

LOS ANGELES CITYWIDE HISTORIC CONTEXT STATEMENT

Context: Filipino Americans in Los Angeles, 1903-1980



Prepared for:
City of Los Angeles
Department of City Planning
Office of Historic Resources



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PURPOSE AND SCOPE

In 2016, the City of Los Angeles Office of Historic Resources (OHR) received an Underrepresented Communities grant from the National Park Service to develop a National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form (MPDF) and associated historic contexts for five Asian American communities in Los Angeles: Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Thai, and Filipino. This “Thai Americans in Los Angeles” context was developed as part of the grant project and to contribute to the Citywide Historic Context Statement developed for SurveyLA.

While this context provides a framework for identifying and evaluating properties relating to Thai American history in Los Angeles, it is not intended to be a comprehensive history of the Thai American community. Rather this context provides a chronological approach to this history and focuses on themes and geographic areas associated with important extant resources.¹ The context narrative is followed by a section that identifies the relevant property types associated with themes presented, and includes a discussion of their significance and eligibility standards (Appendix A). This context has been used to complete the MPDF form, which is similar in content. However, while the MPDF focuses on resources that meet eligibility standards for listing in the National Register, this context also addresses resources that meet eligibility standards for listing in the California Register of Historic Places and designation under the Los Angeles Cultural Heritage Ordinance (Historic-Cultural Monuments) and Historic Preservation Overlay Zone Ordinance (HPOZs).²

CONTRIBUTORS

Consultant Team

The Filipinos in Los Angeles historic context statement was prepared by architectural historian M. Rosalind Sagara. With expertise in the history of Asian Americans and the urban built environment, Rosalind brings a deep understanding of the contributions of Asian Americans to the city of Los Angeles. She holds a Master’s degree in Heritage Conservation from the University of Southern California. Research assistance was also provided by David Castro, Getty Undergraduate Intern to the OHR.

Project Advisory Committee and Community Outreach

As part of the scope of work for the NPS grant referenced above, the OHR organized a project Advisory Committee (Committee) to work with the grant consultant team. Participants included key leaders in the Asian American community representing a wide range of interests, organizations, and institutions as well as professors, lecturers, scholars, and writers of Asian American history. A full list of participants is attached as Appendix B. The Committee played a critical role in identifying important places associated

¹ The end date for SurveyLA is 1980 and may be extended over time. The National Register of Historic Places has a 50-year end date for properties to be listed unless they are of exceptional importance.

² For the National Register MPDF the term “Registration Requirements” is used in place of “Eligibility Standards.”

with each context and also advised on pertinent sources of research information. The Committee members also served as subject matter experts to review and comment on context drafts.

Following the first meeting of the Committee in November of 2016, the OHR organized a series of five community meetings in locations throughout Los Angeles. These working meetings (one for each associated context) also gave the community the opportunity to provide input on significant places to inform the contexts. In some cases, the outreach meetings led to one-on-one meetings with community members.

This Filipino American context has been greatly enhanced by the contributions of various individuals and organizations active within Los Angeles' Filipino American community. Notable among them are Joseph Bernardo, Ph.D.; Jean-Paul R. deGuzman, Ph.D.; Lorna Ignacio Dumapias; Gerald Gubatan; Carlene Sobrino Bonnavier; Florante Ibanez; Dulce Capadocia.

PREFACE

In the 1960s, the United States underwent significant social and cultural upheaval as many communities of color and other marginalized groups fought for civil rights and were involved in national and international movements for liberation. Grassroots organizing and landmark legislation like the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Voting Rights Act of 1965, and Immigration Act of 1965 reshaped the collective consciousness of communities of color. During this era, the Watts Riots in 1965 and the East Los Angeles Walkout (or Chicano Blowouts) in 1968 helped empower communities of color in Los Angeles, and across the nation.

By the late 1960s, Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino Americans formed a movement of their own—an Asian American movement. It was with the Black Liberation Movement, the Anti-War Movement against the Vietnam War, and Third World Liberation Front movement that the concept of Asian American was formed as a political identity. Young Asian Americans mobilized in their communities across the nation and in Los Angeles to fight U.S. imperialism and the unequal treatment of Asian Americans. In 1968, students of color across California organized and held strikes as part of the Third World Liberation Front. This movement was instrumental in creating and establishing Ethnic Studies as an academic discipline—and subsequent Asian American, African American, Chicano American, and Native American Studies—on college and university campuses. It was as part of this larger movement that the Asian American Studies Center at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) was established in 1969³ and Asian American community-based organizations were developed and strengthened to serve the community.

As community leaders, scholars, and leaders reflect on the past, it is fitting that the City of Los Angeles honor the historic and cultural contributions of Asian Americans. Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders have long and dynamic histories in shaping and continuing to shape the city. From the 1880s pioneering

³ Steve Louie and Glenn Omatsu, eds., *Asian Americans: The Movement and the Moment* (Los Angeles: University of California Los Angeles Asian American Studies Center Press, 2001).

Chinese American settlements, to more recent recognitions of historic and cultural ethnic neighborhoods like Historic Filipinotown and Thai Town, tourists and residents alike often pose questions about these places, their signs, and the importance of Asian Americans in the building of Los Angeles.

Asian Americans in Los Angeles Multiple Property Documentation Form

This *Asian Americans in Los Angeles* Multiple Property Documentation Form (MPDF) establishes a framework to guide the identification and designation of places significant to Los Angeles' Asian American communities. Geographically, the contexts cover the history and development of five Los Angeles neighborhoods that have been designated as Preserve America communities— Chinatown, Little Tokyo, Koreatown, Historic Filipinotown, and Thai Town—and also focus on other areas of the city in which these groups settled over time.

Topics covered by the contexts focus on extant resources associated with important individuals, organizations, businesses, industries, and movements. Themes addressed include commerce, religion and spirituality, health and medicine, deed restriction and segregation, community organizations, military history, media, cultural landscape, architecture.

While these five Asian American groups were the focus on this project, it is important to recognize the diversity within Asian American and Pacific Islander (AAPI). There are many other AAPI ethnic groups that have contributed and continue to contribute to the rich diversity of Los Angeles, including Pacific Islanders, South Asians, and Southeast Asians. This MPDF provides an opportunity to engage with City officials, community leaders, preservationists, scholars, and others to continue identifying and designating places that are important in telling both AAPI stories and all of the city's stories.

Asian Americans in Los Angeles

Each of the MPDF's five contexts discusses the dynamic waves of immigration and settlement patterns of Asian Americans in Los Angeles. Within each group, the power of place resonates as Asian Americans find places of residence, work, and community as Angelenos. With a long history of discrimination, displacement, and associated demolition of property, Asian Americans resisted and struggled to maintain a sense of identity, as well as their homes, businesses, and cultural institutions. Ethnic neighborhoods in Los Angeles like Old Chinatown and Little Tokyo were established in the early twentieth century while others including Koreatown, Historic Filipinotown, and Thai Town were formed as subsequent waves of immigrants and their families settled and laid roots in the city.

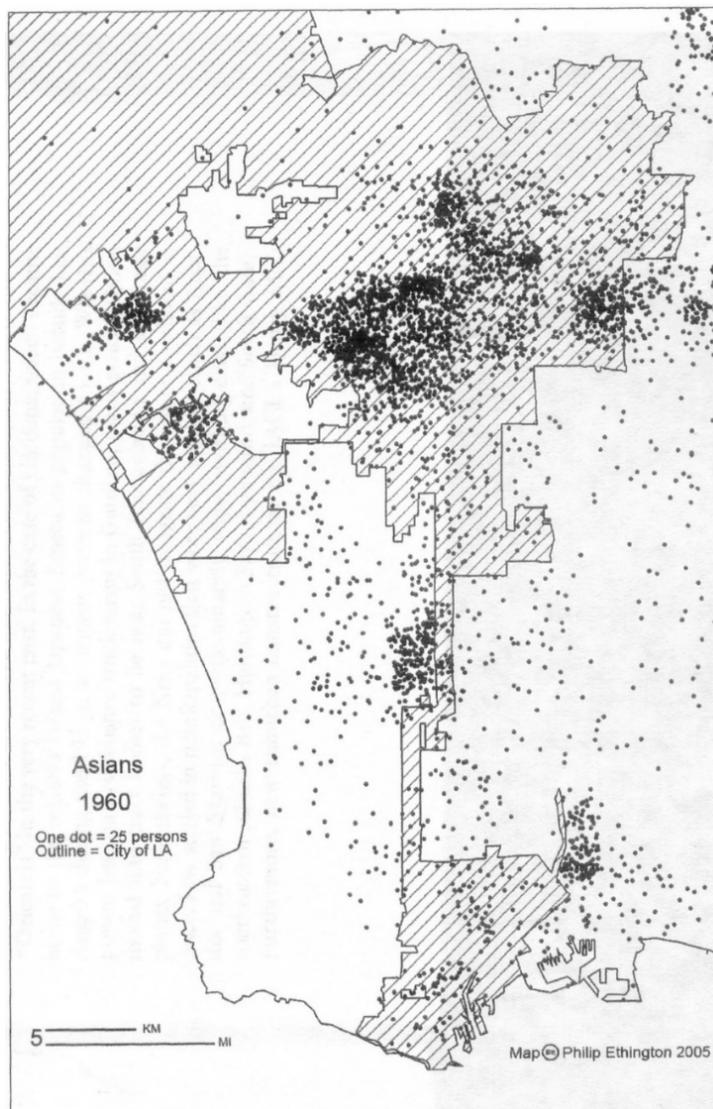
These settlements were never formed in isolation. Many Asian American settlements were shaped alongside other Asian Americans and communities of color, often due to discriminatory policies and practices that limited where they lived, worked, and sought a sense of community. Places important to Asian Americans in Los Angeles were often rendered in the margins to other Angelenos, and were nonetheless significant for finding a place to call home, be it a single-room occupancy hotel in Little

SurveyLA Citywide Historic Context Statement

Filipino Americans in Los Angeles, 1903-1980

Manila or Little Tokyo, an employment agency in Chinatown, or a church in Koreatown. As Asian immigrants or seasonal migrants came to Los Angeles, they sought out familiar places for economic opportunities, a place to stay, and places that reminded them of their homelands.

As subsequent generations of Asian Americans in Los Angeles grew in size, alongside continuous waves of new immigrants, the landscape of Los Angeles also evolved. The power of place for these groups in the city helped forge a growing sense of identity as Asian Americans. By the 1960s, the population of Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino Americans in the city grew beyond the early ethnic neighborhoods and into the suburbs. During this pivotal time, cultural and community institutions began to broaden their focus of serving new immigrants to include services for families, older adults, and youth. Other immigrants from across Asia and the Pacific followed in significant waves, reuniting families and drawing in new immigrants, carving out their own sense of place in this booming and diverse city.



*Dispersion of Asian Americans in Los Angeles, 1960
(Philip Ethington, USC, 2005)*

The Legacy of the Asian American Movement in Los Angeles

The term Asian American is a political construct born in the 1960s as Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino Americans (and other Asian ethnic groups) fought collectively for civil rights. In 1969, the Asian American Studies Center was established at UCLA in Campbell Hall. Community members, students, staff, and faculty sought to develop a center to bridge campus and community around the theme of liberative education and social justice. The Asian American Studies Center worked alongside three other ethnic studies research centers: the American Indian Studies Center, the Ralph J. Bunche Center for African American Studies (formerly Center for Afro-American Studies), and the Chicano Studies Research Center.

UCLA served as an active site for the development of Asian American Studies as a field of study. *Amerasia Journal* (established at Yale by Don Nakanishi and Lowell Chun-Hoon, moved to UCLA shortly after its start in 1971) became a leading journal for the field. The Center also saw the importance of fostering student projects like *Gidra*, founded in 1969 and “created alongside the rise of radical third world grassroots student coalitions, in addition to the Black Power movement and Civil Rights Movement. After being denied official recognition by the university, the students started publishing *Gidra* independently, using the university’s Asian American Studies Center as its headquarters.”⁴ Following its inception as a student newspaper, it moved to the Crenshaw area to be housed closer to L.A.’s Asian American community.⁵ One of the first Asian American Studies conferences was held in Los Angeles in 1971 with opening remarks by Congresswoman Patsy Mink, the first woman of color elected to Congress.⁶

The Center was also created to work closely with Asian American community organizations in Los Angeles. East West Players was founded in 1965 by Asian American artists Mako, Rae Creevey, Beulah Quo, Soon-Tek Oh, James Hong, Pat Li, June Kim, Guy Lee, and Yet Lock in the Pilgrim Church in Silver Lake. It was supported in its early stages at UCLA. East West Players is the nation’s longest-running professional theater of color and the largest producing organization of Asian American artistic work. Visual Communications is another Asian American cultural institution. Visual Communications was founded in 1970 by UCLA students Duane Kubo, Robert Nakamura, Alan Ohashi, and Eddie Wong to support Asian American film and media.⁷ It was initially housed and supported by the UCLA Asian American Studies Center. Both Visual Communications and East West Players have since moved to Little Tokyo in the historic Union Center for the Arts (formerly Japanese Union Church of Los Angeles).

⁴ Haivan V. Hoang, *Writing Against Racial Injury: The Politics of Asian American Student Rhetoric* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2015), 56–76.

⁵ Mike Murase, “Toward Barefoot Journalism,” *Gidra*, 6 (April 1974):1, 34–46.

⁶ Conference Proceedings of the First National Conference on Asian American Studies, Los Angeles, CA, April 1971.

⁷ Karen L. Ishizuka, *Serve the People: Making Asian America in the Long Sixties* (Verso Books, 2016), 159-160.

Chinese Americans in Los Angeles

Chinese Americans first settled in Los Angeles in the 1850s with its first permanent settlement centered near Los Angeles Plaza (El Pueblo de Los Angeles) and later referred to as Old Chinatown due to a series of subsequent settlements developed near or around downtown Los Angeles. The Chinese Americans in Los Angeles context discusses the settlement patterns of Chinese Americans while noting key contributions to the city's built environment and burgeoning economy. Chinatown, as it is known, has been studied as being shaped by economic and social dynamics of race, space, and power.⁸

One site of historic and cultural significance for Chinese Americans in Los Angeles is the Castelar Street School. Since 1969, the Asian Education Project (AEP), later known as the Asian American Tutorial Project (AATP)—with Asian American college students from UCLA, University of Southern California (USC), and Occidental College—has served Castellar Street School in Chinatown by tutoring low-income, immigrant, limited English proficiency elementary school students. Castelar Street School was the first school in the Los Angeles Unified School District to provide tri-lingual instruction in English, Spanish, and Chinese. It also housed the Chinatown branch library of the Los Angeles Public Library from 1977 to 2003.

Japanese Americans in Los Angeles

The history of Japanese Americans in Los Angeles dates back to 1869. Since then, shifting migratory, settlement, and development patterns have continued to be shaped by outside forces including discriminatory policies, redevelopment, and displacement as well as forces within, through cultural institutions, and small businesses. Little Tokyo is one of three remaining historic Japantowns (*Nihonmachi*) in California that survived the forced evacuation and incarceration of Japanese Americans in concentration camps during World War II and the demolition that occurred during urban renewal in the 1950s and 1960s. Japanese American institutions and services including community halls, language schools, Buddhist temples, Christian churches, markets, nurseries, and other nonprofit/cultural institutions have shaped Little Tokyo and other Japanese American settlements in Los Angeles.

The Union Center for the Arts, formerly known as the Japanese Union Church of Los Angeles, was established in 1918 as it merged three congregations: the Los Angeles Presbyterian Church (established in 1905), the Los Angeles Congregational Church (established in 1908), and the Japanese Bethlehem Congregational Church of Los Angeles (established by 1911). During World War II, President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066 on February 19, 1942, just a little more than two months after the bombing of Pearl Harbor. Shortly after, a series of Civilian Exclusion Orders were publicly posted all along the West Coast of the United States, notifying persons of Japanese ancestry of their impending forced removal. "Instructions to All Persons of Japanese Ancestry" were the infamous words seen at the top of the posters. The Union Church was listed as a designated reporting location for Japanese Americans in 1942; many were able to store their belongings in the building during their incarceration.

⁸ Jan Lin, "Los Angeles Chinatown: Tourism, Gentrification, and the Rise of an Ethnic Growth Machine," *Amerasia Journal* 34, no. 3, (2008): 110-125, doi:10.17953/amer.34.3.v545v63lpj1535p7.

Union Church has evolved from a place of worship to a center for Asian Americans arts and culture as home to East West Players and Visual Communications (established in 1970). The Union Center for the Arts is listed as part of the Little Tokyo Historic District, a National Historic Landmark.

Korean Americans in Los Angeles

Los Angeles has one of the largest Korean populations outside of the Korean peninsula with a notable Koreatown, home to hundreds of Korean- and Korean American-owned small businesses, churches, and community institutions. Although large-scale migration and settlement occurred in the aftermath of the 1965 Immigration Act, a historic and important Korean American community dates to the turn of the twentieth century when laborers arrived in Hawai'i in 1903. Soon after, migration continued to the continental United States, especially to California where Korean Americans worked as migrant farm labor and some became small business owners.⁹

The greater Los Angeles area has served as one of the hubs of Korean America for over a century. Koreatown experienced notable growth after World War II and the years that followed 1965. The 1992 Civil Unrest/Uprising/Riots marks a turbulent coming of age experience for the Korean American community. Layered beneath the contemporary and continually expanding borders of Koreatown are historic sites that have played a significant role in community life. One such site, located near USC, houses both the Korean Presbyterian Church of Los Angeles and the Korean National Association (KNA) building that share the same campus. The church dates to 1906, and is among the oldest Korean American congregations in the nation. The KNA building dedicated in 1938 serves as a testament to the independence movement that animated the struggles and hopes of the early Korean American community.

Filipino Americans in Los Angeles

The Filipino Americans in Los Angeles context traces the history of Filipino immigrants and subsequent generations in the city from 1903 to 1980. It spans from the arrival of the first known Filipino Americans in Los Angeles to subsequent movement of Filipino Americans in the city as shaped by immigration policies and discriminatory policies as well as community institutions. The context focuses on historical themes based on residential settlement patterns, economic activity, and the growth of cultural institutions including cultural centers, small businesses, service agencies, and churches.

What is known as Historic Filipinotown is influenced by earlier settlements of Filipino Americans in the Downtown area.¹⁰ From Little Manila to Bunker Hill to Temple-Beaudry, these were places that immigrants and seasonal migrants knew to go to for services, culture, and a sense of community. Royal "Uncle Roy" Morales can trace his family's roots to the Filipino Christian Church as his father immigrated to Los Angeles from the Philippines as a *pensionado* (scholar) and Christian missionary. Uncle Roy's

⁹ Bong Youn Choy, *Koreans in America* (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1979). For general background on Korean American history.

¹⁰ Michelle G. Magalong, "The Search for Filipino American Place(s) in Los Angeles," *UCLA Critical Planning Journal* 10 (2003):13–23.

father, Silvestre Morales, helped establish the Filipino Christian Fellowship on First and San Pedro Streets in 1928, then Filipino Christian Church (the first in the nation) in 1933.¹¹ The church was first established in the Bunker Hill area of Downtown and later moved to 301 North Union Street. The Filipino Christian Church, under the leadership of Uncle Roy, served as a cultural hub as it incubated other community institutions like Search to Involve Pilipino Americans, Pilipino American Reading Room and Library, and Filipino Cultural School.

Thai Americans in Los Angeles

From the first known arrival of Thai Americans to Los Angeles in the 1950s to the designation of Thai Town in East Hollywood in 1999, this community has been shaped by the city's growth and development in key areas like the entertainment industry and the culinary industry. Thai American community settlement patterns are traced through commercial development and foodways, notably with Thai restaurants that date to the 1970s.¹² When Thais arrived in Los Angeles, they reinvented and repackaged Thai food in various ways to meet the rising popularity of Thai cuisine in urban and suburban areas.¹³ Thai immigration and settlement patterns, identities, and community structure has changed in a relatively short period of time in Los Angeles. This is seen in the city's built environment and through the establishment of Thai American culinary tourism and community identity. Institutions like Thai Community Development Center and Wat Thai were developed to meet the needs of the growing Thai American communities in Los Angeles.¹⁴

Bangkok Market opened its doors in 1971 in East Hollywood, established by Thai immigrant Pramorte "Pat" Tilakamonkul as the first Thai and Southeast Asian market in the United States. It provided Thai ingredients to a growing population of Thai Americans in Los Angeles in the 1960s and 70s. Before the existence of Bangkok Market, it was difficult to find Thai ingredients in the U.S. due to strict import policies. Tilamonkul and his business partners brokered deals with import/export companies to allow Thai ingredients to be imported in the country.¹⁵ Bangkok Market also served as a de facto community center for Thai immigrants in Los Angeles.

¹¹ Royal F. Morales, *Makibaka: The Pilipino American Struggle* (Los Angeles: Mountainview Publishers, 1974).

¹² In this document, foodways refers to eating habits and culinary practices as it relates to Asian Americans in Los Angeles.

¹³ Mark Padoongpatt, *Flavors of Empire: Food and the Making of Thai America* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2017).

¹⁴ Chanchanit Martorell, *Images of America: Thais in Los Angeles* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2011).

¹⁵ Padoongpatt, *Flavors of Empire*.

Preserving Los Angeles's Asian America

This MPDF documents five Asian American ethnic groups that have shaped the built environment and cultural landscape of Los Angeles. While little to date is documented or designated as historic landmarks or monuments under city, state, or federal programs, the MPDF provides an overview of the historic and cultural contributions of Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Filipino, and Thai Americans in Los Angeles.

Each of the five contexts provides great encouragement on reflection of the fifty years since the birth of “Asian America” and the subsequent efforts by these Los Angeles communities to create, preserve, and sustain historic and cultural roots. The MPDF serves as a platform through which communities can continue identifying, documenting, and preserving places, histories, and stories, within the five communities covered by this document, and across other AAPI ethnic groups that form part of Los Angeles’ vast and diverse landscape.

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HISTORIC CONTEXT

Introduction

This historic context examines the migration, settlement, and development patterns of Filipino Americans in Los Angeles from 1903 to 1980, spanning the arrival of the first known Filipino Americans in Los Angeles, through the eventual demise of Little Manila in the 1950s, and growth of the Filipino communities of Temple-Beverly and Wilmington in the postwar years through the 1970s.

Though Little Manila in Downtown was a major cultural center for Filipino settlers in Los Angeles from the 1920s to the 1940s, most of it was destroyed by the 1950s due to City-sponsored redevelopment programs. Residents and visitors alike gathered in Little Manila to socialize, conduct business, worship, and celebrate Filipino holidays, demonstrating shared history among the local Filipino American and broader Filipino American community in Southern California. Cultural heritage was expressed and maintained through traditions, language, and food, which reinforced collective identity. Over time, these traditions were enhanced and carried out in other areas of Los Angeles. In part because of the loss and limited physical integrity of the community's early resources, the histories that tie Filipino Americans to Los Angeles' built environment remain obscured.

