

SurveyLA
Latino Los Angeles Historic Context Statement
City of Los Angeles
Department of City Planning
Office of Historic Resources

September 15, 2015

Prepared by:



and

Becky Nicolaides

Certified Local Government Grant Disclaimers

The activity which is the subject of this historic context statement has been financed in part with Federal funds from the National Park Service, Department of Interior, through the California Office of Historic Preservation. However, the following tables describe designated and known resources associated with the residential development and suburbanization of the Latino community of Los Angeles. Eligibility Standards address residential property types. Department of the Interior or the California Office of Historic Preservation, nor does mention of trade names or commercial products constitute endorsement or recommendation by the Department of the Interior or the California Office of Historic Preservation.

This program receives Federal financial assistance for identification and protection of historic properties. Under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, and the Age of Discrimination Act of 1975 as amended, the Department of the Interior prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, color, national origin, disability, or age in its federally assisted programs. If you believe you have been discriminated against in any program, activity, or facility as described above, or if you desire further information, please write to:

Office of Equal Opportunity
National Park Service
1849 C Street, N.W.
Washington D.C. 20240

Table of Contents

Introduction	1
Purpose and Scope.....	1
Terms and Definitions	2
Existing Scholarship, Archives, and Outreach	2
Historical Overview	5
Themes Related to Latino History in Los Angeles	31
Theme 1 – Commercial Identity, 1910 - 1980.....	32
Theme 2 – Religion and Spirituality, 1860 - 1989	41
Theme 3 – Education 1930 - 1980.....	52
Theme 4 – Civil Rights Movement, 1920 - 1980	66
Theme 5 – Cultural Development and Institutions, 1920 - 1980.....	80
Theme 6 – Public Art, 1930 - 1984	100
Theme 7 – Entertainment Industry, 1925 - 1980.....	112
Selected Bibliography	126

Introduction

Purpose and Scope

The Latino historic context is a component of SurveyLA's citywide historic context statement and was partially funded with a grant from the California Office of Historic Preservation. This context provides guidance to field surveyors in identifying and evaluating potential historic resources relating to Los Angeles' rich Latino history. The context provides a broad historical overview on settlement and development patterns and then focuses on themes and geographic areas associated with extant resources. As the narrative reveals, these resources date primarily from the 1920s to the 1970s and are largely concentrated in the neighborhoods east of Downtown such as Boyle Heights and Lincoln Heights. As the Latino population surged after World War II, their presence in neighborhoods throughout the city grew from Pacoima to Watts. As a result, resources are also found beyond the eastside neighborhoods traditionally associated with Latinos. Resources located in communities adjacent to the City of Los Angeles, such as East Los Angeles, are not included in the scope of this context because they are separate jurisdictions. However, they are occasionally mentioned because they are important to the history of Latinos in Los Angeles, which did not begin or end at the city limits. While focusing on historical themes associated with political, social, and cultural institutions, this context also identifies individuals and organizations that played significant roles in Latino history in Los Angeles.

According to demographers, by 2060, the population of California will be forty-eight percent Latino, predominately people of Mexican descent. The majority of that population will live in Southern California. The majority of that population will live in the Los Angeles area. Although the Latino population in Los Angeles is generally mono-cultural, there is a tremendous amount of diversity within the context of that cultural experience, ranging from new immigration from Central American countries, migration from other states, and the long-time presence of multi-generational families dating back to the ranchos.

SurveyLA's citywide historic context statement covers the period from about 1781 to 1980. The *Spanish and Mexican Era Settlement* context covers resources from 1781, when the pueblo of Los Angeles was established by the Spanish, until 1849, when California joined the Union as a state. The vast majority of resources associated with this early period of history have been identified and designated as Los Angeles Historic-Cultural Monuments (LAHCM) and so this period is not covered in the Latino historic context. Rather, the Latino context picks up in 1850 and generally extends to 1980; the 1980 date is arbitrary based on the end date for SurveyLA and may be extended as part of future survey work. Within the general timeframe of 1850 to 1980 some themes in the Latino context may cover a shorter or longer period of time depending on the topic and associated resources. In addition, the contributions Latinos have made to some themes may be included in other historic contexts. For example, the important role Latinos played in the labor movement is discussed in the labor theme of the Industrial Development context.

Terms and Definitions

It should be noted here that the Latino community is diverse, and segments within the community have been known by a variety of names. The term "Latino" generally refers to anyone of Latin American origin. It emerged in the late twentieth century as immigration from Central and South America grew. It is differentiated from the term "Hispanic," which refers mostly to persons from Spanish-speaking countries, including Spain. Thus, the term Latino is used in this context instead of Hispanic to emphasize the shared history of people from the Americas rather than Europe.

Californios were the native-born people of California. The term is not intended to include Native Americans, who were obviously native-born. Californios were mainly people of Spanish or Mexican descent; however, they also included mestizos, the offspring of Spaniard and Mexican relationships with Native Americans.

The Latino population of Los Angeles has been historically dominated by Mexican Americans. The term "Mexican American" is used in this context to describe the U.S. born population of Mexican descent. When describing the general population without distinction between U.S. born and foreign born, we have tended to use the terms "ethnic Mexicans" and "people of Mexican descent."

The terms "Anglo" and "Anglo American" are used in this context more often than "white," even though we may be referring to people who do not trace their ancestry to the British Isles. Nevertheless, the term "Anglo" is generally used as the counterpoint to "Latino" and "Mexican American" in scholarly sources. Furthermore, during the period covered by this context, the U.S. Census and other government agencies classified Latinos as white.

We have reserved the terms "Chicano" and "Chicana" for those Mexican Americans who were members of the Chicano movement. The Chicano movement, also known as El Movimiento or El Movimiento Chicano, was an extension of the Mexican American civil rights movement that gained critical momentum in the 1930s and expanded after World War II. During the 1960s, Mexican American high school and university students began to resist assimilation into Anglo American culture and to assert a unique cultural identity and ethnic pride. Young activists organized themselves into a movement that re-appropriated the term Chicano, a previously pejorative term that existed along the U.S.-Mexican border for decades. We recognize that the terms Chicano/a or Xicano/a are also used today, but for the purposes of this context, we are specifically referring to the political movement of the 1960s and 1970s.

Existing Scholarship, Archives, and Outreach

As previously stated, the purpose of the Latino historic context is to analyze potential historic resources associated with this diverse and growing population. This context draws extensively from two recent initiatives at the federal and state levels to recognize the countless contributions Latinos have made to the history of the U.S., and California in particular. *American Latinos and the Making of the United States: A Theme Study* was

published in 2013 by the National Park Service (NPS). The NPS study consists of a core essay and additional essays highlighting four broad themes: Making a Nation, Making a Life, Making a Living, and Making a Democracy. The *Latinos in Twentieth Century California* Multiple Property Submission (MPS) was commissioned by the California Office of Historic Preservation and published in 2015. Using the same four themes in the NPS study, the MPS focused solely on the history of Latinos in twentieth century California. The Latino historic context takes these two initiatives a step further by focusing on Los Angeles, home to one of the largest Latino populations in the United States.

Until the 1970s, the Latino population of California had rarely been the subject of scholarly research. With the notable exception of Carey McWilliams, few other California writers took an interest in describing or defining the role of Latinos in California history. This trend began to change in the 1960s as more Mexican Americans attended institutions of higher learning and began to demand greater educational equality as well as challenge the Eurocentric perspective held by most academics. This movement stimulated the formation of Chicano Studies programs in colleges and universities across the state, beginning in 1969 with California State College Los Angeles and San Diego State College.¹ One of the by-products of these programs was an outpouring of scholarship on this understudied group of people.

The initial scholarship in the field sought to define Chicano culture and to illuminate the inequalities that prompted the Chicano movement in the first place. Subsequent scholarship has approached Mexican Americans as a multidimensional group and focused on the generational, historical, and regional differences in Mexican American subgroups living in the United States. In addition, Chicano Studies programs have been broadened to include the histories and experiences of other Latino groups in the U.S.

Two of the earliest and most comprehensive books dealing with the experiences of Mexican Americans in California are by Albert Camarillo, *Chicanos in a Changing Society: From Mexican Pueblos to American Barrios (1979)* and *Chicanos in California: A History of Mexican Americans (1984)*. Camarillo endeavored to relate the ways in which Mexican Americans shaped the history of the state and the ways in which the dominant society, in turn, influenced the lives of Mexican Americans.

As people of Mexican origin were historically and continue to be concentrated in Southern California, numerous books are focused on Mexican Americans in Los Angeles. These include early works by Ricardo Romo, *East Los Angeles: History of a Barrio (1981)* and Richard Griswold del Castillo, *The Los Angeles Barrio, 1850-1890: A Social History (1982)* as well as more recent works by George Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American: Ethnicity, Culture and Identity in Chicano Los Angeles 1900-1945*

¹ These colleges became universities in 1972. The Department of Chicano/a Studies at California State University Northridge is now the largest of its kind in the country. For more information about the development and evolution of Chicano Studies programs see Rodolfo Acuña, *Making of Chicana/o Studies: In the Trenches of A* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press) 77-84.

(1993) and Douglas Monroy, *Rebirth: Mexican Los Angeles from the Great Migration to the Great Depression* (1999).

The Latino historic context project team conducted primary research to fill information gaps in the secondary sources. This included Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, U.S. Census records, City Directories, and newspapers (both English and Spanish language). In addition the project team worked with the Los Angeles Conservancy in conducting community outreach. Numerous individuals attended community outreach meetings and provided useful information in the development of this context as well as the identification of associated resources. Other individuals exchanged information with the project team on a regular basis and steered the direction of the project. Their participation was very much appreciated and enriched the context with details about the community that could not be gathered from books or archival materials.

Historical Overview

Introduction

Latinos have played a critical, enduring role in the history of Los Angeles, influencing multiple aspects of regional life. Beginning with the area's earliest colonial settlements, Latinos have shaped the city's culture, economy, built environment, civic, and political life, while contending with a long history of discrimination in the process. The Latino presence is deeply embedded in Los Angeles, etched in place from its very beginnings.

Early History: The Roots of Latino Influence in Los Angeles

Latino influence in Los Angeles began with the region's earliest history of European settlement. California's transition from an indigenous to a colonized land was part of a larger process of European colonization across the globe from the 1500s to 1700s. On the east coast of North America, the British, French, and Dutch were making forays along the Atlantic seaboard and inland. On the west coast, Spain led the exploration and colonization of the territory that would become California. The goals of the colonial powers were similar on both sides of the continent – find land for growing populations to settle, extract raw materials to enhance the wealth of home countries, and spread and strengthen religion, whether through conversion of native peoples or through the settlement of believers. In 1513, Vasco Núñez de Balboa claimed all of the land adjoining the Pacific Ocean as Spanish territory. Two hundred years later, Spain began to establish the first permanent settlements.²

Early Los Angeles history was a story of different peoples with different cultures coming together on the California frontier, struggling for survival, dominance, and control.³ During this early period in the city's history, Spanish and Mexican influence prevailed. From 1769 to 1821, California was a permanent colonial settlement of New Spain. The missions served as Spain's primary colonizing institution, along with ranchos, pueblos, and presidios, the influence of these institutions varying by region. In Southern California, the Mission San Gabriel was formed in 1771, followed a decade later by the Los Angeles pueblo in 1781. The first settlers included twenty-two adults – one person born in Spain, one person born in New Spain, one mestizo, two persons of African descent, eight mulattos, and nine Native Americans. Surrounding the pueblo were ranchos, land grants given by viceroys in New Spain requiring the grantee (*ranchero*) to build a house and raise at least 2,000 head of cattle. Half of California's ranchos were located near Los Angeles. All sectors of Spanish colonial society – from the ranchos to the missions – relied heavily on Native American labor. In the quest to populate the area with subjects loyal to the Spanish crown, both ardent conflict and cultural amalgamation ensued, including the formation of a mestizo culture that grew out of Spanish and Native

² Thomas Osborne, *Pacific El Dorado: A History of Greater California* (West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), chapter 2; Robert W. Cherny, Gretchen Lemke-Santangelo, and Richard Griswold del Castillo, *Competing Visions: A History of California*, Second Edition (Boston: Wadsworth, 2014), chapter 2.

³ This concept comes especially from Douglas Monroy, *Thrown Among Strangers: The Making of Mexican Culture in Frontier California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

American intermingling.⁴ In 1821, a newly independent Mexico took control of the region, making California a province of Mexico from 1821 to 1846. As the missions were gradually secularized (meaning mission lands reverted to private hands), the ranchos expanded in number and influence. Many were run by Californios, native-born people of California, often mestizo. During their thirty-year heyday, the ranchos were the center of economic production, as well as political and social power. The rancheros' highly influential culture – centered on ideals of paternalism, gentility, and benevolence – shaped social practices, architecture, place names, and created the basis of California's romantic Spanish past.⁵

The Mexican American War (1846-1848) brought California under control of the United States. As Anglo Americans asserted power in social, political, cultural, and economic life, ethnic Mexicans experienced downward mobility and marginalization in all of these realms. By the 1880s, Anglos controlled political life, owned larger and larger land holdings, and engaged in large-scale commercial agriculture, mining, and industry, which all required armies of low-paid workers. Facing a labor shortage, employers turned to recent Mexican immigrants who had begun migrating north in greater numbers, a result of both aggressive recruiting by American employers and an intertwined set of push-pull factors. One critical push factor was worsening economic conditions in Mexico during the Porfirio Díaz regime (1876-1911), when the number of Mexicans moving to the U.S. tripled, two-thirds of them single men seeking work. This migration intensified after the 1910 Mexican Revolution.⁶

This complex web of forces – both internal and geopolitical – led to the emergence of Mexicans as a low-paid working-class population, marking a dramatic decline in their ethnic group status from the mid-nineteenth century. Historians have documented the complex ways this process linked up to race. For example, Tomás Almaguer shows that while Mexicans occupied a middling position on the Anglo-defined racial hierarchy of the nineteenth century, the influx of “thousands of Mexican peasants to California after 1900 ... led to a metaphorical ‘darkening’ of the Mexican image in the white mind.”⁷ This Anglo American perception of Mexican racial inferiority was used to justify their social, political, cultural, and economic subjugation. Mexicans were segregated, paid less, and relegated to inferior jobs because of their perceived ethnic inferiority.⁸ Despite this overall trend, Mexicans continued to occupy an ambiguous racial position in California. In some contexts, they were designated “white,” a residue of their more favorable social and civic status in the nineteenth century. Yet in everyday life,

⁴ This intermingling of Spanish and Native American cultures had already formed in older colonial centers in New Spain.

⁵ Osborne, *Pacific El Dorado*, chapters 2-3; Cherny, et.al., *Competing Visions*, chapters 2-3; Albert Camarillo, *Chicanos in a Changing Society* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), 102.

⁶ Monroy, *Thrown Among Strangers*, chapter 5.

⁷ Tomás Almaguer, *Racial Fault Lines: The Historical Origins of White Supremacy in California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 72; Juan Gomez-Quiñones, *Mexican American Labor, 1790-1990* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994), 45; Monroy, *Thrown Among Strangers*, 244-245. Camille Guerin-Gonzales, *Mexican Workers and American Dreams* (New Brunswick: Rutgers, 1994), 19-21.

⁸ Gómez-Quiñones, *Mexican American Labor*, 4; Douglas Monroy, *Rebirth: Mexican Los Angeles from the Great Migration to the Great Depression* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 119.

Mexicans were increasingly the targets of segregation and discrimination by the late nineteenth century.

Despite these broader pressures, Mexicans formed and sustained vibrant communities and continued to shape life in Los Angeles in distinct ways. As geographers James Allen and Eugene Turner write, “the old ties between Mexico and Southern California were never completely severed.”⁹ Continuing immigration, moreover, contributed to the deep and lasting influence of Mexicans on Los Angeles.

1880s - 1920s: Community Building

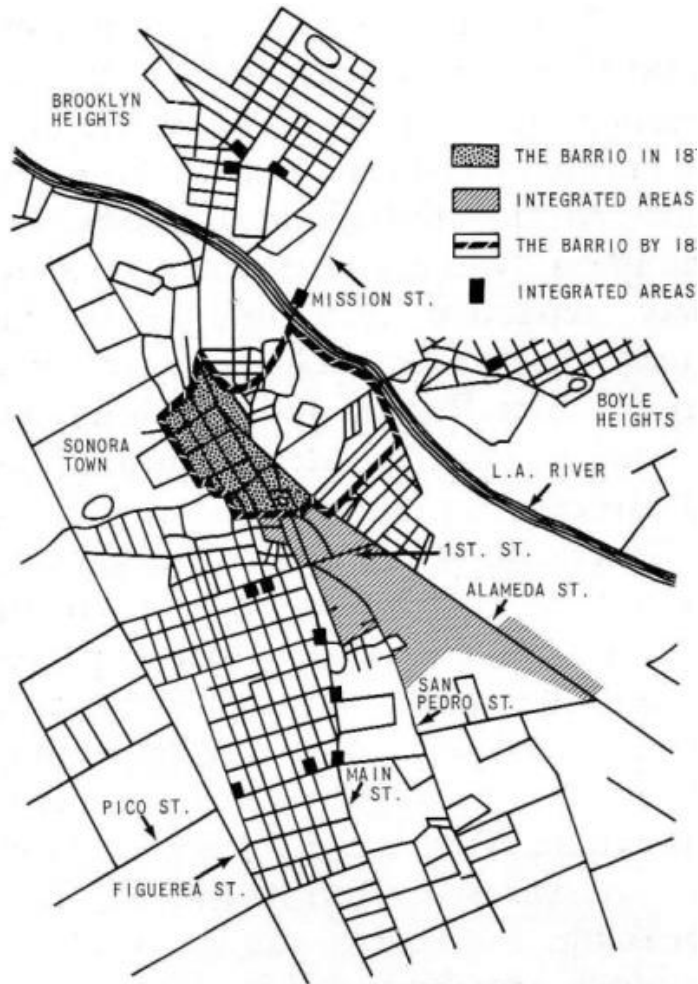
By the 1880s, Los Angeles was growing rapidly into an Americanized city. Critical catalysts were Anglo in-migration, the formation of railway and communication networks, tourist and real estate booms, residential and business expansion, and economic change. The Mexican population, in turn, transformed from majority to minority after 1850 (see Table 1).

TABLE 1 ¹⁰ TOTAL ETHNIC MEXICAN POPULATION AND PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION IN LOS ANGELES 1850-1930			
Year	Total Population	Mexican Population (including high-low range)	Percentage of Total (including high-low range)
1850	1,610	1,215	75.4
1860	4,385	2,069	47.1
1870	5,728	2,160	37.7
1880	11,183	2,166	19.3
1890	50,395	n/a	n/a
1900	102,479	3,000 - 5,000	2.9 - 4.9
1910	319,198	9,678 - 29,738	3.0 - 9.3
1920	576,673	29,757 - 50,000	5.2 - 8.7
1930	1,238,048	97,116 - 190,000	7.8 - 15.3

⁹ James P. Allen and Eugene Turner, *The Ethnic Quilt* (CSUN: Center for Geographical Studies, 1997), 93.

¹⁰ Richard Griswold Del Castillo, *The Los Angeles Barrio, 1850-1890* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 35; Albert Camarillo, *Chicanos in a Changing Society*, 116; Albert Camarillo, *Chicanos in California* (Sparks: Materials for Today's Learning, 1990), 34. The 1890 census manuscript schedules were destroyed by fire, so population figures for Spanish-surnamed persons are unavailable. U.S. Census figures are generally regarded as low estimates for ethnic populations, because of undercounting.

By 1880, Mexicans comprised nineteen percent of the population and their proportion dropped rapidly thereafter as Anglo in-migration surged.¹¹



Mexican settlement patterns in Los Angeles, 1872-1887.
(Los Angeles Barrio, 147)

By the 1880s, a well-defined barrio had emerged around the Plaza area. From 1880 to 1910 most Mexican newcomers settled within a mile of the Plaza, a gateway settlement for all immigrant groups. The largest settlement of Mexicans was in Sonora Town – as it was known by Anglo Americans – located north of the Plaza in present-day Chinatown. This early barrio had a mixture of modest detached homes (some adobe) and small businesses. Beginning in the 1880s, Mexican settlement gradually dispersed both south and eastward into multiethnic neighborhoods. By 1887, some Mexican families – whose breadwinners were skilled craftsmen or merchants – began settling east of the Los Angeles River in Brooklyn Heights and Boyle Heights. Among the Californios who remained, most lived in white neighborhoods to the west. This early pattern shaped the subsequent trajectory of Mexican settlement for decades.¹²

¹¹ Camarillo, *Chicanos in a Changing Society*, 118; Richard Griswold Del Castillo, *The Los Angeles Barrio, 1850-1890* (Berkeley: University of California press, 1979), 35.

¹² Griswold Del Castillo, *Los Angeles Barrio*, 147-150; George Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American: Ethnicity, Culture and Identity in Chicano Los Angeles, 1900-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 70-78. Griswold del Castillo notes that in the 1880s, a few Mexican professionals moved into fashionable Anglo neighborhoods on Grand, Hill, and Olive streets.



*Sonora Town in 1892, the street in the middle of the photograph is likely North Broadway.
(Los Angeles Public Library)*

Mexican settlement patterns were shaped by proximity to jobs, the availability of low-cost housing, and the exclusionary practices in surrounding suburbs. Between 1900 and 1920, as the centers of power shifted away from the old Plaza toward downtown and Wilshire Boulevard, the Plaza area grew more isolated but continued to provide “shabby but welcome living quarters” for immigrant newcomers – Mexican and European alike.¹³ Mexican settlement concentrated in the Plaza area, Boyle Heights, and Belvedere (outside the L.A. City limits), with smaller numbers in the North Main Street district, Chavez Ravine, Lincoln Heights, between Main Street and Central Avenue, and Westlake Park. Historian George Sánchez notes that prior to World War II, the most striking aspect of Mexican residential patterns was not intense segregation, but rather dispersal within this bounded area of south and eastern Los Angeles.¹⁴ These neighborhoods were close to industrial jobs near the city center. It wasn't until the post-WWII era that an ethnically homogeneous Mexican barrio emerged in unincorporated East L.A.¹⁵

¹³ Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 72.

¹⁴ Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 76.

¹⁵ Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 72-77.

