established did not ameliorate the condition; rather these movements into white areas were looked upon as intrusions and further aggravated the situation. Conflict situations resulted with these movements. This ultimately led to new distance and nearness relationships, a paradox growing out of the process of
accommodation. Both the Negro and the white had to accommodate themselves to new social situations. In some instances, long distance between the two groups became shortened; while in others, the intimacy existing between some whites and Negroes created new antagonisms with other whites in the same community. 69

As the result of a "place" situation accompanied by a low status rating, the Negro was socially distant from the more refined white society. Numerous social gatherings furnished opportunities for the satisfaction of thwarted desires. Attitudes towards this were emphasized to such an extent that status among Negroes could be readily gained by expenditures of time and money.

The railways, both the Los Angeles and the Pacific Electric, from their earliest lines served most major Negro commercial and recreational areas (Figure 17). The Weekly Observer, the first Negro newspaper in Los Angeles, was located on what is now Market Street at the junction of the Southern Pacific and Santa Fe Railways. 70 Stated in 1887, this newspaper was surely carried up and down Alameda Street and into Calles de los Negros, an early night club area for Negroes. A cultural center for Negroes at 3rd Street and Traction Avenue stated in 1910 was served both by the Los Angeles Railway and the Pacific Electric Railway.

A Negro night club area had established itself between 1st Street and Washington Boulevard in the 1920's. It gained a reputation not

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70 Los Angeles Times, November 8, 1971.
MAJOR NEGRO COMMERCIAL AND RECREATIONAL AREAS, 1887-1930

Source: Compiled by author

Figure 17
only for entertainment, but also for crime and violence.71 It too was served extensively by the interurban and intraurban railways. The first Negro commercial area in 1910, between 1st Street and 3rd Street, was located in perhaps the most complex web of lines of the Los Angeles Railway.72

These were just a few of the major recreational and commercial areas for the Negro between 1890 and 1930. The railway, particularly the intraurban lines, was an important means of transportation to these areas, allowing for social intercourse for the Negro about his growing community.

**Summary**

An analysis of Figures 8 through 17 suggests the rail lines of Los Angeles have been an important means of transportation for the Negro community from 1890 to 1930. As Negro institutions such as the church, occupational patterns, and recreational and commercial areas established themselves, the rail lines of the Los Angeles Railway and the Pacific Electric Railway continued to grow to meet the needs of these institutions and the Negro community. Just exactly to what extent the Negro used the railway during these years cannot accurately be determined, but the location of these socio-cultural institutions, the growth of the Negro communities between 1890 and 1930, and the availability of the existing rail lines to the Negro community and its institutions establish the railway as an important integrative factor.

71 Bond, op. cit., p. 320.

72 De Graaf, op. cit., p. 335.
CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

By 1930 restrictive covenants and intimidation had checked further expansion of Negro settlement in Los Angeles. The Negro ghetto had reached Slauson Avenue, and further movement south stopped until the Second World War. Substantial expansion of Negroes into adjacent neighborhoods of central Los Angeles also ended. Exclusion from outlying areas meant that nearly all Negroes in Los Angeles lived in an area whose population was becoming predominantly Negro. In 1950, out of fourteen assembly districts, one (the 62nd), running along Central Avenue, had seventy per cent of the City's Negro population.73

Summary of Factors

In 1890 the Negro population in Los Angeles was 1,258, representing 2.5 per cent of a total population of 49,137. The Negro population remained small in 1900 as it totaled only 2,131. From the beginning of the twentieth century, however, rapid increases in both the white and black populations occurred. In 1930, constituting 3.1 per cent of the total population of Los Angeles (1,238,048), the Negro population was 38,394.

There was no well-defined Negro community in Los Angeles until
the latter part of the nineteenth century. The first community seems
to have had its inception around First Street and Los Angeles Street.
In the early part of the twentieth century, Negroes lived in every ward
and assembly district; however, they were not widely spread over every
part of the city, but were confined to a small area or perhaps to one
street within each district. The formation of Negro communities seems
to be the result of segregation, invasion, and succession. The inva-
sions of white communities were accompanied by intense racial feeling.
Several isolated Negro settlements sprang up in widely separated areas
where there was cheap land. Around these communities populations
clustered, giving them rather well-defined boundaries. In the 1920's
invasions of the surrounding white communities led to legal battles,
growing out of the block and deed restrictions placed by whites upon
their property.