Following World War II, many Filipino servicemen returned to their old neighborhoods in San Pedro and Wilmington, where they found work, housing, and a sense of belonging. In the 1940s and 1950s, Filipino-serving churches from the early period relocated to the Temple-Beverly neighborhood, helping to establish the area as a new center of Filipino life in Los Angeles for decades to come.

This context revealed that there are few extant resources associated with Filipino Americans from the period of 1903 to 1923. Most of the significant resources associated with Filipino American history in Los Angeles were found in the Temple-Beverly and Wilmington areas. These areas have been the largest and longest-continuously populated of the known Filipino American neighborhoods in Los Angeles. There are other important resources scattered throughout the city, including homes associated with the Filipino Federation of America in the West Adams area, the historic Caballeros de Dimas Alang lodge at in Boyle Heights, and Ray Buhen's Tiki-Ti bar in Hollywood.

Resources referenced throughout the context are considered extant unless otherwise noted.

Terms and Definitions

Non-English terms are in Filipino dialect and appear in italics alongside their common English translation with the exception of surnames, organization names, business names, and place names.¹⁶ When referring to people and language of the Philippines, the spelling of Filipino with the letter "F" is the most commonly used by scholars. When referring to the country and islands, the spelling of Philippines with

¹⁶The Philippines has eight major dialects, including Bikol, Cebuano, Hiligaynon (Ilonggo), Ilocano, Kapampangan, Pangasinan, Tagalog, and Waray. Tagalog and English are the two official languages.

the letters “Ph” is appropriate as the country’s name stems from the name Philip, the English equivalent of *Felipe* referring to Spanish King Felipe II for whom the islands were named. People from the Philippines refer to themselves and their national language (synonymous with Tagalog, the language widely spoken in Manila, Bulacan, Bataan, and Batangas) as Pilipino with the letter “P” as most Filipino language and dialects do not include phonetics for the letter “F.”¹⁷

Beginnings, 1898-1903

Unlike Chinese, Japanese, and other early immigrants from Asia, Filipino immigration to the U.S. has been greatly impacted by the reach of Western colonialism. Filipinos encountered Western influence beginning in the sixteenth century, when Ferdinand Magellan landed on the island of Cebu and claimed it for Spain in 1521. Named for King Philip II of Spain, the Philippines became a Spanish colony in 1565. It remained a territory of Spain until 1898, when Filipinos, led by Emilio Aguinaldo and U.S. troops defeated Spain in the Spanish-American War. On December 10, 1898, the Treaty of Paris ceded the Philippines, Guam, and Puerto Rico to the U.S. for a sum of \$20 million, ushering in an era of American colonialism in the Philippines. The war was declared over by President Theodore Roosevelt on July 4, 1902, though fighting continued in some parts of the country until 1915.

During the American regime (1898-1946), English became the official language in the Philippines and an extensive public school system based on the American model was established. Historian Dawn Mabalon writes, “American colonial policymakers set themselves apart from other imperial powers by their policy of ‘benevolent assimilation,’ in which the majority of the populace could come under colonial control through public education and preparation for eventual self-rule.”¹⁸ American colonization also influenced U.S. immigration policy. Under American colonial rule, through 1934, Filipinos could freely travel to and from the U.S.¹⁹ This changed with the passage of the Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934, which reclassified Filipinos as aliens and restricted immigration into the U.S. to an annual quota of fifty persons. When the Philippines gained its independence from the U.S. in 1946, the annual immigration quota increased to 100. The liberalization of U.S. immigration policy, ushered in by the passage of the Immigration Act of 1965, resulted in a dramatic increase of Filipino immigration to Southern California, and Los Angeles, in particular.

Like other Asian immigrants before and after them, Filipinos came to America in search of greater opportunities. Though there are earlier accounts of Filipinos arriving in California as early as 1587 on Spanish ships, Antonio Miranda Rodriguez, who appeared in the U.S. Census in 1783 in Santa Barbara,

¹⁷ “Filipino, Pilipino, Pinoy, Pilipinas, Philippines - What's the Difference?” Center for Philippine Studies, University of Hawaii, Manoa, accessed May 31, 2018, <http://www.hawaii.edu/cps/filipino.html>.

¹⁸ Dawn Mabalon, *Little Manila Is in the Heart: The Making of the Filipina/o American Community in Stockton, California* (Durham, NC: Duke UP, 2013), 31.

¹⁹ Philip Q. Yang, *Asian Immigration to the United States* (Cambridge, U.K.: Polity Press, 2011), 94-95.

was one of the original founders of Los Angeles.²⁰ Filipinos arrived in Los Angeles in greater numbers beginning in the early 1920s. Since that time, Filipinos have contributed greatly to the city's culture, economy, and history.

Early Filipino Immigration to Southern California, 1903-1923

In the early twentieth century, Los Angeles experienced exponential population growth that transformed the city. This period saw a growing influx of Asian immigrants of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds, including Filipinos, coming together in an evolving urban setting.



Members of Filipino Trojan Club at University of Southern California, including pensionado Benicio Catapusan at the top middle (El Rodeo Yearbook, 1940, USC Libraries, Special Collections).

In 1903, U.S. Congress passed the *Pensionado Act*, which provided funds for select Filipinos to study abroad in the U.S. through 1943.²¹ The intent of the program was for students to return to the Philippines and take positions in the American colonial administration.²² In addition to the *pensionados* who received government fellowships, self-supporting students also came to the U.S. during this period. In Los Angeles, Filipinos studied at Los Angeles Junior College, University of California at Los Angeles

²⁰ The founding of Los Angeles has been credited to eleven *pobladores*, though Governor Felipe de Neve of New Spain originally enlisted twelve *pobladores*, which included Filipino Antonio Miranda Rodriguez. While en route to what would become Los Angeles, Rodriguez's daughter fell ill and he stayed behind to care for her, while the rest of the expedition continued north.

²¹ Yang, *Asian Immigration to the United States*, 96. *Pensionado* is a government-sponsored student. Historians have identified three periods of the *pensionado* program, from 1903 to 1914, 1918 to 1934, and 1935 to 1943.

²² For more information see Sucheng Chan, ed. *Asian Americans: An Interpretive History* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1991), 75.

(UCLA), University of Southern California (USC), and other educational institutions.²³ Severino Corpus, a self-supporting student, and *pensionado* Benicio Catapusan were among the Filipino student population in Los Angeles. Both were graduate students who conducted important early research on the occupational, recreational, and spiritual activities of Filipinos in Los Angeles. Catapusan went on to write his dissertation on the social adjustment of Filipinos in the U.S., earning a Ph.D. in Sociology from USC. While *pensionados* were expected to return to the Philippines and assume government roles, there were some who remained in the U.S. Those who did return promoted the *pensionado* program and America, thereby encouraging continued migration to the U.S.

The vast majority of early Filipino immigrants to the U.S. and California were laborers. According to scholar Dawn Mabalon, deteriorating economies in Filipino provinces and heavy recruitment of Filipino laborers for sugar plantations in Hawaii were among the major factors in the immigration of Filipinos to Hawaii and the West Coast in the early 1900s.²⁴ U.S. immigration policies and affordable trans-Pacific steamship travel facilitated Filipino migration to America during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Early Filipino immigration to Southern California was also influenced by shifting labor markets in Hawaii and California. Beginning in 1882 with the Chinese Exclusion Act and its later extensions, and finally with the passage of the Immigration Act of 1924, the U.S. prohibited the flow of Asian laborers. Because the Philippines was under American colonial rule from 1898 to 1946, these exclusionary immigration policies did not apply to Filipinos. As such, Filipinos were targeted to meet labor shortages in Hawaii and California.

The Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association (HSPA) successfully recruited Filipino laborers from the Visayas and Ilocos regions of the Philippines to work in Hawaii in 1906. These laborers were called *sakadas*, named after Filipino migratory laborers from the Negros Island sugarcane plantations. The first *sakadas* from Visayas arrived in Hawaii in the 1910s. According to scholar Dean Alegado, between 1906 and 1935, approximately 120,000 Filipinos were recruited by HSPA labor agents to work on the sugar plantations in Hawaii.²⁵ A continuous flow of laborers from the Philippines arrived in Hawaii to work on the plantations in the 1920s, with the highest number registered in 1924.²⁶ While Filipino immigration to Hawaii continued through the 1920s, Filipinos also began arriving on the West Coast, in California in particular, in greater numbers during this time. According to a study of the ports of embarkation of Filipinos admitted to California, more Filipinos arrived in California from Honolulu than from Manila (**Table 1**).

²³ Severino F. Corpus, "An Analysis of the Racial Adjustment Activities and Problems of the Filipino-American Christian Fellowship in Los Angeles," (master's thesis, University of Southern California, 1938), 14.

²⁴ Mabalon, *Little Manila Is in the Heart*, 40.

²⁵ Dean T. Alegado, "The Filipino Community in Hawaii: Development and Change," *Social Process in Hawaii* 33 (1991): 14.

²⁶ Benicio T. Catapusan, "Social Adjustment of Filipinos in the United States," (Ph.D. diss., University of Southern California, 1940), 29.

Table 1: Ports of Embarkation of all Filipinos Who Were Admitted Into the State of California, Through Ports of San Francisco and Los Angeles: 1920-1929²⁷

Years	Embarked at the Port of --						
	All ports	Manila		Honolulu		Other foreign ports	
	Number	Number	Percent total	Number	Percent total	Number	Percent total
1920	625	82	13.1	307	49.1	236	37.8
1921	685	59	8.6	408	59.6	218	31.8
1922	545	118	21.7	427	77.6	4	0.7
1923	2,426	218	9.0	2,053	84.6	155	6.4
1924	2,688	411	15.3	2,172	80.8	105	3.9
1925	2,491	850	34.1	1,608	64.6	33	1.3
1926	5,275	2,023	38.4	3,186	60.4	65	1.2
1927	5,275	1,640	29.7	2,858	51.8	1,023	18.5
1928	5,042	2,872	57.0	1,788	35.4	382	7.6
1929	5,795	2,609	45.0	2,622	45.3	564	9.7
Total	31,092	10,882	35.0	17,425	56.0	2,785	9.0

In 1923, the number of Filipinos who moved from Hawaii to California increased from less than 500 persons in the year prior, to over 2,000. In addition to the increased flow of Filipino laborers into the U.S. because of the imminent passage of the Immigration Act of 1924, many Filipino plantation workers also left Hawaii for the West Coast following two failed labor strikes in 1920 and 1924 led by prominent Filipino organizer Pablo Manlapit, which resulted in evictions and blacklisting of Filipino union members.²⁸

In the 1920s, most Filipinos in the U.S. were young, male, and single. During this period, only 4.8 percent of Filipinos admitted via Los Angeles were female.²⁹ Such conditions created a predominantly bachelor and highly mobile Filipino population. Most Filipinos on the West Coast became migratory laborers, traveling throughout California and the Pacific Northwest, following harvest and canning seasons. Filipinos who settled in Los Angeles year-round found work as house servants, janitors, dishwashers, bus boys, and other jobs in the service sector.

Most domestic workers were provided room and board at their places of employment, dispersed across the city, while other service sector workers secured single room occupancy housing, primarily located in Downtown. In 1930, Scholar Marcos Berbano identified five Filipino-operated boarding houses in Los Angeles County. Of the five, only one was within city limits. He writes, “There are few Filipino rooming houses and dwellings that are lost in the big mass of American communities. There is a Filipino home

²⁷ Data for Table 1 was sourced from Louis Bloch’s “Table 5: Increases or Decreases in the Numbers of Filipinos Embarking at Specified Ports for the State of California During the Ten Year of 1920 to 1929,” *Facts about Filipino Immigration into California* (California Department of Industrial Relations, 1930), 25.

²⁸ Mabalon, *Little Manila Is in the Heart*, 52.

²⁹ Louis Bloch, *Facts about Filipino Immigration into California* (California Department of Industrial Relations, 1930), 33.

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lost by itself on Allison Street.”³⁰ A few years later in 1934, Scholar Benicio Catapusan identified four Filipino-operated boarding houses in Los Angeles.³¹ Though he did not disclose their exact locations, it is likely that one of them was The Filipino Center at 718 W. First Street (not extant), operated by the Filipino Christian Fellowship.

In addition to employment in California’s agribusiness and the local service economy, military enlistment was a significant pathway to the U.S. for Filipinos. In 1901, President McKinley authorized the enlistment of 500 Filipinos in the U.S. Navy. According to scholar Rudy Guevarra, “With U.S. control of the Philippines, the military established the practice of recruiting Filipinos since it was more costly to recruit and ship American soldiers from the United States back to the islands.”³² For Filipinos, joining the U.S. armed forces was a way to escape poverty and earn a decent living.³³



U.S.S. Alert (Submarine Tender #4) moored at San Pedro alongside submarines ca. 1914
(The USS Flier Project, <http://www.ussflierproject.com/>)

³⁰ Marcos Berbano, “The Status of the Filipinos in Los Angeles County,” (master’s thesis, University of Southern California, 1930), n.p.; Though Berbano identified Allison Street in the neighborhood west of Los Feliz Boulevard near Griffith Park, the author was unable to locate it in other maps of the period.

³¹ Benicio T. Catapusan, “The Filipino Occupational and Recreational Activities in Los Angeles,” (master’s thesis, University of Southern California, 1934), 14.

³² Rudy Guevarra, *Becoming Mexipino: Multiethnic Identities and Communities in San Diego* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2012), 25.

³³ Scholars have observed that before World War I, the U.S. Navy allowed Filipinos to enlist in a range of occupational ratings, and after the war, the Navy restricted Filipinos to the ratings of officers’ stewards and mess attendants. It was not until 1973, among charges of racism in the Navy, that Filipino enlistees were allowed to enter any occupational rating. See Yen Le Espiritu’s *Homebound: Filipino American Lives Across Cultures, Communities, and Countries* (Berkeley, CA: University of California, 2003).

In 1913, San Pedro harbor was established as the U.S. Navy's first submarine base on the west coast. The U.S.S. *Alert*, a permanent submarine tender at San Pedro, had a complement of more than 500 military personnel and a submarine school in 1917.³⁴ U.S. Census records from 1920 list 38 Filipinos employed on the U.S.S. *Alert* with documented years of immigration to America ranging from 1908 to 1919. From 1919 to 1940, the U.S. Navy Battle Fleet's Home Port was in San Pedro. By 1922, Filipinos comprised 5.7 percent of the total number of personnel serving in the U.S. Navy.³⁵ Adding to San Pedro's military presence was Fort MacArthur, a U.S. Army installation in operation from 1914 to 1974. Its facilities were open to use by all military families, including Filipino veterans and organizations such as the United Filipino American Services Organization.³⁶

In addition to San Pedro's military installations, the Los Angeles Harbor area was home to numerous industries, including shipping, shipbuilding, fishing, and canning. Many former Filipino servicemen found work in these industries as well as the mercantile marine. Four thousand Filipinos were estimated to have been in the American merchant marine until a 1947 federal law stipulated that ninety percent of any American commercial ship's crew had to be U.S. citizens.³⁷

Filipino Settlement in Los Angeles: Establishing a Community, 1924-1945

With the passage of the Immigration Act of 1924, Filipinos quickly became the preferred source of labor for California's agribusiness. In 1926, 1,277 Filipinos were admitted into California via Los Angeles, 316 percent more than the year before.³⁸ As increasing numbers of Filipinos found jobs in Los Angeles in the 1920s and 1930s, anti-Filipino hate crimes, propaganda, and exclusionary public policies also increased. A study of anti-Filipino sentiment in California, conducted between 1929 and 1930, revealed twenty-one incidents against Filipinos, including five major clashes, or riots.³⁹ In 1929, the State legislature passed a resolution to limit Filipino immigration, though Filipinos' U.S. national status prevented placing immigration restrictions on Filipinos until the Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934. The U.S. ultimately called for Filipino repatriation in 1935. Despite these trying times, Los Angeles had the second largest Filipino population in the country in 1930. By 1937, Los Angeles had more Filipino organizations, places of recreation, and businesses than any other city in the U.S.⁴⁰

³⁴ "Deployments—San Pedro," *Tendertale*, accessed July 22, 2017, <http://tendertale.com/ttd/ttd9/ttd9.html>.

³⁵ Roland L. Guyotte and Barbara M. Posadas, "Filipinos and Filipino Americans, 1870-1940," in *Immigrants in American History: Arrival, Adaptation, and Integration*, ed. Elliott Robert Barkan (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2013), 348.

³⁶ Florante and Roselyn Estapa Ibanez, *Filipinos in Carson and the South Bay* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2009), 25.

³⁷ Fred Cordova, *Filipinos, Forgotten Asian Americans: A Pictorial Essay* (Dubuque, IA: Kendall/Hunt, 1983), 198-199.

³⁸ Corpus, "An Analysis of the Racial Adjustment Activities and Problems of the Filipino-American Christian Fellowship in Los Angeles," 17.

³⁹ Catapusan, "Social Adjustment of Filipinos in the United States," 59.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 65.

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Filipino Americans in Los Angeles, 1903-1980

In 1924, some of the city's early Filipino settlers established a small concentration of businesses, including a restaurant, barbershop, and employment agency, in the area between Second, Commercial, Main, and Los Angeles Streets in Downtown.⁴¹ This area became known as Little Manila. It grew to encompass an area bounded by San Pedro Street on the east, Figueroa Street on the west, Sunset Boulevard on the north, and Sixth Street on the south.⁴² By 1928, 212 Filipinos were employed by Filipino-owned businesses, primarily barber shops, restaurants, and ethnic newspapers.⁴³ Approximately ten percent of Filipinos employed by Filipino entrepreneurs worked for Filipino newspapers, including *The Philippines Star Press*, *The Filipino Nation*, and *Philippines Review*.⁴⁴ Scholar Catapusan found that thirty Filipino newspapers were published in Los Angeles during the period of 1904 to 1938.⁴⁵ The publications appeared in various forms, including newspapers, bulletins, and newspaper-magazine combinations, and were published by Filipino fraternal orders, labor organizations, student groups, and entities without any organizational affiliation.⁴⁶ Among the newspapers published in Little Manila was the fraternal order Caballeros de Dimas-Alang's *Philippines Review*, printed on the first and the last Saturday of every month from its offices at 126-128 Weller Street (not extant).⁴⁷



Detail of Weller Street in Downtown's historic Little Manila as shown in a 1950 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map.

⁴¹ Linda España-Maram, *Creating Masculinity in Los Angeles's Little Manila: Working-Class Filipinos and Popular Culture, 1920s-1950s* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 5.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ Catapusan, "The Filipino Occupational and Recreational Activities in Los Angeles," 17.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 14.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 54-55.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 55.

⁴⁷ España-Maram, *Creating Masculinity in Los Angeles's Little Manila*, 37.

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During the winters, thousands of Filipino migrant laborers descended on urban centers, especially the Little Manilas in Stockton and Los Angeles, where they could eat a meal at a Filipino restaurant, spend time with fellow countrymen, and find the next job lead. Little Manila in Los Angeles included such businesses as the Manila Restaurant at 112 E. First Street, Manila Portrait Studio at 128 Weller Street, Philippine Importing Company at 105 S. Los Angeles Street, and the Filipino Recreation Hall at 245 S. Main Street. In 1935, the Philippine Chamber of Commerce of Southern California was located at 130 S. Broadway in Downtown Los Angeles. According to then-President Pedro de Vera, the Philippine Chamber had 450 members comprised of Filipino businessmen, laborers, and labor contractors, and had the power to act as arbitrator in matters pertaining to the general welfare and labor conditions of Filipino workers.⁴⁸ Of these early Filipino-owned commercial establishments, only the Filipino Recreation Hall building remains (altered).



Early 1940s interior view of Filipino Recreation Hall. Owner Vincent Noble is standing on the right, fifth from the bottom, holding a billiard rack (Los Angeles Public Library, Shades of L.A. Collection).

Operated by Vincent Noble, a former Filipino U.S. Navy man stationed in San Pedro in the 1920s, the Filipino Recreation Hall housed a restaurant, pool hall, and employment agency in the 1930s and 1940s. Daughter Anita Noble recalls, “Dad’s employment agency provided houseboys to many of the movie stars in Hollywood...as well as employment of busboys and salad boys to the restaurant industry, bell boys for hotels, porter boys, etc.”⁴⁹ She continues, “Across the street was a taxi [dance] hall, and many

⁴⁸ Ibid., 8.

⁴⁹ Anita Noble, “Voice of Anita Noble,” in *Filipino American Experience: The Making of a Historic Cultural Monument*, ed. Lorna Ignacio Dumapias (Torrance, CA: Filipino American Experience, 2010), 40.

of the lovelies also ate at our eatery. Miss Lacock's recruitment of the 'boys' and the 'girls' from across the street led to many of the interracial marriages at that time, as there [were] very few Filipino women here."⁵⁰ The Filipino Recreation Hall and other Filipino-owned establishments provided economic opportunities for entrepreneurs and workers, and were also important nodes of Filipinos' informal and formal social networks.

Other notable Filipino entrepreneurs during this period include Pedro Flores, the first yo-yo manufacturer in the U.S. and co-owner of the yo-yo factory Flores and Stone at 1938 Hyperion Avenue (not extant); Dolores Correa, owner of the Philippine Hand Embroidery Company at 811 ½ S. Vermont Avenue; and Roque E. De La Ysla, who operated an insurance agency at 206 S. Spring Street in the 1940s, while serving as the President of the Philippine Chamber of Commerce.

In the pre-World War II period, settlement patterns of Filipinos in Los Angeles varied across the city, influenced by available employment and housing as well as economic and marital status. In 1933, Catapusan described the Filipino community's residential landscape:

Many [Filipinos] are living on Broadway and Hill Streets near First; on Fremont between Third and Fourth; on Grand and Hope; on Figueroa at First and California Streets; on California and Pavillion; on Centennial and Temple; on Santa Fe and Tenth; on Boylston Ave; on Burlingame Avenue; on Vermont at Ninth; on Western at Sixth; on Adams at Twenty-Fifth; on Maple at Fifteenth; on Brooklyn Avenue; and on Weller Street between San Pedro and Los Angeles Streets. A considerable number are also living in Hollywood and Westwood where they are employed.⁵¹

Boarding houses and single-room occupancy hotels in and around Little Manila included the Pacific Hotel on 121 S. San Pedro Street, Union Hotel on 507 E. Ninth Street, and the Majestic Hotel-Apartments on 700 W. First Street, (none extant).⁵² With the exception of live-in domestic workers who were scattered across the city in the homes of their employers, the housing in and around Little Manila was the preferred and often only option available for Filipinos. Writer Manuel Buaken, who worked in a variety of jobs in the service economy, remembered being rejected at twenty rooms for rent, apartment houses, and flats. A realtor explained to him, "You were not the first one to try to rent a place here. I have other Filipinos, as well as Japanese, Chinese, and Mexicans in my office, and always I have to turn them away."⁵³

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Catapusan, "The Filipino Occupational and Recreational Activities in Los Angeles," 4-6.

⁵² Ibid.; "Community Tour of Los Angeles—Pilipino American Experience," in *Filipinotown: Voices from Los Angeles*, eds. Carlene Sobrino Bonnivier, Gerald G. Gubatan, and Gregory Villanueva (CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2014), 92.