About twenty percent of Mexicans lived beyond this central/east Los Angeles area in scattered, multiethnic communities that arose near jobs. Colonias formed in Harbor City near the oil refineries; in Watts, Willowbrook, and West Hollywood on or near the site of former Pacific Electric work camps; and in farmworker camps of the San Fernando Valley, like Pacoima and Canoga Park. These settlements were sometimes multiethnic, and often had substandard housing and infrastructure. Still, they gave Mexicans a foothold in areas that would later be enveloped by exclusionary white suburbs. In Canoga Park, for example, the American Beet Sugar Company built eight adobe homes on Hart Street as a way of keeping workers from leaving; this became the nucleus of a Mexican community that grew in subsequent decades.¹⁶ The vast majority of white suburban communities were closed off to Mexicans through tools of racial exclusion, such as race restrictive covenants, realtor practices, and local ordinances.



During the 1920s, Mexicans often resided in multiethnic neighborhoods. This diversity is revealed in the girls' class picture of the 20th Street Elementary School, 1921.
(Los Angeles Public Library)

Though the central barrio area was poor and lacked basic services, it became a source of cultural cohesion, identity, and strength early on. As Richard Griswold Del Castillo notes of the 1880s, "The creation of the barrio ensured ethnic survival. Proximity of residence reinforced the language, religion, and social habits of the Mexican-Americans and thus insured the continuation of their distinctive culture."¹⁷

From 1880 to the 1920s, Mexicans formed institutions that strengthened this ethnic identity, particularly in the face of growing racial discrimination. Together, they helped create a new ethnic consciousness around the idea of *La Raza*, connoting "racial, spiritual, and blood ties with the Latin American people."¹⁸ Early Spanish-language newspapers were a key vehicle for this. From 1851 to 1895, sixteen Spanish-language newspapers existed in Los Angeles, forming in the wake of Americanization; more followed in the early twentieth century.¹⁹ In addition to newspaper, social clubs, political associations, and mutualistas (self-help mutual aid society) drew the community together and raised ethnic awareness. One early influential mutualista was *La Sociedad Hispano-Americana de Beneficia Mutua*, which gave loans, sold

¹⁶ Turner and Allen, *Ethnic Quilt*, 92-97.

¹⁷ Griswold Del Castillo, *Los Angeles Barrio*, 150.

¹⁸ Griswold Del Castillo, *Los Angeles Barrio*, 133.

¹⁹ Griswold Del Castillo, *Los Angeles Barrio*, 131-133; Rafael Chabran and Richard Chabran, "The Spanish-Language and Latino Press of the United States: Newspapers and Periodicals," in *Handbook of Hispanic Cultures in the United States: Literature and Art*, edited by Francisco Lomeli (Houston: Público Press, 1994), 368-69.

affordable medical and life insurance, and offered social services. These groups sponsored social and political activities, and cultural celebrations like Cinco de Mayo parades. By the 1920s, a significant mutualista was the Alianza Hispano Americana, which waged legal challenges against discrimination and provided members with legal services. As a critical incubator of community leadership, the mutualistas were important springboards for civil and labor rights activism.²⁰



Cinco de Mayo celebration, 1925.
(Los Angeles Public Library)

From 1880 through the 1920s, L.A.'s Mexicans were a people in motion. They moved much more frequently than Anglo Americans. This movement, combined with the constant influx of Mexican immigrants to Los Angeles, lent an unsettled, dynamic quality to the Mexican community.²¹

In the 1920s, immigrants played a large role in the Mexican community of Los Angeles, in several ways. During the decade, the

Mexican population in the city tripled from about 33,600 to 97,000, turning Los Angeles into the new “Mexican capital” of the U.S. – although Mexicans still represented a small portion of the overall population (Table 1).²² Much of this growth stemmed from immigration - from 1920 to 1930, the ratio of immigrant to native-born residents rose from 2:1 to 5:1. In turn, the influence of foreign-born Mexicans grew. For example, in the 1920s, the Mexican consulate played a key role in shaping organizational life and community leadership in Los Angeles. The consulate espoused middle-class interests and promoted loyalty to Mexico through an ambitious Mexicanization program via the formation of Spanish-language libraries and schools to teach Mexican history and culture. Lack of funding and internal community differences ultimately limited these efforts.²³

At the same time, this immigrant predominance made Mexicans the targets of Americanization programs as well, run mostly out of churches and schools. Aimed especially at women, these programs taught English, thrift, time discipline, hygiene, and low-level work skills – “intended only to assimilate [them] into the bottom segment of the

²⁰ Griswold Del Castillo, *Los Angeles Barrio*, 134-138; David Gutiérrez, *Walls and Mirrors: Mexican Americans, Mexican Immigrants, and the Politics of Ethnicity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 95-100; Zaragosa Vargas, *Crucible of Struggle* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 201.

²¹ Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 69-70.

²² In the 1920s, Los Angeles surpassed San Antonio as having the largest population of Mexicans. Ricardo Romo, *East Los Angeles: History of A Barrio* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1988), 80. These statistics also come from Romo, who drew his number from the problematical U.S. Census.

²³ Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 70, 107, and chapter 4.

American work force as low paid, yet loyal workers."²⁴ Most Mexicans in Los Angeles, who were overwhelmingly working class, distrusted both Americanization and Mexicanization programs for showing "contempt for the Mexican peasant."²⁵



*Mexicans planting onions in the San Fernando Valley, 1920.
(Los Angeles Public Library)*

In terms of jobs, most Mexican immigrants ended up in unskilled or semiskilled manual labor in Los Angeles, regardless of their occupational background in Mexico. This was true for those who migrated from 1900 to 1915 (including both professionals and rural workers) and in the 1920s (primarily working class). The general employment pattern applied to Mexican Americans as well.²⁶ The migratory, seasonal nature of farm work – a key employment sector for Mexicans – led to an overlapping experience of

rural and urban work for many Mexicans. They traveled back and forth from farm to city and back again, following the jobs. This pattern "turned Los Angeles into the winter homes of the seasonally unemployed Mexican agricultural workers from all over the state." In Los Angeles in the 1910s and 1920s, that connection was even tighter, as many farm workers lived in the city and commuted by Red Car out to the fields. Los Angeles remained the most productive agricultural county in the state well into the 1930s. For many Mexicans, the goal was to move out of farm work and into more stable urban jobs.²⁷ Although Mexicans were largely excluded from mainstream labor unions, they waged numerous protests and organized to improve working conditions.

1930s: Crisis and Progress

The 1930s was a tumultuous decade for ethnic Mexicans in Los Angeles, marked both by crisis and progress. The Great Depression drove unemployment rates soaring in both urban and agricultural areas, hitting Mexicans particularly hard given their weak position in the labor market. While some voluntarily returned to Mexico, others left the farms for cities like Los Angeles in search of public relief but were rebuffed by hostile

²⁴ Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 107, and chapter 4.

²⁵ Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 124.

²⁶ Almaguer, *Racial Fault Lines*, 71; Gómez-Quíñones, *Mexican American Labor*, 73-75; Camarillo, *Chicanos in a Changing Society*, 163.

²⁷ Monroy, *Rebirth*, 118; Sanchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 68-69; Douglas Monroy, "An Essay on Understanding the Work Experience of Mexicans in Southern California, 1900-1939," *Aztlan* 12, 1 (Spring 1981), 65-66.

officials and citizens jealously guarding already strained resources. This pressurized state of affairs had a dual effect on Mexicans – it resulted in adverse policies by the government culminating in the repatriation program, but it also inspired Mexicans to wage new claims for rights. The 1930s saw second-generation Mexicans rise as community leaders in Los Angeles. They embraced a burgeoning and developing Mexican American identity, and showed a new organizational and political sophistication in campaigns for equal rights.



This photograph appeared in the Herald Examiner on March 8, 1932 with the following caption: "Throng of Mexican women and children at the station when they departed today on four trains for their native land. The repatriation of the Mexican families, which had been cared for by the county welfare departments was directed by the departments and officials of the Mexican government. Many of the Mexicans will be taken back to their home towns."

Although the Depression was a worldwide economic calamity, Mexicans quickly became a scapegoat for local hardship. Officials from the federal to the local level blamed Mexicans as a cause of the downturn, claiming they "took jobs away from American citizens," as President Herbert Hoover put it.²⁸ Policies soon began to reflect this position, and revealed the love-hate relationship that American employers had with Mexican workers – needing their labor at certain times, rebuffing them at others depending on economic circumstances. By the early 1930s, lawmakers began enacting policies to discourage the hiring of Mexican workers and to encourage their deportation.

This culminated in the repatriation programs of the 1930s, where local, state, federal, and Mexican officials worked cooperatively to deport Mexicans out of the U.S. Through high-profile sweeps, public statements, and obliging press coverage, officials sought to frighten "aliens" into returning to Mexico. These actions drove many Mexicans and Americans of Mexican descent to leave on their own and fueled deep distrust among those who stayed. In Los Angeles in the early 1930s, approximately one-third of the city's 150,000 Mexican residents repatriated. Notably, in California over eighty percent of repatriates were American citizens or legal residents.²⁹ Repatriation meant that Latino

²⁸ Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 211, 213, 214.

²⁹ Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 211-221; Gutiérrez, *Walls and Mirrors*, 72; Vargas, *Crucible of Struggle*, 220. While scholars contend that no accurate statistics exist on the number of repatriates overall, they generally estimate that between 350,000 to 600,000 ethnic Mexicans departed for Mexico during the 1930s.

immigration ceased, and the Mexican population decreased in California for the first and only time in the twentieth century.³⁰

Repatriation, in conjunction with immigration laws and earlier factors favoring permanent U.S. residency, shifted the ratio of American-born to immigrant Mexicans in the 1930s. For the first time, American-born outnumbered immigrant Mexicans in Los Angeles, and they maintained this predominance for decades. This demographic shift had a profound impact on the social, political, and cultural life of Mexican Los Angeles.



The Spanish-speaking branch of the ILGWU in a Labor Day parade. Latinas played a critical role in the ILGWU strike of 1933. (An Illustrated History of Mexican Los Angeles, 133)

This emerging Mexican cohort stepped up efforts to improve labor and civil rights, which they increasingly saw as intertwined. In 1928, native- and foreign-born Mexicans in Los Angeles formed the Confederación de Uniones Obreras Mexicanas (CUOM), with 3,000 members organized into twenty locals. They fought for job equality, a cessation of unjust deportations, a halt to further immigration as a way of improving the “desperate” conditions for Mexicans in the U.S., and cultural autonomy

and separatism to foster Mexican ethnic solidarity. This group was politically moderate, influenced by L.A.’s Mexican consulate Alfonso Pesqueria, who sought to offer an alternative to radical unionism.³¹ By the 1930s, more and more Mexicans took a more forceful approach. In 1933, for example, Mexican women were among the most active participants in the ILGWU strike in Los Angeles, marking a milestone in labor/civil rights activism among American-born Mexicans.³²

In 1939, El Congreso (Congress of Spanish Speaking People) was formed, deemed by one historian as the most significant civil rights group in this period.³³ It was spearheaded by the Guatemalan-born labor leader Luisa Moreno, who believed that the only way to secure worker rights was through fighting vigorously for civil rights. In 1939, in Los Angeles she convened the first national civil rights conference for Latinos drawing together 136

³⁰ There is a small monument next to Olvera Street in El Pueblo State Historic Park that commemorates an apology from the County of Los Angeles to families that were deported.

³¹ Gutiérrez, *Walls and Mirrors*, 100-105; F. Arturo Rosales, *Dictionary of Latino Civil Rights History* (Houston: Arte Público Press, 2006), 109. In 1933, CUOM was revived as the Confederación de Uniones Obreros Mexicanos (CUCOM), which launched a series of strikes in California in the 1930s.

³² Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 234.

³³ Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 58.

union locals and Latino organizations (such as the mutualistas). While El Congreso was short-lived – fading by the mid-1940s due to limited funds and redbaiting of the group's leaders – it spurred the formation of other civil rights groups.³⁴ More broadly, labor activism in the 1930s had the effect of politicizing second-generation Mexicans, which would heighten their demands for full integration into American society in the postwar years.³⁵

Settlement patterns in the 1930s came to reflect schisms within the Mexican community itself, including the emergence of a permanent Mexican American community. Recent immigrants continued to settle in the Plaza area. They were mostly unskilled workers, many of them single men living in the city's cheap motels, boarding houses, and house courts. The North Main Street district housed similar settlers, as well as families. In the railroad district east of the Plaza, industrial shops drew skilled laborers to settle the area, along with shop and restaurant owners who ran businesses there (where rents were cheaper than the Plaza) and desired to live nearby. Many of the integrated neighborhoods to the south were rezoned for industry in the 1920s, and soon disappeared as residential sites. East of the river – in Boyle Heights, Brooklyn Heights, and Lincoln Heights – neighborhoods in the 1930s were still multiethnic, with widespread home ownership. The Mexicans who could afford to live there were skilled or semi-skilled workers, usually second generation. Homeownership rates were highest in this area (and in the nearby Belvedere neighborhood in East Los Angeles), fostering a sense of permanence in these communities. In the larger context in which employers expected Mexican workers to move for jobs, the act of buying a home signaled not just a new sense of permanence, but also an “act of defiance and a form of self-assertion.”³⁶

1940s - 1950s: WWII, Civil Rights, and Suburbanization

World War II pulled the United States out of the Depression, and ushered in an era of economic vitality, job growth, and rising standards of living. For L.A.'s Mexicans, the war opened up new jobs and opportunities, drew many into military service, and ultimately helped invigorate the Latino civil rights movement. The distinguished record of military service by Mexican Americans – combined with virulent racism during the war – heightened their drive to protect and expand civil rights. As a result, in the 1940s and 1950s, the Latino struggle for equality expanded rapidly and took multiple forms – from grassroots organizing to litigation. These efforts produced major court victories, progress in Latino electoral influence, and new organizations.

L.A.'s Mexicans served the war effort both in battle and on the home front. During World War II, 250,000 to 500,000 Latinos nationally served in the armed forces, with Los Angeles contributing the largest percentage of any community.³⁷ As in World War I,

³⁴ Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 59-64; Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 245-249; Vargas, *Crucible of Struggle*, 249-250.

³⁵ Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 239, 244-245, 249-252.

³⁶ Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 195-200, quote at 200.

³⁷ Romo, *East Los Angeles*, 165. Although military service records for World War II are incomplete, historians estimate that approximately 500,000 persons with Spanish surnames served in the armed forces. This does not account for Latinos without Spanish surnames.

most Latinos were classified as white and served in all branches of the military and in all theaters of the conflict. Among these soldiers was Peter Aguilar Despart, who became the first draftee of the Army on October 29, 1941. Despart – the son of an Italian father and Mexican American mother – was living on North Main Street in 1940.³⁸ One of the most celebrated Mexican Americans to serve in the war was Guy Galbadon, the Pied Piper of Saipan. He grew up in Boyle Heights, where he spent most of his youth with a Japanese American family who taught him their language and customs. During the Battle of Saipan, Galbadon single-handedly captured over 1,000 Japanese civilians and soldiers by convincing them to surrender.³⁹ Overall, Mexican Americans suffered a disproportionate number of casualties during the war; they comprised one-fifth of all casualties from Los Angeles, though they were one-tenth of the total population. Nationally, they were the most decorated ethnic group to serve during the war; seventeen Latinos earned the Medal of Honor, including David Gonzalez of Pacoima.⁴⁰



*Alleged leaders of Zoot Suit groups shown as they appeared on June 15, 1943, before the County Grand Jury for the opening of an inquiry into the series of riots between Mexican American youth and Anglo servicemen earlier that month.
(Los Angeles Public Library)*

Ethnic Mexicans also aided the war effort on the home front. For the first time, large numbers of ethnic Mexican men were hired in relatively well-paid industrial jobs, many in the defense industries. As more men went into military service, Mexican women found new job opportunities in war industries as well, especially in textile, aircraft, ship building, and food processing plants. Many Latinas also planted victory gardens, and handled all family responsibilities during the war.⁴¹

Despite their patriotic service, Mexicans were targeted in two infamous events that

³⁸ Raul Morin, *Among the Valiant: Mexican Americans in WWII and Korea* (Los Angeles: Valiant Press, reprinted 2002), 26. Despart's first name is listed as Pedro in the 1930 Census, but in every other source lists him as Peter.

³⁹ Richard Goldstein, "Guy Gabaldon, 80, Hero of Battle of Saipan, Dies," *New York Times*, September 4, 2006.

⁴⁰ Romo, *East Los Angeles*, 165; List of Hispanic Medal of Honor Recipients, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_Hispanic_Medal_of_Honor_recipients, accessed on March 18, 2015; http://www.lamission.edu/news/family_of_hometownhero_newsrelease.html, accessed on March 18, 2015.

⁴¹ Romo, *East Los Angeles*, 165. For example, Mexican Americans were about 12% of all Lockheed aircraft employees, and 80% of them were women who worked in detailed assembly, general assembly, and riveting (Vargas, *Labor Rights*, 233).

symbolized the persistence of racial animosity during the war – the Sleepy Lagoon case and the Zoot Suit riots. In August 1942 police arrested twenty-two Mexican American youth for the murder of Jose Diaz, whose body was found on a dirt road near the so-called Sleepy Lagoon, a water-filled quarry (located in the Bell/Vernon area). During the trial, the press portrayed the defendants as Mexican thugs, while police captain Ed Ayres characterized ethnic Mexicans as biologically criminal and prone to violence. Despite questionable evidence, the all-white jury found seventeen of the defendants guilty on charges ranging from assault to first-degree murder, representing the largest mass conviction in California history.⁴² The ruling spurred the formation of the Sleepy Lagoon Defense Committee, comprised of progressive activists, actors, and labor leaders, who helped appeal the case, which was overturned in 1944.

The publicity around this case stoked widespread animosity toward Mexicans, which exploded in the Zoot Suit Riots of 1943. In 1942 and 1943, the *Los Angeles Times* ran a series of articles portraying the “zoot suit menace.” Zoot suit culture, in fact, had more complex meaning as recent historians have shown. It was a popular multiracial youth subculture that flourished in the 1940s, especially in Los Angeles and New York. Built around a style of dress, jazz music, dancing, and a kind of jive talk (a pachuco dialect called caló in Los Angeles), this subculture was an assertion of ethnic autonomy and dignity in a society that routinely dehumanized them. Historian Luis Alvarez shows how participation didn't necessarily mean a rejection of America or even the war effort, as some zooters enlisted in the Army. Still, negative press portrayals – depicting zooters as the “enemy within” – stoked popular animosity, which erupted in ten days of violence between Mexican American youth and Anglo servicemen in June 1943. Thousands of white servicemen and civilians roamed the streets of downtown, physically assaulting and tearing the clothes off zooters.⁴³ Eventually the Navy and Marine Corps declared Los Angeles off limits to military personnel, 150 people were injured, and more than 500 Mexican Americans were arrested. Those who had been stripped of their clothes were charged with disturbing the peace or vagrancy.⁴⁴

The dual experience of patriotic wartime service and virulent racism at home heightened Mexican demands for civil rights. Adopting a more confrontational style, ethnic Mexicans in Los Angeles waged campaigns that increasingly targeted state-sanctioned discrimination, reflecting the tenor of broader civil rights activism in the United States.⁴⁵ War veterans and labor activists were instrumental in these efforts. In

⁴² Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 266. On the exact location of Sleepy Lagoon, see <http://dreamingcasuallypoetry.blogspot.com/2012/09/the-location-of-sleepy-lagoon-los.html>, accessed March 18, 2015.

⁴³ On the first day of rioting, the *Los Angeles Times* reported attacks occurring on Main, Broadway, Olive, Second, and Brooklyn Ave and 4th Street. “Riot Alarm Sent Out in Zoot War,” *Los Angeles Times*, June 8, 1943.

⁴⁴ Luis Alvarez, *The Power of the Zoot: Youth Culture and Resistance during World War II* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008); Luis Alvarez, “Zoot Violence on the Home Front,” in *Mexican Americans & World War II*, ed. Maggie Rivas-Rodriguez (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005), 141-75; Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 267.

⁴⁵ Louis DeSipio, “Demanding Equal Political Voice... and Accepting Nothing less: The Quest for Latino Political Inclusion,” in *American Latinos and the Making of the United States: A Theme Study* (Washington D.C.: National Park Service, 2013), 277; Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 65-68.

1942, for example, El Congreso rallied to support the war effort, while also campaigning against police brutality and raising funds for the Sleepy Lagoon Defense Committee.⁴⁶ Organized labor meanwhile continued to represent the critical base of Latino civil rights



Edward Roybal (standing) was elected to the City Council in 1949. (Los Angeles Public Library)

activism in Los Angeles during the 1940s. Mexican Americans with the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) successfully lobbied to open up defense jobs to Mexicans during the war, then broadened their agenda into community issues like access to public housing, improvements to existing housing, and an end to police brutality.⁴⁷ The Community Service Organization (CSO), established in Los Angeles in 1947, was a grassroots group that focused on mobilizing Mexican American voters at the neighborhood level. The CSO was fairly moderate in orientation, generally embracing assimilation while advocating on a broad array of civil rights issues. The CSO helped ethnic Mexicans get

elected to various offices for the first time, including Edward Roybal who won a seat on the Los Angeles City Council in 1949 – the first time a Mexican held that post since 1881.⁴⁸ In the 1950s, the Cold War brought an abrupt end to more progressive activism, and moderate groups emerged to lead and reorient the Latino civil rights movement, such as the CSO and the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC).⁴⁹ These groups shifted toward advocacy of immigrant rights during the 1950s, largely in response to harsh immigration policies such as Operation Wetback. This stance fostered a broader sense of solidarity between Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans.⁵⁰

Mexicans made major job gains during and after WWII, thanks to breakthroughs during the war, expanded educational opportunities, and the overall climate of economic prosperity. As the state economy continued to expand, workers found themselves in high demand, a change quickly reflected in policy. In a full reversal of 1930s repatriation, the Bracero Program (1942-1964) was an agreement between the U.S. and Mexico that brought thousands of temporary workers to the U.S. to work mainly in agriculture.⁵¹ Mexicans in Los Angeles felt the positive effects of postwar prosperity in terms of job progress, moving into higher skilled, higher paid work. In the 1950s and 1960s, the number of skilled and semi-skilled Mexican workers outnumbered unskilled

⁴⁶ Vargas, *Crucible of Struggle*, 250.