In the occupations, the Negro had little chance of raising his
economic level. The Negro in Los Angeles was employed primarily as an
unskilled worker. There were two factors contributing largely to this
condition; namely, the lack of training and experience in skilled work
and, second, the operation of the mores, tradition, and public opinion
against the Negro in Los Angeles.

The Negro church in Los Angeles was a means of control and an
avenue of escape. Status was frequently attached to the church. The
church provided for its members opportunities for the gratification of
basic wishes, recognition, and new experience. The Negro church in
Los Angeles was a social institution around which the divergent
elements of the population became organized and stabilized.

Negro recreational and commercial areas were determined by isolation, interaction, competition, conflict, and antagonism. This was represented by the structural qualities of the community, its ideas, attitudes and the technical abilities of its inhabitants. Numerous social gatherings were thus encouraged resulting in culture centers, night club avenues, and commercial and recreational centers.

Conclusions

Many factors were involved in the formation of the Los Angeles Negro ghetto: prejudice, law, economic, and social. For the most part, these are the intangible expressions of segregation. One of the more tangible factors involved was the complex network of rail lines and the services they provided for the Los Angeles Negro. This is seen by comparing various maps of Negro settlement, institutional factors, and the accompanying railway service at various time intervals.

Negro settlement patterns, compared at decade intervals from 1890 to 1930, showed early dispersed settlements in 1890 to a clustered pattern in 1930. In 1900 the Negro population, although still highly dispersed throughout the city, showed increasing populations in almost all of the black communities. By 1910, the Negro ghetto showed its first signs of coalescence. This pattern continued through 1920, when a distinctive ghetto area could be discerned. By 1930, the term segregation could be rigidly applied to the Negro community.

Negro churches were located from 1890 to 1930, for the most part, in the center of the Negro community of 1930. The early churches,
particularly those formed from 1890 to 1910, showed considerable distances from the Negro communities of the period. From 1910 to 1930, distances between the church and the black community became less of a problem because of a well-connected railway system. Railway lines throughout the entire period showed a notable degree of co-occurrence with church locations and population patterns.

Major employment areas for Negroes in 1900 were located in the center of the study area. This central location continued through 1930, with employment areas becoming larger and moving in a southward direction. Population patterns for the same period showed early settlements surrounding many of the major employment areas. As the employment areas grew, so did the Negro communities, with almost complete coalescence of the two patterns in 1930. Railway lines served both the employment areas and the population areas favorably from 1900 to 1930.

Major Negro commercial and recreational areas were located from 1890 to 1930 in the "heart" of the Negro community that existed in 1930. Early population patterns tended to surround these areas, but gradually, as with Negro churches and employment areas, distance became less of a problem as the communities began to coalesce with time. Railway lines also served major commercial and recreational areas and the growing population with a high degree of co-occurrence from 1890 to 1930.

Negroes in Los Angeles had many institutional focal areas that resulted in a means to an end, segregation. The Los Angeles railway system was but one of the many "systems" operating that brought the
In contact with these institutions. But the high degree of co-
occurrence of the railway lines with Negro settlement and the
locational pattern of Negro institutions indicates that the railways
were much more important as an integrative agent than normally would
be expected.

This thesis has touched on a relatively new area of research in
the geography of Negroes in Los Angeles. The early settlement patterns
of Negroes in Los Angeles and the many factors involved have been
examined in a sketchy manner. It is hoped that in the future more
studies can be done on the subject, particularly from a historical
point of view. Urban and historical geographers should "dig" into the
archives and develop better approaches to the analysis of the early
dispersed settlement patterns, and the clustering factors that resulted
in the present day ghetto formation. New approaches would reveal not
only the elements involved in the development of the Los Angeles Negro
ghetto, but would suggest new proposals for other ghetto studies.
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