⁵³ Manuel Buaken, *I Have Lived with the American People* (Caldwell: ID: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1948), 69.



Filipino Center in Downtown Los Angeles provided housing for Filipinos, 1929 (Filipino Christian Church).

The California Alien Land Law of 1913, which prevented Filipinos and all other Asian immigrants from owning property, and de facto and de jure racial discrimination in real estate, practiced through the 1940s, created barriers to home ownership and restricted entry into particular neighborhoods. In 1930, northeast of Downtown (later City Terrace), white residents, led by William E. Wintermute, filed seven lawsuits against Filipinos who lived in the area.⁵⁴ During an era where signs that read “No Filipinos or Dogs Allowed” and “Positively No Filipinos Allowed” could be found throughout the city, housing in Little Manila and other areas where fellow countrymen could be found offered Filipinos a sense of security and community.

Prior to World War II, in addition to housing discrimination, Filipinos endured other forms of racial discrimination, as did their Asian American counterparts in Los Angeles. In 1931, despite a California appeals court ruling that Filipinos were Malays, not Mongolians, and therefore legally permitted to marry Caucasians, the Los Angeles County Clerk denied Salvador Roldan and his Caucasian bride a marriage license. In 1933, California Governor James Rolph signed two bills into law retroactively invalidating all marriages between whites and non-whites—the law specifically identified the Malay race for exclusion under section 69 of the anti-miscegenation law.⁵⁵ By 1937, Nevada, Oregon, and Washington also prohibited marriages between Filipinos and Whites.⁵⁶ Still, there were exceptions. A 1937 survey of the Filipino Married Population in Los Angeles found only thirty of ninety-five marriages were among Filipinos.⁵⁷ Prior to California’s repeal of the anti-miscegenation law in 1948, Filipinos and non-Filipinos wishing to marry had to travel to states where interracial marriage was legal (sometimes even Mexico), or simply lived together as common law spouses. Given the legal and de jure racial

⁵⁴ Joseph A. Bernardo, “Little Brown Brothers” to “Forgotten Asian Americans”: Race, Space, and Empire in Filipino Los Angeles,” (Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 2014), 48.

⁵⁵ Alex S. Fabros, Jr., “When Hilario Met Sally: The Fight Against Anti-Miscegenation Laws,” October 2, 2013, *Positively Filipino*, accessed March 27, 2017, <http://www.positivelyfilipino.com/magazine/when-hilario-met-sally-the-fight-against-anti-miscegenation-laws>.

⁵⁶ H. Brett Melendy, *Asians in America: Filipinos, Koreans, and East Indians* (New York: Hippocrene Books, 1981), 53.

⁵⁷ Corpus, “An Analysis of the Racial Adjustment Activities and Problems of the Filipino-American Christian Fellowship in Los Angeles,” 49.

segregation practices in real estate, married Filipinos may have been able to circumvent these restrictions by placing property in the name of their American-born spouses, or children.



L: First generation Filipinos pose for a photograph in the Los Angeles Harbor Area, ca. 1935. All men are believed to have worked in fish canneries at Terminal Island, though the gentleman seated second from right is Ralph Arendain, proprietor of Our Café at 421 S. Beacon Street in Wilmington in later years. (Los Angeles Public Library, Shades of L.A. Collection). R: San Fernando Valley citrus workers, ca. 1932. (Los Angeles Public Library, Shades of L.A. Collection)

During the 1920s to the 1940s, the largest concentration of Filipinos outside of Little Manila was found in the Los Angeles Harbor area, especially around West Long Beach, San Pedro, and Wilmington. Early Filipinos who had completed their military service settled in areas near Navy ports. By the 1920 Census, one-fourth of Filipinos in Los Angeles worked in various shipyard occupations at the Port of Los Angeles and lived in San Pedro and Wilmington. In the 1930s, Mrs. Irene San Jose's Cebu Restaurant on S. Beacon Avenue between 4th and 5th Streets in San Pedro, the Filipino Federation of America's lodge at 437½ N. Avalon Boulevard in Wilmington, and the Legionarios del Trabajo lodge at 227 N. Avalon Boulevard in Wilmington reflected the growing presence of Filipinos in the Los Angeles Harbor area. By 1935, Filipino-operated establishments expanded on Beacon Street in San Pedro. The trend continued through World War II and the postwar years as the Los Angeles port economy, including seafood canneries at Terminal Island, and other military-related industries continued to provide good jobs for discharged military personnel and others. Of these early Filipino establishments in San Pedro and Wilmington, only the Legionarios del Trabajo lodge remains.

Scholars have also traced Filipino migrant agricultural workers to the San Fernando Valley by the 1920s, where a robust citrus industry was located.⁵⁸ Historian Jean-Paul deGuzman found that a small and temporary community of Filipinos, comprised of migrant workers and a few families, emerged around

⁵⁸ España-Maram, *Creating Masculinity in Los Angeles's Little Manila*, 31; See Jean-Paul deGuzman, "'And Make the San Fernando Valley My Home': Contested Spaces, Identities, and Activism on the Edge of Los Angeles," (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2014).

the City of San Fernando.⁵⁹ Oranges were grown on expansive ranches, including the Sunshine Ranch in what became Granada Hills, a known employer of Filipino citrus pickers.⁶⁰ According to the 1930 Census, Marcelino Inez, a foreman of an unidentified Filipino work camp, wife Amalia, daughter Laura, and Pablo Ventura, a Filipino lodger, lived together at 16331 Rinaldi Street (not extant).⁶¹ Ten Filipino agricultural workers lived together at 13229 Van Nuys Boulevard in Pacoima (not extant).⁶² By the 1940 Census, Filipino citrus laborers, including a few with families, could still be found living on Rinaldi Street.

In 1930, Berbano conducted community surveys and oral histories to develop what he referred to as an “ecological map” that identified places in Los Angeles and cities within Los Angeles County where Filipinos were living.⁶³ To improve external validity of the results, Berbano also identified subscribers to the Filipino newspaper *Watawat*. According to Berbano’s research, in addition to Downtown and Central City, Filipinos could be found in Sawtelle, Hollywood, North Hollywood, San Pedro, Wilmington, and Pacoima, among other areas. Berbano’s findings provide further evidence that Filipinos were dispersed throughout the city, near places of employment, and in some instances near fellow countrymen.

When the Great Depression hit, mass unemployment heightened tensions among various ethnic groups throughout Los Angeles. Pressure came from white workers who believed Filipinos presented unfair competition for jobs given their willingness to work for lower wages. Shared living accommodations were but one of the ways Filipinos pooled their limited resources to survive during these lean years. With an estimated 75 percent of Filipino laborers from Los Angeles county unemployed, Filipinos relied on the traditional practice of *utang na loob*, the cultural tradition of give-and-take.⁶⁴ As the Depression worsened, however, commitments through *utang na loob* could not support all those in need.⁶⁵

In step with the growing needs of the Filipino community in Los Angeles, the 1920s and 1930s saw a rapid growth of Filipino organizations. One of the first Filipino organizations in Los Angeles was the Filipino Federation of America (FFA) founded by Hilario C. Moncado in 1925. Its headquarters were located in the Stack Building at 228 W. Fourth Street in Downtown Los Angeles (not extant). Within its first year, the FFA organized an annual celebration on Rizal Day to commemorate the life and contributions of Filipino national hero Jose Rizal, and its first convention in a home located at 2289 W. 25th Street (City of Los Angeles Historic-Cultural Monument No. 598), which the organization later purchased to house President Moncado and officers. In the 1940s, the Federation moved across the street to 2302 West 25th Street (City of Los Angeles Historic-Cultural Monument No. 602), where it remains. FFA’s activities included publishing the *Filipino Nation*, establishing a women’s division, and

⁵⁹ deGuzman, “And Make the San Fernando Valley My Home,” 36.

⁶⁰ Robert T. Lyans, “Old Mission Center of Citrus Industry,” *Los Angeles Times*, September 2, 1928.

⁶¹ 1930 U.S. Census.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Marcos Berbano, “The Status of the Filipinos in Los Angeles County,” n.p.

⁶⁴ España-Maram, *Creating Masculinity in Los Angeles’s Little Manila*, 42.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

organizing national conferences, and local sporting events, including golf, tennis, volleyball, baseball, and boxing.

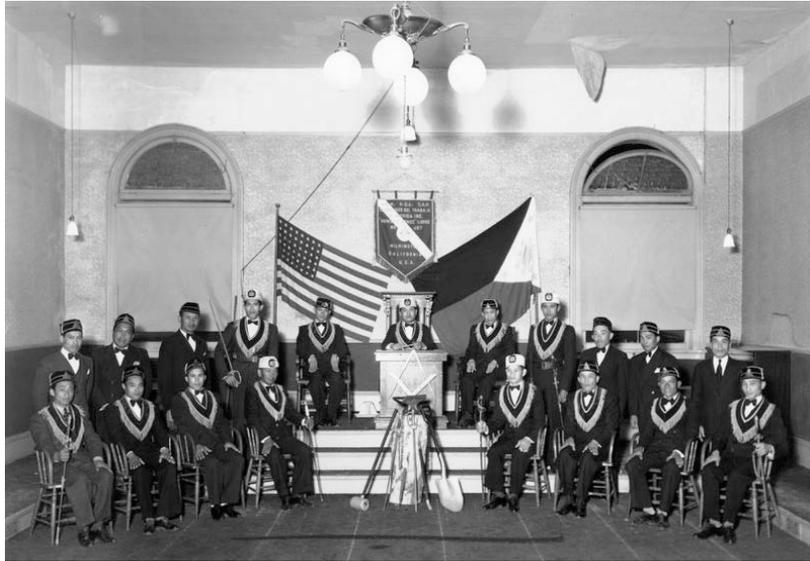


L: Delegates attend the 23rd Annual National Convention of the Filipino Federation of America at the Moncado Mansion in West Adams (Los Angeles Public Library, Shades of L.A. Collection). R: Filipino Federation of America's women's golf team, Los Angeles chapter, 1920s. (Filipino Federation of America).

A wide range of Filipino social organizations developed in many U.S. cities with a Filipino presence.⁶⁶ The Caballeros de Dimas-Alang and Legionarios del Trabajo originated in the Philippines as fraternal and Masonic orders, and first appeared in America in San Francisco in the early to mid-1920s. They were set up as not-for-profit, highly selective membership-based organizations. Membership was restricted to men, though wives and daughters of married members could organize themselves into auxiliary units, orders, or chapters. Each fraternal order eventually grew to have several lodges in California and other Western states. Among some of the benefits provided were a general fund for the economic welfare and protection of its members, mortuary funds, and perhaps more importantly, a collective voice to its local Filipino membership. Both the Caballeros de Dimas-Alang and the Legionarios del Trabajo published newspapers as well. In Los Angeles, the Legionarios del Trabajo maintained at least two known lodges in Little Manila in the 1930s and 1940s (not extant) and one in Wilmington at 227 Avalon Boulevard. The Caballeros de Dimas-Alang had lodges in Little Manila and San Pedro in the 1935, though both were demolished. In later years, the Caballeros established lodges in other parts of Los Angeles, including in Boyle Heights at 127 S. Boyle Street, which is believed to have served as the organization's

⁶⁶ Mario Paguia Ave, "Characteristics of Filipino Social Organizations in Los Angeles," (master's thesis, University of Southern California, 1956), 51. In his study of Filipino social organizations in Los Angeles, Ave provides working definitions for fraternal and non-fraternal associations. While both fraternal and non-fraternal organizations may be characterized by a relatively close acquaintance, easy understanding, familiar cooperation, and friendly goodwill toward persons associated, fraternal organizations tend to have secret rituals, uniforms, ceremonies and symbols. In addition, these organizations have somewhat democratic forms of government as well as insurance protection against accidents, sickness, poverty, and death for members. Non-fraternal organizations are formed voluntarily to serve particular purposes of the groups concerned. In his study, Ave uses the terms non-fraternal and associational interchangeably.

local headquarters beginning in the 1950s and through the 1980s. The Pangasinan Association and other non-fraternal associations founded on the principles of co-residence and mutual aid fostered a sense of unity among Filipinos various provinces and sought to preserve and share their cultural heritage, customs, and traditions with their second-generation children.⁶⁷ Many of the non-fraternal associations did not establish permanent locations. As such, members often met at each other's homes, restaurants, or community halls.



Legionarios del Trabajo lodge in Wilmington, 1939. (Los Angeles Public Library, Security Pacific National Bank Collection).

Filipino newspapers in Los Angeles served to unite the diverse Filipino community. From 1928 to 1934, eleven Filipino newspapers had been published in Los Angeles, though several were short-lived.⁶⁸ The majority of these papers were published on a monthly basis, with some published less frequently. In addition to *Filipino Nation*, published by the Filipino Federation of America, other Filipino newspapers published in Downtown Los Angeles in the 1930s were *The Filipino Youth* and *The Filipino Observer-Spokesman*, both at 124 W. 4th Street.

In addition to the camaraderie and social activities afforded by numerous Filipino organizations in Los Angeles, Filipinos auditioned for Hollywood movie extra roles, and regularly patronized gambling and dance halls in Downtown Los Angeles. The most popular dance halls were Danceland and the Hippodrome Dance Palace on Main Street, the Liberty Dance Hall on Third Street, and Rizal Cafe on Spring Street.⁶⁹ In *Creating Masculinity in Los Angeles's Little Manila: Working-Class Filipinos and Popular Culture, 1920s-1950s*, España-Maram posits,

The dance halls were part of the vibrant street culture of the community, along with the various restaurants, cafes, barbershops, and pool halls frequented by the Filipino residents. Many of the dance halls were within easy walking distance, sometimes even

⁶⁷ The largest Filipino provincial association in Los Angeles, the Pangasinan Association, established a lodge at 920 West 2nd Street in 1955, though it is no longer extant.

⁶⁸ Catapusan, "The Filipino Occupational and Recreational Activities in Los Angeles," 27.

⁶⁹ In a study conducted in 1934, Catapusan identifies at least eight dance halls in Los Angeles frequented nightly by Filipinos: The Hippodrome, The Four Hundred One Ballroom, The Olympic, The Royal Palais, and Danceland on Main Street. Rizal Café on Spring Street; One Eleven Dance Hall and Tiffany Dance Hall on Third Street. Catapusan, "The Filipino Occupational and Recreational Activities in Los Angeles," 45; España-Maram, *Creating Masculinity in Los Angeles's Little Manila*, 111.

next to each other or at least along the route of the red cars, the city's public transportation system in the 1930s.⁷⁰

By the 1940s, reformers and church groups succeeded in passing legislation that prohibited all Asian men from taxi dance halls.⁷¹ According to España-Maram, the police commission, fire department, and health department worked in concert to implement strict licensing requirements, expensive fees for infractions, and threats to suspend, or revoke business licenses.⁷² The building that housed Roseland Roof is believed to be the last remaining dance hall associated with the Filipino community during this period.



L: Adolphus Theatre, the location of the Hippodrome Dance Palace, with Main Street Gym next door in 1979. Dancing and boxing were among the most popular recreational activities of Filipinos in the 1930s and 1940s (William Reagh Collection, Los Angeles Public Library). R: Roseland Roof dance hall at 833 S. Spring Street in 1939 (Los Angeles Public Library).

As a counterpoint to the some of the recreational pastimes of the Filipino community, the Filipino Christian Fellowship and Filipino Catholic Club emerged to meet the religious and spiritual needs of Filipinos in Los Angeles in 1928. These religious clubs organized bible study, prayer meetings, discussion groups, and recreational activities, and were the precursors to Filipino churches in Los Angeles.⁷³

The Christian Fellowship group, under the leadership of former missionary Mrs. Royal J. Dye (“Mother Dye”) and Silvestre Morales, a 1928 immigrant to Los Angeles and Filipino evangelistic leader, actively recruited Filipinos to attend religious gatherings at Mrs. Dye’s home located at 720 N. Kenmore Avenue (extant, altered). When her home became too small for these gatherings, Mother Dye came up with the idea of utilizing the First Christian Church at Eleventh and Hope Streets for Bible class and morning worship. With evangelization in mind, a small place on Weller Street between First and San Pedro was

⁷⁰ España-Maram, *Creating Masculinity in Los Angeles’s Little Manila*, 111.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 131-132.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 132.

⁷³ Valentin Aquino, “The Filipino Community in Los Angeles,” (master’s thesis, University of Southern California, 1952), 74.

made available for the Filipino Christian Fellowship. In order to accommodate more people, the church group moved to a larger hall at 107 North Los Angeles Street (not extant).⁷⁴

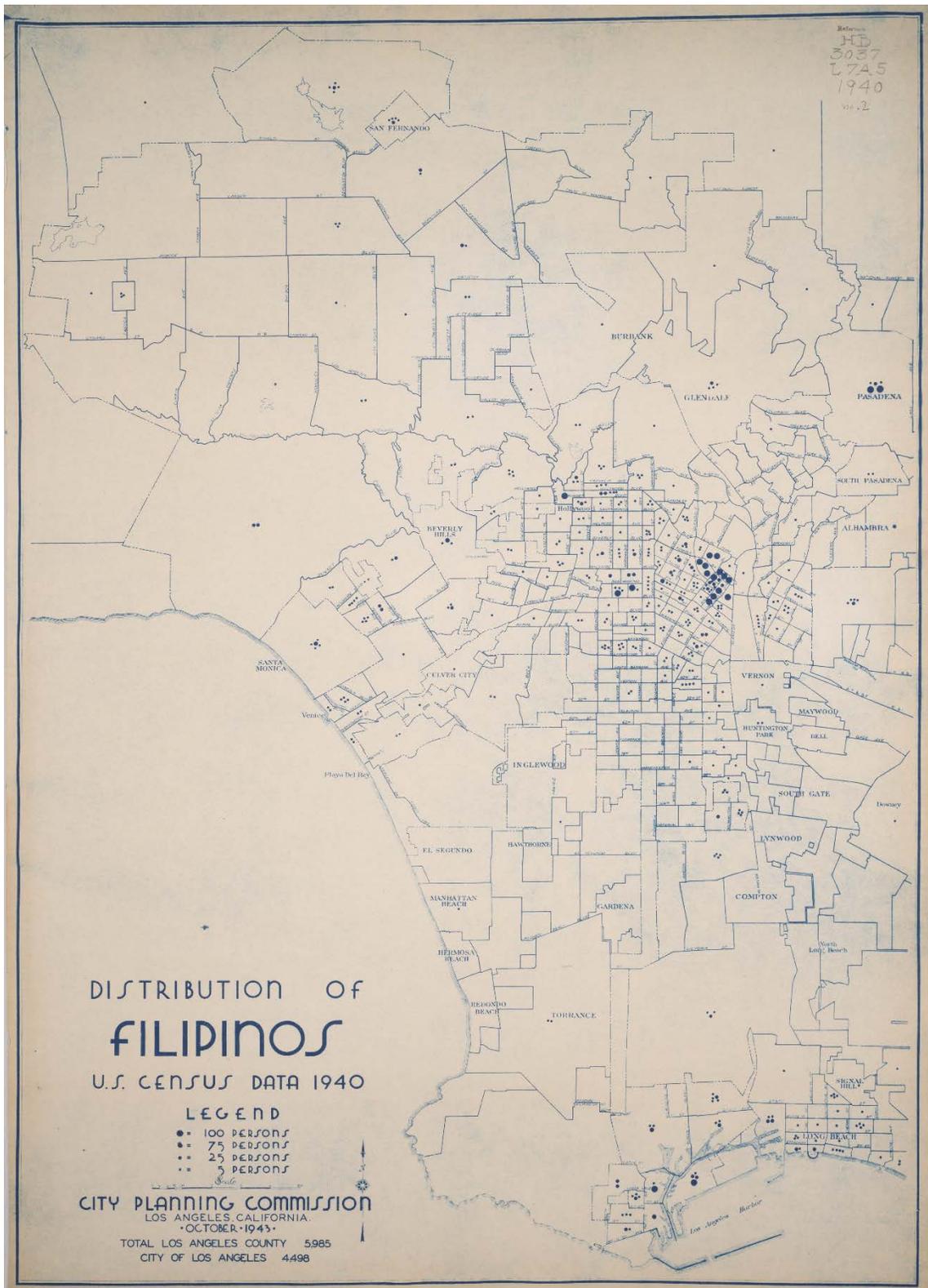
During this time, the Fellowship acquired an apartment house and four bungalows located at 718 West First Street (demolished). Called the Filipino Center, it housed fifty young Filipino men, including Rev. Morales, where they could live, study, and worship freely.⁷⁵ For services, the Fellowship rented a basement hall of the Majestic Hotel next door. Both properties were demolished due to City-sponsored redevelopment of Bunker Hill in later years. In 1933, when Rev. Morales decided to return to the Philippines, his ministerial duties were taken over by the recently ordained Rev. Felix Pascua at the Fellowship's new location at 546 S. Los Angeles Street.⁷⁶ It was at this time that Rev. Pascua oversaw re-organization of the Filipino Christian Fellowship as a formal church. In 1936, the Filipino Christian Church moved to 306 Winston Street and then to the former Chinese Presbyterian Church in 1940, where it remained for ten years.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Ibid., 37.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 38.

⁷⁷ Becky Guzman Hernandez, "Voice of Benny Guzman," in *Filipino American Experience: The Making of a Historic Cultural Monument*, ed. Lorna Ignacio Dumapias (Torrance, CA: Filipino American Experience, 2010), 19-20; the Chinese Presbyterian Church was at 150 N Los Angeles Street and is no longer extant.



City of Los Angeles' Planning Commission Map Showing Citywide Distribution of Filipinos, 1940 (UCLA Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, UCLA).

In addition to the Filipino Christian Church, there was also a Filipino Catholic Club located on Weller Street in Little Manila in 1928. The Catholic Club moved twice to other locations in the area, both of which have since been demolished. In 1941, Archbishop John Cantwell of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Los Angeles asked the Society of St. Columban to administer to the spiritual needs of the growing Filipino population in Los Angeles. In 1945, a building at 1035 S. Fedora Street was leased and held Sunday Masses through 1946.⁷⁸

As early as the late 1930s, some Filipinos began moving from Little Manila to Bunker Hill and to the area around Temple Street and Figueroa Street.⁷⁹ While Bunker Hill and its vicinity continued to house Filipinos through the 1940s, numerous Filipino businesses and headquarters of social organizations relocated from First and Main Streets to Temple Street, between Figueroa Street and Fremont Avenue during this time.⁸⁰ In 1945, the building at 819 Temple Street housed the union hall of the Filipino Screen Players Association, the American Legion's Manila Post #464, and Riofaco's Barber Shop, all demolished by Downtown redevelopment in later years.⁸¹ The *Associated Filipino Press* and Roque de la Ysla, who served as President of the Philippines Chamber of Commerce and operated an insurance agency, had moved from their shared space in the mid-1940s at 206 S. Spring Street to separate locations at 1735 West Beverly Boulevard and 1425½ 11th Street in the mid-1950s, respectively.⁸²

World War II

Within a day of the bombing at Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, Japan invaded the Philippines. At the time of Japan's invasion, the archipelago was a commonwealth under the control of the U.S. military command.⁸³ Thousands of Filipinos all over the U.S. reported to recruiting stations during the first ten days after Pearl Harbor.⁸⁴ Filipinos were turned down as the existing draft act barred them from service. In Los Angeles, two companies of Filipino World War I veterans were recruited to serve in the state's Civilian Defense Corps, providing logistical support for emergency-preparedness operations on the West Coast.⁸⁵ On January 3, 1942, the day after Manila fell to the Japanese, U.S. Congress passed legislation allowing Filipinos to serve in the armed forces as volunteers or draftees.