⁴⁷ Vargas, *Labor Rights*, 234, 249, and see chapters 4-6.

⁴⁸ Vargas, *Crucible of Struggle*, 273; DeSipio, "Demanding Equal Political Voice," 277.

⁴⁹ The American G.I. Forum, a politically moderate organization of Latino war veterans, seemed to play a less important role in Los Angeles. The first chapter was established in California in 1958.

⁵⁰ Vargas, *Crucible of Struggle*, 272-273; Vargas, *Labor Rights*, 270-73; Gutiérrez, *Walls and Mirrors*, chapter 5.

⁵¹ Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 75.

laborers for the first time in the state's history. They took jobs as welders, plumbers, and riveters in defense plants, as cement finishers and machinists, and as mechanics and production-line workers in factories. There was also a small but gradual rise of professionals and white-collar workers, thanks in part to the G.I. Bill, which opened up higher education to some Mexican Americans. Overall, however, occupational inequality persisted, as ethnic Mexicans still held inferior jobs with lower pay compared to Anglos. For Mexican women, although many were laid off from defense jobs at war's end, many remained in paid jobs into the postwar years – moving out of semi-skilled factory jobs and into clerical and service positions. Together, these trends reflected the nascent broadening of the Mexican American middle class.⁵²

As the Mexican population in L.A. surged, settlement patterns during the postwar period followed two general pathways: greater clustering in the eastside, and smaller streams of dispersal. Some of this clustering intensified when older, long-established Mexican neighborhoods in and around downtown were displaced by redevelopment and freeway constructions. Chavez Ravine was the most famous example.⁵³ This well-established Mexican American neighborhood was first targeted for demolition to make way for public housing projects (which never materialized), then Dodger Stadium.⁵⁴



Right: The caption from the *Herald Examiner* story of April 10, 1959 read: "Mrs. Abrana Arechiga, 63, weeps as she reads an eviction notice tacked on her home by Deputy Sheriffs, ordering them to move from Chavez Ravine to make way for the Dodger ball park." **Left:** Movers remove belongings of the Vargas-Arechiga family at 1771 Malvina Avenue in Chavez Ravine.
(Los Angeles Public Library)

⁵² Vargas, *Labor Rights*, 11; Mario Barrera, *Race and Class in the Southwest* (Norte Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1979), 136, cited in Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 73.

⁵³ There were actually three main neighborhoods in Chavez Ravine - Palo Verde, La Loma, and Bishop.

⁵⁴ One source listed the Mexican population of Chavez Ravine as 62.7% in the 1940s. Eshref Shevky and Molly Lewin, *Your Neighborhood: A Social Profile of Los Angeles* (Haynes Foundation, 1949), 10.

In May 1959, the eviction of families like the Aréchigas, who had lived in the Ravine since the 1920s, caught national media attention and sparked public outrage. Freeway construction, which accelerated in the 1950s and 1960s, likewise decimated many of L.A.'s multicultural communities, such as the Mateo/Cabrini district, a settlement of Mexican and Italian immigrants near downtown L.A. that was razed during construction of the Santa Monica Freeway in the 1960s.⁵⁵ The destruction of these neighborhoods pushed many Mexicans to move to Boyle Heights, Lincoln Heights, and other eastside neighborhoods, accelerating white flight out of the area. As historian Eric Avila explained Boyle Heights "coalesced with other Eastside communities to form a larger Chicano barrio, homogeneous and isolated from the rest of the city."⁵⁶ At the same time, the Pico Union/Westlake area remained a key gateway settlement for newly arrived Mexican immigrants as it had since the 1920s, thanks to the abundance of multi-family housing in the area.⁵⁷

Although surrounding white suburbs had long been closed off to Mexicans and other non-whites, this began to change after the *Shelley v. Kraemer* (1948), the U.S. Supreme Court decision that outlawed race restrictive covenants. This ruling, along with Federal Housing Administration and G.I. loans and Mexican job progress, enabled a small number of ethnic Mexicans to move into formerly all-white suburbs by the 1950s, a number of them outside of the Los Angeles City limits. Along with Asian Americans, ethnic Mexicans were able to breach the residential color line quicker than African Americans.⁵⁸ In addition to these suburban breakthroughs, Mexicans also settled in working-class neighborhoods in west and south Los Angeles, and in settlements spreading out from Pacoima and Canoga Park. As well, one list of Californio pioneers from the WWII years listed forty-one people living in West Adams, Brentwood Heights, Hancock Park, and Hollywood.⁵⁹ Still, this progress was halting as realtors continued the practice of racial steering well into the 1950s, aimed especially against dark-skinned Mexicans. Lighter-skinned Mexicans had a somewhat easier time gaining access to suburban residence.⁶⁰

In the 1950s, then, Mexican communities in Los Angeles experienced both profound progress and setbacks. Two areas illustrate the contrast. On the one hand, these years witnessed a major change in the life of East Los Angeles with the opening of two college campuses: East Los Angeles College in 1948 and Los Angeles State College in

⁵⁵ Avila, *Popular Culture*, 197-212. Boyle Heights and Belvedere met a similar fate, arousing vigorous protests by residents, L.A. City Councilman Edward Roybal, and Mexican American activists.

⁵⁶ Eric Avila, *Popular Culture in the Age of White Flight* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 51-52, quote on 51; George Sánchez, "What's Good for Boyle Heights Is Good for the Jews": Creating Multiculturalism on the Eastside during the 1950s," *American Quarterly*, 56, 3 (September 2004), 633-661.

⁵⁷ Allen and Turner, *Ethnic Quilt*, 110.

⁵⁸ Charlotte Brooks, *Alien Neighbors, Foreign Friends* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 227; Josh Sides, *L.A. City Limits: African American Los Angeles from the Great Depression to the Present* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006); Max Felker-Kantor, "Fighting the Segregation Amendment," in *Black and Brown in Los Angeles*, eds., Josh Kun and Laura Pulido (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014), 146.

⁵⁹ Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 70.

⁶⁰ Ralph Guzman, "The Hand of Esau: Words Change, Practices Remain in Racial Covenants," *Frontier* 7 (June 1956), 13, 16; Gonzalez, "A Place in the Sun," 70-78.

1949.⁶¹ These colleges – accessible and affordable – would positively influence successive generations of ethnic Mexicans. On the other hand, Mexicans continued to endure assaults upon their community at multiple levels. Police brutality continued apace in the 1950s, including raids on private family gatherings in homes, the “Bloody Christmas” case on December 24, 1951 at the Lincoln Heights jail, and other incidents that bred deep mistrust between the LAPD and the Latino community. As Ralph Guzmán wrote in the *Eastside Sun* in January 1954, “It is becoming more and more difficult to walk through the streets of Los Angeles – and look Mexican!”⁶² At a larger scale, freeway building razed numerous Latino neighborhoods, such as the Hollenbeck area of Boyle Heights where thousands were displaced to make way for the Pomona Freeway in 1957. These simultaneous experiences would politicize larger and larger numbers of ethnic Mexicans, setting the stage for the Chicano movement.

1960s - 1970s: Rise of Chicano Power

The 1960s and 1970s was a pivotal era for Latinos in Los Angeles. This was a time when Mexican American identity was fully integrated in national political life, propelled by their demographic, political, and cultural ascendance. By 1960, Los Angeles housed the largest Mexican American community in the U.S. At the same time, the persistence of segregation and discrimination propelled a more robust push for rights and respect, which crystalized in the Chicano movement.

The Latino population grew quickly during these decades. While U.S. Census data on Latinos is fairly unreliable before 1970, we can surmise that their numbers were on the rise. In 1950 and 1960, the census described Latinos as “white persons of Spanish surname.” In 1970, many different criteria were used including language, place of birth, and self-definition. In addition to being complicated, this method was not used throughout the country.

The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 – a watershed in federal immigration policy – had two effects on L.A.’s Latinos. First, because it set a strict quota on the number of immigrants from the Western Hemisphere, it sparked a rise in unsanctioned immigration from Mexico.⁶³ Second, the act also spurred immigration from Central and South America, diversifying L.A.’s Latino profile. From 1970 to 1980, for example, the number of foreign-born Salvadorans and Guatemalans in Los Angeles jumped 800 and nearly 700 percent, respectively. In the late 1970s, their motivations for immigrating shifted from economic to political, as civil war and political turmoil ravaged their home countries. Because few were able to achieve refugee status due to U.S. policies in that region, many came as undocumented immigrants.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Los Angeles State College became California State University, Los Angeles in 1972.

⁶² Rudolfo F. Acuña, *Occupied America: A History of Chicanos*, 8th Ed. (Pearson, 2007), 279, 285-286, quote at 286.

⁶³ The end of the Bracero Program in 1964 and the persistence of low wages in Mexico also contributed to the rise of undocumented Mexican immigrants.

⁶⁴ From 1970 to 1980, the population numbers were: for Salvadorans, 7,700 to 61,600, and for Guatemalans, 5,600 to 38,000. Nora Hamilton and Norma Stoltz Chinchilla, *Seeking Community in a Global City: Guatemalans and Salvadorans in Los Angeles* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001), 45.

TABLE II⁶⁵			
TOTAL HISPANIC POPULATION AND PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION IN LOS ANGELES			
1950-1990			
Year	Total Population	Hispanic Population	Percentage of Total
1950	1,970,358	157,067	8.0
1960	2,479,015	158,062	6.4
1970	2,816,061	518,791	18.4
1980	2,966,850	816,076	27.5
1990	3,485,398	1,370,476	39.3

Despite legal breakthroughs in civil rights, residential and school segregation intensified in the 1960s. For example, Mexicans comprised over eighty percent of the Boyle Heights-East L.A. population in that decade. By the 1970s, Latinos finally began a more concerted push into new areas of Los Angeles, propelled by the passage of stronger fair housing laws, white flight out of southern Los Angeles, and the expanding Mexican middle class. Southern Los Angeles became the new center of Latino settlement. Once a center of thriving industry and white suburbia, this area experienced plant closures and white flight in the 1970s and 1980s. As housing prices declined and low-wage factories set up shop, Latinos moved into these neighborhoods, spreading west across the Alameda Corridor and linking up with the older barrios in Willowbrook, Watts, and Florence. By the 1990s, this southern area had more Latinos than the traditional eastside.⁶⁶

Central Americans, many of them political refugees with low education levels and few English skills, tended to concentrate in low-income neighborhoods. The most important area was Pico Union/Westlake, with MacArthur Park serving as a hub of social and political activity. Some immigrants opened businesses and restaurants in this area, solidifying it as the center of the Central American community. This enclave stretched north of Westlake into east Hollywood, while another wedge stretched into the West Adams district. Other immigrants made their way by bus to work as domestics, gardeners, and handymen in affluent westside suburbs, or in garment factories and janitorial jobs in downtown offices. In 1976, a Guatemalan Indian settled in Westlake to work in a local factory; he became the nucleus of a chain migration of Mayan Indians (mostly Kanjobal) from Guatemala. By the 1980s, they concentrated between 3rd and 6th Streets, not far west of the Harbor Freeway. Some Salvadorans and Guatemalans lived beyond this area to be close to jobs. These settlements included established Mexican neighborhoods of the San Fernando Valley, the modest homes of Lennox just

⁶⁵ U.S. Census, 1950-1990, especially for 1950 and 1960, there were inconsistencies in how the U.S. Census counted Latinos, so for 1950 and 1960, these are estimates. The U.S. Census continued to undercount Latinos; the estimated national undercount is 4 to 6 percent. In Los Angeles, the presence of undocumented immigrants contributed to a likely "significant undercount" of Latinos in Southern California in the 1980s and 1990s. (Allen and Turner, *Ethnic Quilt*, 5, 109).

⁶⁶ Acuña, *Occupied America*, 297-298; Allen and Turner, *Ethnic Quilt*, 108.

east of LAX, and the Atwater Village strip near the Southern Pacific railroad yards.⁶⁷ A smaller number of Cubans also settled in Los Angeles after 1960, fleeing Fidel Castro's regime. Two key Cuban enclaves were Echo Park/East Hollywood (between Sunset and Beverly Boulevard), and the Lennox-Hawthorne-Inglewood area. Smaller Cuban enclaves were in Palms-Mar Vista, the Beverly/Vermont neighborhood, the southeast San Fernando Valley, and Atwater Village.⁶⁸

Discrimination against Latinos continued in many areas of life. Job discrimination persisted in many fields, although Latinos began making breakthroughs into unionized industrial jobs by the 1960s and were quite active in many industrial unions.⁶⁹ However, just as they were making their greatest jobs gains, a wave of plant closures hit. The factories that rose in their place tended to be low-skilled, non-union shops that took advantage of immigrant labor.⁷⁰ Educational inequality also persisted. Schools in Latino neighborhoods were typically over-crowded and underfunded, with multiple tracks, few Latino teachers, and high dropout rates. The mostly white San Fernando Valley, by contrast, drew much of the city's funding for schools, diverting it away even from the Latino enclaves in the Valley. As a result, college attendance lagged among Latinos. As late as 1965, UCLA had less than 100 Latino students out of 25,000 total; that same year, only seven Latinos attended Cal State Northridge.⁷¹ Finally, despite some progress in politics, Latinos remained severely underrepresented in elected offices by the early 1960s. When Edward Roybal was elected to the U.S. Congress in 1962, his departure from the L.A. City Council left a Latino void in local politics for decades.⁷²

In the 1960s, Latinos mobilized with increasing resolve to claim their rights and assert their place in American life. An increase in Latinos college enrollments by the late 1960s, spurred by federal and state grant programs and special minority admissions programs, set the stage for a new wave of rights activism.⁷³ Together with the farmworkers strikes in California, these factors were critical catalysts for the Chicano movement, a broad-based, urban-centered movement focused on claiming rights, celebrating Chicano culture and identity, and ultimately transforming American society. As historian Albert Camarillo writes, the movement contained many elements: "cultural renaissance, growing ethnic consciousness, proliferation of community and political organizations, social-reformist ideology and civil rights advocacy."⁷⁴ The concept of "Aztlán" surged at this time and it gave Chicanos a new sense of identity, tied to the land, based on the Aztec/Mexica prophecies and narratives.

⁶⁷ Allen and Turner, *Ethnic Quilt*, 110-111; Hamilton and Chinchilla, *Seeking Community*, 61.

⁶⁸ Allen and Turner, *Ethnic Quilt*, 111.

⁶⁹ Gómez-Quiñones, *Mexican American Labor*, 179, 186, 188, 195, 270. Mexicans were well represented in furniture, auto, steel rubber, electrical, aircraft, and longshoremen unions in Southern California, waging multiple strikes from the 1940s to 1960s.

⁷⁰ Becky Nicolaides, *My Blue Heaven: Life and Politics in the Working-Class Suburbs of Los Angeles, 1920-1965* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), epilogue.

⁷¹ Acuña, *Occupied America*, 298, 309; Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 98.

⁷² Acuña, *Occupied America*, 300, 309-310.

⁷³ Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 98.

⁷⁴ Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 92.

An important early Chicano action was the “blow-outs” of spring 1968, the name given to a series of protests by high school students against the Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD). Over 15,000 students from several high schools walked out of class to protest poor conditions at their schools.⁷⁵ Along with the students themselves, Sal



*Chicano movement picketers outside Lincoln High School on September 16, 1968. One carries a sign referring to the teacher and leader, Sal Castro, who protested the lack of educational opportunities for Mexican American students.
(Los Angeles Public Library)*

Castro, a teacher at Lincoln High School, helped organize the walkouts. These protests gained wide media attention when police actions led to violence at some of the demonstrations, and they encouraged similar walkouts across the nation.⁷⁶ Around the same time college students were organizing and demanding Chicano-related courses and programs.

The Chicano movement also involved the formation of community service organizations, such as job-training centers like the Chicana Service Action Centers in Los Angeles, and community corporations like

The East Los Angeles Community Union (TELACU) – many funded by the federal War on Poverty. Youth activism was also a critical facet of the Chicano movement, and included groups like the Brown Berets and student protestors at high schools and colleges demanding educational equity and cultural recognition. Another significant group was the National Chicano Moratorium Committee (NCMC), an alliance of groups opposed to the Vietnam War. The NCMC held protests in Los Angeles between 1969 and 1970, the most significant was held on August 29, 1970. Approximately 20,000 to 30,000 protestors from across the country gathered in Belvedere Park and marched down Atlantic and Whittier Boulevards to a rally in Laguna Park.⁷⁷ It was hailed as the largest demonstration of Mexican Americans at the time. The importance of the demonstration was overshadowed by the events that followed. A disturbance at a liquor store sparked a massive response from the Los Angeles Police Department and Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department. The peaceful rally quickly turned into a major conflict between protestors and police officers and sheriff's deputies. By the end of the

⁷⁵ The blow-outs were focused at Wilson, Garfield, Lincoln, Belmont, and Roosevelt High Schools.

⁷⁶ Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 99; Acuña, *Occupied America*: 311-313; F. Arturo Rosales, *Chicano!* (Houston: Arte Público Press, 1996), 184-195.

⁷⁷ Articles from the period tend to place the number of demonstrators at 25,000 or 30,000, while articles on the twentieth anniversary of the march place the number at 20,000. For a map of the route see George Ramos, “20 Years Later, Latinos Will March Again: Demonstration: Chicano Empowerment was the Message in 1970,” *Los Angeles Times*, August 24, 1990, B3.

day, sixty people were injured, 200 were arrested, and three were killed: Angel Díaz, Lyn Ward, and journalist Ruben Salazar.⁷⁸ This event outraged many and galvanized more Latinos to join the movement.⁷⁹

The Chicano movement also found expression in local newspapers, new ethnic studies programs in colleges and universities, music, poetry, and the visual and performing arts. One particularly rich area of Chicano expression was the mural movement, which took off in the early 1970s. Some of these murals depicted scenes of Latino history in Los Angeles from a Chicano perspective, such as Judith Baca's "Great Wall of Los Angeles," which includes a surreal depiction of the Dodger Stadium/Chavez Ravine incident. Many of these Chicano artists and activists were second-generation baby boomers, who used the arts to express pride in Latino culture and resistance against the American mainstream.⁸⁰

1980s and Beyond

Since 1980, Latino Los Angeles has continued to diversify in significant ways, bringing cultural complexity and richness to the city. Globalization and economic restructuring have had much to do with this, ushering in an hourglass economy with high wage, high-skilled jobs on one end, and low wage, service jobs on the other. New immigrants from Mexico and Central America have filled many of the service jobs, playing a pivotal role in the city's economy while continuing the struggle for better working and living conditions. Salvadorans are now the second largest foreign-born group in Los Angeles and have become an integral part of the cultural and economic life of the city. Within this context, L.A.'s Latinos have played a leadership role in revitalizing the labor movement not only in Los Angeles, but nationally.⁸¹ At the same time that Latinos have struggled and continued the fight for equal rights, some have also prospered and secured positions of political, economic, and cultural power. From an ever-expanding Latino middle class and their movement into community and political leadership, to Antonio Villaraigosa, the first Latino mayor elected in Los Angeles in over a century, to the rising influence of Latino urbanism on city planning in Los Angeles, Latinos continue to represent a shaping force in the life of Los Angeles.⁸²

⁷⁸ Ruben Salazar was covering the march for the Spanish-language television station KMEX. He and another reporter from KMEX retreated from the violence on the street in the Silver Dollar Bar. He was killed when a sheriff's deputy shot a tear gas projectile into the bar, which struck his head. Although an inquest into Salazar's death was conducted by the Los Angeles District Attorney, it was ruled an accident. Many members of the community continue to doubt the voracity of the investigation. For more information on the Ruben Salazar, see the Ruben Salazar Project at <http://rubensalazarproject.com/>

⁷⁹ Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 93-97; Rosales, *Dictionary of Latino Civil Rights History*, 286.

⁸⁰ Avila, *Popular Culture*, 166-170; Acuña, *Occupied America*, 319-320.

⁸¹ For more information, see Labor Theme in the SurveyLA Industrial Development historic context.

⁸² Christopher Hawthorne, "'Latino Urbanism' Influences a Los Angeles in Flux," *Los Angeles Times*, December 6, 2014.

Chronology of Events in Los Angeles Latino History

The type, location, and period of significance of Latino historic resources have been shaped by international events; national and state laws related to immigration, civil rights, education, and other public policies; and events that took place in Los Angeles. The major events in Los Angeles Latino history are summarized below:

- 1781 A group of eleven families comprising forty-four Mexicans settle by the river. Felipe de Neve, Governor of Spanish California, names the settlement El Pueblo Sobre el Río de Nuestra Señora la Reina de los Angeles del Río de Porciúncula. The name is shortened rather quickly to El Pueblo.
- 1797 Father Fermin Lasuen founds Mission San Fernando, named for King Ferdinand of Spain. It later becomes home to the largest adobe structure in California, 30,000 grape vines, and 21,000 head of livestock.
- 1821 Mexico achieves independence from Spain.
- 1841 Los Angeles' first census shows a population of 141.
- 1844 Guadalupe Medina opens a school that includes the first manual training classes in Los Angeles.
- 1846 Pío Pico is sworn in as governor of California in Los Angeles. He is the last governor of California under Mexican rule.
- 1847 In the Battle of Rio San Gabriel, the United States takes control of Los Angeles. The Treaty of Cahuenga is signed in the pass between Los Angeles and the San Fernando Valley.
- 1848 Mexico formally cedes California to the United States in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and all residents are made U.S. citizens.
- 1850 Los Angeles is incorporated as a municipality and California becomes the 30th state in the Union.
- 1850 Antonio Francisco Coronel is elected county assessor and designated pro-tem superintendent of public schools. In 1853, he is elected mayor of Los Angeles.
- 1869 St. Vincent's College becomes the first institute of higher learning in Southern California. The home of Vicente Lugo, who donated the property to the Catholic Diocese, serves as the original campus of the college.
- 1870 Anglos outnumber Latinos and Native Americans for the first time in Los Angeles history.

- 1910 The Mexican Revolution begins on November 20th and lasts for nearly a decade. The unrest that follows promotes a large arrival of Mexicans to the United States, many of which settle in Los Angeles.
- 1915 California passes the Home Teachers Act, facilitating the development of programs to Americanize Mexican immigrants within the public school system.
- 1917 The Immigration Act of 1917 marks a turning point in U.S. immigration policy. While the new law does not significantly reduce the numbers of people emigrating from Mexico, it does have an impact on the circular pattern of migration established in previous decades.
- 1917 On April 6th, the U.S. declares war against Germany, joining WWI. With many able-bodied American men off to war, "temporary" Mexican workers are encouraged and permitted to enter the U.S. to work. 4,900 Mexicans and Mexican Americans in California register for the draft.
- 1920 Alianza Hispano-Americano is founded. It becomes one of the most popular *mutualista* alliances in Los Angeles.
- 1921 The Immigration Act of 1921 took U.S. policy a step further by imposing numerical limits on immigration. However, agricultural businesses from Texas to California successfully oppose efforts to limit the immigration of Mexicans who are critical to their success.
- 1924 The Immigration Act of 1924 promotes the creation the Border Patrol.
- 1925 The Border Patrol is created by Congress. Their primary charge is to curb illegal border crossings. At the time; however, they are more focused on catching immigrants from China than Mexico.
- 1926 The Spanish-language newspaper *La Opinion* is founded. Today it has the largest circulation of any Spanish-language newspaper in the United States.
- 1927 The Confederación de Uniones Obreras Mexicanas (Federation of Mexican Workers Union-CUOM) becomes the first large-scale effort to organize and consolidate Mexican workers.
- 1930 An area within El Pueblo is renovated and reopens as Olvera Street.
- 1932 The U.S. government begins to deport Mexicans. Between 300,000 and 500,000 Mexican Americans are forced out of the United States in the 1930s.
- 1933 On October 12, the Los Angeles Dressmakers Strike begins and last for twenty-six days. The first day 3,011 mostly Latina workers picketed in front of dress factories in the Garment District of downtown.

- 1934 YMCA sponsors a barrio club, which spawns the formation of a student group called the Mexican American Movement (MAM).
- 1939 Los Angeles-based unionists form El Congreso (Congress of Spanish Speaking People) one of the most important civil rights groups during the period.
- 1939 The Los Angeles chapter of the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) is formed.
- 1941 The U.S. government forms the Fair Employment Practices Committee to handle cases of employment discrimination. Latino workers file more than one-third of all complaints from the Southwest.
- 1942 The Bracero Program begins, allowing Mexican citizens to work temporarily in the United States. U.S. growers support the program as a source of low-cost labor. The program welcomes millions of Mexican workers into the U.S. until it ends in 1964.
- 1942 Hundreds of thousands of Latinos serve in the armed forces during World War II.
- 1942 On August 2nd José Gallardo Díaz is discovered unconscious and dying on a road near a local swimming hole known as the Sleepy Lagoon. The LAPD quickly arrest seventeen Mexican American youth as suspects. Despite insufficient evidence, the young men are held in prison, without bail, on charges of murder.
- 1943 On January 13th, the Sleepy Lagoon murder trial ends. Nine of the defendants are convicted of second-degree murder and sentenced to serve time in San Quentin Prison. The rest of the suspects were charged with lesser offenses and incarcerated in Los Angeles County Jail.
- 1943 Los Angeles erupts in the Zoot Suit Riots, the worst race riots in the city to date. For ten nights, American sailors cruise Mexican American neighborhoods in search of "zooters" – hip, young Mexican teens dressed in baggy pants and long-tailed coats.
- 1944 In October, the California Court of Appeals reverses the convictions of the defendants in the Sleepy Lagoon murder case.
- 1947 The United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit rules in *Mendez v. Westminster* that the segregation of Mexican and Mexican American students into separate "Mexican schools" is unconstitutional.
- 1947 The California Assembly votes to repeal the segregation provisions in the state's education code. However, school segregation persists in practice for decades.

SurveyLA
Latino Los Angeles Historic Context Statement

- 1947 The Community Service Organization (CSO) is organized to mobilize Mexican American voters.
- 1948 Ricardo González wins the U.S. Open Tennis Championship, a feat he repeats the following year.
- 1949 Edward Roybal is the first Mexican American elected to the Los Angeles City Council since 1883.
- 1953 During "Operation Wetback" from 1953 and 1958, the U.S. Immigration Service arrests and deports more than 3.8 million Latinos. Many U.S. citizens are deported unfairly, including political activist Luisa Moreno and other community leaders.
- 1960 Daniel Villanueva signs with the Los Angeles Rams, becoming one of the earliest players of Mexican descent in the National Football League.
- 1962 Dodger Stadium opens in Chavez Ravine, once a vibrant Mexican American neighborhood that was demolished to make way for a public housing project that was never constructed.
- 1962 KMEX, the first Spanish-language television station in Los Angeles, is created by Spanish International Broadcasting.
- 1965 UCLA has fewer than 100 Latino students out of 25,000 total; that same year, only seven Latinos attend Cal State Northridge.
- 1967 Julian Nava is the first Mexican American elected to the Los Angeles School Board.
- 1968 Latino high school students in Los Angeles stage citywide walkouts protesting unequal treatment by the school district.
- 1968 The Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund opens its doors, becoming the first legal fund to pursue protection of the civil rights of Mexican Americans.
- 1968 Congress passes the Bilingual Education Act, the first federal law that addresses the needs of students with limited English skills.
- 1969 Over 100 Chicano leaders convene for a statewide conference at U.C. Santa Barbara where they form the Movimiento Esudiantil Chicano de Aztlán (MEChA).
- 1970 The U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare issues a memorandum saying students cannot be denied access to educational programs because of an inability to speak English.

- 1971 Romana Acosta Bañuelos is appointed Treasurer of the United States by President Richard Nixon, becoming the first Latino/a to hold the position.
- 1972 Members of Asco tag their names outside the entrance to the Los Angeles County Museum of Art in reaction to racial prejudices against Chicanos perpetuated by a curator.
- 1974 The Los Angeles County Museum of Art organizes an exhibition of Chicano art, the first major American museum to do so. The exhibition features the work of Los Four.
- 1974 Congress passes the Equal Educational Opportunity Act to make bilingual education more widely available in public schools.
- 1975 After non-English speakers testify about the discrimination they face at the polls, Congress votes to expand the U.S. Voting Rights Act to require language assistance at polling stations. Native Americans, Asian Americans, Alaska Natives and Latinos benefit most from this provision. The original Act, passed in 1965, applied only to blacks and Puerto Ricans. The Voting Rights Act leads to the increasing political representation of Latinos in U.S. politics.
- 1976 Painting of the "Great Wall of Los Angeles" begins in the San Fernando Valley, the world's longest mural at 2,500 feet. Los Angeles is the mural capital of the world, with over 1,500 wall paintings around the city.
- 1980 Fernando Valenzuela signs with the Los Angeles Dodgers and becomes a mainstay throughout the decade.
- 1981 The City of Los Angeles commissions several Latino artists to commemorate the bicentennial with mural art.
- 1981 Gloria Molina becomes the first Latina elected to the California State Legislature.
- 1985 Richard Alatorre becomes the first Latino in twenty-three years to be elected to the Los Angeles City Council.

Themes Related to Latino History in Los Angeles

The following themes relate to extant resources that have important associations with Latino history in Los Angeles. These themes are consistent with the overall content and format developed for SurveyLA's citywide Historic Context Statement. The narratives here are intended to supplement and complement existing narratives for each theme.

Theme 1 – Commercial Identity, 1910 - 1980

Theme 2 – Religion and Spirituality, 1860 - 1989

Theme 3 - Education, 1930 - 1980

Theme 4 - Civil Rights Movement, 1920 - 1980

Theme 5 - Cultural Development and Institutions, 1920 - 1980

Theme 6 - Public Art, 1930 - 1984

Theme 7 – Entertainment Industry, 1925 - 1980

Theme 1 – Commercial Identity, 1910 - 1980

Throughout much of the twentieth century, trends in the development of Latino-owned businesses in Los Angeles followed settlement patterns and trends in population growth. As populations in particular areas of the city increased, the demand for goods and services also increased, and entrepreneurial Latinos established businesses to meet the rising demand. Businesses ranged from small to large, though most were small and family-owned. Some served basic needs, while others provided entertainment. Typical businesses included bakeries, *tortillerias* (tortilla factories), barbershops, billiard halls, pharmacies, movie houses, restaurants, dance halls, hotels, printing shops, funeral homes, money transfer agencies, and auto repair shops.⁸³ After World War II, there was a steady rise in Latino businesses as a result of increased access to capital and the G.I. Bill. During the 1960s and 1970s, some Latino businesses expanded by broadening their markets or diversifying their services.

The first Latino population boom in twentieth-century California occurred in the 1910s when emigration from Mexico increased amidst political unrest and poor economic conditions. Many immigrants from this period worked in agriculture or on railroads. Because the work in the fields and along the tracks was temporary, seasonal, and low paid, it did not lead to permanent residential settlement for workers in rural areas. In search of steady work and better pay, many immigrants relocated to urban centers, such as Los Angeles in the 1920s, joining Mexican Americans who had been living in the city for generations.⁸⁴



*There was a concentration of Latino-owned businesses on North Main Street during the 1920s.
(Los Angeles Public Library)*

Mexican immigrants tended to settle in Downtown, Boyle Heights, and Belvedere (outside the L.A. City limits). The Latino populations in these areas grew over time, and people began to establish homes and businesses. The businesses served the needs of the community and often engaged in trade with Mexico in order to offer goods not available in the general market place.⁸⁵ A look at the businesses in the North Main Street district of Downtown at the time provides a good understanding of Latino commerce during the period. Music store Repertorio

⁸³ Geraldo L. Cadava, "Entrepreneurs from the Beginning: Latino Business and Commerce since the 16th Century," in *American Latinos and the Making of the United States: A Theme Study*, (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 2013), 220-221.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

Musical Mexicana, founded by Mauricio Calderón around 1920, was the center of the Latino music trade in the city.⁸⁶ La Ciudad de Mexico, a department store, offered shoppers “everything from clothing to chile to milk to lunch boxes.”⁸⁷ Further down the street, Farmacia Hidalgo offered medicine, traditional Mexican remedies, and other common drugstore sundries, like Mexican sodas and ice cream.⁸⁸



Latino-owned businesses on Olvera Street during the 1930s included import stores and Mexican restaurants. (Los Angeles Public Library)

Whether they offered basic goods, entertainment, or professional services, Latino businesses in the 1920s rarely engaged in commerce outside of the barrio.⁸⁹ Rather, most were insular and reflected the racially and ethnically segregated nature of Los Angeles at the time. Many businesses were established along major corridors or at intersections within barrio limits, forming commercial districts, such as the one that developed along East 1st Street, immediately west of the Los Angeles River and east of the Plaza.⁹⁰ While several Latino businesses existed along North Main Street and in the Plaza area in the 1920s and 1930s, rents along the railroad tracks, which followed the path of the Los Angeles River, were cheaper which made it easier for entrepreneurs to start new businesses. The proprietors of these

businesses often lived nearby, making the railroad barrio the area with the greatest proportion of white-collar Latino workers in the city.⁹¹

Latino business stagnated during the Depression, along with the rest of the Los Angeles economy. Some survived, many did not, and repatriation undoubtedly had a negative effect. It was during this period of economic strife that Olvera Street was transformed into a Mexican marketplace oriented toward tourists. The transformation of Olvera Street began in 1926 when Christine Sterling learned of a plan to demolish the Avila Adobe, the oldest existing home in the city. Sterling quickly found that renovating the adobe would be only the first step in attracting tourists to the Plaza area. Lured to Los Angeles by promotional literature that idealized California's past, she imagined Olvera Street as a place to experience “the romance of old Mexico.” With the support of Harry

⁸⁶ Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 182.

⁸⁷ Douglas Monroy, “Making Mexico in Los Angeles,” in *Metropolis in the Making: Los Angeles in the 1920s*, eds. Tom Sifton and William Deverell (Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 2006), 165.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ Cadava, 221.

⁹⁰ Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, Los Angeles 1906-Jan. 1951 vol. 14, 1921-Nov. 1949, Sheet 1417; and Los Angeles City Directories.

⁹¹ Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 196.

Chandler, publisher of the *Los Angeles Times*, she managed to have the street paved and the buildings rehabilitated. Most, but not all, of the businesses were operated by Mexican Americans. Although Olvera Street blurred the line between history and mythology, it allowed some businesses to survive during an especially bleak period for Mexican Americans.⁹²

The G.I. Bill helped to usher in a new era of Latino business after World War II. It offered veterans increased access to education, small business loans, and home ownership outside of barrios.⁹³ This increased access, along with steady population growth, resulted in a boom period for Latino businesses.⁹⁴ Returning veterans, along with second and third generation immigrants, created more businesses in the postwar period than any previous generation.⁹⁵ Rafael Vega, for instance, opened Casa Vega in 1956. He was inspired to open the Mexican restaurant by his parents who operated Café Caliente on Olvera Street. Other Latino businesses established in the 1950s include La Mascota Bakery in Boyle Heights.

As in the 1920s and 1930s, Latino businesses in the postwar period were mostly small and family-owned. The Latino population in Los Angeles continued to grow steadily, creating an increased customer base. Many new businesses continued the earlier trend of catering primarily to Latino customers. Pan American Bank, for example, was established in 1964 by Romana Acosta Bañuelos, who would later become the first Latina United States Treasurer in 1971.⁹⁶ The bank's primary mission was to serve the "under-represented and under-served consumers and small businesses of East Los Angeles."⁹⁷ Over time, the bank became a critical local business, providing loans and financial services and promoting economic growth in the area.⁹⁸

While most postwar entrepreneurs established their businesses to cater to Latino customers, some were able to expand into broader markets due to two important mid-twentieth century phenomena. First, increasing numbers of Latinos were relocating from barrios to suburbs, and second, Latino goods, especially music and food, were becoming rapidly commoditized.⁹⁹ A prime example of a Latino business from the postwar period that broadened its market and achieved great success was Sloan's Dry Cleaners & Laundry. The Latino heritage of Sloan's is largely unknown because the family surname is not Spanish. The company was founded by Edward and Vivian Sloan. Edward was born in Texas to a Canadian father and a Mexican American mother. Vivian was born in Arizona to Native American parents. Edward and Vivian moved to L.A. in 1935 and settled in Boyle Heights. Their first business was a shoe repair shop on

⁹² Jean Bruce Poole and Tevy Ball, *El Pueblo: The Heart of Los Angeles* (Los Angeles: The Getty Conservation Institute and the J. Paul Getty Museum), 44-55.

⁹³ Cadava, 222.

⁹⁴ Cadava, 223.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ "About Pan American Bank," *Pan American Bank*, accessed April 22, 2014, <http://www.panamericanbank.us/about/>.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ Although the bank was based in East L.A., it was an important source of capital for businesses in Los Angeles.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*



El Salvador Café was founded in 1950, making it one of the oldest Central American businesses in L.A. (www.goodcleanliving.com)

Whittier Boulevard near Euclid Avenue.¹⁰⁰ By 1940, the business had diversified into dry cleaning.¹⁰¹ Their son, Edward Jr. continues to operate the family business, which grew to multiple locations as far east as El Monte.

Beginning in the 1970s, L.A.'s Latino population diversified significantly with an increase in immigration from Central America, particularly El Salvador and Guatemala. Pico-Union in the Westlake district became an important hub of Central American commerce. Stores, bakeries, and restaurants were some of the earliest businesses. Examples include El Salvador Café, reportedly the first Salvadoran restaurant in Los Angeles, and Café Antigua Guatemala, a Guatemalan

bakery.¹⁰² Because the practice of sending remittances to relatives in home countries was an important aspect of Central American life, banks and wire transfer services became important community businesses. One such bank was Banco Agrícola, a Salvadoran bank that established a Los Angeles branch on Vermont Avenue to facilitate transactions with El Salvador.¹⁰³

The following tables describe designated and known resources associated with the commercial development of the Latino community of Los Angeles. Eligibility Standards address a range of commercial property types.

Designated Resources

Resource Name	Location	Comments
Cielito Lindo	23 Olvera Street	This food stand has been serving Mexican food since 1934. Originally the food was cooked at the home of the owner and carried in bundles. The property is located in El Pueblo State Historic Park.

¹⁰⁰ Los Angeles City Directories, 1936 and 1938.

¹⁰¹ U.S. Census, 1940.

¹⁰² Rosamaría Segura, *Images of America: Central Americans in Los Angeles* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2009), 71.

¹⁰³ *Ibid*, 76.

SurveyLA
 Latino Los Angeles Historic Context Statement

Resource Name	Location	Comments
El Paseo Inn	11 Olvera Street	El Paseo Inn restaurant was established in the 1930s and was originally located in another building on Olvera Street, W-23. In 1953, it moved to its current location at E-11, which had been occupied by Café Caliente. Original owners Mrs. Elena Pelufo and Mr. Frank Webb sold El Paseo Inn at E-11, to Andy M. Camacho. The property is located in El Pueblo State Historic Park.
La Golondrina Mexican Cafe	17 Olvera Street	La Golondrina opened as La Misión Café on South Spring Street in 1924. When the block was scheduled to be demolished for the construction of a new City Hall in 1928, the business moved to the Pelanconi House on Olvera Street. The property is located in El Pueblo State Historic Park.
La Luz del Dia	1 Olvera Street	La Luz del Dia evolved from a Mexican market with the same name that opened in 1915 at another location. The business has been at this location since 1959. The property is located in El Pueblo State Historic Park.

Known Resources

Resource Name	Location	Comments
Arturo's Fine Mexican Food	25720 S. Western Avenue	Opened in 1960, Arturo's is one of the oldest continuously operating restaurants in Harbor City. It has been a gathering place for the Latino community for more than fifty years.
Botica del Pueblo	2035 W. 7 th Street	This pharmacy has been serving the Latino community in Westlake since the late 1970s. Henry Albert Hernandez now runs the family business.

SurveyLA
 Latino Los Angeles Historic Context Statement

Resource Name	Location	Comments
Candela's Guitars	2724 E. Cesar Chavez Avenue	This guitar shop is one of the leading makers of handcrafted guitars for classical, flamenco, and mariachi music. One of their guitars is on display at the Smithsonian.
Casa Vega	13301 Ventura Boulevard	Opened in 1956, Casa Vega is the oldest Mexican restaurant in Sherman Oaks. The original owner, Rafael Vega was inspired to open the restaurant by his parents who operated Café Caliente on Olvera Street.
Casita del Campo	1920 Hyperion Avenue	Casita del Campo was established in 1963 by Rudy del Campo, a professional dancer best known for his role in the film version of <i>Westside Story</i> .
El Cholo	1121 S. Western Avenue The building at this location has been expanded and remodeled.	El Cholo is the oldest Mexican restaurant in L.A. It opened in 1923 as the Sonora Cafe on Broadway. The daughter of the owners opened another El Cholo on Western Avenue in 1927.
El Mercado de Los Angeles	3425 E. 1 st Street	Built in 1968, El Mercado is a Mexican-style indoor marketplace that provides clothing, ingredients, and cultural items imported from Mexico that are difficult to find elsewhere. On the top level, mariachi groups provide music and folklore for diners and social gatherings.
El Piojito	2104 W. 7 th Street	This discount department store has been serving the Latino community in Westlake since the late 1970s.

SurveyLA
 Latino Los Angeles Historic Context Statement

Resource Name	Location	Comments
El Tepeyac Café	812 N. Evergreen Avenue	This restaurant has been an institution in Boyle Heights for over half a century. Originally called El Tupinamba Café, the restaurant was founded in 1942 in downtown Los Angeles. Then it moved to Lincoln Heights where it was called La Villa Café. The restaurant has been at this location since 1952.
Felipe Bagües Mortuary	4221 E. Cesar Chavez Avenue (East L.A. 1932-2014) 1936 E. 1st Street (second location 1956-2014)	Bagües and Sons Mortuary opened in 1928 in an old burlap factory. Felipe and Lucy Bagües started the business, which catered to the Latino community. In 1932, the mortuary moved to Brooklyn Avenue. Manuel Bagües took over the family business, which closed in 2014.
King Taco	1118 Cypress Avenue	Founded in 1974, King Taco began its operation from a converted ice cream truck and now has twenty restaurants. The original and oldest location is in Cypress Park.
La Mascota Bakery	2715 E. Whittier Boulevard	This is the oldest Mexican bakery in Boyle Heights. Established in 1952, according to the owners, but the building was constructed in 1959.
La Cabaña	738 Rose Avenue	This is the oldest Mexican restaurant in Venice. The Haro family opened it in 1963.
Los Cinco Puntos	3300 E. Cesar Chavez Boulevard	This restaurant/meat market has been a Boyle Heights institution for over fifty years. Vincent and Connie Sotelo opened at this location in 1967.
La Favorita Bakery	2301 E. 4 th Street	Jorge Beltran and his father opened this bakery in 1971.
Sloan's Dry Cleaners & Laundry	3001 N. Main Street	Edward and Vivian Sloan incorporated this business in 1951. By 1956, they had stores all over Los Angeles.

Theme: Commercial Identity

Summary Statement of

Significance: A resource evaluated under this theme may be significant in the areas of commerce, ethnic heritage, and/or social history for its association with the Latino community. Latino-owned businesses document the settlement patterns of different segments of the population and were often popular meeting places.

Period of Significance: 1910 - 1980

Period of Significance

Justification: The period of significance begins in 1910, the earliest extant examples of Latino-owned businesses date from the first decade of the twentieth century. 1980 is the end date for SurveyLA and may be extended as part of future survey work.

Geographic Locations: Throughout Los Angeles, but with the highest concentration in the areas between Westlake and Boyle Heights

Area(s) of Significance: Commerce, Ethnic Heritage, Social History

Criteria: NR: A CR: 1 Local: 1

Associated Property Types: Commercial – Retail Building, Restaurant, and Market

Property Type Description: Property types under this theme include a variety of commercial businesses, such as restaurants, markets and retail stores.

Property Type Significance: Properties significant under this theme played an important role in the commercial development of the Latino community in Los Angeles.