⁷⁸ This building was originally constructed in 1930 as the Japanese American Rafu Daini Gakuen (Young Men's Meeting House).

⁷⁹ España-Maram, *Creating Masculinity in Los Angeles's Little Manila*, 166.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid., 167; "Filipino Historical Establishments in Los Angeles," (2017, photocopy, in author's possession).

⁸² City of Los Angeles directories, 1942, 1944, 1945, 1953, 1956.

⁸³ The Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934 established a framework for Philippine independence and a Commonwealth government tasked with implementing a national constitution and managing the transfer of sovereignty within ten years. In July 1941, U.S. Congress ordered the Philippine Commonwealth army into the service of the U.S. military. General Douglas MacArthur was placed in command of the US Army Forces Far East (USAFPE). The Japanese invasion of the Philippines in 1941 brought the planned transfer of sovereignty to a standstill. For more information, see Rick Baldoz, *The Third Asiatic Invasion: Migration and Empire in Filipino America, 1898-1946* (New York: New York University Press, 2011), 209.

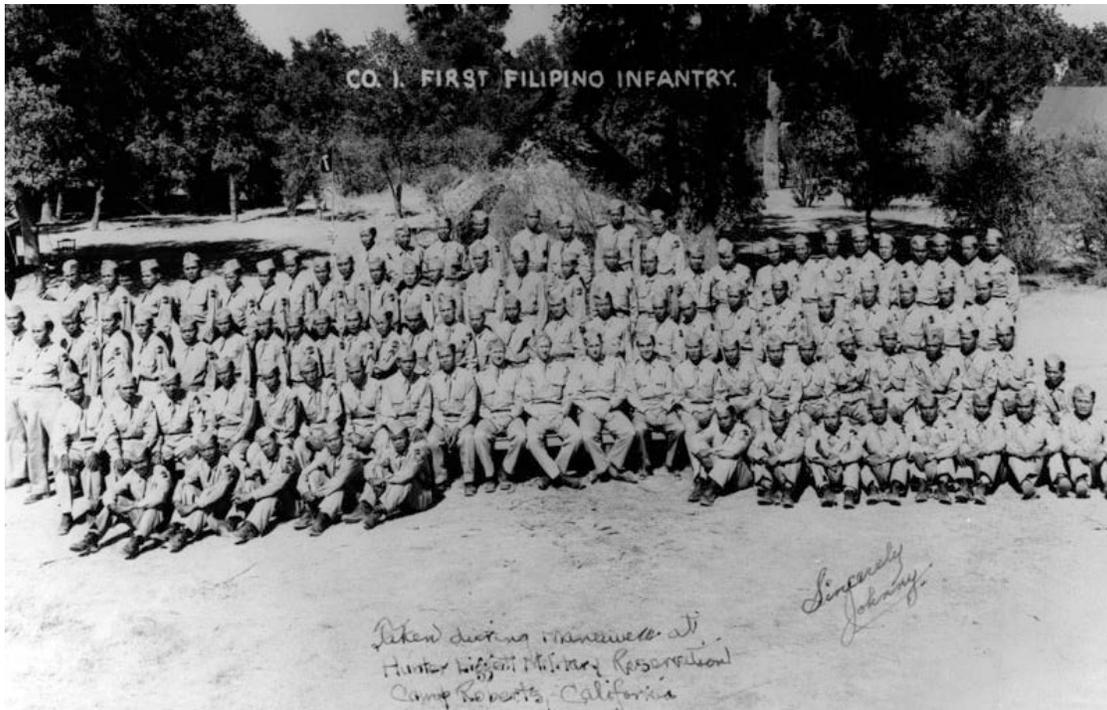
⁸⁴ Bienvenido Santos, "Filipinos at War," in *Letters in Exile: An Introductory Reader on the History of Pilipinos in America*, A Project of Resource Development and Publications (Los Angeles: UCLA Asian American Studies Center, 1976), 93.

⁸⁵ Baldoz, *The Third Asiatic Invasion*, 209.

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In 1942, over 7,000 men joined the segregated First and Second Filipino Infantry Regiments of the U.S. Army, formed at Camp San Luis Obispo and Camp Cook, California, respectively.⁸⁶ Thousands of Filipinos continued service in the U.S. Navy.⁸⁷ During the war, immigration from the Philippines was suspended with the exception of those serving in the U.S. military. Filipinos in the U.S. Army designated to serve in the Philippines during the war were given the opportunity to become naturalized citizens. Mass citizenship ceremonies became common as part of their induction into the U.S. armed forces.⁸⁸



1st Filipino Infantry at Camp Beale before deployment to the Philippines, ca. 1942 (Los Angeles Public Library, Shades of L.A. Collection).

Following the capture of Manila, Japan forced Filipino and American soldiers to the Bataan Peninsula. During the Battle of Bataan, which lasted three months, Filipinos and Americans fought side by side against the Japanese. The battle ended with U.S. surrender on April 9, 1942. About 600 Americans and between 5,000 and 10,000 Filipinos died of exhaustion, mistreatment, starvation, and disease, when the Japanese army forced soldiers on a 65-mile march, known as the Bataan Death March.⁸⁹ Following the surrender of U.S. Army Forces Far East (USAFEF) in Corregidor, Japan occupied the Philippines through 1945. General MacArthur returned to the Philippines in 1944 with the intention of overcoming Japanese forces. On September 2, 1945, General MacArthur signed the formal Japanese surrender, ending World

⁸⁶ España-Maram, *Creating Masculinity in Los Angeles's Little Manila*, 152.

⁸⁷ Mel Orpilla, "Filipino American History," n.d., *Mel Orpilla*, accessed March 27, 2017, http://www.orpilla.com/filipino_american_history.

⁸⁸ España-Maram, *Creating Masculinity in Los Angeles's Little Manila*, 150.

⁸⁹ Jennifer L. Bailey, *Philippine Islands: The U.S. Army Campaigns of World War II* (U.S. Army Center of Military History, n.d.), accessed August 5, 2017, <http://www.history.army.mil/brochures/pi/PI.htm>.

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War II. In later years, in memory and appreciation of General MacArthur, the Filipino community in Los Angeles donated toward the costs of constructing MacArthur Monument in Los Angeles' MacArthur Park.⁹⁰

Filipinos in Los Angeles did much to support the war effort. The industrial demands of the war, combined with the military enlistment of millions of young men, created a domestic labor shortage. In Los Angeles, Filipinos became a visible presence in the defense industry, finding employment at airplane manufacturers such as Lockheed, Douglas, Vultee, and Boeing, and naval shipyards, including Wilmington, San Pedro, and Todd Pacific.⁹¹ Filipina women joined their fellow countrymen in the workforce during World War II. Helen Summers Brown, also known as "Auntie Helen" and the founder of the Filipino American Library in later years, worked as a welder for the California Shipbuilding Corporation in Wilmington and was a member of the Boilermakers' Union Local 92 during World War II.⁹² In addition to joining the U.S. military and the local workforce, Filipinos also purchased war bonds and supported humanitarian relief efforts in the Philippines. In 1945, the *Los Angeles Times* reported a donation of over 9000 pounds of clothing donated by the local Filipino community in one day as part of the United National Clothing Collection.⁹³



Helen Summers Brown's California Shipbuilding Corporation Work Badge and Union Cards, 1943 (Los Angeles Public Library, Shades of L.A. Collection).

In the wake of the removal and forcible incarceration of Japanese Americans on the West Coast during the war, many Filipinos were recruited to fill the labor vacuum left by Japanese agricultural workers. Scholar Shelley Sang-Hee Lee writes, "In Los Angeles, [Filipinos] made inroads into truck farming, a field previously dominated by Japanese Americans, and also purchased farmland in the San Fernando Valley and Torrance-Gardena in areas once controlled by Japanese that had been appropriated by the government."⁹⁴ According to Lee, the war brought attention to the unclear status of Filipinos in the U.S. "Sometimes treated as 'aliens,' and other times 'nationals' and 'citizens,' they were subject to the provisions of the Alien Registration Act of 1940, yet were classed as national and citizens with respect to

⁹⁰ Mario Paguia Ave, "Characteristics of Filipino Social Organizations in Los Angeles," 51. The monument was designed in 1955 by Roger Noble Burnham. Westlake Park was renamed MacArthur Park in the early 1940s.

⁹¹ Shelley Sang-Hee Lee, *A New History of Asian America* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 229; España-Maram, *Creating Masculinity in Los Angeles's Little Manila*, 152.

⁹² Ibanez and Ibanez, *Filipinos in Carson and the South Bay*, 33.

⁹³ "Clothing Drive Here Extended to May 12," *Los Angeles Times*, April 27, 1945.

⁹⁴ Sang-Hee Lee, *A New History of Asian America*, 229.

the Neutrality Act and Selective Service Act.”⁹⁵ Fomented by the widespread praise for Philippine fighters during the war and the passage of the Magnuson Act of 1943, which repealed the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 and its extensions, Filipinos in the America pushed to expand their rights in the U.S.⁹⁶

Post-World War II and Maturing of the Community, 1946-1964

On July 2, 1946, a bill that would grant Native Americans immigration and naturalization rights, introduced by Emanuel Celler of New York in 1944, was combined with a separate naturalization bill for Filipinos brought forth by Clare Booth Luce. The Luce-Cellar Act, granting citizenship eligibility to persons of Native American and Filipino descent, was passed two days before President Harry Truman proclaimed Philippine Independence, relinquishing U.S. sovereignty that had been in place since 1898.⁹⁷ The transition from a commonwealth government to an independent nation had been more than ten years in the making and would once again reshape relations between the U.S. and the Philippines.

Between 1946 and 1965, nearly 40,000 Filipinos immigrated to the U.S.⁹⁸ After the U.S. returned full leadership to the Philippines in 1946, the immigration quota for the Philippines was raised from fifty to one hundred, the same annual immigration quota as for other Asian countries. Filipinos were no longer classified as U.S. nationals, and became eligible for U.S. citizenship through the Filipino Naturalization Act. There were other pieces of legislation, which allowed Filipino immigrants to bypass the restrictions set by the new immigration quota, most notably the War Brides Acts of 1945 and 1947, and the Veterans’ Alien Fiancées Act of 1946, which allowed foreign wives, fiancées, and children of soldiers to enter the country.⁹⁹ In 1947, the U.S.-Philippine Military Bases Agreement permitted the U.S. Navy to continue enlisting Filipinos, who entered the country as non-quota immigrants.¹⁰⁰ According to scholar Yen Le Espiritu, “With the onset of the Korean War in the early 1950s, the U.S. Navy allowed for the enrollment of up to two thousand Filipinos per calendar year for terms of four to six years.”¹⁰¹

⁹⁵ Ibid., 237.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 238.

⁹⁸ James A. Tyner, “Filipinos: The Invisible Ethnic Community,” in *Contemporary Ethnic Geographies in America*, eds. Ines M. Miyares and Christopher A. Airriess (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2007), 255.

⁹⁹ Baldoz, *The Third Asiatic Invasion*, 227-228.

¹⁰⁰ Barbara M. Posadas, *The Filipino Americans* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1999), 30.

¹⁰¹ Yen Le Espiritu, *Homebound: Filipino American Lives Across Cultures, Communities, and Countries* (Berkeley, CA: University of California, 2003), 28.

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In the postwar years, population growth and urban renewal reshaped Los Angeles. Through the 1950s, an annual average of 1,200 Filipino women immigrated to the U.S. as war brides, transforming Filipino American communities. Adding to the numbers of Filipino women who entered the U.S. during this period were those who came as participants of the Exchange Visitor Program (EVP) of the State Department, which offered foreign nursing graduates an opportunity for two-year postgraduate study and clinical training in U.S. hospitals on the condition that they return to their homeland after their training.¹⁰² After completing their programs many Filipino nurses found ways to avoid returning to the Philippines, including marrying U.S. citizens, immigrating to Canada, exiting the U.S. through Canada or Mexico, and then reentering the U.S. as students, and petitioning for a waiver.¹⁰³



Filipino servicemen and friends gather around woman at table in Downtown Los Angeles to celebrate the end of World War II. (Los Angeles Public Library, Shades of L.A. Collection).



Roger Noble Burnham's 1955 MacArthur Monument in MacArthur Park at 2230 W 6th Street (Photo by Ruth Wallach, USC Librarians).

¹⁰² Yang, *Asian Immigration to the United States*, 103.

¹⁰³ Catherine Ceniza Choy, *Empire of Care: Nursing and Migration in Filipino American History* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 103.

Though there were still many live-in Filipino domestic workers scattered throughout Los Angeles, and Filipino service sector workers concentrated in Downtown and Hollywood, there was also a growing number of Filipino American families in the 1940s and 1950s transitioning into single-family homes. From 1944 to 1952, Filipino veterans took advantage of the GI Bill's home loan guaranty, which aided in the purchase of homes.



Filipino Community Center of Los Angeles Harbor Area at 323 Mar Vista Ave (Photo by author).

Following the war, many Filipinos returned to their old neighborhoods in San Pedro and Wilmington, where they found work, housing, and a sense of belonging. In 1945, Filipinos living in San Pedro, Wilmington, and Long Beach formed the Filipino Community of Los Angeles Harbor Area, Inc., and one year later pooled their resources to build a community hall at 323 Mar Vista Avenue in Wilmington to provide a community gathering place for Filipinos in Los Angeles for decades to come.¹⁰⁴ The Filipino Community Center attracted several Filipino families to stay, or move to Wilmington and San Pedro in the 1950s and 1960s.¹⁰⁵ In the 1960s, Filipinos could also take advantage of newly built Navy housing on Western Avenue in Northwest San Pedro, which housed hundreds of enlistees and their families until the Long Beach Naval Station closed in 1995.¹⁰⁶ Several churches served as anchors for the Filipino

¹⁰⁴ The organization remained very active through the 1970s, when it housed the Pilipino Youth Center (PYC), a program staffed by UCLA student volunteers. To date, the center remains in use by the local Filipino community. Ibanez and Estapa Ibanez, *Filipinos in Carson and the South Bay*, 25, 42. See also, Aquino, "The Filipino Community in Los Angeles," 84.

¹⁰⁵ Information provided by Florante Ibanez, author, active member of the Los Angeles Filipino American community, and contributor to this project.

¹⁰⁶ Donna Littlejohn, "Navy Housing Demolition Begins in San Pedro, Clearing Way for Ponte Vista Development," *Daily Breeze*, May 8, 2014, accessed on August 12, 2017, <http://www.dailybreeze.com/business/20140508/navy-housing-demolition-begins-in-san-pedro-clearing-way-for-ponte-vista-development>.

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community in the area during this time, including First United Methodist Church (928 Lagoon Avenue), Saints Peter & Paul Catholic Church (515 W Opp St), and Filipino United Christian Church (not extant).

Lured by jobs in the booming defense industry and the fish cannery industry, Filipinos in the Los Angeles Harbor area found greater economic stability. Many Filipinos became welders, technicians, assembly or office workers, or engineers.¹⁰⁷ Others operated businesses on S. Beacon Street between 4th and 5th Streets in San Pedro. The Filipino Social Club, Pearl Harbor Café, and Our Café were all located on South Beacon Street.¹⁰⁸ In the 1960s, many business owners on Beacon Street, between 3rd and 7th Streets had moved away and the area deteriorated into “a crime-infested slum.”¹⁰⁹ In April 1969, the City of Los Angeles City Council approval of the Beacon Street Redevelopment Project gave way to the purchase of land, relocation of at least 55 Beacon Street residents, and the subsequent demolition of the area’s old buildings, including all known Filipino businesses of the 1940s. It is unknown exactly when the Filipino business owners on Beacon Street left the area. According to Ibanez, following redevelopment of Beacon Street, Filipino businesses serving the local community appeared in Wilmington as well as in the cities of Long Beach and Carson.¹¹⁰



Beacon Street Redevelopment Project Area 1973 (Los Angeles Time Photo Archives, UCLA Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library)

¹⁰⁷ R. T. Feria, “War and the Status of Filipino Immigrants,” *Sociology and Social Research* 31, no. 2 (1946): 51.

¹⁰⁸ 1949 Los Angeles Directory Co’s San Pedro and Wilmington City Directory.

¹⁰⁹ In April 1969, the City of Los Angeles City Council approval of the Beacon Street Redevelopment Project gave way to the purchase of land, relocation of at least 55 Beacon Street residents, and the subsequent demolition of the area’s old buildings, including all known Filipino businesses of the 1940s. It is unknown exactly when the Filipino business owners on Beacon Street left the area. See Jerry Ruhlow, “Era ended: Beacon St. Looks Back and Ahead,” *Los Angeles Times*, November 28, 1976.

¹¹⁰ Ibanez and Ibanez, *Filipinos in Carson and the South Bay*, 10.



L: Filipino-owned Pearl Harbor Cafe with Olympic Barber Shop on the left were located on Beacon Street in San Pedro in the 1940s (Courtesy of San Pedro Bay Historical Society). R: Filipino workers at Starkist Cannery at Terminal Island, n.d. (Courtesy of ZoAnn Villacorte-Laurent family).

In the postwar years, the City’s redevelopment efforts in the Central City spurred the disappearance of Bunker Hill—and Little Manila with it—from the Downtown landscape. Bernardo explains,

The passage of the California Community Redevelopment Law in 1945 and 1949 gave local municipalities the legal and economic foundation to eradicate areas of “urban blight.” In 1948, the Los Angeles City Council established the Community Redevelopment Agency (CRA) and immediately coordinated the study of neighborhoods deemed as “deteriorating.” Bunker Hill became one of the prime targets because of its proximity to the downtown core.¹¹¹

Adding to Downtown’s changing landscape was the 1952-1954 construction of a new Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) headquarters later named Parker Center, which broke ground on the western edge of Little Tokyo along First and Los Angeles Streets. The new headquarters resulted in the eviction of many Filipino, African American, and Japanese American residents, businesses, and organizations within the project site, including the church of the Filipino American Christian Fellowship.¹¹² A few years later, the CRA applied for and obtained federal funding for the Bunker Hill Urban Renewal Project, which eventually leveled hundreds of multi-unit apartments.¹¹³ By the mid-1950s, almost all of Little Manila, Bunker Hill, and the Temple-Figueroa district had been destroyed by redevelopment and construction of the Hollywood Freeway (Highway 101) and the Harbor Freeway (Interstate 110).

¹¹¹ Bernardo, From “Little Brown Brothers” to “Forgotten Asian Americans”: Race, Space, and Empire in Filipino Los Angeles,” 228.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 227.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 229.

The Hollywood Freeway sliced right through the Temple Street neighborhood and the north side of Bunker Hill, while the Harbor Freeway bisected the Hollywood Freeway and went through the Temple-Beaudry area. As early as 1945, over five hundred Filipinos and Mexicans were served eviction notices around the Temple-Figueroa area to make way for the Hollywood Freeway.¹¹⁴

Following the massive redevelopment of Downtown Los Angeles, the Temple-Beverly neighborhood, known as Historic Filipinotown, was among the areas where Filipinos settled and raised families.¹¹⁵ Bounded by the 101 Freeway to the north, Beverly Boulevard to the south, Glendale Boulevard to the east, and Hoover Street to the west, the neighborhood provided available housing and two Filipino community's touchstones, the Filipino Christian Church (City of Los Angeles Historic-Cultural Monument No. 651) and St. Columban Catholic Church.

During the postwar period, St. Columban Catholic Church and the Filipino Christian Church congregations relocated to the Temple-Beverly area. The growing local Filipino Catholic community, which had been leasing a building at 1035 S. Fedora Street to hold Sunday mass, purchased an old fire station at 125 S. Loma Drive and soon repurposed it to serve as a church. St. Columban held its first Sunday mass in the new location on January 1, 1947. In 1950, the Filipino Christian Church purchased



Wedding party outside of St. Columban Catholic Church in the 1950s includes Frank Aquino, front row, third from left; Ted Aquino, front row, seventh from left; Severo Doria Gubatan, last row near door in middle, third from left; Anne Ferrer, first row, eighth bridesmaid from right; Eddie Ferrer, first row, standing between two women on right (Courtesy of Filipino American Library).

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 231.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 209.

the former Union Avenue Methodist Church building and moved the congregation from its Chinatown location to 301 N. Union Avenue, where it remains.



*Filipino alumni homecoming event and worship service at the Filipino Christian Church, 1951
(Los Angeles Public Library, Shades of L.A. Collection)*

In the Temple-Beverly area during this period, Filipinos resided on Union Avenue, Burlington Avenue, Westlake Avenue, Court Street, Carondelet Street, and farther west on Reno Street.¹¹⁶ Filipino-owned businesses developed primarily along Temple Street and Beverly Boulevard, including restaurants, neighborhood markets, dry cleaners, photo studios, insurance agencies, and barbershops.¹¹⁷ Some of these businesses served as important community gathering spaces such as Jimmy's Mini Mart (also known as Jimmy's Market) at 1122 W. Temple Street (not extant), Morong Café at 1700 Beverly Boulevard (later Little Ongpin), and the original location of Travelers Café on Temple Street, between Figueroa Street and Beaudry



*Travelers Cafe (now Tribal Cafe) at 1651 W Temple Street in the 1980s
(Royal Morales Papers, Library of Congress).*

¹¹⁶ Information provided by Lorna Dumapias and Carlene Sobrino Bonnivier, both active members of the Los Angeles Filipino American community and contributors to this project.

¹¹⁷ "Filipino Historical Establishments in Los Angeles," (2017, photocopy, in author's possession).

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Avenue. The first location of Travelers Café was known to be a hangout of writer Carlos Bulosan, who spent most of his writing life in Los Angeles.¹¹⁸ In the 1960s, Travelers Café (later Tribal Café) relocated to 1651 W. Temple Street.¹¹⁹

Some of the notable Filipino entrepreneurs during this time include Dr. Primitiva Demandante Asprin, the first Filipina physician to practice in Los Angeles, who operated a clinical laboratory at 809 N. Avalon Boulevard (extant/altered) in Wilmington in the early 1950s. Bar owner Ray Buhen, after twenty



Tiki-Ti at 4427 Sunset Boulevard (Photo by author).

years of bartending in Los Angeles, opened his own Polynesian-themed tiki bar, Tiki-Ti, at 4427 Sunset Boulevard in 1961. Augustin Cruz operated Philippine Knitting Mill, a clothing and tailoring services at 1152 W. 7th Street (not extant). G. Monty Manibog, one of the first Filipinos to pass the California State Bar exam in 1961, was the first Filipino American to be elected to public office in Southern California as Mayor of Monterey Park. Manibog opened a law practice at 1725 West Beverly Boulevard in Temple-Beverly area in the early 1960s and practiced law at the location through the 1970s.¹²⁰

¹¹⁸ Carlos Bulosan is best remembered for his 1946 semi-autobiographical novel *America is in the Heart*, published while he lived in Los Angeles. In addition to the Central Library in Downtown Los Angeles, eight residential addresses in Los Angeles have been linked to Bulosan. "Residences" from FBI redacted files in *Filipinotown: Voices from Los Angeles*, eds. Carlene Sobrino Bonnavier, Gerald G. Gubatan, and Gregory Villanueva (CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2014), 80.