Eligibility Standards:

- Is associated with a Latino business that made important contributions to commercial growth and development
- Was the founding location of, or the long-term location of, a Latino business significant in commercial history

Character-Defining/Associative Features:

- For National Register, properties associated with events that date from the last 50 years must possess exceptional importance

SurveyLA
Latino Los Angeles Historic Context Statement

- Retains most of the essential character-defining features from the period of significance
- Was the founding location of a business significant in Latino commercial history
- Was the long-term location of a business significant in Latino commercial history
- May have particular significance for its association with a Latino neighborhood or community in Los Angeles
- May be associated with a business/corporation that has gained regional or national importance

Integrity Considerations:

- Should retain integrity of Location, Design, Feeling, Materials, and Association from the period of significance
- Integrity is based on the period during which the significant business occupied the property
- Setting may have changed

Theme 2 – Religion and Spirituality, 1860 - 1989

Los Angeles' religious history has its roots in Catholicism. The California missions of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, including the Mission San Gabriel and Mission San Fernando near Los Angeles, were established in large part to convert the Native American population in the area to Catholicism and thereby, supposedly proper Spanish citizens.¹⁰⁴ El Pueblo is home to the city's oldest Catholic church, La Iglesia de Nuestra Señora la Reina de los Ángeles (The Church of Our Lady Queen of the Angels, LAHCM #3). The church, informally known as La Placita Church, was founded in 1814 and the church building was dedicated in 1822 and reconstructed in 1861.



La Placita Church is the oldest Catholic church in Los Angeles. The church is in the far right-hand side of the photograph taken in 1890. (Los Angeles Public Library)



By the time this photograph was taken in 1937, El Pueblo was a predominately Mexican American neighborhood. (Los Angeles Public Library)

During the Spanish and Mexican periods of the city's history, community celebrations often blended civic and religious life. Many parades and fiestas were based on Catholic traditions in Spain and Mexico. After California became a state in 1850 and the immigration of Anglo Americans increased in pace; however, it became more important to Californios that they emphasize their ethnic roots and display pride in their culture.¹⁰⁵ Although the majority of Californios continued to identify as Catholic, their religious affiliation became less important than their cultural identity.

After statehood, the Catholic Church in Los Angeles became part of the Diocese of Monterey-Los Angeles, and the headquarters was transferred from La Placita Church to the new Cathedral of Saint Vibiana (LAHCM #17). Although the first few bishops during this period were Spaniards, by 1896 the Catholic Church began to appoint Anglo Americans.¹⁰⁶ During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, La Placita Church served as the primary place of worship for the city's Mexican American community, while Saint Vibiana served a mostly Anglo American congregation.

¹⁰⁴ Antonio Ríos-Bustamante and Pedro Castillo, *An Illustrated History of Mexican Los Angeles, 1781-1985* (Los Angeles: University of California, Los Angeles Chicano Studies Research Center Publications, 1986), 44.

¹⁰⁵ Rios-Bustamante and Castillo, *An Illustrated History of Mexican Los Angeles*, 103.

¹⁰⁶ This trend continued unbroken until 2011 with José Horacio Gómez became the first Mexican-born Archbishop of Los Angeles.

During the 1910s and 1920s, immigration from Mexico increased, consequently foreign-born outnumbered native-born Mexicans by a larger margin. These newcomers found themselves at odds with the official Catholic Church for a number of reasons, including differences in forms of worship. Catholic churches in Mexico served as both the literal and figurative center of town life. In small towns in which the church was the only gathering place, churches were the locations of celebrations, religious observances, and social gatherings. Fiestas and processions, also an important part of Mexican Catholicism, often took place in or near the church.¹⁰⁷ Due to population growth, which outpaced church growth in the early twentieth century in the northern Mexican provinces, many towns did not have a priest.¹⁰⁸ Therefore, many religious traditions developed that did not rely on the presence of a priest. For example, many homes had an altar that was used as a place for daily prayer or for special occasions such as the Día de los Muertos (Day of the Dead). Women also played a more prominent role as religious figures in the family. They were often the ones who passed down traditions of faith in a family or served as spiritual healers. Mexican immigrants to Los Angeles largely adhered to this more personal form of worship. As late as the 1950s, a study of Mexicans in the city found that parishes in east Los Angeles were "characterized by irregular mass attendance and reception of the sacraments...Participation in parish organizations was reported small, and clubs and societies are 'attended by a few old faithfuls [sic].'"¹⁰⁹ By contrast, the American Catholic Church viewed regular attendance at formal mass as a crucial part of being a 'good' Catholic.¹¹⁰ It discouraged these 'foreign' forms of practice, instead emphasizing rituals more in line with American Catholicism.¹¹¹ The Catholic Church did not increase its outreach to the Latino population until the middle of the twentieth century.

In part because of the alienation many Mexicans felt from the official Catholic Church, they adhered to many aspects of religious worship begun in Mexico, even after arriving in Los Angeles. One such aspect is devotion to the Virgin of Guadalupe, an important female figure in Mexican Catholicism absent from the Anglo American iteration of the faith. The Mexican population of Los Angeles participated in a procession devoted to Our Lady of Guadalupe in East Los Angeles. Begun in 1927, the annual event attracted as many as 5,000 marchers and 30,000 viewers. The parade ran from the Los Angeles County line through the streets to the Our Lady of Guadalupe Church in the Belvedere neighborhood of East Los Angeles. It included an elaborate combination of floats, music, and a decorated statue of the Virgin Mary that was borne among the procession.¹¹²

¹⁰⁷ Jeffrey M. Burns, "The Mexican Catholic Community in California," 176. in *Mexican Americans and the Catholic Church, 1900-1965*, edited by Jay P. Dolan and Gilberto M. Hinojosa (London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), 176.

¹⁰⁸ Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 152.

¹⁰⁹ Luis D. León, *La Llorona's Children: Religion, Life, and Death in the U.S.-Mexican Borderlands* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 107.

¹¹⁰ Burns, "The Mexican Catholic Community in California," 155.

¹¹¹ Sanchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 157.

¹¹² Burns, "The Mexican Catholic Community in California," 182.

Protestant denominations in the nineteenth century made little attempt to reach out to the city's Latino community, instead counting on new residents and visitors from the East Coast to expand their congregations.¹¹³ That attitude changed in the early twentieth century when Protestant churches began to compete with each other and the Catholic Church for the religious affiliation of the city's Mexican population. To gain converts among this subset of the city's population, Protestant churches sought to establish themselves as fundamentally different from the Catholic Church in their interactions with Latinos. In contrast to the Catholic Church, which often had Irish priests administer to Latino congregations, Protestant denominations encouraged Mexicans to create their own churches, appoint Latino pastors and ministers, and hold services in Spanish.¹¹⁴ Los Angeles city directories indicate that in 1915, there were only three Mexican Protestant churches in the city. By 1927, there were at least seventeen churches (including Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, and Methodist Episcopal) with Mexican congregations. This number continued to increase in subsequent decades.¹¹⁵



La Plaza Methodist Church was constructed in 1926 in an effort to reach the Latino community. (Los Angeles Public Library)



The Sunday school class at this Methodist church was entirely Latino, 1947. (Los Angeles Public Library)

Part of Protestant outreach included Americanization efforts, the earliest of which were conducted by churches in the form of social services, such as settlement houses or schools. Protestants, who equated their religion with modernization and progress, instituted occupational programs for Mexican youth, believing that if boys were training in industrial skills and girls were learning domestic skills, they would be more likely to convert to Protestantism.¹¹⁶ An example of the effort in Los Angeles was the Forsythe Memorial School for Girls. The school was founded in 1884 and run by the Women's Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church. By 1914, the school raised enough

¹¹³ Sanchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 155.

¹¹⁴ Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 152.

¹¹⁵ Los Angeles City Directories, various dates.

¹¹⁶ Sanchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 155.

funds to construct a building that housed Mexican girls in grades one through eight. The Los Angeles Unified School District also offered Americanization and citizenship classes in schools in Boyle Heights, as well as English and adult classes. The materials for these classes were primarily derived from those developed by the Protestant church.¹¹⁷

In response to Protestant outreach to Latinos, the Catholic Church increased its efforts at Americanization in the 1920s. The Catholic Church's Americanization efforts included teaching English as well as the customs and "manners" of the American middle class.¹¹⁸ Americanization was part of the mission of Catholic settlement houses that sought to educate Mexican children but also to teach American ways. For the most part, the Catholic Church, rather than compete with established Protestant social services, decided to focus on the dissemination of Catholic religious doctrine and what they viewed as proper Catholic traditions.¹¹⁹ It was the viewpoint of the Church that making Mexicans and other Latinos "better" Catholics would by extension make them "better citizens."¹²⁰ This included trying to get Latinos to replace traditional customs with American Catholic ones. The Los Angeles chapter of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine (CCD) was established in 1923 in large part to provide religious education to Mexican Catholic children within the city's public school system.¹²¹

At the core of this religious outreach for both the Catholic and Protestant churches were charitable organizations. The Catholic Church established settlement houses, including El Hogar Feliz (The Happy Home) and the Brownson House in Los Angeles in 1897 and 1901, respectively, as an extension of its outreach to the Mexican community. They provided educational programs such as lessons in Catholic teachings. The pastor of La Placita Church served as the spiritual leader of El Hogar Feliz. The Brownson House also offered classes in home economics and sewing.¹²² The Immigrant Welfare Division of the Catholic Welfare Bureau, which was established in Los Angeles in 1919, opened additional settlement houses as well.¹²³ The Division went on to help establish community centers in other California cities as well, including Watts (an independent city until 1926, when it was consolidated with Los Angeles), Santa Barbara, and San Diego.¹²⁴ These community centers provided educational classes, as well as recreational and social programs.¹²⁵

Evangelical Protestant churches were more active and successful in their outreach to the Latino community than the mainline Protestant churches. Numerous evangelical churches affiliated with the Latino community were founded in Los Angeles, including Baptist and Pentecostal churches. Pentecostalism was rooted in evangelical Christianity

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ León, *La Llorona's Children*, 46.

¹¹⁹ Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 159.

¹²⁰ Patrick H. McNamara, "Catholicism, Assimilation, and the Chicano Movement," in *Chicanos and Native Americans: The Territorial Minorities*, ed. Rudolph O. de la Garza et al. (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1973), quoted in León, 46.

¹²¹ Burns, "The Mexican Catholic Community in California," 159.

¹²² Burns, "The Mexican Catholic Community in California," 156.

¹²³ Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 157.

¹²⁴ Burns, "The Mexican Catholic Community in California," 157.

¹²⁵ Burns, "The Mexican Catholic Community in California," 158.

and the Azusa Street Revival, which began in Los Angeles in 1906. The revival was led by African American pastor William Seymour and arose from the Holiness movement. It soon spread, via literature and ministers, around the country and eventually around the world. Latino converts to Pentecostalism were frequently already Protestant but also included Catholics. The location of the Azusa Street church near Sonora Town ensured Latino participation from the beginning.¹²⁶ The movement from its infancy was multi-racial, including Latinos, African Americans, and Anglos, and sought to eliminate the racial barriers established between people by society at large. Latinos formed their own churches within the Pentecostal movement, where they could use Spanish in their services, maintain their own sense of culture, and even incorporate previous beliefs such as the figure of Guadalupe into their new religion.¹²⁷

By the 1960s, the Chicano movement led Latinos to push for more control within the church, especially the Catholic Church, which continued to be dominated by Anglo American priests. *Católicos Por La Raza*, led by Ricardo Cruz, emerged as the most vocal critic of the Los Angeles Archdiocese. The group's main issues were the closure of Our Lady Queen of Angels High School, the lack of Latino students at Loyola Law School, and the construction of St. Basil's Church. On December 24, 1969, demonstrators picketed St. Basil's as mass was celebrated inside. The group believed that the three million dollars spent constructing a new church on Wilshire Boulevard should have been spent serving the needs of the community.

While the Los Angeles Archdiocese largely ignored the protests and demands for increased inclusion in the church, several Protestant denominations were actively supporting Chicano groups and causes. Father John B. Luce, rector of the Episcopal Church of the Epiphany in Lincoln Heights, was instrumental in mentoring, organizing, and helping to secure financial assistance for the Young Citizens for Community Action, which eventually became the Brown Berets. The basement of the church housed the printing presses for *La Raza*, a local newspaper that would evolve into a national magazine that helped shape a Chicano identity. Additionally, Reverend Vahac Mardirosian, a Baptist minister, was instrumental in mediating between protesting students and LAUSD administrators during the "blow-outs" in the spring of 1969.

The Catholic Church eventually became more responsive to the needs of the community, creating programs in the 1970s designed for the younger Mexican American generation, including the *Cursillo* movement, which brought together small groups of Latinos and other Catholics for three days of prayer and reflection and "encuentros, which were large-scale stadium meetings and often charismatic masses by and for Latino laity and clerics."¹²⁸

The Sanctuary movement of the 1980s was put into motion by the civil wars in Central America and the United States government's response to the refugees from those wars.

¹²⁶ Daniel Ramirez, "Borderlands Praxis: The Immigrant Experience in Latino Pentecostal Churches," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 67, no. 3 (September 1999): 576; Deck, "The Challenge of Evangelical/Pentecostal Christianity to Hispanic Catholicism," 410.

¹²⁷ Stevens-Arroyo, "The Latino Religious Resurgence," 173; Léon, *La Llorona's Children*, 208.

¹²⁸ Léon, *La Llorona's Children*, 112.

Nearly a million victims of kidnapping, rape, and other violence sought refuge in the United States, the majority of them arriving here illegally from El Salvador, Guatemala, and Nicaragua.¹²⁹ Politicians in Washington resisted calls by human rights groups to give the displaced people protected status or to classify them as refugees so they could remain temporarily in the U.S. until the situation improved in their homelands. In protest, civic and religious groups organized a grass-roots movement to shelter immigrants in churches on the assumption that federal authorities would not arrest people inside a church.¹³⁰ Called the Sanctuary movement, it became one of the most important organized acts of resistance in the latter part of the twentieth century.

From its beginnings, the movement grew to include more than 200 churches, temples and synagogues, including the First Unitarian Church, Angelica Lutheran Church, Dolores Mission Church, and Our Lady Queen of Angels Catholic Church in Los Angeles. While only a small number of immigrants actually took refuge at religious sites, the public debates sparked by the Sanctuary movement helped bring about several significant changes, including the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act and the 1989 Central American Studies and Temporary Relief Act. These laws gave Central American refugees certain protection from deportation and created opportunities for them to legalize their status and become citizens.

Today, the majority of Latinos remain Catholic, but they are also responsible for incredible growth in other denominations. Many churches in the city are now majority Latino or Asian, reflecting the shifting demographics of the city and new diversity in congregations that historically have been majority Anglo American.

The following tables describe designated and known resources associated with the religious and spiritual life Latinos in Los Angeles. Eligibility Standards address institutional property types.

Designated Resources

Resource Name	Location	Comments
Church of the Epiphany	2808 Altura Street	One of the oldest churches in Lincoln Heights, during the 1960s it became an important center of the Chicano civil rights movement. Union organizer Cesar Chavez gave talks at the church. Community organizers held meetings here to plan the 1968 high school student walkouts and 1970 Chicano Moratorium protests. The

¹²⁹ Mario T. García, *Católicos: Resistance and Affirmation in Chicano Catholic History* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2008), 210.

¹³⁰ Susan Gzesh, "Central Americans and Asylum Policy in the Reagan Era," *Migration Policy Institute*, accessed November 6, 2013, <http://www.migrationinformation.org>.

SurveyLA
 Latino Los Angeles Historic Context Statement

Resource Name	Location	Comments
		property is located in the Lincoln Heights HPOZ and is designated LAHCM #807.
Our Lady Queen of Angels Catholic Church	535 N. Main Street	Also known as "La Placita," this was the preferred Catholic Church in Los Angeles for Mexican Americans during the early 20 th century. The church later played an important role in the Sanctuary movement. The property is located in El Pueblo State Historic Park and is designated LAHCM #3 and California Historical Landmark #144.
La Plaza Methodist Church	115 Paseo De La Plaza	This church was built on the site of the adobe once owned by Austin Olvera, the man for whom Olvera Street was named. It is an early example of a Protestant denomination ministering to the Mexican American community. The property is located in El Pueblo State Historic Park and is designated LAHCM #64.
Forsythe Memorial School for Girls	506 N. Evergreen Avenue	This property is listed in the National Register under the MPDF for Latinos in 20 th Century California. Also known as the Presbyterian School for Mexican Girls, this building was constructed in 1914. The school operated until 1934.

Known Resources

Resource Name	Location	Comments
Angelica Lutheran Church	1345 S. Burlington Avenue	In the 1980s, this church became the headquarters for organizations serving the Central American community. They also opened their doors to the Centro Bíblico Q'anjob'al, an evangelical Guatemalan church.

SurveyLA
 Latino Los Angeles Historic Context Statement

Resource Name	Location	Comments
Buen Pastor Church	1523 Pleasant Avenue	This church was originally called the Mexican Mission Church and constructed by the Foursquare Church, which was attempting to spread Pentecostalism to the Latino community during the 1930s.
Dolores Mission Church	173 E. Gless Street	This church became a parish in 1945, after twenty years as a mission for St. Mary's parish. Very active in the community, serving as a temporary home for immigrants and the homeless. Founded in 1925 and moved to this location in 1945. The building pre-dates the parish.
First Unitarian Church	2936 W. 8 th Street	Established in 1877, First Unitarian Church has been active in social and political issues since the beginning. The existing building was constructed in 1927. In the 1980s, the church became a shelter for Nicaraguan refugees during the Sanctuary movement and hosted speeches on their behalf.
Guardian Angel Church	10886 N. Lehigh Avenue	This church was originally constructed in 1939 to serve Pacoima's Latino Catholic community. From 1956 to 1960, the church was remodeled and a school, parish hall, and rectory were constructed.
Mexican Methodist Episcopal Church	1715 E. Santa Ana Boulevard North	Constructed in 1936, this is one of the oldest and largest churches remaining in Watts. It was established to serve the Mexican American community in southeast Los Angeles.
Our Lady of Talpa Church and School	2914 E. 4 th Street	This church and school building was constructed in 1973; however, this parish has ties to the Mexican American community dating back to 1927.

SurveyLA
 Latino Los Angeles Historic Context Statement

Resource Name	Location	Comments
Resurrection Church	3340 Opal Street	This church was constructed in 1964; however, this parish has continuously served the area's Latino community since 1923.
Santa Isabel Catholic Church	918 S. Soto Street	This church was constructed in 1957; however, the parish was founded in 1915.
St. Mary's Catholic Church	407 S. Chicago Street	Established in 1897, this is the fifth oldest Catholic parish in Los Angeles. The church originally served the well to-do Anglo American community of Boyle Heights. The existing building was constructed in 1926. It was one of the first Catholic churches to offer Spanish-language services in Los Angeles.
St. Thomas the Apostle Catholic Church	2727 W. Pico Boulevard	During the 1980s, this church became a major center for Central American worship.

Theme: Religion and Spirituality

Summary Statement of

Significance:

A resource evaluated under this theme may be significant in the areas of religion, ethnic heritage, and/or social history for its association with the Latino community. Religious buildings and campuses often served as the spiritual, social, and cultural center of the community. In some cases, a resource may be significant for its association with Americanization programs that sought to acculturate Mexicans.

Period of Significance:

1860 - 1989

Period of Significance

Justification:

The period of significance begins in 1860 with the founding of La Iglesia de Nuestra Señora de Reina de los Ángeles, the oldest Catholic Church in Los Angeles. The period of significance ends in 1989 when the Sanctuary movement brought about the adoption of several laws protecting Central American refugees.

Geographic Locations:

Citywide, but with the highest concentration in the areas between Westlake and Boyle Heights

Area(s) of Significance:

Religion, Ethnic Heritage, Social History

Criteria:

NR: A CR: 1 Local: 1

Associated Property Types:

Institutional – Religious Building and Religious Campus

Property Type Description:

Property types under this theme include individual church buildings as well as campuses with church buildings, parochial schools, and rectories.

Property Type Significance:

Properties significant under this theme played an important role in the religious, spiritual, and social life of Latinos in Los Angeles.

Eligibility Standards:

- Represents an important association with the Latino community in Los Angeles

Character-Defining/Associative Features:

- For National Register, properties must meet Criteria Consideration A
- For National Register, properties associated with events that date from the last 50 years must possess exceptional importance

SurveyLA
Latino Los Angeles Historic Context Statement

- Retains most of the essential character-defining features from the period of significance
- As a whole, retains most of the essential character-defining features from the period of significance (for campuses)
- 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

Integrity Considerations:

- Should retain integrity of Location, Feeling, Design, and Association from the period of significance
- Some original materials may have been altered, removed, or replaced

Theme 3 – Education 1930 - 1980

In Los Angeles, education represented a realm of both limits and opportunities for Latinos, and ultimately was a critical locus of civil rights activism. Although Latinos played a central role in the formation of the public school system in Los Angeles, their influence waned as Americanization marginalized them, and they waged a long struggle for equal rights and treatment in education for much of the twentieth century.

1850-1900: Rise and Decline of Latino Influence in Education

Spaniards and Mexicans played a central role in the earliest schools of Los Angeles. The first recorded school in El Pueblo existed from 1827 to 1832, with Luciano Valdez serving as the sole teacher. Successive teachers followed. In 1844, Guadalupe Medina opened a school that included the first manual training classes in Los Angeles. The schools during this period were often unstable, due to financial constraints and lack of enthusiastic public support. During the rancho period, education often took place in private homes and a private school.¹³¹

After California joined the Union as a state, the Los Angeles public school system grew from a single school in 1855 to fifty-seven by century's end. Californios played a large role at the outset. After a few sporadic attempts to open schools, in 1850 local leaders mobilized to form a more permanent school system, as mandated and funded by the state legislature. Antonio Francisco Coronel played a key role in this process. Elected county assessor in 1850, he was also designated pro-tem superintendent of public schools. He appointed the city's first school board, selecting two Anglos (Benjamin Hayes and Abel Sterns) and one Californio (Cristóbal Aguilar). By 1853, Coronel – by then elected mayor of Los Angeles – spearheaded efforts to establish the city's first public schools, which he proposed would be owned and run by the city. After some early debate over bilingualism, the first public school opened in 1855¹³² as an English-only school, since the school board failed to find a suitable bi-lingual teacher. By 1880, the Macy Street School, near the Plaza, included students with the famous surnames Sepulveda, Micheltorena, and Verdugo.¹³³

In 1869, St. Vincent's College became the first institute of higher learning in Southern California. The home of Vicente Lugo, who donated the property to the Catholic Diocese, served as the original campus of the college. Many wealthy Mexican families sent their sons to this all-boys institution. In 1872, Los Angeles opened its first high school, Central High. Despite heavy Mexican enrollments in the schools at this time – as late as 1867, half of the city's pupils were Spanish-speaking – not one of the first seven graduates of the high school was Mexican. This was an early sign of inequality between

¹³¹ James W. Cameron, "The History of Mexican Public Education in Los Angeles, 1910-1930" (Ph.D. dissertation, USC, 1976), 10-13; Henry Winford Splitter, "Education in Los Angeles: 1850-1900," *Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly* 33, 2 (June 1951), 101.

¹³² This was Public School No. 1, at the northwest corner of Spring and Second Streets.

¹³³ Splitter, "Education in Los Angeles," 103-105; Ricardo Romo, *East Los Angeles*, 24-25; Cameron, "The History of Mexican Public Education," 18, 22, 26. Macy Street School was mostly Anglo in 1880, but became multi-ethnic by 1910, and predominantly Mexican by 1920 (Cameron, 80-81).

Anglos and Mexicans in the public schools, despite the fact that, as one historian put it, Spanish Californians were among “the strongest defenders of the American free public school system.”¹³⁴ Mexican immigrant attendance in the public schools dropped off by the late 1800s, but increased quickly thereafter, rising from twenty-two in 1890 to 3,899 by 1906. By this point, Anglos had come to fully control the school system.¹³⁵

1900-1930s: Latinos and Progressive Education

At the turn of the century, education in Los Angeles was experiencing a major transformation under the influence of Progressive reformers. As such, the education system came to embody the promises and limits of Progressivism itself, a broad-based reform movement aimed at curbing the excesses of Gilded Age America. The progressive philosophy combined a desire to uplift and aid immigrants, with tenets of scientific racism. Progressive educators, in turn, believed schools were institutions for preparing students for the real world. For Latinos, this meant an educational program that emphasized Americanization, middle-class morality, vocational training, and segregation.

Americanization was a key pillar of Progressive education, with widespread impact on ethnic Mexicans in Los Angeles. Reformers viewed Americanization programs as crucial to teaching Mexican immigrants – from children to adults – American values, morality, English, and everyday practices. According to historian Gilbert Gonzales, “The Los Angeles city schools’ Americanization classes aimed no less than to offer Americanization ‘to the individual from birth to old age or death.’”¹³⁶ While Americanization was initially undertaken by volunteer teachers in migratory camps and job sites, the public school system soon became the locus of these programs. The Los Angeles program was carried out in nursery, elementary, junior and senior high schools, adult evening schools, industrial work sites, day classes for mothers, and naturalization classes.¹³⁷ In 1915, California passed the Home Teachers Act, which enabled school districts to hire teachers to “work in the homes of the pupils, instructing children and adults in matters relating to school attendance . . . in sanitation, in the English language, in household duties . . . and in the fundamental principles of the American system of government and the rights and duties of citizenship.”¹³⁸ During the 1920s, the home teacher program was expanded and professionalized, and operated out of the public schools. Mexican women were taught homemaking skills and American-style domestic relations, through passages like this:

¹³⁴ Romo, *East Los Angeles*, 136; Splitter, “Education in Los Angeles,” 103.112-113, quote at page 110.

¹³⁵ Cameron, “The History of Mexican Public Education,” 18, 25, 29.

¹³⁶ Gilbert Gonzales, *Chicano Education in the Era of Segregation* (Philadelphia: Balch Institute Press, 1990), 46.

¹³⁷ Gonzales, *Chicano Education*, 46.

¹³⁸ Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 99. Romo also notes that in 1919, Progressives secured passage of Section 1702 of the state education code, which mandated that Americanization programs be offered in the public schools (Romo, *East Los Angeles*, 140.)

In the morning the women get breakfast.
Their husbands go to work.
Their children go to school.
Then the women get their houses in good order.
They give the baby its bath.
They wash, or iron, or cook.
They get the dinner.
After dinner they wash the dishes.
Then they sew, or rest, or visit their friends, or go to school.¹³⁹

In Los Angeles from 1921 to 1927, the number of home teachers rose from forty-five to sixty-three. The schools also established home teaching centers, ranging from fifty-five to eighty-three between 1922 and 1928. Maple Avenue Evening High School offered night classes at the Los Angeles Labor Temple, in vocational skills, Americanization, art, and music. At Albion Elementary School in Lincoln Heights teacher Josephine Ringnald credited her Americanization program with the uplift of the neighborhood. She cited a rise in homeownership rates, home spruce ups, sidewalk repairs, and the consumption of household goods like pianos, bedspreads, rugs, and electric washing machines. In the schools, curricula for Mexican students included vocational skills, decorative arts, with less time devoted to "traditional" academic subjects. By the late 1920s, Americanization became primarily school-based, targeting American-born Mexican pupils through classes that integrated citizenship and vocational training for laundries, restaurants, garages, household work, and agriculture. They especially sought to teach the values of thrift and time discipline.¹⁴⁰ This effort continued into the 1930s, when "the public schools had become Los Angeles' foremost institution for acculturation," and had taken over the role of caretaker from the settlement houses in an array of institutionalized services based at the schools, a trend that only intensified during the Great Depression.¹⁴¹

Despite the good intentions, many Progressive educators harbored prejudice against Mexicans, believing they held inferior intellectual capacities. In a publication of the Los Angeles city schools, one writer in 1928 described "The Mexican Problem in the Schools" as stemming from poverty and innate racial inferiority.¹⁴² This assessment reflected the opinion of many educators at the time. The increased use of IQ testing, always administered in English, led school officials to confirm these beliefs and label Mexican pupils mentally inferior or retarded; these tests were used to justify their segregation in special classes.¹⁴³

¹³⁹ Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 101-102.

¹⁴⁰ Romo, *East Los Angeles*, 141; Rafferty, *Land of Fair Promise*, 95-96; Cameron, "The History of Mexican Public Education," 83-84; Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 105.

¹⁴¹ Judith Rosenberg Rafferty, *Land of Fair Promise: Politics and Reform in Los Angeles Schools, 1885-1941* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), 162.

¹⁴² Leonard Vandenberg, "The Mexican Problem in the Schools," *Los Angeles School Journal* 11 (May 14, 1928): 15, cited in Cameron, "The History of Mexican Public Education," 101-102.

¹⁴³ Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 105; Romo, *East Los Angeles*, 137-139; Charles Wollenberg, *All Deliberate Speed: Segregation and Exclusion in California Schools, 1855-1975* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 115; Rafferty, *Land of Fair Promise*, 126, 156-57; Cameron, "The History of Mexican

The Los Angeles city schools also expanded vocational training, a policy supported by Progressive settlement workers, municipal reformers, business groups, and labor unions. In 1910, the Los Angeles schools extended manual training to the elementary level. Working-class Mexican children were typically placed in these courses, reflecting a widespread belief among school officials and reformers that Mexicans were best suited for manual labor. At the Amelia Street School in present-day Little Tokyo, Mexican girls were tracked into domestic instruction classes – held in segregated classrooms – where they spent the day preparing school lunches, washing and ironing clothes from the day nursery, and learning childcare skills. A state education official praised the “training which develops worth-while Americans.”¹⁴⁴ As one historian observed, schools in the southwest were “decreasingly effective in educating Mexican American children in the liberal arts and skills of modern life. They succeeded beyond measure, however, in instructing the same children to play a subordinate role in the dominant Anglo society.”¹⁴⁵

Segregation of Latinos also became common in the Los Angeles school system, springing from expert opinion, grassroots pressure, and school board actions. Some progressive educators believed that segregated schools would give Mexican pupils a better chance to learn, following curricula that was “suited to their capacities.” As well, sociologist Emory Bogardus claimed that in segregated schools, Mexican pupils avoid “invidious comparisons” with Anglo students by having the chance to catch up through learning English.¹⁴⁶ Segregation also resulted from white parental pressure and ensuing school district policies. Some parents demanded segregated schools out of fears that Mexican pupils would bring diseases to the schools. In response, the L.A. School Board manipulated attendance zones to meet these demands. As a school official claimed in 1933, “our education theory does not make any racial distinction between Mexican and native white population. However, pressure from white residents of certain sections forced a modification of this principle to the extent that certain neighborhood schools have been placed to absorb the majority of Mexican pupils of the district.”¹⁴⁷ In 1916, one of the earliest attempts to segregate Mexican students occurred at the Sherman School in present-day West Hollywood, near the Pacific Electric labor camp. Parents petitioned the school board, fearing the Mexican children carried contagious diseases. While the board didn't find evidence of this, the school solved the problem in 1921 by directing all Mexican children into an “ungraded” class established to teach non-English speaking pupils. That same year, residents in Owensmouth petitioned the board to take “immediate steps to segregate Mexican pupils in the grammar school.” With the

Public Education,” 104-117. In the 1930s, one scholar noted that “retarded” in educational circles meant “the child is over age for the grade in which he is enrolled.” See Wilbur K. Cobb, “Retardation in Elementary Schools of Children of Migratory Laborers in Ventura County, California” (M.A. thesis, USC, 1932), 2.

¹⁴⁴ Romo, *East Los Angeles*, 137, 141. The Amelia Street School was demolished in 1952. See <http://www.littletokyou unplugged.org/LittleTokyo/prop40.aspx>

¹⁴⁵ Meyer Weinberg, *A Chance to Learn: the History of Race and Education in the United States* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 149.

¹⁴⁶ Romo, *East Los Angeles*, 140; Emory Bogardus, “The Mexican Immigrant and Segregation,” *American Journal of Sociology* 35 (July 1930), 79-80; Wollenberg, *All Deliberate Speed*, 113-115.

¹⁴⁷ Wollenberg, *All Deliberate Speed*, 112; Romo, *East Los Angeles*, 139. Wollenberg documented several cases of school boards responding to parental pressure to segregate, throughout California.

consent of the Sociedad Mutualista Benito Juarez, which agreed to rent one of its buildings to the board, a separate school was established.¹⁴⁸

By the mid-1920s the L.A. School Board had “institutionalized segregation.”¹⁴⁹ In 1928 Los Angeles had ten schools with 90-100% Mexican enrollment; there was a similarly high enrollment of Mexicans and African Americans in Watts. While a state report attributed these patterns to the “natural” pattern of segregated neighborhoods, in fact deliberate policy promoting segregation – both by school and housing officials – contradict the notion that segregation existed “naturally.”¹⁵⁰

Mexicans responded to the public schools with ambivalence. While they welcomed the chance to enroll their children in schools superior to those in Mexico, many also resented the segregation and degradation directed at their children. Americanization elicited mixed reactions as well, evident especially in the low rates of naturalization during the 1920s. At one evening school in West Los Angeles, Mexican students explained the reluctance to apply for citizenship. “Well, what good would it do us? The Americans wouldn’t treat us any better if we did.”¹⁵¹ Many Mexican parents also favored a bilingual approach, hoping that their children would retain elements of Mexican language and culture. The Mexican consulate, in turn, promoted a program of Mexicanization in Los Angeles, to promote loyalty to Mexico. By the late 1920s, these efforts included the formation of schools for the study of Spanish language, and Mexican history and culture. Mexican students attended classes from 4 to 6 p.m., after a full day in American school. Despite the consulate’s plan to open fifty Mexican schools in Los Angeles, not more than ten schools operated at the same time; by late 1930, only three schools remained in California – in Pacoima, Van Nuys, and Claremont – serving 200 children. The program suffered from lack of funding and internal differences among parents and administrators.¹⁵²

The children of migrant farmworkers often experienced irregular schooling. In the San Fernando Valley, Mexican American students who applied for work permits, especially during walnut season, readily received them. Moreover, the L.A. County Department of Charities mandated that children be taken out of school to accompany their family when the parents left to work in the fields. Teachers there observed that Mexican students tended to start school late in the fall, at the end of harvesting season, yet they

¹⁴⁸ Raftery, *Land of Fair Promise*, 112-113.

¹⁴⁹ Raftery, *Land of Fair Promise*, 111. Also see Gonzales, *Chicano Education*, 25.

¹⁵⁰ *Mexicans in California, Report of Governor C.C. Young’s Mexican Fact-Finding Committee* (San Francisco: California State Printing Office, 1930), 177. The distinction between de facto and de jure segregation was used to legally justify segregated schools in the post-Brown era, however scholars have largely debunked that distinction and have argued that deliberate policy created the segregation. See Ansley Erickson, *Making the Unequal Metropolis: School Desegregation and Its Limits* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016). Wollenberg notes that “although Mexicans were by far the most segregated group in California public education by the end of the 1920s they were never specifically mentioned in the Education Code.” Up to 1935, California state law allowed for the segregation of Chinese, Japanese, “Mongolians” and Indians, but did not specify Mexicans, however segregation proceeded regardless. Wollenberg, *All Deliberate Speed*, 118.

¹⁵¹ Romo, *East Los Angeles*, 141.

¹⁵² Romo, *East Los Angeles*, 142; Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 116-118.

did not receive special instruction to get them caught up.¹⁵³

Despite these numerous obstacles, ethnic Mexican pupils made gradual educational progress. By the 1930s, the schools became an important locus where second-generation Mexicans began forming an ethnic identity and mobilizing for equal rights. Starting in the 1930s, a small, pioneering generation of Mexican American students from middle- and working-class families began entering mainstream colleges. In Los Angeles, the YMCA played a pivotal role in this process. It informed students about college admissions and scholarships, and sponsored a barrio club, which ultimately spawned the formation of a student group called the Mexican American Movement (MAM), the “first Chicano organization formed by and for students, functioning in this capacity from 1934 to 1950.”¹⁵⁴ Originally composed of high school students, the MAM became a college organization when the founding members brought the group with them to universities like UCLA. The MAM believed that education was key to Latino progress and to “overcoming the problems of prejudice, segregation, discrimination, social inequality, and inferiority complexes.”¹⁵⁵ Many MAM members went on to careers in teaching, social work, and other professions. MAM member Félix Gutiérrez founded the first Latino student newspaper at UCLA called *The Mexican Voice*, and served as editor from 1938 to 1944. In numerous articles, the *Voice* chronicled the success stories of Mexican American students. One celebrated example was Stephen A. Reyes, a UCLA student who overcame significant personal hardship to complete his degree. Reyes, who had no left arm, had worked picking oranges during summer breaks in high school so he could attend junior college. Upon completing his associate's degree, he entered UCLA in 1933 where he took out a small loan, worked part time, and commuted to school to save on expenses. He graduated in 1938 then went on to work as a playground director and teach at a junior college. Many members of this pioneering generation of college students would emerge as leaders of the postwar civil rights movement.¹⁵⁶

1940-1980: The Struggle for Educational Equity

There were hopeful signs for Latino education in the 1940s, with initiatives launched under the auspices of the Office of Inter-American Affairs, a federal agency formed in 1940 to promote inter-American cooperation. Inter-American projects “predominated on the educational landscape” throughout Southern California. The Los Angeles County Office of the Superintendent of Schools, which oversaw all school districts in the county, noted in March 1942 that it was “making every effort to help boys and girls better understand and appreciate the cultures and problems of the Latin American people.”¹⁵⁷ To that end, it held workshops, inter-American courses, speeches, and a

¹⁵³ Weinberg, *A Chance to Learn*, 159; Raftery, *Land of Fair Promise*, 157.

¹⁵⁴ Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 255.

¹⁵⁵ Albert Camarillo, *Chicanos in California: A History of Mexican American in California* (San Francisco: Boyd & Fraser, 1984), 64.

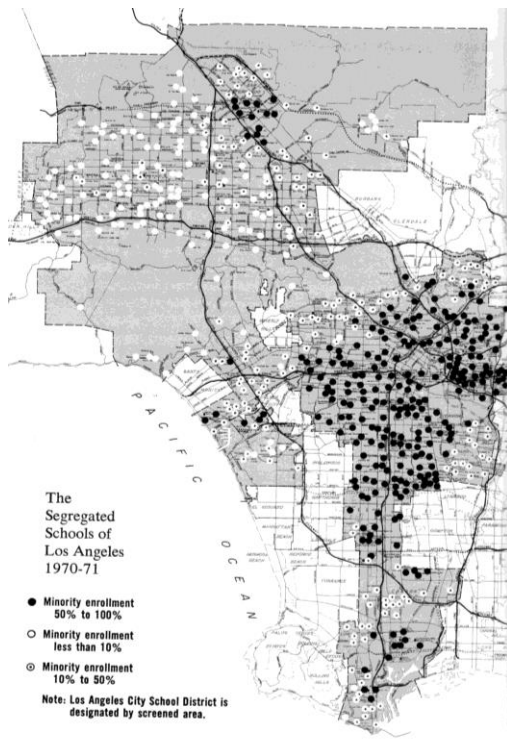
¹⁵⁶ Sanchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 255-258; Victoria-Maria MacDonald, “Demanding Their Rights: The Latino Struggle for Educational Access and Equity,” in *American Latinos and the Making of the United States: A Theme Study* (Washington D.C.: National Park Service, 2013), 315.

¹⁵⁷ Gonzales, *Chicano Education*, both quotes on page 128.

“Mexican demonstration school” where methods would be developed for teaching Mexican students. That same year, the County launched a critical appraisal of its program for educating Spanish-speaking pupils, and recommended reform in teacher training, curriculum, school adjustments to Latino culture at home, and counseling. And, reflecting OIAA precepts, it condemned segregation, prejudice, and discrimination.

However the practical programs that came out of this initiative did little to improve education for Mexican pupils. Schools continued to reject bilingualism and teach English only, although the stigma against Spanish speaking in the schools began to lift. School officials also continued to condemn Mexican home practices, and advocated counseling that was “realistic,” to help prepare students for limited job opportunities shaped by wider racial prejudice. To that end, schools continued to emphasize vocational training for Mexican students. In this sense, the public schools carried forward the thrust of Americanization and vocational tracking.¹⁵⁸ As Albert Camarillo writes, “these programs did not reckon with undesirable effects: cultural clashes

between what was taught at school and what was learned at home, breeding of inferiority complexes, and beginning a legacy of school failure.”¹⁵⁹ California contrasted with states like New Mexico and Colorado, which embraced a more pluralistic educational approach.¹⁶⁰



Historian and activist John Caughey estimated that two-thirds of Spanish-surname students attended segregated schools as of 1970. (*The Shame of Los Angeles*, 18)

California was the site of two major court cases that began chipping away at Latino educational segregation, and paved the way for the landmark *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) decision. The cases were *Roberto Alvarez v. Board of Trustees of the Lemon Grove School District* (1931), which centered in San Diego, and *Mendez v. Westminster* (1946), the nationally significant case originating in Orange County. *Mendez* led to the legislative end of school segregation in California in 1947, when the state assembly voted to repeal the segregation provisions in the state’s education code. Nationally, *Mendez* was significant as a critical test case that successfully used the Fourteenth Amendment equal protection clause in a school desegregation case, setting an important precedent for *Brown*, which ended *de jure*

¹⁵⁸ Gonzales, *Chicano Education*, 128-129.

¹⁵⁹ Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 44.

¹⁶⁰ MacDonald, “Demanding their Rights,” 313-314.

segregation in American schools.¹⁶¹

These court decisions and legislative actions collectively ended *de jure* educational segregation by the 1950s. But school segregation persisted in practice for decades. In 1946, Mexican American pupils attended twenty-eight compulsorily segregated schools in Los Angeles.¹⁶² In the early 1960s, the L.A. School Board was reluctant to conduct a racial census of its schools, to determine where segregation was persisting, and only after the ACLU forced the issue in 1966 did the Board finally comply. In its analysis from 1970, it found that ninety-four schools in the Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD) had majority Spanish-surname enrollments. John Caughey, a historian and activist who wrote extensively about school segregation in Los Angeles, claimed the segregated schools appeared in the San Fernando/Pacoima area, the harbor area, and the eastside. He estimated that two-thirds of Spanish-surname students attended segregated schools as of 1970.¹⁶³ With white resistance to busing, white flight, and the continued expansion of the barrio, ethnic Mexican children remained in ethnically isolated neighborhood schools. As Albert Camarillo notes, "By 1970, there were more Chicanos...in segregated schools than in 1947 when the *Méndez* decision was rendered."¹⁶⁴



Teacher Sal Castro at Lincoln High, June 10, 1968. (Los Angeles Public Library)

At the collegiate level, Latino educational gains were modest. While the G.I. Bill helped some Mexican Americans pursue higher education, most remained shut out of the larger colleges and universities and instead attended two-year community colleges. As late as 1965, UCLA had less than 100 Latino students out of 25,000 total; that same year, only seven Latinos attended Cal State Northridge. This changed rapidly in the late 1960s, when federal and state grant programs and special minority admissions programs enabled thousands of Latinos to enter college throughout California. This upsurge set the stage for educational rights activism.¹⁶⁵

Beginning in the 1960s, Chicanos stepped up the fight for educational equality, in light of continued discrimination and motivated by the spirit of the Chicano movement. Students led many of these efforts, demanding access to good schools and recognition of Latinos in educational curricula. An important early

¹⁶¹ Wollenberg, *All Deliberate Speed*, 125-134; Carey McWilliams, *North From Mexico* ((New York: Greenwood Press, 1968), 282-283; Mark Brilliant, *The Color of America Has Changed* (New York: Oxford, 2010), 90; MacDonald, "Demanding Their Rights," 317.

¹⁶² Weinberg, *A Chance to Learn*, 160. Weinberg did not specify if this referred to LA County or City.

¹⁶³ John W. Caughey, *The Shame of Los Angeles: Segregated Schools, 1970-1971* (Los Angeles: Quail Books, 1971), 15-16, 19.

¹⁶⁴ Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 83.

¹⁶⁵ Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 98.

action was the “blow-outs” of spring 1968, the name given to a series of protests by high school students against the LAUSD. Over 15,000 students from several high schools walked out of class to protest poor conditions at their schools.¹⁶⁶ Julian Nava, the only Mexican American on the Los Angeles Board of Education, said of the walkouts, “This is BC and AD. The schools will not be the same hereafter.”¹⁶⁷ The protestors issued thirty-six demands, including smaller classrooms, Latino teachers, better college guidance counselors, Mexican American history classes, bilingual classes, upgraded facilities, and parent advisory boards.¹⁶⁸ Along with the students themselves, Sal Castro, a teacher at Lincoln High School, helped organize the walkouts. These protests gained wide media attention when police actions spurred violence at some of the demonstrations. When thirteen protesters were arrested – including Castro – many of the protestors shifted their focus to defending them. These walkouts inspired Latino students to stage similar protests across California and the Southwest, however the “earliest and largest actions occurred in Los Angeles.”¹⁶⁹ The L.A. School Board eventually met some of the demands, and Mexican American parents formed groups to monitor those changes.¹⁷⁰



Garfield High School principal appealing to students to return to class on March 7, 1968. (KCET)

By the late 1960s, student groups proliferated across California, including the Mexican American Student Association (MASA) at East L.A. Community College, and United Mexican American Students (UMAS) at Loyola University and UCLA. In April 1969, over 100 Chicano leaders convened for a statewide conference at U.C. Santa Barbara where they formed the Movimiento Esudiantil Chicano de Aztlán (MEChA) and formulated a “strategy and curriculum for Chicano Studies programs and student organizations in California as a whole and ultimately nationally.”¹⁷¹ This movement stimulated the formation of

¹⁶⁶ The blow-outs were focused at Wilson, Garfield, Lincoln, Roosevelt and Belmont High Schools.