¹¹⁹ Tribal Café occupies the east side storefront.

¹²⁰ Aquino, "The Filipino Community in Los Angeles," 65; "About Us," *Manibog Law PC*, accessed August 9, 2017, <http://manibog.com/about-us/>; "History," *Tiki-Ti*, (Jeff "Beachbum" Berry, "The Ray Buhen Story"), accessed August 9, 2017, <http://www.tiki-ti.com/pages/ray.html>.

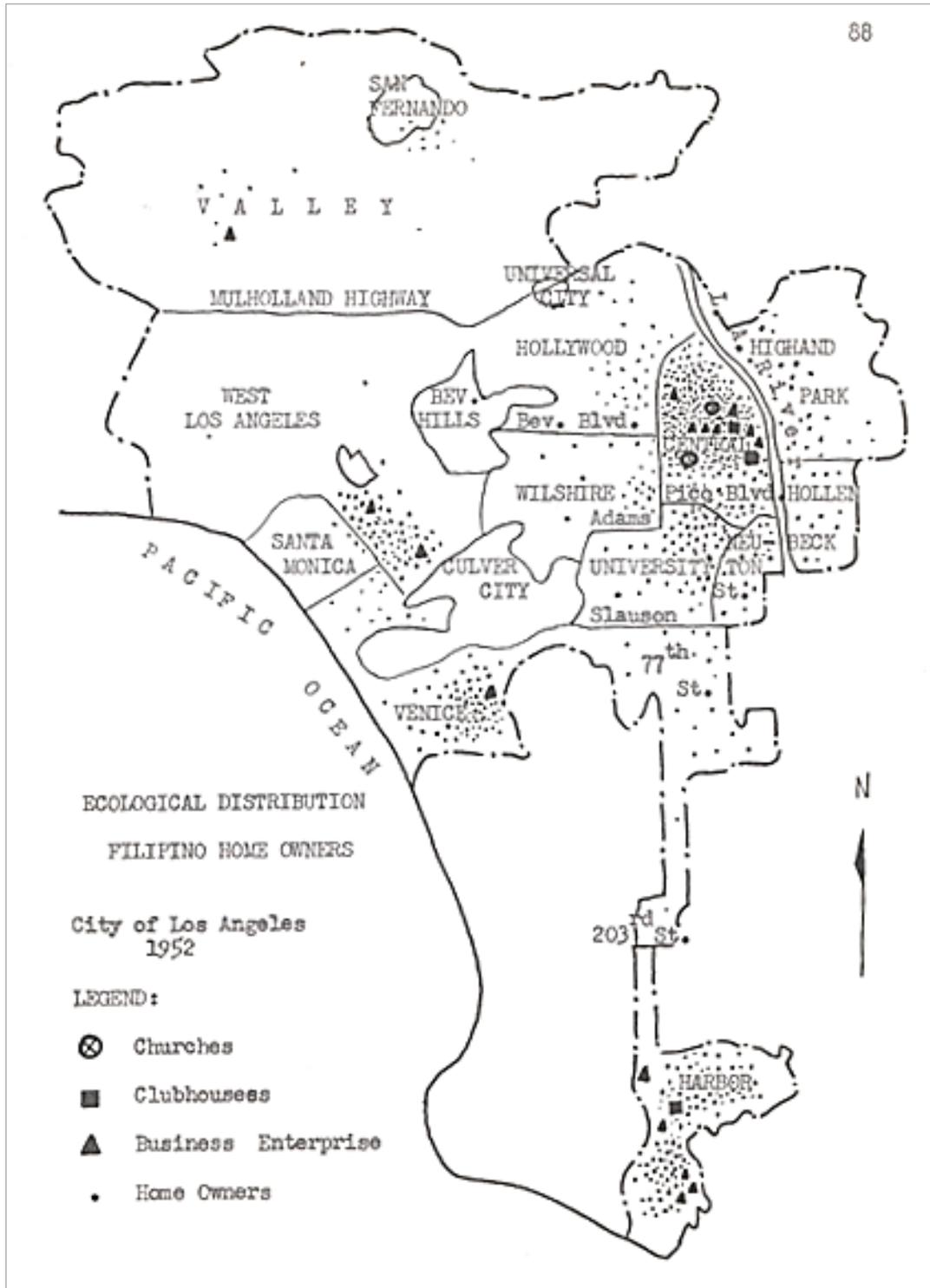


Left: Carlene Sobrino Bonnavier on the back porch of her family home at 330 N. Westlake Avenue in the Temple-Beverly neighborhood (Courtesy of Carlene Sobrino Bonnavier). Middle: Navy Housing in San Pedro. (Courtesy of Florante Ibanez). Right: Dorothy and son at home in Venice, ca. 1945 (Los Angeles Public Library, Shades of L.A. Collection).

In the early 1950s, as part of his masters' thesis research, graduate student Valentin Aquino created a social spot map of Filipino homeowners in Los Angeles. He distributed three hundred surveys to married Filipinos who resided in Los Angeles and found a number of important facts about the study group, including dialects spoken, legal status, religious affiliation, and nationality of wives. Aquino found that Filipino homeowners were scattered throughout Los Angeles, though feelings of provincialism did play a role in clustered settlement patterns: "I bought a house here because I want to be near my townmates. My wife feels happier to be with her own kind (Filipino women) than with other nationality groups. Furthermore, many of our relatives live in this neighborhood."¹²¹ To the contrary, another Filipino homeowner provided: "I did not really care where I could buy a house. Any place will suit me as long as it suits my purse."¹²² According to Aquino's map, in the early 1950s the Filipino homeowner community was scattered throughout the city, with the densest concentrations in the Temple-Beverly and San Pedro/Wilmington areas. Filipino homeowners could also be found in Venice and West Los Angeles.

¹²¹ Aquino, "The Filipino Community in Los Angeles," 46.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 47.



Valentin Aquino's "Social Spot Map," showing the distribution of Filipino homeowners in Los Angeles, 1952.

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Left: Filipina nurses representing the Filipino Community of Los Angeles, Inc. at an event held at Los Angeles City Hall, 1961 (Los Angeles Public Library, Shades of L.A. Collection). Right: Two sailors from the U.S.S. Iowa at the corner of Temple and Figueroa Streets in Los Angeles, ca. 1947 (Los Angeles Public Library, Shades of L.A. Collection).

In 1965, following a period of fundraising supported by the Filipino community, the Filipino American Community of Los Angeles (FACLA)—which began as a halfway house for Filipino farmworkers who settled in Los Angeles in the late 1940s—added an annex and a social hall at 1740 West Temple Street. FACLA became a community fixture in the postwar period. Since its opening FACLA’s building has been an important hub of the local Filipino community. Over the years, the building has housed events such as dances, celebrations, and community meetings, including those organized by the American Legion’s Manila, Post #464.



Filipino American Cultural Center of Los Angeles, 2017 (Photo by author).

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During this period, additional churches and their attendant religious schools continued to do their part to cultivate the spiritual lives and bring Filipino Americans together. Important religious traditions, celebrations, and church-sponsored events were held throughout the city at such churches as Our Lady of Loretto Catholic Church at 250 N. Union Avenue in Temple-Beverly, Precious Blood Catholic Church at 435 South Occidental Boulevard in Westlake, Immaculate Heart of Mary Church at 4954 Santa Monica Boulevard in Hollywood, and St. John's in the Valley Methodist Church at 20600 Roscoe Boulevard (not extant). Our Lady of Loretto Elementary School at 258 N. Union Avenue in Temple-Beverly, Precious Blood Catholic School at 307 S. Occidental in Echo Park, and Saints Peter and Paul School at 706 Bay View Ave in Wilmington were known to have had Filipino students in their respective school populations.



Left: Our Lady of Loretto Catholic Church at 250 N. Union Avenue, 2017 (Photo by author); Right: Our Lady of Loretto Elementary School at 258 N. Union Avenue, 2017 (Photo by author).

Filipino American Los Angeles, 1965-1980

With the Immigration Act of 1965, the national-origins quotas were eliminated and replaced with an emphasis on family reunification. According to scholar James Tyner, changes in U.S. immigration legislation occurred during a period of profound social, economic, and political changes within the Philippines.¹²³ President Ferdinand Marcos ruled as a dictator under martial law for much of his Presidency. From 1964 to the 1970s, the number of Filipino entrants to the U.S. rose tenfold, from approximately 3,000 immigrants per year to more than 30,000.¹²⁴ The largest wave of Filipino immigration observed in Los Angeles was during this period (**Table 2**).

¹²³ Tyner, "Filipinos: The Invisible Ethnic Community," 255.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 256.

Table 2: Filipinos in the United States, 1910-2010¹²⁵

Year	Population in the United States
1910	160
1920	5,603
1930	45,208
1940	45,563
1950	61,636*
1960	176,310
1970	343,060
1980	774,652
1990	1,406,770
2000	2,364,815
2010	3,416,840

In addition to family-sponsored immigration, employment-based preferences were also a major path of Filipino immigration to the U.S. in the late 1960s. From 1966 to 1970, more than 4,300 Filipino engineers and scientists—including social scientists—immigrated to the U.S., plus approximately 3,000 physicians and surgeons.¹²⁶ Nurses from the Philippines had already become a presence in the U.S. due to the Exchange Visitor Program of the 1950s. Even more Filipino nurses and other health care professionals entered the U.S. after the passage of the Immigration Act of 1965, due to additional provisions made to accommodate health care professionals.¹²⁷ Many scholars argued that the changes to U.S. immigration policies in the 1960s caused the Philippines to experience a “brain-drain.”¹²⁸

In the late 1960s, a new generation of Filipino immigrants joined first, second, and third generation Filipino Americans living in the Temple-Beverly area and Wilmington, and also settled in other parts of Los Angeles. Panorama City’s Kaiser Permanente Hospital, which opened in the early 1960s, eventually attracted Filipino nurses to the area. Many Filipino health care professionals have gravitated to residential areas near large hospitals in Hollywood and the San Fernando Valley. According to Paul Dia, the 1990s saw a decline of the Filipino population in the older, poorer enclaves such as the Temple-Beverly neighborhood.¹²⁹ Upwardly mobile Filipinos moved to Silver Lake and Eagle Rock by the 1980s, while others chose various cities in Los Angeles County, including West Covina, Diamond Bar, Carson, Long Beach, and Cerritos.¹³⁰

¹²⁵ Campbell Gibson and Kay Jung, *Historical Census Statistics on Population Totals by Race, 1790 to 1990, and By Hispanic Origin, 1970-1990, For the United States, Regions, Divisions, and States*. Washington, D.C., 2002; U.S. Census Bureau with 2010 addition by author. *This number is an estimate. In 1950 the census data on Filipinos was not published in the general census volumes although the census did include a subject report on the geographic regions with the highest Filipino population in the United States.

¹²⁶ Benjamin V. Cariño, James T. Fawcett, Robert W. Gardner, and Fred Arnold, *The New Filipino Immigrants to the United States: Increasing Diversity and Change* (Honolulu: East-West Center, 1990), 53.

¹²⁷ Barbara M. Posadas, *The Filipino Americans*, 38.

¹²⁸ Cariño, Fawcett, and Arnold, *The New Filipino Immigrants to the United States: Increasing Diversity and Change*.

¹²⁹ Paul Dia, “The Filipino Community,” (student paper, Loyola Marymount University, May 15, 2003), n.p.

¹³⁰ Tyner, “Filipinos: The Invisible Ethnic Community,” 49.

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Filipino Americans in Los Angeles, 1903-1980

In the 1970s and 1980s, FACLA continued to allow Filipino community groups to use their facility for meetings. In the early 1970s, additional social service and cultural heritage-based projects emerged in and around the Temple-Beverly neighborhood, including those facilitated by Search to Involve Pilipino Americans (SIPA), first established at 3107 W. Beverly Boulevard and then moved to 3228 W. Temple Street.¹³¹ Silayan Dance Company, founded by Philippine dance authority Asuncion “Sonia” Capadocia, also emerged during this time.¹³² Capadocia taught young inner city youth Filipino folk dances in a reconverted garage at her Reno Street home.¹³³ She eventually assembled a fifty-member dance group that performed pieces featuring traditional Filipino instruments and costumes in Los Angeles and throughout California.¹³⁴ In 1974, Sulu Unlimited, a community-based program, began offering Filipino martial arts, folk dance, visual arts, music, poetry, and history available to community members at 1689 Beverly Boulevard.¹³⁵ These community-based organizations and projects reflected emerging forms of Filipino American political identity and cultural development.



Search to Involve Pilipino Americans at 3228 W Temple St (SIPA), 2017 (Photo by author).

In addition to the community work developing in the Temple-Beverly area, the Filipino Community Center in Wilmington housed the Pilipino Youth Center (PYC), a program staffed by UCLA student volunteers in the 1970s.¹³⁶ Also giving voice to Filipino Americans and other Asian American in Los Angeles during this period were community-based theater arts organization East West Players, media arts organization Visual Communications, and Amerasia Bookstore, all established in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

¹³¹ SIPA’s original location was at 3228 W. Temple Street.

¹³² *Silayan* is a Tagalog term meaning reflection.

¹³³ Information provided by Dulce Capadocia, active member of the Los Angeles Filipino American community and contributor to this project.

¹³⁴ “Our History,” *Dulce Capadocia*, accessed August 9, 2017, <http://dulcecapadocia.org/our-history.html>.

¹³⁵ “The Filipino Community: On the Move in the Temple District,” *Gidra* 6, no. 2 (February 1974).

¹³⁶ Ibanez and Ibanez, *Filipinos in Carson and the South Bay*, 42.

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Los Angeles was one of several critical West Coast sites of Asian American struggle in the 1970s. Established in the 1969-1970 academic year, the Asian American Studies Center at UCLA played an important role in developing support for Asian American students, faculty, and community organizations in Los Angeles, and was an important hub for Filipino American and Asian American activists. UCLA is considered the premier research and teaching institution in the field of Asian American Studies, housing the nation's largest Asian American Studies Library and Archive, which includes the rare Asian American newspapers *Gidra* (1969-1974) and *Katipunan* (1971-1991), both of which covered stories on Filipinos in Los Angeles.¹³⁷

In 1971, Filipino American students and community leaders from across the country, including a three-person delegation sent by SIPA, gathered in Seattle at the Young Filipino People's Far West Convention (later the Filipino Far West Convention) to address important issues impacting Filipinos in America. During its ten plus year run, three conventions were held in Los Angeles, at UCLA (1974 and 1978) and California State University, Los Angeles (1982).¹³⁸ In 1973, Third World organization *Katipunan ng mga Demokratikong Pilipino* (KDP) was established to organize Filipino Americans around an anti-imperialism and anti-racism agenda and had a chapter in Los Angeles.¹³⁹ The FWC was an important venue for KDP and other Filipino progressives to address important community issues.¹⁴⁰ Organizers and participants of Filipino Far West Convention from the greater Los Angeles area, and others, developed Filipino American studies curriculum, supported Filipino farmworker activism, and became active in the struggle to win citizenship and military pension and benefits for Filipino World War II veterans.



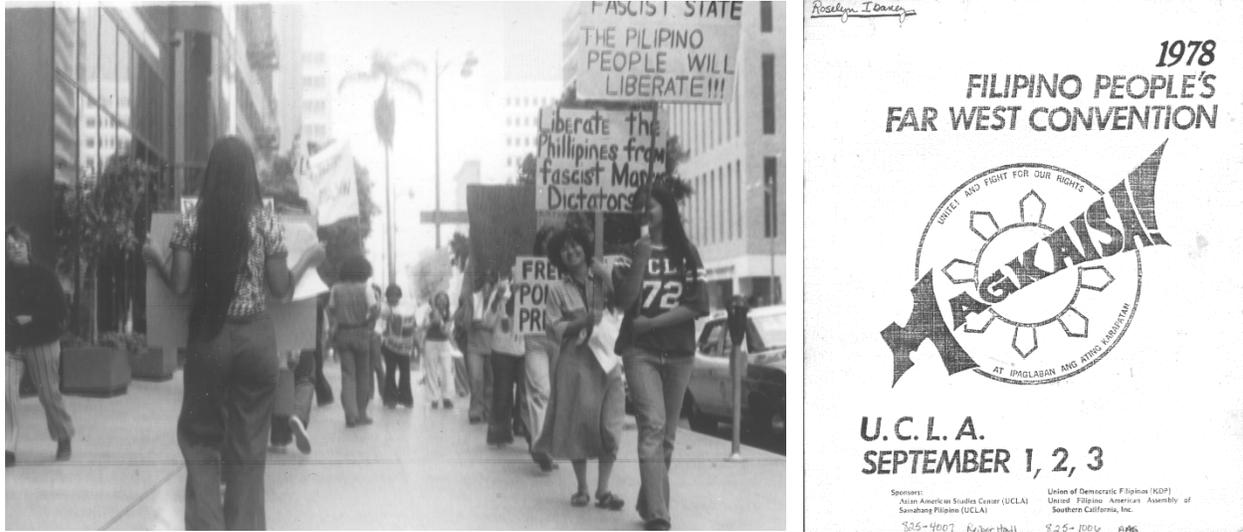
Clockwise - Founder Asuncion "Sonia" Capadocia of Silayan Dance Company; Dulce Capadocia, Artistic Director of Dulce Capadocia/Silayan Dance Company; Dulce Capadocia performing in the late 1970s (Image courtesy of Dulce Capadocia).

¹³⁷ "Bibliographic/Information Management," *UCLA Asian American Studies Center*, accessed August 9, 2017, <http://www.aasc.ucla.edu/library/rrmore.aspx#specialcollections>.

¹³⁸ Florante Ibanez, "The Phenomena and the Politics of the Filipino People's Far West Convention: 1970s-1980s," (student paper, University of California, Los Angeles, December 8, 2003), 6-13.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 167.

¹⁴⁰ Helen Toribio, "We are Revolution: A Reflective History of the Union of Democratic Filipinos (KDP)," *Amerasia Journal* 24, no. 2 (1998): 162.



Left: Anti-Marcos demonstration on Wilshire Boulevard in Los Angeles in the 1970s (Royal Morales Collection). Right: Filipino People's Far West Convention Program, UCLA Asian American Studies Center, September 1978. (Image courtesy of Florante Ibanez).

A growing appreciation of the contributions of Filipino Americans and Asian Americans in Los Angeles was evidenced in 1972 with the launch of The Day of the Lotus (later Lotus Festival), organized by the City's Department of Recreation and Parks and the Council of Oriental Organization (COO).¹⁴¹ The festival, held at Echo Park, was created to promote awareness of the contributions by Asian Americans to the city's culture and communities, and focused on a different Asian ethnicity each year.



Thai, Filipino Thai, Filipino, and Korean booths at the Lotus Festival in Echo Park, 1977 (Los Angeles Public Library, Herald-Examiner Collection).

¹⁴¹ Kelly, "Brief History of the Lotus Festival," July 10, 2010, *Echo Park Now*, accessed August 8, 2017, <http://www.echoparknow.com/2010/07/10/brief-history-of-the-lotus-festival/>.

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In addition to the social service agencies, cultural organizations, and political activism that emerged during this period, churches added to the landscape of places associated with Filipino American history in Los Angeles. In 1967, St. Columban Church grew to need a larger space and commissioned the construction of a new church building on the site of the repurposed fire station they had occupied since the 1940s in Temple-Beverly.¹⁴² The church includes historic Spanish church bells from Antipolo, Philippines. Additional churches included the Congregational Christian Church at 2400 West Temple Street, Los Angeles Filipino-American United Church of Christ at 5080 Maywood Avenue, St. Bernard Catholic Church at 2500 West Avenue 33, and St. Genevieve Catholic Church at 14061 Roscoe Boulevard.

1967, St. Columban Church grew to need a larger space and commissioned the construction of a new church building on the site of the repurposed fire station they had occupied since the 1940s in Temple-Beverly. Today the church includes historic Spanish church bells from Antipolo, Philippines. Additional churches included the Congregational Christian Church at 2400 West Temple Street, Los Angeles Filipino-American United Church of Christ at 5080 Maywood Avenue, St. Bernard Catholic Church at 2500 West Avenue 33, and St. Genevieve Catholic Church at 14061 Roscoe Boulevard.



*St. Columban Church, built in the 1960s, at 125 S Loma Dr., 2017
(Photo by author).*

In the Temple-Beverly area, a commercial presence continued during this period on Temple Street and Beverly Boulevard, most evidenced by two shopping plazas on Temple, Filipinas Plaza (later Temple Plaza) at 2431 West Temple and Luzon Plaza at 1925 West Temple, established in the late 1970s. Augustin Cruz's Philippine Knitting Mill—relocated from Downtown to the Temple-Beverly area in the late 1960s and in operation at least through the early 1970s—is a lesser-known example located at 3114 Beverly Boulevard. Other notable commercial establishments developed in the 1970s were Burlington Nursery School and Kindergarten located at 242 N. Burlington Avenue and Bernie's Teriyaki at 318 Glendale Boulevard, believed to be the oldest, continuously operated Filipino-owned restaurant in the neighborhood.

In 2002, after years of community effort to bring attention to the important contributions made by Filipino Americans in Los Angeles, the City Council unanimously approved the designation of a portion of the Temple-Beverly corridor as Los Angeles' Historic Filipinotown. That same year, an effort to designate a 1.3-mile stretch of Eagle Rock Boulevard as Philippine Village, recognizing the history of Filipinos in Eagle Rock, was unsuccessful, though the City Council approved a sign not far from Eagle Rock Plaza that

¹⁴²"About us," St. Columban Church Los Angeles, accessed March 1, 2018, https://www.stcolumbanla.org/about_us.

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read “Philippine Village Community Center.”¹⁴³ Historic Filipinotown is home to such community landmarks as the Filipino World War II Veterans Memorial at 227 N. Lake in Lake Street Park and *Gintong Kasaysayan, Gintong Pamana* at Unidad Park, 1666 Beverly Blvd., the country’s largest mural depicting Filipino and Filipino American history.¹⁴⁴ Two Iglesia Ni Cristo churches rendered in the distinct Philippine Iglesia Ni Cristo-style architecture located at 14308 Nordoff Street and 141 N. Union Avenue are other additions to the Filipino American landscape in Los Angeles. These important historic and cultural resources take their place alongside the neighborhoods, businesses, churches, and institutions that have served the Filipino American and greater Los Angeles community for nearly a century.