¹⁶⁷ Cameron, “The History of Mexican Public Education,” 1.

¹⁶⁸ Weinberg notes that the 36 demands became “standard demands” of Chicano student demonstrations nationally. He also that these demands were relatively conservative, mostly asking for parity with white high schools and to include Latino teachers and administrators. Weinberg, *A Chance to Learn*, 172.

¹⁶⁹ Weinberg, *A Chance to Learn*, 171.

¹⁷⁰ Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 99; Rodolfo Acuña, *Occupied America: A History of Chicanos*, 3rd ed. (New York: Harper Collins, 1988), 336-337; MacDonald, “Demanding Their Rights,” 318-319; F. Arturo Rosales, *Chicano!* (Houston: Arte Publico Press, 1996), 184-195.

¹⁷¹ Juan Gómez-Quiñones, *Mexican Students por La Raza: The Chicano Student Movement in Southern California, 1967-1977* (Santa Barbara: Editorial La Causa, 1978), 32; Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 99-100; <http://www.nationalmecha.org/about.html> (accessed March 27, 2014).

Chicano Studies programs in colleges and universities across the state, including UCLA, Cal State Los Angeles, and Cal State Northridge.

From the late 1960s through the 1970s, a series of policy breakthroughs shaped the struggle for Latino educational equity. In 1968, the U.S. Congress passed the Bilingual Education Act, the first federal law that addressed the needs of students with limited English skills. While participation was voluntary at first, the U.S. Supreme Court case *Lau v. Nichols* (1974) made bilingual services mandatory.¹⁷² Some Latinos in Los Angeles were ambivalent about the inherent tensions between bilingualism and desegregation, and worked to reconcile them, especially as busing intensified in the 1970s in Los Angeles.¹⁷³ John Serrano Jr. played a critical role in bringing about equalization in school funding throughout California in the landmark case *Serrano v. Priest* (1971). The story began when Serrano's son was in second grade at Eastman Avenue Elementary School in East Los Angeles. The principal of the school advised Serrano to move his son, who was gifted, into a wealthier district to give him better educational opportunities. In this case, the California Supreme Court ruled that a school finance system tied to property taxes was unconstitutional because it disadvantaged poor students, violating their Fourteenth Amendment rights and the California Constitution's guarantee of free education. The state was ordered to distribute funds more equitably, across the spectrum of school districts.¹⁷⁴

Education remained an area of concern and activism for many Latinos, especially as educational lags persisted. As one blue-ribbon presidential commission noted in 1996, "educational attainment for most Hispanic Americans is in a state of crisis." Moreover, a 1999 study found that Latino students remained severely segregated. The situation has been compounded by the rising proportion of Latino pupils in the public schools as public funding has declined.¹⁷⁵ Latino individuals and groups have continued to respond to these conditions through protests and demands for fair policies, reflecting their continued belief in the importance of education for their own communities and the healthy functioning of a democratic society.¹⁷⁶

The following tables describe designated and known resources associated with the educational issues related to the Latino community of Los Angeles. Eligibility Standards address a range of educational property types including public and private schools at all grade levels. Please note that parochial schools are addressed in the Religion and Spirituality Theme.

¹⁷² This case involved Chinese students in San Francisco.

¹⁷³ Brilliant, *The Color of America*, 252-256; HoSang, *Racial Propositions*, 108-110.

¹⁷⁴ William A. Fischel, "How Serrano Caused Proposition 13," *Journal of Law and Politics* (Fall 1996), 607-36, cited in Peter Schrag, *Paradise Lost* (New York: new press, 1998), 149; Mike Castro, "Landmark Suit Grew out of Social Gathering," *Los Angeles Times* (April 26, 1974), C1; "John Serrano – All he Wanted Was a Good School," *Los Angeles Times* (October 9, 1977), SG1.

¹⁷⁵ Kevin R. Johnson, "The Continuing Latino Quest for Full Membership and Equal Citizenship," in David Gutiérrez, ed., *The Columbia History of Latinos in the United States Since 1960* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 407, 408.

¹⁷⁶ MacDonald, "Demanding Their Rights," 321-22.

Designated Resources

Resource Name	Location	Comments
International Institute of Los Angeles	435 S. Boyle Avenue	The International Institute of Los Angeles was established by the YWCA in 1914 to assist immigrant women adapt to life in Los Angeles. The building in Boyle Heights was completed in 1932 and in 1935, the group incorporated as a separate entity. The property is listed in the California Register of Historical Resources.
Lincoln High School	3501 N. Broadway	One of the original five LAUSD high schools involved in the 1968 walkout by students who demanded educational reform. On March 6th, students walked out according to plan. Sal Castro had been a teacher at this school, but was moved to Belmont High School in an attempt dilute his organizing capabilities. The property is listed in the California Register of Historical Resources.

Known Resources

Resource Name	Location	Comments
1 st Street Elementary School	2820 E. 1 st Street	One of the bungalows on this LAUSD elementary school campus was used for an Americanization program that provided foreign-born mothers with instruction in the English language and American traditions.
Belmont High School	1575 W. 2 nd Street	One of the original five LAUSD high schools involved in the 1968 walkout by students who demanded educational reform. On March 8 th , students attempted to walk out according to plan. However, the school was invaded by the police who beat the students.

SurveyLA
 Latino Los Angeles Historic Context Statement

Resource Name	Location	Comments
Roosevelt High School	456 S. Matthews Street	One of the original five LAUSD high schools involved in the 1968 walkout by students who demanded educational reform. On March 6th, students walked out according to plan. The principal locked the gate, but determined students climbed the fence only to be met by policemen who beat them.
Wilson High School	4500 Multnomah Street	Wilson High principal Donald Skinner canceled a student production of Neil Simon's "Barefoot in the Park," citing it as too risqué for a Mexican American audience. The incident was enough to prematurely trigger the walkouts. Although Wilson was not one of the original five schools intending to walk out, 300 students there walked out on March 1, 1968.

Theme: Education

Summary Statement of

Significance:

A resource evaluated under this theme may be significant in the areas of education, ethnic heritage, and/or social history for its association with the Latino community. Although Latinos played a central role in the creation of the public school system in Los Angeles, they were marginalized by the end of the nineteenth century and spent much of the twentieth century struggling for equal treatment.

Period of Significance:

1930 - 1980

Period of Significance

Justification:

The period of significance begins in 1930. Even though Latino's were primarily responsible for creating the public school system in Los Angeles, the earliest known resources related to this theme do not appear until the 1930s. 1980 is the end date for SurveyLA and may be extended as part of future survey work.

Geographic Locations:

Citywide, but with the highest concentration in the areas between Downtown and Boyle Heights

Area(s) of Significance:

Education, Ethnic Heritage, Social History

Criteria:

NR: A CR: 1 Local: 1

Associated Property Types:

Institutional – Elementary School, Middle School, High School, and Language School

Property Type Description:

Property types under this theme include public elementary, middle, and high schools and private language schools or institutions that sought to teach Mexican immigrants English as well as American values and customs. Parochial schools are addressed in the Religion and Spirituality Theme.

Property Type Significance:

Properties significant under this theme represent the limitations and opportunities of education for Latinos in Los Angeles.

Eligibility Standards:

- Represents an important association with the Latino community in Los Angeles

Character-Defining/Associative Features:

- For National Register, properties associated with events that date from the last 50 years must possess exceptional importance
- Retains most of the essential character-defining features from the period of significance
- As a whole, retains most of the essential character-defining features from the period of significance (for campuses)
- May be important for its association with historic figures (who attended a school) for the cumulative importance of those figures to the community
- May represent a significant event or movement in the social history of Los Angeles
- May represent issues relating to equal access to education or school desegregation

Integrity Considerations:

- Should retain integrity of Location, Design, Feeling, and Association from the period of significance
- Integrity is based on the period during which the significant institution occupied the property
- Some original materials may have been removed or altered
- The mid-1930s may be considered a baseline for evaluating integrity of Design, Materials, and Workmanship as virtually every school in Los Angeles was rehabilitated after 1933

Theme 4 – Civil Rights Movement, 1920 - 1980

While Latinos made significant contributions to the growth and development of Los Angeles and while they could lay claim to deep historical roots in the city, they nonetheless endured widespread discrimination and segregation in the twentieth century. This inequity drove a long, unyielding fight for full equality and inclusion. The Latino struggle for civil rights gained critical momentum in the 1930s, and reached fruition by the 1960s with the rise of the Chicano movement and Latino political power.

1900-1940: Emerging Civil Rights Activism

By 1900, Mexicans had begun forming organizations to foster community cohesion and mutual support. These groups became critical foundations for civil rights activism. Important early groups were the *mutualistas*, or mutual aid societies, which appeared “virtually everywhere Mexicans settled.”¹⁷⁷ They typically combined social welfare functions (providing sick and death benefits, small emergency loans, and legal services), ethnic culture reinforcement (celebrating Mexican national holidays), and political activism. One of the largest, most popular *mutualista* in Los Angeles was the Alianza Hispano-Americana. In the 1920s, Antonio Redondo helped found a chapter in Los Angeles. Although the L.A. chapter was criticized by the editors of *El Herald* for not being active enough on behalf of working-class Mexicans in the 1920s, it continued to attract members and became a key base of collective power. As a critical incubator of community leadership, *mutualistas* were important springboards for subsequent civil and labor rights activism. Patriotic clubs, such as the Mexico-oriented Club Independencia led by Luis G. Franco, also worked to protect the rights of Mexicans in Los Angeles in the 1920s.¹⁷⁸

In the 1920s and 1930s, a divide between politically moderate middle-class and progressive working-class activists had grown among Latinos in the Southwest. In Los Angeles, however, progressive activists came to dominate the scene, particularly second-generation Mexicans from working-class backgrounds who stepped into the leadership void left in the wake of 1930s repatriation.¹⁷⁹ These leaders perceived job inequity as a foundational civil rights issue, in the face of pervasive, persistent discrimination in employment. In addition to launching strikes and workplace actions, they increasingly linked these economic demands to a growing awareness of their “exploited position as a despised racial minority.”¹⁸⁰ New organizations were formed to articulate these connections. In 1927 Mexican American and Mexican immigrant workers in Los Angeles formed the Confederación de Uniones Obreras Mexicanas (CUOM), with 3,000 members organized into twenty locals. Their goal was to “equalize

¹⁷⁷ Albert Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 37. Mutual aid societies were common among many immigrant groups.

¹⁷⁸ David Gutiérrez, *Walls and Mirrors: Mexican Americans, Mexican Immigrants, and the Politics of Ethnicity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 95-100; Zaragosa Vargas, *Crucible of Struggle* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 201; on Redondo, see F. Arturo Rosales, *Dictionary of Latino Civil Rights History* (Houston: Arte Publico Press, 2006), 380; Ricardo Romo, *East Los Angeles*, 152, 149.

¹⁷⁹ George Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 225, 254-55.

¹⁸⁰ Gutiérrez, *Walls and Mirrors*, 100.

Mexican labor to American labor, and to obtain for them what the law justly allows." They also supported a cessation of unjust deportations, a halt to further immigration as a way of improving the "desperate" conditions for Mexicans in the U.S., and cultural autonomy and separatism to foster Mexican ethnic solidarity.¹⁸¹



Luisa Moreno was forced to return to her native country of Guatemala in 1950.
(Pinterest)

These concerns intensified during the Great Depression. In the late 1930s, Los Angeles-based unionists formed El Congreso (Congress of Spanish Speaking People), deemed by one historian as the most significant civil rights group in this period.¹⁸² It was spearheaded by the Guatemalan-born labor leader Luisa Moreno, who believed that the only way to secure worker rights was through equally vigorous demands for civil rights. In 1939 in Los Angeles she convened the first national civil rights conference for Latinos drawing together 136 union locals and Latino organizations (such as *mutualistas*). About 1,500 students, educators, mutualista officers, and workers attended the three-day meeting. Other leaders were Eduardo Quevedo, Sr. and Josephine Fierro de Bright. With a left-leaning orientation, El Congreso called for improved housing and health care, a Spanish-language newspaper, the extension of the National Labor Relations

Act to farm and domestic workers, an end to racial discrimination, civil rights protections, and a congressional investigation of Latino living conditions. It also advocated for bilingual education, Latino studies, and gender equality, and they urged Latinos to become American citizens, vote in elections, and join CIO unions. While El Congreso was short-lived – fading by the mid-1940s due to limited funds and red-baiting of the group's leaders – it spurred the formation of other civil rights groups in California.¹⁸³

In 1939, the same year of El Congreso's founding, the more moderate League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) formed its first Los Angeles chapter. The *Los Angeles Times* reported in October 1939 the formation of Council No 77, with Rolando Gutierrez serving as local council president.¹⁸⁴ Composed of middle-class Mexican Americans

¹⁸¹ Gutiérrez, *Walls and Mirrors*, 103-105; Rosales, *Dictionary of Latino Civil Rights History*, 109. In 1933, CUOM was revived as the Confederación de Uniones Obreros Mexicanos (CUCOM), which launched a series of strikes in California in the 1930s.

¹⁸² Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 58.

¹⁸³ Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 59-64; Sanchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 245-49; Vargas, *Crucible of Struggle*, 249-250.

¹⁸⁴ "Latin-American Council to Meet," *Los Angeles Times*, October 12, 1939, p. 18. It appears this group was based in East Los Angeles; they held a dinner at the Knights of Columbus Hall, Whittier Blvd. and Hicks Ave. No secondary sources confirmed when this chapter formed.

who conceived of themselves as “enlightened” leaders,” LULAC was conservative in its approach to civil rights and race relations – embracing assimilation, adopting English as its official language, and excluding immigrants from its ranks – strategies they believed would be most effective for achieving meaningful social change. LULAC brought lawsuits against school segregation, lobbied the U.S. Census to change the racial designation of Mexicans to “white,” and supported restrictive immigration laws, fearing that a flood of new immigrants would focus the Mexican community inward rather than outward, thus impeding the process of assimilation. Both LULAC and El Congreso exemplified the schism between moderate and progressive Mexican activists in Los Angeles. And while neither LULAC nor El Congreso was a mass organization, they laid the foundation for civil rights activism in the postwar era.¹⁸⁵

1940-1980: The Full-Fledged Struggle for Civil Rights

In the 1940s and 1950s, the Mexican American struggle for equality expanded rapidly and took multiple forms – from grassroots organizing to litigation. These efforts produced major court victories, progress in Latino electoral influence, and new organizations. The World War II experience was pivotal in this surge of activity. It juxtaposed patriotic wartime military service against virulent racism at home, heightening Latino expectations and demands for civil rights. In the postwar era, a new cohort of leaders guided these efforts, including returning veterans and college graduates on the G.I. Bill.¹⁸⁶



*The defendants in the Sleepy Lagoon case in court.
(California State University, Los Angeles)*

In the 1940s, activism sprang from many quarters. In 1942, El Congreso rallied to support the war effort, while also campaigning against police brutality and raising funds for the Sleepy Lagoon Defense Committee, advocating for the seventeen Mexican American youth wrongly convicted of murder.¹⁸⁷ Organized labor meanwhile continued to represent *the* critical base of Latino civil rights activism in Los Angeles.¹⁸⁸ Mexican American CIO unionists successfully lobbied to open up defense jobs to Mexicans during the

¹⁸⁵ Louis DeSipio, “Demanding Equal Political Voice... and Accepting Nothing less: The Quest for Latino Political Inclusion,” in *American Latinos and the Making of the United States: A Theme Study* (Washington D.C.: National Park Service, 2013), 276.

¹⁸⁶ DeSipio, “Demanding Equal Political Voice,” 277; Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 65-68.

¹⁸⁷ Vargas, *Crucible of Struggle*, 250.

¹⁸⁸ As Zaragosa Vargas writes, by 1946 in Los Angeles “the CIO was a driving force behind the mobilization to combat the upsurge of racism in the city,” with Mexican American CIO unionists taking a lead role. See Zaragosa Vargas, *Labor Rights are Civil Rights: Mexican American Workers in Twentieth-Century America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 263, and chapters 4-6.

war. They soon broadened their agenda into community issues like access to public housing, improvements to existing housing, and an end to police brutality. At the CIO's interracial conference on racial and minority discrimination held in Los Angeles in 1946, heavily attended by Mexican American union leaders and members, participants called for the end of police harassment of minority youth, greater involvement in local school boards, and community protests of discrimination incidents. They passed a resolution, for example, condemning the shooting of a Mexican American youth in the Rose Hill Courts housing project.¹⁸⁹



The CSO focused on mobilizing Latino voters.
(The City University of New York)

In 1947, the Community Service Organization (CSO) was established in Los Angeles, a grassroots group that focused on mobilizing Mexican American voters at the neighborhood level. The CSO was fairly moderate in orientation, generally embracing assimilation while advocating on a broad array of civil rights issues. This group helped achieve a series of electoral breakthroughs in which Mexicans Americans were elected to various offices for the first time, including Edward Roybal who in 1949 was the first Mexican to be elected to the L.A. City Council since 1883.¹⁹⁰



Members of the CSO investigating the death of two Mexican Americans in 1958.
(USC Digital Library)

By the 1950s, union-based activists were muffled in the face of McCarthyism, leaving room for more moderate voices to emerge. The decade saw the rising influence of the CSO and LULAC. Significantly, these groups shifted toward advocacy of immigrant rights during the decade, largely in response to harsh immigration policies such as Operation Wetback.¹⁹¹ By the early 1960s, the CSO had thirty-four chapters with 10,000 members in California. It served as a critical training ground for future Latino leaders – including César Chávez and Dolores Huerta (founders of the United Farm Workers Union), and Herman Gallegos (who helped establish The National Council

¹⁸⁹ Vargas, *Labor Rights*, 234, 249, 264.

¹⁹⁰ Vargas, *Crucible of Struggle*, 273; DeSipio, "Demanding Equal Political Voice," 277.

¹⁹¹ Vargas, *Crucible of Struggle*, 272-73; Vargas, *Labor Rights*, 270-273; Gutiérrez, *Walls and Mirrors*, chapter 5.

of La Raza and the Mexican American Legal Defense Fund).¹⁹² The CSO also worked on John F. Kennedy's behalf, hiring twenty organizers who "undertook the most extensive drive in its history," registering 140,000 Mexican American voters in the months leading up to the election. On a final two-day swing through California, JFK acknowledged the importance of the Latino vote by lunching at Olvera Street and delivering his main speech at East L.A. Junior College Stadium. Riding the momentum of the Viva Kennedy! campaign, Edward Roybal was elected to U.S. Congress in 1962, making him the first California Latino elected to the House of Representatives in the twentieth century. He served in Congress from 1963 to 1993. In 1976, he co-founded the Congressional Hispanic Caucus, a legislative group focused on ensuring the needs of Latinos were being met.¹⁹³

These multiple efforts began yielding results, evident in a series of landmark court cases in the 1940s and 1950s that gradually dismantled *de jure* segregation in housing, education, jury selection, and public facilities.¹⁹⁴ In one case, *A.T. Collison and R.L. Wood v. Nellie Garcia et.al.* (1943), an L.A. superior court judge dismissed a suit to enforce a race restrictive covenant against Nellie Garcia, a Mexican American woman who had purchased property near El Monte. The judge claimed that since there was no such thing as a "Mexican race," the covenant itself was invalid.¹⁹⁵ Another significant case centered in Los Angeles was *Perez v. Sharp* (1948), which raised complex issues regarding the racial classification of ethnic Mexicans. In this case, Andrea Pérez, a Mexican female who identified as white, was prohibited from marrying Sylvester Davis, an African American, under the state's anti-miscegenation laws. The California Supreme Court struck down the law, making it the first state to declare a miscegenation law unconstitutional.¹⁹⁶ While these decisions broadened civil rights for Latinos, segregation and discrimination persisted in many realms of life.

In the 1960s and 1970s, the struggle accelerated, swept forward by the momentum of the national civil rights movement. While the spectrum of Mexican American groups shared an emphasis on civil rights, they increasingly diverged on tactics and broader worldviews. Some continued the fight for full inclusion and acceptance into the American mainstream, while others embraced a more radical, separatist approach that emphasized the cultural integrity of Latinos and rejected outright assimilation. Post-1960 activism also saw new infusions of energy by Latino youth. These years witnessed

¹⁹² Vargas, *Crucible of Struggle*, 282-283, 302n37; Pitti, *Devil in Silicon Valley*, 148-172; Stephen Pitti, "The American Latino Heritage," in *American Latinos and the Making of the United States: A Theme Study* (Washington D.C.: National Park Service, 2013), 26.

¹⁹³ Kenneth C. Burt, *The Search for a Civic Voice: California Latino Politics* (Claremont: Regina Books, 2007), 188-91; Juan Gómez-Quiñones, *Chicano Politics: Reality and Promise, 1940-1990* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990), 69.

¹⁹⁴ Among these nationally significant cases were: *Mendez v. Westminster* (1946), *Doss et al. v. Bernal et al.* (1943), and *Hernandez v. Texas* (1954).

¹⁹⁵ "No 'Mexican Race,'" *Los Angeles Times*, February 16, 1945; Brilliant, *The Color of America Has Changed: How Racial Diversity Shaped Civil Rights Reform in California, 1941-1978* (New York: Oxford, 2010), 303n28.