Gintong Kasaysayan, Gintong Pamana mural by Eliseo Art Silva in Unidad Park, Historic Filipinotown, 2017 (Photo by author).

¹⁴³ Eagle Rock Plaza is also known by local Filipino Americans as the “Mall of Manila,” housing several popular Philippine restaurant franchises and the grocery store Seafood City. See Anna Gorman, “A Thriving Filipino Community is Anchored by a Mall,” *Los Angeles Times*, August 21, 2007.

¹⁴⁴ *Gintong Kasaysayan, Gintong Pamana* is the Tagalog title of Eliseo Art Silva’s mural in Unidad Park in Historic Filipinotown. The English title is *A Glorious History, A Golden Legacy*.

ASSOCIATED PROPERTY TYPES AND ELIGIBILITY REQUIREMENTS

The “Property Types and Eligibility Standards” were developed as part of the Asian American in Los Angeles National Register Multiple Property Documentation (MPD) form and are applicable to all five Asian American contexts of the MPD. Though they focus on eligibility for listing in the National Register of Historic Places, they are easily adaptable for use in evaluating property eligibility for listing in the California Register of Historical Resources (CR) and/or as a local Historic-Cultural Monument (HCM). The criteria for these programs parallel criteria used for the National Register. Some considerations in applying the standards under HCM and CR criteria for designation are below.

- Criterion A of the National Register is the equivalent of Criterion 1 for HCM and the CR.
- Criterion B of the National Register is the equivalent of Criterion 2 for HCM and the CR.
- Criterion C of the National Register is the equivalent of Criterion 3 for HCM and the CR.
- There is no 50 year rule for eligibility for listing in the CR or as an HCM. Therefore, Criterion G, “must be of exception importance if less than 50 years of age” does not apply.
- Integrity considerations may vary in some cases when applied under CR and HCM criteria.
- Commercial signs are not included as a property type eligible for the National Register. However, signs may meet significance threshold for local listing as an HCM. To evaluate signs see the “Commercial Signs” theme of the Citywide Historic Context Statement.
- The local Historic Preservation Overlay Zone (HPOZ) ordinance criteria may apply to historic districts.

This section assists with the identification and evaluation of properties that may be significant for their association with Asian American history in Los Angeles under one of the five historic contexts of this MPDF. A wide range of property types has been identified and the different types are referenced throughout the contexts.

Properties may be eligible under Criteria A, B, C, and/or D of the National Register:

- A: that are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of history,
- B: that are associated with the lives of persons significant in the past,
- C: that embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction; represent the work of a master; possess high artistic values; or represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction,
- D: that have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Criteria Consideration A: Religious Properties

A religious property is eligible if it derives its primary significance from architectural or artistic distinction or historical importance.

Criteria Consideration B: Moved Properties

A property removed from its original or historically significant location can be eligible if it is significant primarily for architectural value or it is the surviving property most importantly associated with a historic person or event.

Criteria Consideration C: Birthplaces of Graves

A birthplace or grave of a historical figure is eligible if the person is of outstanding importance and no other appropriate site or building exists directly associated with his or her productive life.

Criteria Consideration D: Cemeteries

A cemetery is eligible if it derives its primary significance from graves of persons of transcendent importance, age, distinctive design features, or association with historic events.

Criteria Consideration E: Reconstructed Properties

A reconstructed property is eligible when it is accurately executed in a suitable environment and presented in a dignified manner as part of a restoration master plan and when no other building or structure with the same associations has survived. All three requirements must be met.

Criteria Consideration F: Commemorative Properties

A property primarily commemorative in intent can be eligible if design, age, tradition, or symbolic value has invested it with its own historical significance.

Criteria Consideration G: Properties That Have Achieved Significance Within the Past Fifty Years

A property achieving significance within the past fifty years is eligible if it is of *exceptional importance*.

Fifty years is a general estimate of the time needed to develop historical perspective and to evaluate significance. This consideration guards against the listing of properties of passing contemporary interest and ensures that the National Register is a list of truly historic places. Exceptional importance sufficient to satisfy Criteria Consideration G is a measure of the property's importance within the appropriate historic context, at the local, state, or national level of significance.

Most extant resources meeting this requirement are associated with the Chinese, Japanese, and Korean populations. There are fewer resources associated with the Filipino and Thai communities. Those properties not of exceptional importance may become eligible when more time has passed. It is anticipated that this MPDF will be amended over time to include expanded periods of significance and other Asian American populations in Los Angeles, and to address additional themes and property types not yet known.

Integrity

Properties eligible for the National Register must also have integrity, the ability to convey their significance. Integrity is based on significance: why, where, and when a property is important. The evaluation of integrity is sometimes a subjective judgment. It must always be grounded in an understanding of a property's physical features and how they relate to its significance. Only after significance is fully established can integrity be evaluated. Ultimately, the question of integrity is answered by whether or not the property retains the **identity** for which it is significant.

Historic properties either retain integrity (convey their significance) or they do not. Within the concept of integrity, the National Register criteria recognizes seven aspects or qualities that, in various combinations, define integrity:

- *Location* is the place where the historic property was constructed or the place where the historic event occurred.
- *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.
- *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.

To retain historic integrity a property will always possess several, and usually most, of the aspects. The retention of specific aspects of integrity is paramount for a property to convey its significance.

Determining which of these aspects are most important to a particular property requires knowing why, where, and when the property is significant.

Each type of property depends on certain aspects of integrity more than others to express its historic significance. Determining which aspects are most important to a particular property requires an understanding of the property's significance and its essential physical features. A property important for association with an event, historical pattern, or person(s) ideally might retain some features of all seven aspects of integrity. Integrity of design and workmanship, however, might not be as important to the significance, and would not be relevant if the property were a site. A basic integrity test for a property associated with an important event or person is whether a historical contemporary would recognize the property as it exists at the time of nomination.

All properties change over time. It is not necessary for a property to retain all its historic physical features or characteristics. The property must retain the essential physical features that enable it to convey its historic identity. The essential physical features are those features that define both why a property is significant (Applicable Criteria and Areas of Significance) and when it was significant (Periods of Significance). Street-facing elevations should retain most of their major design features; some original materials may have been altered or removed. Resources should retain the overall shape and rhythm of window openings and entrances, even if storefronts have changed. Replacement of storefronts is a common alteration, and a missing storefront may not automatically exclude commercial buildings from eligibility.

If there are a number of proximate resources relatively equal in importance, or a property is of large acreage with a variety of resources, and most of those resources retain integrity, the group of resources should be evaluated as a historic district. For a district to retain integrity as a whole, the majority of the components that make up the district's historic character must possess integrity even if they are individually undistinguished. Contributors to a district may have a greater degree of acceptable alterations than properties individually eligible. Properties with reversible alterations to the exterior, such as enclosed porches and replaced windows on residential properties, should not automatically be excluded from consideration. The relationships among the district's components must be substantially unchanged since the period of significance.

Architectural and physical attributes of some properties associated with Asian Americans in Los Angeles may be modest, and some may have been altered, compromising integrity of design, materials, and/or workmanship. Setting may have changed (surrounding buildings and land uses). Original use may have changed. Properties may still be eligible under Criteria A or B on the strength of their association with historic events or people. Retention of location, feeling, association, and sometimes setting, may be more important than design, workmanship, and materials. Properties eligible under Criterion C must

retain those physical features that characterize the type, period, or method of construction that the property represents. Location and setting is important for those properties whose design is a reflection of their immediate environment.

In general, property types associated with Asian Americans in Los Angeles that meet the registration requirements for significance and integrity can be considered rare; in some cases, there may be only one or a few eligible resources. Registration Requirements for property types were developed based on knowledge and comparative analysis of physical characteristics and/or historical associations. The integrity requirements and considerations take into account rarity of resources, knowledge of their relative integrity, and significance evaluations based primarily on eligibility under Criteria A and B.

Registration Requirements

All property types must date from within the period of significance for the associated context, retain most of the character defining features from their period of significance, and retain sufficient integrity to convey their significance. Properties must have been constructed or used by Asian Americans and represent an important association with the Asian American community in Los Angeles.

Properties must be eligible in the area of Ethnic Heritage: Asian, where Asian may serve as a placeholder for Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Filipino, and/or Thai to be specified as appropriate in the individual nomination. Nominations for properties eligible in the area of Ethnic Heritage must also identify areas of significance that closely relate to the events, activities, characteristics, or information for which the property is significant. Registration requirements and/or special integrity considerations particular to specific property types are identified as needed.

Property Types Associated with Prominent Persons in Asian American History

Description: Properties associated with prominent persons in Asian American History in Los Angeles are common to all contexts and comprise one of the largest groups of historic resources identified under this MPDF. They include residential, commercial, institutional, industrial, and agricultural resources and cover the full period of significance for each related context. Resources can be found citywide, with some concentrations in the geographic areas of settlement and migration as discussed in the context narratives. Architectural type, style, and detail vary widely and are generally based on the date of construction.

Significance: Properties associated with prominent Asian Americans in Los Angeles may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion B at the local, state, or national level. A property must be directly associated with the productive life of a significant Asian American or associated with Los Angeles residents of other cultures and ethnicities who have been instrumental in furthering opportunities for Asians Americans. Individuals may be important in a wide range of areas of significance including, and not limited to Ethnic Heritage: Asian, Agriculture, Commerce, Community Planning and Development, Communications, Entertainment/Recreation, Exploration/Settlement, Industry, Art, Performing Arts, Health/Medicine, Politics/Government, Military, Religion, and Social History. Individuals include important civic leaders and activists, business owners, educators, doctors, actors, writers, politicians, farmers, athletes, and artists. Residential properties and professional offices may be associated with persons significant in civil rights and issues related to deed restriction and

segregation. While the associated historic context narratives identify numerous persons significant in Asian American history whose associated properties may be evaluated under this property type, more may be identified with additional research.

Registration Requirements:

- Directly associated with the productive life of a significant Asian American or associated with Los Angeles residents of other cultures and ethnicities who have been instrumental in furthering opportunities for Asians Americans
- Individual must be proven to have made an important contribution to one or more areas of significance as it relates to Asian American history
- Individual must have lived in or used the property during the period in which he or she achieved significance
- Contributions of individuals must be compared to those of others who were active, successful, prosperous, or influential in the same field
- Each property associated with someone important should be compared with other properties associated with that individual to identify those resources that are good representatives of the person's historic contributions
- For multi-family residential properties, the apartment or room occupied by the person must be readable from the period of significance
- Properties associated with the lives of living persons *may* be eligible, if the person's active life in their field of endeavor is over AND sufficient time has elapsed to assess both their field and their contribution in a historic perspective
- Should retain integrity of location, design, feeling, and association

Property Types Associated with Settlement: Residential Historic Districts

Description: Residential historic districts associated with Asian American settlement and migration patterns are primarily comprised of tracts, subdivisions, or neighborhoods of residential buildings, and may also include other property types and, in particular, commercial buildings. Enclaves exclusive to Asian Americans are not common. There are some areas of migration and settlement with mixed ethnicities whose Asian populations grew in size—particularly in the postwar period, and after racially restrictive covenants were outlawed in 1948. There are no known extant residential enclaves from the prewar period. Known enclaves associated with the postwar period are primarily associated with the growing Japanese population of Los Angeles and in the areas of Harbor Gateway, the Crenshaw District, and Jefferson Park.

While some are settlements of earlier residential neighborhoods (dating from the first half of the twentieth century), others were developed as tract housing in the late 1950s and are comprised of ranch houses. Some feature vernacular Japanese gardens and landscape features giving a distinct sense of place. A noteworthy residential ethnic enclave is the Crenshaw Seinan neighborhood in the Crenshaw District, which features single-family ranch houses, multi-family buildings, and commercial buildings associated with Japanese businesses. Although the postwar Seinan community was far more widespread than the boundaries of this district, this concentration of resources is significant because it was developed by and marketed to Japanese Americans and promoted for its ethnic character through visual characteristics evocative of Japanese design traditions.

Significance: Residential historic districts associated with Asian Americans in Los Angeles may be eligible for the National Register at the local, state, or national level of significance under Criterion A and Criterion C. Areas of significance include Ethnic Heritage: Asian, Exploration/Settlement, and Social History. Other areas of significance may be identified. Only residential districts associated with settlement of the Japanese American population of Los Angeles after World War II have been identified as part of this MPDF. They evidence migration patterns throughout the city and increased ability for homeownership. Other districts may be identified over time.

Registration Requirements:

- Must have a significant association with the settlement and/or migration of Asian Americans over time
- May be associated with numerous historic personages who lived in the neighborhood for the cumulative important of those individuals to the community
- May represent issues relating to deed restriction and segregation
- Should retain integrity of location, design, feeling, and association

Property Types Associated with Business and Commerce

Commercial Buildings

Description: Commercial properties associated with Asian Americans in Los Angeles housed a variety of businesses and vary widely. Although they cover the full period of significance for each related context, most date from the 1940s and later. Some businesses are still in operation. Businesses include retail stores, neighborhood theaters, and restaurants that served basic neighborhood needs as well as professional offices/services and lodging. Property types also include buildings housing organizations that supported commerce and business development. Commercial retail buildings associated with herbal medicine are discussed in the Property Types Associated with Health and Medicine.

- Restaurant/Bar/Club
- Motion Picture Theater
- Professional Office/Service
 - Mortuary/Funeral Home
 - Bank/Financial Institution
 - Employment Agency
 - Law Office
 - Barber Shop
 - Tailor
- Lodging
 - Hotel/Motel
 - Boarding House
- Retail
 - Store/Shop
 - Market/Grocery
 - Bakery
 - Nursery
 - Florist

- Chambers of Commerce and other business development/support organizations

Commercial buildings are located citywide within areas of settlement and migration as indicated in the historic context narratives. In particular, they can be found in areas including Chinatown, Little Tokyo, Koreatown, Sawtelle, Jefferson Park, the Crenshaw District, and the Harbor area. Buildings may or may not have been purpose built. Size, massing, form, and architectural style vary over time. Buildings types range from stand-alone buildings to small, one-story single-storefront varieties to larger, multi-story multi-storefront examples. Of the property types listed above, restaurants and markets constitute a large percentage of known commercial resources and are common to all contexts. Known mortuaries, florists, nurseries, and gardening-related business are associated with the Japanese American community. Business support organizations include the Chinese Chamber of Commerce (Chinatown), the Southern California Gardeners Federation (Little Tokyo), and the Thai Trade Center/Chamber of Commerce.

Significance: Commercial properties associated with Asian American businesses in Los Angeles may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A at the local, state, or national level. Resources may be significant in the areas of Ethnic Heritage: Asian, Commerce, Community Planning and Development, and Social History for their association with significant Asian American businesses of various types. Hotels, motels, and boarding houses may also be significant places associated with the resettlement of Japanese after World War II and in the area of Industry for their association with Asian American labor history. Movie theaters may also be significant in the area of Entertainment/Recreation.

Significant businesses and business organizations evidence patterns of settlement, migration, and changing demographics and played an important role in the commercial growth and development of Los Angeles' Asian American populations. The importance may relate to the particular goods and services provided by businesses or to the role businesses played in local, regional, or even national commerce. Resources may be the founding location or the long-term location of a business. It is common for early businesses to have relocated over time to new locations particularly in the postwar period. As Asian Americans were excluded as customers and sometimes employees at white-owned businesses, they formed their own businesses to provide services and employment opportunities to members of their communities. Some business also served as cultural hubs and popular places to meet and socialize. The customer base for a business may have included all Asian American communities and, in some cases, reached beyond these communities to serve other populations.

Under Criterion B, a resource may be significant for its association with an Asian American who made important individual contributions to commercial development in Los Angeles. Some commercial buildings may also be significant under Criterion C, as excellent examples of their respective styles including the Asian Eclectic style, particularly in Chinatown and Little Tokyo. Many individuals who established these businesses emerged as community leaders.

Registration Requirements:

- Strongly associated with the commercial and professional development of the Asian American community
- Associated with a business that made important contributions to commercial growth and development in Los Angeles and specifically to the Asian American community
- Founding or long-term location of a business significant to the Asian American community

- May be associated with a business/corporation that has gained regional or national importance
- Should retain integrity of location, design, feeling, materials, and association

Commercial Historic Districts

Description: A significant concentration of commercial buildings associated with Asian American businesses in a defined geographic area may constitute a historic district. As discussed in the contexts, identified commercial districts within the period of significance for this MPDF include Little Tokyo (a designated National Historic Landmark district, New Chinatown (1938-1960), and Greater Chinatown (1947-1950). No commercial historic districts have been identified within the period of significance relating to the Korean, Filipino, or Thai communities.

The Chinatown districts are characterized by one and two-story attached commercial buildings, with storefronts directly on the sidewalk. While they are primarily mixed-use commercial, they also include institutional use building. The Asian Eclectic architectural style is most often employed for buildings and other design features, displaying complex rooflines with colorful tiles, flared eaves with decoratively carved roof beams, geometric window screens, and representations of various animals, including dragons, lions, and fish. The districts also include open plazas with Asian-influenced fountains, sculptures, murals, and other contributing features (such as pai-lou or gateways) designed by noted Asian American artists. Some storefronts and windows may have been altered over time and some buildings may have been constructed outside the periods of significance.

Significance: Commercial historic districts associated with Asian Americans in Los Angeles may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A at the local, state, or national level of significance. Identified districts are significant in areas including Ethnic Heritage: Asian, Commerce, Community Planning and Development, and Social History. Commercial districts may also be significant in the area of Architecture under Criterion C as a distinctive and cohesive collection of Asian Eclectic-designed buildings associated with noted Asian American architects and in the area of art for public art features designed master artists or for their high artistic value. Districts evidence the direct influence of Asian American business and civic leaders in the planning, development, and operation of key commercial centers associated with the Asian American community. They served as the hub of day-to-day commercial and social activities for Asian Americans but were also intentionally designed to evoke a sense of the exotic and attract a tourist base to contribute to the local economy.

Registration Requirements:

- District must include a substantial number of buildings designed by Asian American architects and/or be influenced by significant business/civic leaders in the Asian American community.
- Conveys a strong sense of overall historic environment from the period of significance
- Represents an intact grouping of commercial buildings which, as a whole, exemplify the Asian Eclectic style
- Has a strong cultural association to the community in which it is located
- May be important for its association with numerous historic personages who operated businesses or provided services for the cumulative importance of those individuals to the Asian American community

- Should retain integrity of location, design, materials, setting, and feeling

Property Types Associated with Religion and Spirituality

Description: Property types associated with religion and spirituality are common to all contexts and comprise one of the largest groups of historic resources identified under this MPDF. They include individual buildings as well as religious campuses with multiple buildings, which, in addition to churches and temples, house living quarters, schools, and community and sports activities. Campuses may be evaluated as historic districts. The oldest Asian American religious buildings in Los Angeles are primarily associated with the early settlement period of Chinese, Japanese, and Korean communities and are located in areas discussed in the contexts including Chinatown, Little Tokyo, Boyle Heights, South Jefferson, and Sawtelle. Property types also comprise cemeteries, including Evergreen Cemetery in Boyle Heights.

Specific property types include churches that served a variety of Christian congregations (Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, Episcopal, and Catholic, among others). These church buildings, were often originally constructed by and for other congregations, and subsequently used as churches for Asian American congregations, while others were purposes built. It was common for congregations to move locations over time, first renting and then purchasing or constructing new buildings. For this reason, many church locations date from the postwar period although congregations may have been established much earlier. In addition, many religious campuses were expanded over time with new larger buildings replacing the earlier ones. Some church properties were founded by non-Asians as part of local Christian missions, particularly in the prewar period. An intact early example is the Saint Francis Xavier Church and School at 222. S. Hewitt Street, a rare example of a religious facility specifically constructed by the Catholic Church to serve the Japanese community (1921-1939). Later churches include the Korean Presbyterian Church (since 1938) and the Filipino Christian Church (since 1950), the oldest Filipino-serving church in the U.S. Christian churches were generally designed in architectural styles of their period of construction. Size, massing, and form vary over time. Most extant churches have undergone some degree of alterations over time.

Property types also include purpose built temples, mostly Buddhist. Most date from 1930s and later and are designed in the Asian Eclectic style. The Koyasan Buddhist Temple (Koyasan Beikuku Betsuin) in Little Tokyo is one of the oldest continually operating Buddhist sects in Los Angeles, dating to 1912. The temple dates to 1940. While many second- and third-generation Chinese Americans practiced Christianity, local benevolent associations also served religious or spiritual functions for those who continued traditional practices of Taoism, Buddhism, or Confucianism. Benevolent association buildings frequently included shrines on the second floor and were also used for instruction of children in religious practices. One example is the Kong Chow Temple in New Chinatown, which is located on the second floor of the Kong Chow Benevolent Association. Another example is the Chinese Confucius Temple School, established by the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (1952) to provide Chinese language instruction with the tenets of Confucianism. The more recent Wat Thai temple (1979) in the San Fernando Valley is the largest Thai Theraveda Buddhist temple in the United States.

Significance: Religious properties associated with Asian Americans in Los Angeles may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A at the local, state, or national level of significance. Associated areas of significance include Ethnic Heritage: Asian, Religion, Community Planning and

Development, and Social History.

Religious buildings and institutions provided spiritual support for Asian Americans, and served as social and cultural hubs in the community in which they were located. Many offered new immigrants basic social services as well as housing, language classes, and employment counseling. Some also featured recreational facilities, meeting rooms for clubs and other organizations, and sponsored activities such as dances and school programs for local children. They also represented springboards for community leadership, business networks, and civil rights activism. For the Japanese community, properties associated with religion and spirituality may have also played a role in safekeeping possessions during incarceration and providing assistance or temporary housing following their return until about 1947.

Many individuals associated with religion and spirituality emerged as community leaders. Under Criterion B, a resource may also be significant for its association with an individual. Some religious buildings may also be significant under Criterion C, as excellent examples of the Asian Eclectic style or other styles of their period of construction.

Registration Requirements:

- May be important for its association with numerous historic personages for the cumulative importance of those individuals to the community
- May reflect the changing demographics of a Los Angeles neighborhood
- May represent a significant event or movement in the social history of Los Angeles
- Should retain integrity of location, design, feeling, and association

Property Types Associated with Education

Description: Properties associated with education may include colleges/universities, public high schools and grammar schools, and language schools. Parochial schools are included in the Religion and Spirituality property type. Schools may include stand-alone buildings or campuses of multiple buildings comprising historic districts. Size, massing, form, and architectural style of education-related resources vary over time. The majority of education-related resources identified are Japanese language schools dating from the pre- and postwar periods and located in various areas of settlement for Japanese Americans including Boyle Heights, Little Tokyo, Sawtelle, Venice, and the Harbor area. The earliest ones typically utilized existing buildings, whereas the postwar schools were often purpose built by Japanese Americans. Public high schools and grammar schools related to this property type are less common and typically served Asian populations in areas of Los Angeles with diverse ethnic populations. College and university-related resources date from the late 1960s and early 1970s. The most prominent is the Asian American Studies Center. Located on the campus of UCLA, it houses one of the first, and nationally recognized, academic program in Asian studies dating from 1969.

Significance: Educational resources associated with Asian Americans in Los Angeles may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A at the local, state, or national level of significance. Associated areas of significance may vary over time and include Ethnic Heritage: Asian, Education, and Social History. Language schools are significant for the role they played in supporting and promoting Japanese American cultural traditions and practices. The later college/university facilities are significant for their strong association with the Asian American Movement and the development of the nation's first Asian Studies academic programs. For the Japanese community, properties associated with

education may have also played a role in providing assistance or temporary housing following their return after incarceration, and until about 1947.

Some individuals associated with education may have emerged as community leaders. Under Criterion B, a resource may be significant for its association with an individual. Some educational resources may be significant under Criterion C as excellent examples of the Asian Eclectic or other architectural styles of the period of construction. Historic districts may also be significant under Criterion C.

Registration Requirements:

- Represents an important association with the Asian American community in Los Angeles
- May be important for its association with numerous historic personages (who attended the school) for the cumulative importance of those individuals to the Asian American community
- May represent issues relating to civil rights
- May represent a significant event or movement associated with education and social history of Los Angeles
- Should retain integrity of location, design, feeling, and association

Property Types Associated with Community Organizations, Social Services, and Institutions

Description: Property types associated with community organizations, social services, and institutions are common to all contexts and comprise one of the largest groups of historic resources identified under this MPDF. They cover a wide range of facilities serving many functions including, and not limited to, the following:

- Community and Cultural Centers
- Fraternal Lodges, Associations, and Organizations
- Benevolent Associations (Chinese context only)
- Senior Citizens Centers
- Youth Organizations
- Women's Clubs and Organizations
- Children's Homes/Orphanages

Known property types are located citywide within areas of settlement associated with each historic context. While they may cover the full period of significance for each context, most date from the 1940s and later. Some organizations and institutions may have been established earlier in different locations and most are no longer extant, such as those in Old Chinatown. Chinese Benevolent Associations are exclusively associated with the Chinese American context and are located in Chinatown.

Associated buildings may be purpose built or utilize existing buildings constructed for other purposes. Many associated resources may be in their original location, but have had significant new construction or renovation over time. Resources include stand-alone buildings as well as attached one and two-story mixed-use storefront examples (common in Chinatown). Size, massing, form, and architectural style vary over time.

Significance: Institutional building associated with community organizations, social services, and institutions associated with Asian Americans in Los Angeles may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A at the local, state, or national level of significance. Associated areas of

significance include Ethnic Heritage: Asian, Social History, Politics/Government, and Community Planning and Development. These organizations served as social and cultural hubs in the communities in which they were located and played a critical role in the lives of Asian Americans of all ages. Many provided a range of services to new immigrants settling in Los Angeles to assist with housing, employment, language, and education needs. Others provided activities and services to promote Asian cultural traditions and practices as well as health, social services, and community development programs. Still others supported political activism, equality, and civil rights.

For the Japanese community, properties associated with community organizations, social services, and institutions may have played a role in providing assistance or temporary housing following their return after incarceration, and until about 1947.

Many individuals associated with Asian American community organizations, social services, and institutions may have also made significant individual contributions to their respective field and associated resources may be eligible under Criterion B. Some buildings may also be eligible under Criterion C as excellent examples of the Asian Eclectic style or other architectural style of their period of construction.

Registration Requirements:

- May be important for its association with numerous historic personages for the cumulative importance of those individuals to the community
- May reflect the changing demographics of a Los Angeles neighborhood
- May represent a significant event or movement in the social history of Los Angeles
- Should retain integrity of location, design, feeling, and association

Property Types Associated with Health and Medicine

Description: Properties associated with health and medicine primarily include institutional and commercial buildings such as hospitals, homes for the aged, medical offices, medical clinics, and herbal medicine stores. They cover the full period of significance for each related context. Most resources are associated with the Chinese and Japanese communities. The only known hospital is the Japanese hospital in Boyle Heights, which opened in 1929. The hospital was established by Japanese doctors, who were not granted staff privileges by other hospitals, but opened its doors to people of all ethnicities. Though not common, research may also reveal single-family residences or other facilities (particularly in Boyle Heights) associated with Japanese sanba, or midwives, who provided health care facilities for pregnant women in the early twentieth century. Property types also include medical offices and clinics of noted doctors and practitioners that served Asian American clientele. Of note is the Dr. Primitiva Demandante Asprin clinical laboratory in Wilmington. Dr. Asprin was the first Filipina doctor to be licensed to practice medicine in California. Also of note is the Yu Family Acupuncture Clinic. Dr. Moses Yu, well known for his acupuncture practice in China, successfully fought for legalization of acupuncture in California in 1976, and opened his clinic in a converted residence in the Westlake neighborhood soon thereafter.

Herbal medicine stores are also included in the health/medicine property types and are primarily associated with Chinese American businesses. Herbal medicine was both familiar and likely the only medical treatment available to early immigrants, and Chinese were typically denied access to public medical facilities. Herbal medicine was also a rare example of a profession that allowed Chinese

immigrants to make a long-term living using an ethnic skill. Because legislation prevented Chinese herbal doctors from becoming licensed physicians, leaving them vulnerable to lawsuits and arrests, Chinese herbal doctors often promoted their businesses as merchants selling herbs. Even in Chinatown, practitioners kept a low profile, often occupying nondescript storefronts. Successful entrepreneurs established import networks and set up mail order businesses to ensure a steady supply of medicines from China. An early herbal store, Sun Wing Wo, occupied a commercial space in the Garnier Building. Later examples of long-term herbal stores were established in New Chinatown, during the 1930s, and then Greater Chinatown. These resources are generally attached one and two-story mixed-use storefronts.

Significance: Health and medicine-related resources associated with Asian Americans in Los Angeles may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A at the local, state, or national level of significance. Associated areas of significance include Ethnic Heritage: Asian, Health/Medicine, and Social History. Identified resources played a significant role in supporting the health and welfare of Asian Americans against racial discrimination in medical care. They also reflect the struggle for the recognition and legalization of traditional Asian medical practices.

Some resources may also be significant under Criterion C as excellent examples of the Asian Eclectic style. Individuals associated with health and medicine may have also made significant individual contributions to the field and may be significant under Criterion B above.

Registration Requirements:

- Represents an important association with health and medicine in the Asian American community in Los Angeles
- Represents an important association with the history and practice of Asian medical traditions such as Chinese herbal medicine and acupuncture
- Should retain integrity of location, design, feeling, and association

Property Types Associated with Visual and Performing Arts

Description: Property types associated with visual and performing arts include venues for live performances associated with drama, dance, and music, as well as artist studios, museums, galleries, and other exhibition spaces.

Buildings may be purpose built or non-purpose built. Size, massing, form, and architectural style vary over time. In some cases, more research is needed in the fields of visual, performing, and literary arts to identify significant resources. Research for the Korean context revealed that these topics have not been well documented in English. Identified resources include the Japanese American Cultural and Community Center (1980, Little Tokyo)—which houses one of the largest collections of ethnic art in the nation and features a large performance theater—and East West Players, a nationally recognized Asian American theater organization established in 1965 in the basement of the Pilgrim Church in the Silver Lake neighborhood and moved to the Union Center for the Arts in Little Tokyo (old Japanese Union Church). It is anticipated that over time more associated resources will be identified.

Property types also include works of art by noted Asian American artists such as murals and sculptures. Murals and sculptures are contributing features of commercial historic districts discussed under Property Types Associated with Business and Commerce. Other works have been identified in areas of

settlement associated with each context that postdate the related periods of significance. As such, no registration requirements for works of art have been developed at this time. Resources may become eligible as more time passes.

Significance: Resources associated with Asian Americans in the visual and performing arts may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A at the local, state, or national level of significance. Associated areas of significance include Ethnic Heritage: Asian, Performing Arts, Art, and Social History. Identified resources served as important venues to promote Asian American culture and traditions as well as significant actors, writers, musicians, visual artists, and others.

Many individuals associated with Asian American Visual and Performing Arts may have made significant individual contributions to their respective field and may be significant under Criterion B. Some resources may also be significant under Criterion C as excellent examples of the Asian Eclectic style or other styles of their period of construction.

Registration Requirements:

- Represents a strong association with Asian Americans in the arts, including performing, visual, and literary arts
- Primary interior spaces, especially performance spaces, should remain intact
- Should retain integrity of location, design, feeling, and association

Property Types Associated with Media: Newspapers, Radio, and Television

Description: Property types associated with media include commercial buildings used by newspapers and publishing companies as well as television and radio stations. In some cases, newspapers were published in offices of Asian American organizations. The Shin Han Min Bo and The New Korea newspapers were headquartered in the Korean Independence Memorial Building. Newspapers may also have been published in residences, although no extant examples have specifically been identified as part of this MPDF. There are few newspaper-related associated resources from the period of significance for each context. Many newspapers moved locations frequently or were in print for only short periods of time. Others were in locations that are no longer extant (such as those in Old Chinatown) or that no longer retain integrity from the period of significance. Of those identified, none appear to be purpose built and were located in commercial buildings with multiple uses and tenants. For example, the New Kown Tai Press, the first ethnic Chinese newspaper, was published in the basement of mixed-use commercial building in New Chinatown. Radio and television resources dating from the period of significance for each context are sparse. Those identified are associated with the Korean American community and require additional research. All media resources associated with the Thai community date beyond the period of significance and require additional research over time.

Significance: Buildings associated Asian American media may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A at the local, state, or national level of significance. Associated areas of significance include Ethnic Heritage: Asian, Communications, and Social History. Newspapers and press served as the independent voice of the Asian American community in Los Angeles. Media provided general information, helped Asian Americans adjust to life in Los Angeles, and were springboards for social and political activism. Many individuals associated with Asian American media may have also made significant individual contributions to their respective field and may be significant under Criterion B.

Registration Requirements:

- Founding or long-term location of a publication, radio, or television station significant to the Asian American community
- Should retain integrity of location, design, feeling, and association

Property Types Associated with Sports and Recreation

Description: Although sports played a significant role in the social and recreational life of Asian American, few resources are extant. Those identified include martial arts studios. Although martial arts may straddle the definition of a sport and discipline, for purposes of this MPDF, it is categorized as a sport. Those identified are associated primarily with the Japanese American community (called dojos). An exception is Bruce Lee's Martial Arts Studio located in Chinatown (1967). No known studios have been identified for their association with the Thai, Korean, or Filipino communities as part of the MPDF. Martial arts studios in the Japanese community were located citywide in areas of settlement by Japanese Americans in the prewar era; most were closed down during the war and some subsequently reopened.

This property type includes commercial buildings specifically housing martial arts schools and studios. Identified examples are located in modest commercial storefronts and were not purpose built. One example, Seinan Judo Dojo in South Los Angeles, is located in a single-family residence. The property type also includes churches, community centers, and other buildings that offered a wide range of services, programs, and activities as identified under Property Types Associated with Community Organizations, Social Services, and Institutions. The Tenrikyo Church in Boyle Heights established a Judo program in 1964 instrumental in making Japanese martial arts an Olympic sport. The dojo boasts a long roster of national and international competitors.

Significance: Martial arts resources associated with Asian American in Los Angeles may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A at the local, state, or national level of significance. Associated areas of significance include ethnic history, social history, and entertainment/recreation. Martial arts played a central role in the Asian American community, reinforcing traditional cultural practices. Particularly important are studios that reestablished following World War II as well as those that included well-known instructors of various martial arts disciplines and contributed to the professionalism and mainstream popularity of the sport. The first organized martial arts Kendo activity in Los Angeles emerged in 1914 and by the end of the 1920s, the majority of participants were Nisei. Judo clubs also became common in Southern California and tournaments were held regularly in Little Tokyo.

Individuals associated with martial arts may have also made significant individual contributions to the field and may be significant under Criterion B above.

Registration Requirements:

- Founding or long-term location of a martial arts studio/program significant in Asian American history
- Should retain integrity of location, design, feeling, and association

Property Types Associated with Military History

Description: Property types associated with Asian Americans and the military mostly date from the World War II period. They include Wartime Civil Control Association (WCCA) civil control stations (also known as processing centers) and temporary detention centers associated with the incarceration of Japanese Americans during the war. Control stations were established throughout Los Angeles and located in existing buildings such as churches, schools, and community centers. Control stations were established throughout Los Angeles in areas including Little Tokyo, Downtown, Sawtelle, Venice, Hollywood, and South Los Angeles. Japanese residents were required to register at one of the stations and then reported on their designated day of travel. Extant locations include the Japanese Union Church in Little Tokyo, St. Mary's Episcopal Church, the Japanese Institute of Sawtelle, and buildings at 923 Venice Boulevard and 360 S. Westlake Avenue.

In addition to the control centers, temporary detention sites were established at Civilian Conservation Corp (CCC) camps in Griffith Park and the Tujunga area of the San Fernando Valley. The CCC buildings are no longer extant. The center in Tujunga is locally designated as the Site of the La Tuna Canyon Detention Center.

Military property types also include commemorative war monuments and memorials associated with the Korean and Japanese American communities. Identified examples are the Japanese American 442nd Regimental Combat Team memorial (1949), Garden of the Pines memorial to Issei pioneers (1966), and the Go For Broke Monument and National Education Center honoring Japanese Americans in WWII (1999) all in Evergreen Cemetery in Boyle Heights. The Korean Bell and Belfry of Friendship (1976) is dedicated to American veterans of the Korean War and located in San Pedro's Angels Gate Park.

Following the war and their return to Los Angeles after incarceration, some Japanese Americans found temporary housing at many religious institutions, schools, and community centers in Los Angeles. These are discussed above in the property types relating to education, religion and spirituality, and community organizations, social services, and institutions.

Significance: Military properties associated with Asian American in Los Angeles may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A at the local, state, or national level of significance. Resources may be significant in the areas of Ethnic Heritage: Asian, Military, and Social History. These properties represent a significant chapter in American history, specifically the treatment of Japanese Americans by the U.S. government during World War II. It was the culmination of a pattern of discriminatory treatment toward Japanese Americans reinforced through laws.

Registration Requirements: Civil Control and Detention Centers

- Facility used as a civil control center or temporary detention center for Japanese Americans during World War II
- Has a clear association with the Japanese American population during World War II
- Should retain integrity of location, design, feeling, and association

Registration Requirements: Commemorative War Monuments and Memorials

- A war monument/memorial specifically designed to honor or commemorate the role of Korean and Japanese Americans in the Korean War and World War II
- Should retain integrity of location, design, feeling, and association

Property Types Associated with Agriculture

Description: There are few known resources in Los Angeles relating to Asian Americans and agriculture. Property types include vernacular agricultural landscapes and ranch/farm houses.

Historic vernacular landscapes depict agricultural activity from the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries. They generally include at least one agricultural building that serves as a focal point of agricultural activity (e.g. a barn or stable) and adjacent agricultural land. Excellent examples will also include related structures for a full range of farming activity such as irrigation, harvesting, storage, or livestock containment. The landscape may be located on a larger lot and be visibly older than surrounding development.

The only known resource identified as part of the MPDF is the Jue Joe Ranch at 16608 Vanowen Boulevard in Van Nuys (Lake Balboa). The ranch, which once stretched some 100 acres and included numerous residential and work buildings, supplied asparagus to the produce markets in Downtown Los Angeles. Joe was also one of the directors of the San Fernando Valley Asparagus Marketing Association, and by 1925 was considered one of best-known Chinese growers in the Valley. A small piece of this land remains, containing a barn and what appears to be an asparagus packing shed. A residence and swimming pool, constructed by Jue Joe's son after his father's death in 1941, is also extant. Other ranch houses may be identified in the San Fernando Valley and the West Adams areas of Los Angeles, but would no longer have the historic association with a ranch. They may still be eligible as the only extant property types associated with Asian American agricultural history of Los Angeles.

There is little if any clear difference between the design of a farmhouse and a non-farm residence from the same era of development. Farmhouses are generally of wood-frame construction and reflect popular architectural style of the period of construction. They may be significant when they can visibly convey their historic use through the presence of an associated vernacular agricultural landscape. Due to their relative rarity, intact farmhouses constructed prior to 1900 may have the smallest suggestion of its former setting (a larger lot, landscaped with fruit trees and/or vegetable gardens) and still be eligible, particularly at the local level of significance. Properties from the twentieth century may require a more expansive historic landscape with some additional agricultural features, such as one or more outbuildings, related structures such as canals, standpipes, corrals, and tanks, agricultural land, or a related grove/orchard. Properties associated with agriculture may also be associated with Asian Americans who made important individual contributions to the field under Criterion B.

Significance: Agricultural properties associated with Asian Americans in Los Angeles may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A at the local, state, or national level of significance. Resources may be significant in the areas of Ethnic Heritage: Asian, Agriculture, and Social History.

Truck farming was an important part of agricultural production in Los Angeles, particularly for local markets. It provided a livelihood for thousands of small farmers in rural parts of the city, including farmers from a variety of ethnic and cultural backgrounds. Their contributions when viewed in aggregate, were critical to the local economy. Furthermore, some truck farms represent a notable movement within early twentieth century residential development to provide self-sufficient acreage in a systematic way to newcomers who wanted a rural lifestyle.

Intact farmhouses are rare and may be significant remnants of a once expansive agricultural landscape within the city. They represent truck farming for the local market, once a critical component of the agricultural economy of Los Angeles. Farmhouses are the properties that are most intimately associated with the farmers themselves, and some may reflect the agricultural traditions of Asian Americans.

Vernacular agricultural landscapes may be significant remnants of a once expansive agricultural landscape within the city. They represent truck farming and/or ranching for the local market, both of which were once critical components of the agricultural economy of Los Angeles. Of all potentially eligible property types, the vernacular agricultural landscape has the strongest historical associations through the retention of several related features. This more complete and expansive property type allows for the fullest understanding of historical agricultural practice and conveys a more all-encompassing sense of place.

Registration Requirements: Vernacular Agricultural Landscape

- Agricultural property owned and/or operated by an Asian American farmer/rancher
- Open landscape with agricultural features that may include a farmhouse, farmland, orchard/grove, agricultural outbuildings and related features such as corrals, irrigation systems, standpipes, and tanks.
- May have played a significant role in agricultural development for local and/or regional/national markets
- Relationships between buildings/structures and landscape features should be retained
- Should retain integrity of location, setting, materials, and feeling

Registration Requirements: Ranch/Farm House

- Associated with a significant Asian American farmer/rancher
- Constructed as a farm/ranch house
- Wood-framed single family residence
- Often designed in prevalent architectural styles of the period
- May convey historic use through an associated historic vernacular landscape
- Because of their rarity, pre-1900 examples may have minimal associated agricultural landscape feature
- Associated historic vernacular landscape features may include barns or stables, corrals, irrigation features, standpipes, tanks, farm land, and or a grove/orchard
- Should retain integrity of setting, materials, design, feeling, and association

Property Types Associated with Industry

Description: Industrial properties related to Asian Americans in Los Angeles during the period of significance are very rare due to ongoing development at the Port of Los Angeles and demolition of resources associated with Terminal Island and the canning industry as well as demolition of the areas associated with the wholesale produce and flower industries. Known resources are primarily related to food processing and manufacturing and wholesalers of produce and other foods. Extant industrial buildings are generally one-story and utilitarian in design; some may have also included commercial retail space for sales of products. One of the most notable is the Oriental Food Products founded in 1923 in South Los Angeles and operated at the original location until about 1954. Although the owners were Korean, their well-known brand, Jan-U-Wine, was marketed to Asian Americans throughout Los Angeles. K&S Company was established in 1928 and became one of the most successful wholesale operations in

Los Angeles' Korean Community. A more recent resource is the Kim Bang Ah (1977) rice mill and rice cake factory in Koreatown. Known properties also include a rare, remaining and intact building from City Market associated with Jue Joe Company, a significant wholesale produce company owned by San Fernando Valley Chinese American rancher Jue Joe (see above under Properties Associated with Agriculture).

Property types associated with Asian American industries also include small commercial hotels and boarding houses that provided temporary housing for workers, mostly men. Most date from the early twentieth century to the 1930s. Though not many remain, those that are extant are located citywide with a small concentration in the area east of Downtown which housed workers in the nearby produce and flower markets – mostly Chinese and Japanese Americans. The buildings are generally masonry construction and typically four stories in height. Some are mixed-use buildings with retail on the first floor operated by Asian American businesses serving the residents. Other examples outside of the Downtown urban core are in residential neighborhoods with a low-scale residential character. Examples are typically one and two stories and wood frame, such as those which housed Japanese American men working as gardeners in boarding houses on the 500 block of Virgil Avenue in the area of Madison/J Flats and in the Sawtelle area.

Although not resulting from research and outreach completed as part of this MPDF, additional research may yield resources associated with Asian American in Los Angeles' garment industry as well as labor history in areas east of Downtown.

Significance: Industrial properties associated with Asian Americans in Los Angeles may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A at the local, state, or national level of significance. Resources may be significant in the areas of Ethnic Heritage: Asian, Industry, and Social History. They are rare remnants of the contributions of Asian Americans to Los Angeles' industrial history. They evidence the types of industries Asian Americans engaged and excelled in based on skills, knowledge, cultural traditions brought with them to Los Angeles and, in some cases, passed on through generations. They also represent a sense of entrepreneurship that triumphed despite racial discrimination and competition with Anglo industries over the years.

Registration Requirements: Industrial Building

- A key manufacturing or processing location for a significant Asian American-owned company whose branding and/or products had a significant impact on Los Angeles industrial history
 - May have included retail sales of products
 - One or more related utilitarian buildings
- May possess branding or company logos on the building exterior
- May retain distinctive equipment or building elements that reflect a particular kind of manufacturing process
- Often designed in prevalent architectural styles of the period
- Industry may have been a large employer of Asian Americans, although company may not have been Asian American owned
- Should retain integrity of location, design, materials, feeling, and association

Registration Requirements: Hotel/Boarding House

- Rare remaining example of a hotel/boarding house that provided housing for Asian

American workers during the period of significance for the associated context

- Often designed in prevalent architectural styles of the period
- Should retain integrity of location, design, materials, feeling, and association

Property Types Associated with Cultural Landscapes: Designed Historic Landscapes

Description: Designed historic landscapes associated with Asian Americans include Japanese style gardens. Other types may be identified over time. Japanese style gardens are examples of vegetation and/or hardscape material consciously laid out by a master gardener, landscape architect, architect, or horticulturalist, or an owner or other amateur using Japanese-inspired design principles, associated with a residential, commercial, civic, industrial, or institutional area, and constructed between 1946 and 1969. Extant examples of pre-World War II gardens in the Japanese style are extremely rare. Post-WWII examples of Japanese style gardens are typically constructed as public gardens, such as sister city or friendship gardens, and many have a direct association with Japanese American community organizations. Known examples of Japanese style gardens include the garden at the Donald C. Tillman Water Reclamation Plant (designed by landscape architect Koichi Kawana) in the Encino area and the garden at Stoner Park in Sawtelle.

Significance: Japanese style gardens may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion C at the local, state, or national level of significance. Associated resources are significant in the areas of Ethnic Heritage: Japanese and Landscape Architecture. They may be significant for their design quality as well as the work of a master landscape architect.

Japanese style gardens represent the influential contributions of Japanese design traditions and Japanese American gardeners and designers on the evolution of designed landscapes in Los Angeles. Popularized during the early years of the twentieth century in Southern California, garden designs in the Japanese style influenced generations of designers. Japanese style gardens are significant as a reflection of Japanese American immigration patterns and Japanese American acculturation in Southern California. Japanese style gardens may also be significant as a notable work of a master builder, designer, or architect.

The introduction of Japanese garden design to Southern California occurred in 1894, with the opening of the California Mid-Winter International Exposition in San Francisco's Golden Gate Park. A Japanese Village, originally conceived as a temporary exposition exhibit, was incorporated into Golden Gate Park. Baron Makoto Hagiwara, a Japanese landscape designer, constructed the permanent version, named the Japanese Tea Garden. The Baron and his descendants occupied Golden Gate Park's Japanese Tea Garden until their eviction and relocation to an internment camp in 1942. Japanese garden pavilions at the Panama-Pacific Exposition in San Francisco (1915) and the Panama-California Exhibition in San Diego (1915) inspired the construction of Japanese-inspired tea gardens in a number of Los Angeles parks, including Eastlake Park (Lincoln Park), and the Japanese influence was a popular ornamental element in residential gardens.

The fascination with Japanese arts, design traditions, and culture remained strong throughout the 1920s and 1930s and produced many exquisite examples of Japanese-inspired gardens in Los Angeles. Japanese nationals or first-generation Japanese Americans (Issei) typically provided the technical expertise, labor, and continued maintenance of Japanese style gardens. Despite the widespread popularity of Japanese-influenced design in Los Angeles, anti-Asian sentiment was high in Southern

California during the first half of the twentieth century with the passage of numerous examples of discriminatory legislation. During World War II, many Japanese style gardens were demolished, abandoned, defaced, or relocated.

Following the war years, Japanese-inspired gardens quickly shed their wartime stigma. The abundance of newspaper articles in the post-World War II era regarding the care and maintenance of backyard Japanese style gardens further attest to the widespread appeal and popularity of the style. The contemplative beauty of Japanese style gardens also appealed to the economy and design principles of the Modern style that emerged in Southern California in the post-war era.

In the Postwar era, gardening and nursery work represented one of the few occupational areas available to Japanese Americans with extensive agricultural expertise. By the early 1970s, increased opportunities for Japanese Americans meant that the era of the Japanese gardener was coming to an end.

Registration Requirements:

- Uses Japanese-inspired design principles associated with a residential, commercial, civic, industrial, or institutional area
- An excellent example of the type and/or represents the work of a significant landscape architect or designer
- Retains significant character defining features such that the visual, spatial, and contextual relationships of the property may be understood
- Use of natural materials, such as large boulders, rock, sand, and logs
- Use of borrowed views, asymmetrical configuration of design elements, attention to ground plane patterns, varied textures, and closely clipped vegetation
- May include winding paths, waterfalls, ponds, and traditional symbolism (e.g., karesansui (dry gravel gardens), horesai (decorative islands), reihaiseki or sansom (stone arrangements) or shrines representative of aesthetic values associated with Zen Buddhism
- May include examples of traditional Japanese art forms or architectural and design elements, such as lanterns, half-moon bridges, pagodas, stepping stones, koi ponds, bonsai, and statuary
- May include traditional ceremonial buildings, such as a teahouse
- May include plant species typical of Japanese and/or California environments (e.g., Japanese maple, camellias, azaleas, rhododendrons, ferns, pines, bamboo, redwoods, elms, sycamores)
- A sufficient number of original materials should be extant such that the historic fabric, character, and overall visual effect has been preserved; some plants may have been replaced in kind
- Should retain integrity of location, setting, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association

Property Types Associated with the Asian Eclectic Architectural Style

Description: The term Asian Eclectic was coined by SurveyLA to convey a fusion of Asian architectural styles and ornamentation, frequently assembled in fantastical combinations to appear exotic. For purposes of the National Register, the style is classified as Other: Asian Eclectic and 19th and 20th Century Period Revival: Eclectic Period Revival. Properties associated with the Asian Eclectic style include

residential, institutional, industrial, and commercial buildings and historic districts. Properties that meet the 50-year threshold for significance are generally concentrated in the Chinatown and the Little Tokyo areas of Downtown Los Angeles. Later examples are located in Koreatown and sparsely scattered citywide such as the Wat Thai temple in North Hollywood. No specific example associated with the Filipino community have been identified as part of this MPDF.

The Asian Eclectic style features both pagoda-influenced forms and simplified modern forms with oriental detailing that includes wide, overhanging upturned eaves, decorative applied ornament with oriental and geometric motifs, and brightly colored clay tile roofs. The distinctive, sweeping upturned eaves and steep roofs of early buildings gave way to decorative upturned beams and eaves supporting flat roofs, creating more linear and boxy forms.

The Asian Eclectic style in Los Angeles was primarily used for commercial and institutional buildings, beginning in the 1920s and reached its peak with the construction of New Chinatown and Greater Chinatown from the late 1930s to 1950s. These developments represent historic districts. The style represented a connection to the traditional architecture found in the homelands of recent immigrants and long-established Americans of Asian ancestry. Many of the buildings in this style were designed and planned by neighborhood associations that intentionally used an architecture and design language to signify identification with a specific community's heritage, and to create master planned neighborhoods with ethnic themes as tourist attractions and retail centers. Chinatown also includes significant individual examples of the style, which during the postwar period, blend Modernism with simplified Asian design references, and represented the forward-thinking postwar Chinese American architect community of the period.

Significance: Properties associated with the Asian Eclectic style may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion C at the local, state, or national level. Associated resources are significant in the areas of Ethnic Heritage: Asian and Architecture. Individual properties and districts reflect the distinctive qualities of the Asian Eclectic style and were designed or influenced by significant Asian Americans including noted architects and civic and business leaders.

Individual Resources

Registration Requirements:

- Designed by an Asian American architect and/or influenced by significant business/civic leaders in the Asian American community
- Must be an excellent example of the Asian Eclectic style and retains most of the character defining features which may include:
 - Sweeping roofs with flared gables or upturned rafter tails
 - Carved brackets and rafter tails
 - Flat roof with decorative post and beam supporting system
 - Ornamented roof ridge
 - Brightly colored tile roofs
 - Elaborate surrounds on entryways and windows
 - Decoratively distributed mullions on windows
 - Recessed entryways
 - Geometrical patterned window grilles

- For mixed use, may have second floor balconies
- For retail, neon signage in fonts evoking calligraphy
- For Chinese-influenced, may be painted red and gold
- For Chinese-influenced, ornament may include dragon or lion statuary
- Should retain integrity of location, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association

Historic Districts

Registration Requirements:

- Must include a substantial number of buildings designed by Asian American architects and/or influenced by significant business/civic leaders in the Asian American community.
- Conveys a strong sense of overall historic environment from the period of significance
- Represents an intact grouping of commercial buildings which, as a whole, exemplify the Asian Eclectic style
- May also include open spaces with Asian influenced fountains, sculptures, murals, and other features
- Has a strong cultural association to the community in which it is located
- May include some buildings, constructed outside the period of significance.
- Primarily commercial but may include some institutional, residential, or mixed-use buildings.
- District as a whole should retain integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association

Property Types Associated with Important Asian American Architects

Description: Property types designed by Asian American architects include residential, commercial, mixed-use commercial/residential, institutional, and industrial buildings. Extant works by identified architects primarily date from the 1940s through the end of the period of significance for each associated context. Geographically the resources are located citywide, but in particular, the places associated with settlement of Asian Americans as discussed in the contexts. Asian architects worked citywide with concentrations of commercial and institutional work in Chinatown, Little Tokyo, Koreatown, Boyle Heights, Crenshaw District, Jefferson Park, and Sawtelle. A concentration of postwar residential work, including homes architects designed for their own families, is located in Silver Lake.

There is very little scholarship on Asian American architects of Los Angeles. Some are referenced throughout the historic contexts, but others may be identified over time. Generally, the Asian American architect community was small in the prewar period; works that are known appear to be designed for Asian American clients and are mostly institutional buildings. Japanese American architect Yos Hirose is one of the earliest known Asian American architects working in Los Angeles. No early residential examples have been identified as part of this MPDF.

More is known about the postwar architect community; during this time many Asian American architects attended local universities such as USC, became members of the American Institute of Architects, worked with well-known firms, and opened their own firms. Many Asian American architects

from this period worked in the Mid-Century Modern style as well as the Asian Eclectic style, often combining elements of both in their designs. The development of Chinatown in the postwar period provided many opportunities for Chinese American architects and the work of Eugene Choy and Gilbert Leong is perhaps best known. Construction dating to the 1970s and later in the area of Koreatown has been commissioned by Korean business owners and designed by Korean architects; to date little is known about these architects and their work. This study did not identify any work by Filipino American architects. The only known resource associated with Thai architects is the Theravada Temple, designed by architects from the Religious Ministry of Thailand.

Significance: This property type is used to identify resources associated with Asian American architects considered to be masters in their field and who made important contributions to Los Angeles' architectural legacy. In particular, the type reflects buildings designed by Asian Americans whose work was influenced by Asian American culture and aesthetics and designed in the Asian Eclectic style. Properties may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion C at the local, state, or national level, depending on the architect's sphere of influence. It is expected that more research on the topic will reveal rich information and that the period of significance will be expanded over time to encompass later periods of architecture in Los Angeles.

Some architects may also be significant under Criterion B for their association with struggles against and rising above racial discrimination in the architecture profession.

Registration Requirements:

- Associated with an Asian American architect/designer who made an important contribution to Los Angeles' architectural legacy
- A significant example of an architectural style or combination of styles influenced by Asian American culture and aesthetics, in particular the Asian Eclectic style
- To be eligible as the work of a master architect/designer, the property must express a particular phase in the development of the master's career or an aspect of his/her work
- Should retain integrity of location, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association

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Appendix A: Filipino American Known and Designated Resources

This document includes designated and known historic resources identified as part of the development of the “Filipino Americans in Los Angeles, 1903-1980,” historic context and is not all inclusive. The list may be expanded over time to include resources identified through additional research and public input as well as resources dating from beyond 1980. More information on some of the resources on this list can be found in the historic context.

Known resources may be eligible for designation under local, state, and/or federal programs. However, inclusion in this list as a resource does not ensure eligibility. Properties must be fully evaluated under relevant criteria to determine if they meet significance and integrity thresholds.

Property Types Associated with Business and Commerce: Commercial Buildings

Name	Location	Property type	Comments
Tiki Ti Bar	4427 Sunset Blvd	Food - Bar	Established and opened in 1961 by Filipino American Ray Buhen. It is the First Polynesian-themed bar opened in Hollywood. Ray Buhen worked as a bartender for several years before opening his own business. The establishment is still owned and operated by the Buhen family.
Bernie's Teriyaki	318 Glendale Blvd	Food - Restaurant	Oldest continuously operated Filipino-owned restaurant in the neighborhood. Open since 1977.
Little Ongpin	1700 Beverly Blvd	Food - Restaurant	Formerly named Morong Café; was a popular Filipino restaurant in the Temple-Beverly neighborhood.
Tribal Café	1651 W. Temple St	Food - Restaurant	Formerly named Travelers Café, the restaurant is known for being an important gathering space. The first location of Travelers Café (no longer extant) was the hangout of writer Carlos Bulosan. At this location since the 1960s.
Philippine Hand Embroidery Company	811 ½ S Vermont Ave	Commercial	Business owned by early Filipino entrepreneur, Dolores Corraera and established circa 1927. No longer in business.
Roque E. De La Ysla's Insurance Agency (name of business unknown)	206 S Spring St	Office - Insurance Agency	Roque E. De La Ysla had an insurance agency at this address in the 1940s, while serving as the President of the Philippine Chamber of Commerce.
G. Monty Manibog Law Office	1725 W Beverly Blvd	Office - Law	Manibog was a Filipino American community leader, lawyer, and professor of law and practiced law for more than 50 years. This address is believed to be the first law office of G. Monty Manibog. He practiced law from this address from 1963 to 1973, and possibly later.
Filipinas Plaza (Temple Plaza)	2430 W Temple St	Food – Restaurant; Retail, Office	Shopping center established to serve Filipino community in the 1970s. May not meet significance thresholds.

Luzon Plaza	1925 W Temple St	Food – Restaurant; Retail, Office	Shopping center established to serve Filipino community in the 1970s. May not meet significance thresholds.
Filipino Recreational Hall	245 S Main St	Food – Restaurant; Recreation; Office (Employment Agency)	Earliest known Filipino-owned commercial establishment within Downtown's historic Little Manila district; served as important hub of Filipino American community pre-WWII. Altered

Property Types Associated with Business and Commerce: Commercial Historic Districts

Name	Location	Property type	Comments
Historic Filipinotown	Southwest area of Echo Park (bound by Hoover St on the west, Glendale Blvd on the east, Temple St on the north and Beverly Blvd on the south.)	Commercial District	Many Filipino owned businesses moved to this area after redevelopment of Little Manila in Downtown. This district represents significant postwar business ownership in the Filipino community. May not meet significance thresholds for designation although it may merit consideration in the planning process.

Property Types Associated with Religion and Spirituality

Name	Location	Property type	Comments
Congregational Christian Church	2400 W Temple St	Church	Served local Filipino Christian community.
Filipino Christian Church	301 N Union Ave	Church	Locally designated as Historic-Cultural Monument #651. Founded in 1933, it is the oldest Filipino-serving Christian church in the U.S. The congregation relocated from another building when this property was purchased in 1950. Church has remained at this location since.
First United Methodist Church	928 Lagoon Avenue	Church	Served local Filipino Christian community.
Iglesia Ni Cristo - Church of Christ	14308 Nordhoff St	Church	Built in 1992 in distinct Philippine Iglesia Ni Cristo-style. Period of significance may not meet National Register 50-year threshold.
Iglesia Ni Cristo - Church of Christ	141 N Union Ave (205 N Union Ave; 207 N Union Ave; 209 N Union Ave)	Church	Built in 2010 in distinct Philippine Iglesia Ni Cristo-style. Period of significance may not meet National Register 50-year threshold.

Immaculate Heart of Mary/Filipino Ministry of Los Angeles	4954 Santa Monica Blvd	Church	Served local Filipino community. Also noted in SurveyLA as excellent example of late Gothic Revival institutional architecture in Hollywood.
Los Angeles Filipino American United Church of Christ	5080 Maywood Ave	Church	Served local Filipino Christian community.
Our Lady of Loretto Catholic Church	250 N Union Ave	Church	Served the local Filipino Catholic community in the 1940s.
Precious Blood Catholic Church	435 S Occidental Blvd	Church	Served the local Filipino Catholic community in the 1940s.
Saints Peter & Paul Catholic Church	515 W Opp St	Church	Served the local Filipino Catholic community.
St. Bernard Catholic Church	2500 West Avenue 33	Church	Served the local Filipino Catholic community.
St. Columban Catholic Church (current location)	125 S Loma Dr	Church	Current location of St. Columban Church (Filipino Catholic congregation in Los Angeles), since 1947. A fire station existed at this location when the St. Columban Church purchased and moved here in 1947. Original repurposed fire station buildings were demolished for the construction of buildings to fit the needs of the church and community in 1967. Additional building/s constructed in 1991.
St. Columban Catholic Church (founding location)	1035 S Fedora St	Church	Per Archbishop John Cantwell's request, Society of St. Columban in Los Angeles held Sunday masses for local Filipino community in 1945-1946 until property on Loma Drive was purchased and repurposed as a church.
St. Genevieve Catholic Church	14061 Roscoe Blvd	Church	Served the local Filipino Catholic community.
Our Lady of Loretto Elementary School	258 N Union Ave	Religious School	Carlene Sobrino Bonnavier and Greg Villanueva, among other prominent local Filipinos, attended school here in the 1940s
Precious Blood Catholic School	307 S Occidental Blvd	Religious School	Important religious traditions, celebrations, and church-sponsored events were held on this campus.
Saints Peter & Paul Catholic School	706 Bay View Ave	Religious School	Important religious traditions, celebrations, and church-sponsored events were held on this campus.
Mrs. Royal Dye Residence	720 N Kenmore Ave	Residential - Single-Family	Prior to securing a church facility, the Filipino Christian Fellowship, under the leadership of Christian missionary Mrs. Dye and Silvestre Morales, recruited Filipinos to attend regular religious gatherings at Mrs. Dye's home in the late 1920s. Mrs. Dye and Silvestre Morales were Filipino evangelical leaders in the community.

Property Types Associated with Education

Name	Location	Property type	Comments
Asian American Studies Center, University of California, Los Angeles	3230 Campbell Hall	College/ University	Important site of the Asian American movement in Los Angeles and the establishment of Asian American Studies as a discipline. UCLA is the site of two Filipino Far West Conventions (1974 and 1978).
Burlington Nursery School and Kindergarten	242 Burlington Ave	Preschool - Child Care	Multi-lingual private pre-school and extended daycare center established in 1974. Has grown to serve children ages 2 to 10 years.

Property Types Associated with Community Organizations, Social Services, and Institutions

Name	Location	Property type	Comments
Caballeros de Dimas Alang Lodge	127 S Boyle St	Social Clubs - Lodge	Believed to be last remaining example of Caballeros de Dimas Alang lodge in Los Angeles; may have served as the organization's headquarters from 1950s-1980s.
Legionarios del Trabajo Lodge	227 Avalon Blvd	Social Clubs - Lodge	Earliest known example of lodge for the Filipino fraternal organization Legionarios del Trabajo in Los Angeles; 1939. Believed to be last remaining example of Legionarios del Trabajo lodge in Los Angeles.
Filipino American Community of Los Angeles/Filipino American Cultural Center	1740 W Temple St	Social Services/ Community Organization	Significant institution associated with the Filipino American community that resided in Westlake. The Filipino American Community of Los Angeles (FACLA) was originally established in 1945, making it one of the earliest civic groups in the city to serve the Filipino immigrant community. The current building, named the Filipino American Cultural Center, was constructed as a social hall in 1965; its opening marked the start of the "golden years" of the Filipino American community in the area.
Filipino Community Center of Los Angeles Harbor Area, Inc.	323 Mar Vista Ave	Social Services/ Community Organization	Established in 1946 and formerly known as the Filipino American community center; was organized and paid for by the Filipino communities of San Pedro, Wilmington, and Long Beach.

Filipino Federation of America (Auguste R. Marquis Residence)	2302 W 25th St (2300-2312 W 25th St; 2501 S Arlington Ave)	Residential - Single-Family	Locally designated as Historic-Cultural Monument #602. Property was purchased in the 1940s by the Filipino Federation of America (FFA) and serves as the headquarters of the FFA today. General Hilario C. Moncado lived and worked on the property until 1946. Many prominent figures visited during Moncado's residency, including Pres. William Howard Taft.
Benjamin J. Waters Residence	2289 W 25th St	Residential - Single-Family	Locally designated Historic-Cultural Monument #598. Purchased by General Hilario Moncado in 1926 to be used as his residence and headquarters of the Filipino Federation of America. When General Moncado immigrated to Los Angeles he founded the Filipino Federation of America, an organization that advocated for a "vice-free lifestyle" for the Filipino population in California and the United States.
Search to Involve Pilipino Americans (SIPA)	3228 W Temple St	Social Services/ Community Organization	Founded in 1972 (original location at 3107 W Beverly - extant) by a group of Filipino Americans, including Uncle Roy Morales, to serve youth. Evolved to provide health, social services, and community development programs.

Property Types Associated with Health and Medicine

Name	Location	Property type	Comments
Clinic of Dr. Primitiva Demandante Asprin, M.D.	809 N Avalon	Office - Medical	Dr. Primitiva Demandante Asprin, M.D. is the first Filipina physician to be licensed to practice medicine in the State and country. This address corresponds to her clinic in Wilmington, which opened in the 1950s. She became the chief of the medical staff at Carson Hospital in 1967 and was a leader in the Filipino American community. She passed away in 1971.

Property Types Associated with the Visual and Performing Arts

Name	Location	Property type	Comments
<i>Gintong Kasaysayan, Gintong Pamana</i> (Filipino Americans: A Glorious History, A Golden Legacy)	1666 Beverly Blvd	Visual Arts - Public Art - Mural	1995; Unidad Park mural by Eliseo Art Silva illustrating Filipino and Filipino American history. Unidad Park is in Los Angeles' Historic Filipinotown.

Property Types Associated with Media: Newspapers, Radio, and Television

Name	Location	Property type	Comments
Associated Filipino Press	206 S Spring St	Commercial - Office - Newspaper	Published at this address in 1942 and 1945.
Filipino Observer-Spokesman	124 W 4th St.	Commercial - Office - Newspaper	Published at this address in 1935.
The Filipino Youth	124 W 4th St.	Commercial - Office - Newspaper	Published at this address in 1932.

Property Types Associated with Military History

Name	Location	Property type	Comments
MacArthur Monument	2230 W 6th St	War Memorial	Designed by Roger Noble Burnham in 1955; The LA Filipino community contributed funds toward the establishment of monument.
Valor, Filipino WWII Veterans Memorial	227 N Lake St	War Memorial	2006; Public art piece by Cheri Gaulke honoring Filipino World War II veterans. Composed of five large black granite panels rising from the ground and two granite benches. Etched on the panels are photographs and text telling the story between the United States and the Philippines.

Property Types Associated with the Asian Eclectic Architectural Style: Individual Resources

Properties may also be significant examples of the Asian Eclectic style (see Associated Property Types and Eligibility Standards section of the Historic Context).

Property Types Associated with Important Asian American Architects

Properties may also be significant examples of the work of important Filipino American architects (see Associated Property Types and Eligibility Standards section of the Historic Context).

Appendix B: Asian Americans in Los Angeles Advisory Committee and Participants

In preparing this context statement, the Office of Historic Resources and the team of consultants, led by Architectural Resources Group (ARG), were advised by a diverse panel of Asian American community members, historic preservation professionals, and historians. The following is a list of project contributors and advisory committee participants.

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Additional input and information was received from the following community members:

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Carlene Sobrino Bonnivier	Laura Meyers
Dulce Capadocia	Patty Nagano
Edith Wen-Chu Chen, Ph.D.	Steve Nagano
Wendy Chung	Mike Okamura
William Chun-Hoon	Juily Phun
Lorna Ignacio Dumapias	Ronee Reece
Rick Eng	Al Soo Hoo
Alex Hack	Donna Sugimoto and the Sugimoto Family
Les Hamasaki	Alvin Takamori
Eric Harris	Nancy Takayama
Warren Hong	Jonathan Tanaka
Florante Ibanez	Mary Tila
Takashige Ikawa	Tom Williams, Ph. D.
Miya Iwataki	Dorothy Fue Wong
Rose Kato	Winston Wu
Katherine Kim	Scott Yamabe