¹⁹⁶ Dara Orenstein, "Void for Vagueness: Mexicans and the Collapse of Miscegenation Law in California," *Pacific Historical Review*, 74, 3 (August 2005): 367-371.

the formation of the first national Latino civil rights organizations, which were active in Los Angeles.¹⁹⁷

One significant group was the Mexican American Legal Defense Fund (MALDEF), founded in 1968 in San Antonio. This legal advocacy group focused on equity in employment, education, political access, and immigration. Over the years, it was headquartered in Los Angeles. In January 1969, MALDEF held its first annual institute at the Airport Marina Hotel, where fifty Mexican American attorneys from five southwestern states convened. They discussed job discrimination, but also clashed over scholarship funds, revealing a generational schism that would soon erupt more broadly. UCLA law students – members of the United Mexican American Students (UMAS) – demanded that the money “go to those who, when they finally get their law degrees will go out and help Chicanos in the barrios.”¹⁹⁸ They began articulating a more emphatic agenda of self-determination and even separatism, in contrast to MALDEF’s more moderate, integrationist approach.



Chicano movement protest in front of Los Angeles City Hall, 1968. (Los Angeles Public Library)

This spirit reached full fruition in the Chicano movement of the late 1960s, a broad-based, urban-centered movement that grew out of the social protest climate of the decade. As Al Camarillo writes, it contained many elements: “cultural renaissance, growing ethnic consciousness, proliferation of community and political organizations, social-reformist ideology and civil rights advocacy.”¹⁹⁹ The diversity of participants, interests, and agendas make it hard to draw sweeping generalizations about the movement. In the realm of civil rights activism, it spurred the formation of community service organizations, such

as health clinics like the East Los Angeles Free Clinic and community corporations like The East Los Angeles Community Union – many funded by the federal War on Poverty. Youth activism was also a critical facet of the Chicano movement, and included groups like the Brown Berets, a quasi-military group of radicals, and student protestors at high schools and colleges demanding educational equity and cultural recognition. Another significant group was the National Chicano Moratorium (NCM), an alliance of

¹⁹⁷ Vargas, *Crucible of Struggle*, 295; DeSipio, “Demanding Equal Political Voice,” 277; Pitti, “The American Latino Heritage,” 24.

¹⁹⁸ DeSipio, “Demanding Equal Political Voice,” 279-80; Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 95; Leonard Pitt and Dale Pitt, *Los Angeles A to Z* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 325; “Bias in Hiring Charged by Latin Institute,” *Los Angeles Times*, January 26, 1969, p. A6; Ruben Salazar, “New Type of Leader Arising Among Latins,” *Los Angeles Times*, February 3, 1969, C12.

¹⁹⁹ Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 92.

groups opposed to the Vietnam War. The NCM held protests in Los Angeles in 1969 and 1970. The most significant was a large rally at Laguna Park in August 1970, which drew a broad cross-section of the local community. The rally; however, turned into a major conflict between crowd and law enforcement, resulting in the death of reporter Rubén Salazar, a beloved figure in the community. This event outraged many, and galvanized more Latinos to join the civil rights struggle.²⁰⁰



Latinas protesting forced sterilization at Los Angeles County General Hospital in 1974. (U.S. National Library of Medicine)

Latina activism also flourished during these years. Following the precedents set by early leaders like Luisa Moreno, Josephine Fierro de Bright, Dolores Huerta, and Soledad Alatorre, Chicanas in the 1960s drew on the feminist movement to demand their rights as both women and Latinas, challenging the sexist aspects of Chicano cultural nationalism. To this end, in October 1970, Francisca Flores – a long-time activist – spearheaded the formation of the Comisión Feminil

Mexicana Nacional. This L.A.-based group trained women for leadership positions in both the Chicano movement and the community at large, and also formed programs to serve the needs of Latinas. For example, the group established the Chicana Service Action Center in 1972, which provided job training to low-income women. In 1975, the Comisión participated in a class action lawsuit opposing the involuntary sterilization of Chicanas. Although the lawsuit was unsuccessful, the *Madrigal v. Quilligan* case resulted in the adoption of bilingual consent forms as well as other public health reforms.²⁰¹

Mexican Americans were also active in the fight against Proposition 14 (1964), which would overturn the Rumford Act, a fair housing law passed in California in 1963. Prop 14 was vocally opposed by the L.A. chapter of the Mexican American Political Association, the Council of Mexican American Affairs, and CSO chapters. Together they formed a group called Mexican American Californians Against Proposition 14, which was supported by the CSO, the G.I. Forum, LULAC, MAPA, and the Mexican American Lawyers Club. Historians note that Mexican Americans were more divided on the measure than L.A.'s African Americans – the L.A. Mexican Chamber of Commerce, for example, supported the measure, as did some ethnic Mexican realtors and

²⁰⁰ Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 93-97; Rosales, *Dictionary of Latino Civil Rights History*, 286.

²⁰¹ Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 101-102; Vicki Ruiz and Virginia Sánchez Korrol, eds., *Latinas in the United States: A Historical Encyclopedia* (Indiana University Press, 2006), 264-265; Vargas, *Crucible of Struggle*, 324-325.

homeowners.²⁰² Prop 14 passed, but was struck down by the courts in 1966. A more significant turning point was the passage of federal fair housing laws in the late 1960s which helped Mexican Americans gain access to previously segregated neighborhoods.

More mainstream groups continued the struggle for civil rights as well. The National Council of La Raza (NCLR), founded in 1968 in Arizona, was a national alliance of community-based organizations with the twin goals of supporting those groups and articulating a national Latino agenda. Seven organizations – including The East Los Angeles Community Union – were the first affiliates of NCLR.²⁰³ One of its first major leaders, Henry Santiestevan, was based in Los Angeles and had links to the CSO. The Mexican American National Organization (MANO), formed in the late 1970s in California, helped secure the appointment of Julian Nava as the first Mexican American ambassador to Mexico. Nava had been a CSO activist and served on the L.A. School Board. Meanwhile, MALDEF continued its work on multiple fronts, including voting rights and reapportionment. For example, in 1981 it filed a suit against Los Angeles County for gerrymandering, a ruling that resulted in redistricting which helped propel Gloria Molina to a seat on the Board of Supervisors.²⁰⁴

While the Latino civil rights struggle in Los Angeles made great strides in the twentieth century, the persistence of old and new challenges inspires many Latinos to continue to claim their place within American society and to shape it in the process.

The following tables describe designated and known resources associated with the Latino civil rights movement. Eligibility Standards address residential, commercial, and institutional property types.

Designated Resources

Resource Name	Location	Comments
Church of the Epiphany	2808 Altura Street	One of the oldest churches in Lincoln Heights, during the 1960s it became an important center of the Chicano civil rights movement. Union organizer Cesar Chavez gave talks at the church. Community organizers held meetings here to plan the 1968 high school student "blow-outs" and 1970 Chicano

²⁰² Max Felker-Kantor, "Fighting the Segregation Amendment," in *Black and Brown in Los Angeles*, eds., Josh Kun and Laura Pulido (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014), 156-164.

²⁰³ http://www.nclr.org/index.php/about_us/history/formation_of_the_southwest_council_of_la_raza/ (accessed March 19, 2014)

²⁰⁴ DeSipio, "Demanding Equal Political Voice," 279-80; Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 95; Pitt and Pitt, *Los Angeles A to Z*, 325; Burt, *Search for a Civic Voice*, 302-303. On Santiestevan, see http://www.oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/c8np22wj/entire_text/ (accessed May 18, 2015)

SurveyLA
 Latino Los Angeles Historic Context Statement

Resource Name	Location	Comments
		Moratorium protests. It was also one of the first meeting places for the newly formed Brown Berets. The property is located in the Lincoln Heights HPOZ and is designated LAHCM #807.
U.S. Courthouse	312 N. Spring Street	The U.S. Courthouse has been the venue for a number of notable court cases including <i>Mendez vs. Westminster</i> (1946) filed by five Latino families whose children were denied admission to Southern California public schools. The property is a National Historic Landmark.

Known Resources

Resource Name	Location	Comments
Brown Beret Headquarters	2641 E. 4 th Street	The Brown Berets were a pro-Chicano organization that emerged during the late 1960s. They organized against police brutality and advocated for educational equality. They also played an important role in the Chicano Moratorium.
Community Service Organization (CSO)	2701 E. 4 th Street (1960 City Directory)	CSO was founded in 1947 by Fred Ross, Antonio Rios, and Edward Roybal. Recognizing the need for a unified Latino voice and for some semblance of political representation, the CSO initially concentrated on organizing voter registration drives in Latino communities all across California.
Antonio Redondo Residence	2456 Cincinnati Street (1918-1940 various sources)	Redondo (1877-1948) founded the Los Angeles chapter of Alianza Hispano-Americano in the 1920s, a Mexican American <i>mutualista</i> based in Texas.
Antonio Rios Residence	2523 Wabash Avenue (1957 U.S. Naturalization Records)	Rios (1913-1974) was one of the founders of CSO and organized voter registration drives. He was also a member of Steelworker's

SurveyLA
 Latino Los Angeles Historic Context Statement

Resource Name	Location	Comments
		Union and served as its president.
Edward Roybal Residence	628 S. Evergreen Avenue	Roybal (1916-2005) was the first Latino elected to the Los Angeles City Council since 1887, and the first Latino from California elected to the U.S. House of Representatives since 1879. Champion of civil rights and equal access to education, health care, and housing.

Theme: Important Events and Institutions in the Latino Civil Rights Movement

Summary Statement of

Significance:

A resource evaluated under this theme may be significant in the areas of ethnic heritage and social history for its association with the Latino civil rights movement. By 1900, Mexicans began forming organizations to foster community cohesion and mutual support. The Latino civil rights movement gained critical momentum in the 1930s as it intersected with the labor movement. In the 1960s and 1970s, the struggle for civil rights accelerated with the rise of the Chicano movement.

Period of Significance:

1920 - 1980

Period of Significance

Justification:

The period of significance begins in 1920 with the rise of mutual aid societies, or *mutualistas*. 1980 is the end date for SurveyLA and may be extended as part of future survey work.

Geographic Locations:

Citywide, but with the highest concentration in the areas between Downtown and Boyle Heights

Area(s) of Significance:

Ethnic Heritage, Social History

Criteria:

NR: A CR: 1 Local: 1

Associated Property Types:

Institutional – Church Building and Courthouse
Commercial – Retail Building and Office Building

Property Type Description:

Property types under this theme include commercial and institutional buildings used by groups that played an important role in the Latino civil rights movement. In addition, property types include the locations of important events such as demonstrations.

Property Type Significance:

Properties significant under this theme are directly associated with important events and institutions in the Latino civil rights movement.

Eligibility Standards:

- Is directly associated with events and institutions that were pivotal in the history of the Latino civil rights movement

Character-Defining/Associative Features:

- For National Register, properties associated with events that date from the last 50 years must possess exceptional importance
- Retains most of the essential character-defining features from the period of significance
- Interior spaces that functioned as important gathering/meeting places must remain readable from the period of significance
- May be associated with Chicano women's groups and organizations

Integrity Considerations:

- Should retain integrity of Location, Feeling, Design, and Association from the period of significance

Theme: Important Persons in the Latino Civil Rights Movement

Summary Statement of

Significance:

A resource evaluated under this theme may be significant in the area of ethnic heritage and social history for its association with persons who played an important role in the Latino civil rights movement. In many cases, significant individuals were involved with numerous groups, some of which only functioned briefly. Thus, the residence of an individual is often the property that best represents their productive life.

Period of Significance:

1920 - 1980

Period of Significance

Justification:

The period of significance begins in 1920 with the rise of mutual aid societies, or *mutualistas*. 1980 is the end date for SurveyLA and may be extended as part of future survey work.

Geographic Locations:

Citywide, but with the highest concentration in the areas between Downtown and Boyle Heights

Area(s) of Significance:

Ethnic Heritage, Social History

Criteria:

NR: B CR: 2 Local: 2

Associated Property Types:

Residential – Single-Family Residence and Multi-Family Residence

Property Type Description:

Property types under this theme include single-family and multi-family residential buildings that were the homes of prominent Latino leaders in the civil rights movement.

Property Type Significance:

Properties significant under this theme are directly associated with important persons in the Latino civil rights movement.

Eligibility Standards:

- Individual must be proven to have played a significant and influential role in the Latino civil rights movement
- Is associated with a person who made important individual contributions to the Latino civil rights movement
- Is directly associated with the productive life of the person

Character-Defining/Associative Features:

- For National Register, properties associated with individuals whose significant accomplishments date from the last 50 years must possess exceptional importance
- For residential properties, the individual must have resided in the property during the period in which he or she achieved significance
- For multi-family properties, the apartment or room occupied by the person must be readable from the period of significance
- Retains most of the essential character-defining features from the period of significance

Integrity Considerations:

- Should retain integrity of Location, Feeling, and Association from the period of significance
- Some materials may have been removed or altered

Theme 5 – Cultural Development and Institutions, 1920 - 1980

Latinos in Los Angeles, the majority of them from Mexico, developed a rich and distinctly local culture, one that was based on the diverse traditions of Mexico but also responded to the new culture they encountered in California. When California joined the Union as a state, the Anglo American population of Los Angeles increased rapidly. The city's new residents frequently viewed Mexican culture through the lens of an idealized Spanish past, taking Mexican culture out of the hands of Latinos and exerting control over the manner in which that culture was both displayed and viewed. Latinos fought back against this misappropriation, creating their own means of transmitting, fostering, and finding pride in their culture.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, the Mexican community faced the harsh realities of segregation and isolation in an increasingly Anglo American dominated city. In response, they organized social and cultural clubs that frequently blended politics, a sense of Mexican nationalism, and cultural pride.²⁰⁵ Spanish-language newspapers nurtured a sense of group solidarity, often centered on Mexican holidays like Dia de los Muertos and Cinco de Mayo.²⁰⁶ As the Mexican population of Los Angeles grew with increasing immigration in the 1910s and 1920s, Latino culture became more prominent. During this period, Latino culture evolved as a result of the mixing of Mexican and Anglo American traditions. The development and dissemination of Latino culture during the middle of the twentieth century was assisted by the increasing popularity of new forms of entertainment media, such as the broadcasting and motion picture industries.

The Chicano movement of the postwar period inspired new pride in Latino culture and resistance against Anglo culture. Latino artists of all types banded together to form talleres (workshops) and centros culturales (cultural centers) to foster their creativity.²⁰⁷ These talleres and centros culturales were created by artists who were not usually welcome in mainstream galleries and museums, but who needed a place to explore and display their art. They catered to formally trained artists as well as street artists, dancers, writers, playwrights, and musicians, among others.²⁰⁸ The latter decades of the twentieth century saw a growing desire on the part of Latinos in Los Angeles to convey their cultural pride to an outside audience.

This theme will not attempt to address all aspects of Latino culture in Los Angeles. Rather, it will focus on the performing arts, the visual arts, and the written word. Murals and sculptures by Latino artists are discussed in the Public Art Theme.

²⁰⁵ Antonio Rios-Bustamante and Pedro Castillo, *An Illustrated History of Mexican Los Angeles, 1781-1985* (Los Angeles: Chicano Studies Research Center Publications, 1986), 103.

²⁰⁶ Bustamante and Castillo, *An Illustrated History of Mexican Los Angeles*, 123.

²⁰⁷ Tomás Ybarra-Frausto, "A Panorama of Latino Arts," in *American Latinos and the Making of the United States: A Theme Study* (Washington D.C.: National Park Service, 2013), 148.

²⁰⁸ Margaret Nieto, "Le Démon des Anges: A Brief History of the Chicano-Latino Artists of Los Angeles," in *Le Démon Des Anges* (Nantes, France: Centre De Recherché Pour Le Développement Culturel, 1989), 219.

Performing Arts

Latino theater in Los Angeles dates to at least 1848, when Antonio F. Coronel opened a theater in his home called the Coronel Theatre. It featured both English and Spanish-language performances, and seated three hundred people.²⁰⁹ By the 1850s, downtown boasted three more theaters: Union Theatre, Stearn's Hall, and Temple Theatre, which featured Spanish-language plays. The city's Latino theater circuit grew with the opening of the Merced Theater, Teatro Alarcon, and Turn Verein Hall.²¹⁰ Los Angeles became home to a number of resident Latino theater companies, which provided a steady source of Spanish-language plays for the community, though Anglo Americans were also patrons.

Spanish-language theater became ever more popular in the early twentieth century as the number of immigrants from Mexico grew. During the 1920s, Spanish-language theater increasingly focused on the Latino experience in the United States, as opposed to the dramas and zarzuelas (Spanish musical comedies) that previously dominated the stage.²¹¹ Main Street in downtown was home to a number of theaters that hosted Spanish-language plays. The Teatro Hidalgo, Teatro Zendejas, Teatro Mexico, Teatro Principal, and Teatro California all featured Latino plays. These theaters featured *revistas políticas* (which offered a critique of contemporary politics through satire and



Teatro Hidalgo (right-hand side of photograph) was one of several Spanish-language theaters in downtown, 1920. (Los Angeles Public Library)

humor), zarzuelas, dramas, dance troupes, vaudeville shows, and Spanish-language and English (with Spanish captions) films.²¹² The 1920s through the 1940s saw the height of popularity for Spanish-language theater in Los Angeles.²¹³ The five large theater houses were joined by numerous smaller venues during this period.

Leading playwrights from the period included Gabriel Navarro, Eduardo Carrillo, and Adalberto González. All three playwrights were originally from Mexico, and their plays often centered on the tensions of Mexican

²⁰⁹ Nicolás Kanellos, *A History of Hispanic Theatre in the United States: Origins to 1940* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990), 3.

²¹⁰ Kanellos, *A History of Hispanic Theatre in the United States: Origins to 1940*, 3.

²¹¹ "100 Years of Latino Theater," March 6, 2010, <http://latinopia.com/latino-theater/100-years-of-chicanolatino-theatre/> (accessed March 18, 2015).

²¹² Douglas Monroy, *Rebirth: Mexican Los Angeles From the Great Migration to the Great Depression* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 41-43.

²¹³ Manuel G. Gonzales, "Arturo Tirado and the Teatro Azteca: Mexican Popular Culture in the Central San Joaquin Valley," in *California History* 83, no. 4 (2006): 56.

life in the United States.²¹⁴ Gabriel Navarro, originally from Mexico, moved to Los Angeles in 1922. He was first an actor and musician in the *Compañía Mexico Nuevo*. He wrote numerous dramas and revistas in the 1920s and 1930s. One of his most famous was *La Ciudad de Irás y no Volverás*, a revista which debuted at the Teatro Hidalgo in 1927.²¹⁵

Eduardo Carrillo moved to Los Angeles from Veracruz, Mexico in 1922. Many of his plays deal with themes of Mexican nationalism and the effects of immigration to the United States. One of his most famous plays was *El Proceso de Aurelio Pompa*, a drama about the arrest, trial, and execution of a Mexican laborer. Carrillo also wrote zarzuelas and revistas, often in collaboration with Navarro. Carrillo's career continued at least into the late 1930s.²¹⁶

Adalberto González was born in the state of Sonora, Mexico and moved to Los Angeles in 1920. He remained in Los Angeles until at least 1941. His plays were highly successful, and a number of them were produced not only in Los Angeles but also in cities in the Southwest and Mexico. His play *Los Amores de Ramona*, an adaptation of *Ramona*, set box office records in Los Angeles in 1927 and starred famous Mexican actress Virginia Fábregas.²¹⁷

Throughout the twentieth century, theater served as a reflection of the Latino experience in the United States. For instance, the deportation resulting from the repatriation program of the 1930s was featured in *Los Efectos de la Crisis* (The Effects of the Crisis), written by Don Catarino. Later, during the Chicano movement of the 1960s, a number of theater companies were formed to perform dramatic vignettes about farm workers' lives and struggles. Many of these theater companies were inspired by El Teatro Campesino, a theater group formed in 1965 by members of the United Farm Workers Union. The Teatro Chicano was founded in Los Angeles in 1968 by Guadalupe Saavedra de Saavedra.

By the 1970s, the construction of more theaters and television broadcasts made Latino theater accessible to a wider audience. In 1978 the Royal Chicano Air Force Band produced *Chicindo*, the first musical performance art drama. It featured Los Angeles vocalist Gloria Rangel and later aired on the local PBS station.²¹⁸

Literature

The Spanish-language press served as the primary publisher of Latino literature beginning in the nineteenth century. Latino writers found it difficult to have their work published in the United States, especially if they wrote in Spanish. As a result, many Mexican American writers were published almost exclusively in the Spanish-language press. Newspapers like Los Angeles' *La Opinión* helped disseminate Latino literature to

²¹⁴ Monroy, *Rebirth*, 44.

²¹⁵ Kanellos, *A History of Hispanic Theatre in the United States: Origins to 1940*, 51.

²¹⁶ Kanellos, *A History of Hispanic Theatre in the United States: Origins to 1940*, 49-50.

²¹⁷ Kanellos, *A History of Hispanic Theatre in the United States: Origins to 1940*, 46; Monroy, *Rebirth*, 44.

²¹⁸ Teresa Grimes et al., "Latinos in 20th Century California," Section E, 52.

the city's Spanish-speaking population. This relationship with the press continues to this day as Latinos drift between fiction and non-fiction writing.

Latino writers were directly influenced by their experiences in America.²¹⁹ Latino literature from the beginning of the twentieth century sought to promote pride in Latino culture. Recurring themes in Latino literature included opposition to Americanization and the melding or clash of Latino and Anglo culture.²²⁰ Though they often had to publish their work in English if they were to have their work distributed outside the Spanish-language press, they typically used the themes, styles, and genres common in Mexican literature, which reflected the history of Spanish colonialism as well as the indigenous people.²²¹

Several Mexican writers moved to Los Angeles during the 1920s, including Daniel Venegas, the playwright, journalist, and novelist. Little is known about the personal life, but his professional life is well documented by his body of work. During the early 1920s, he wrote plays that ranged from musical comedies to serious dramas. From 1924 to 1929, Venegas wrote, edited, and published a weekly satirical newspaper, *El Malcriado* (The Brat), which poked fun at the customs and politics in the Mexican community of Los Angeles. He is best-known for his novel *The Adventures of Don Chipote* (1928), the tribulations of a Mexican immigrant who intends to become rich in the United States where he only encounters sorrow.²²² The novel greatly influenced Chicano writers during the 1960s with its humorous approach to social commentary.

The opening of Spanish-language libraries in Los Angeles increased the community's exposure to Latino literature. Beginning in the 1920s, these libraries were established with the donation of Spanish-language books by local Mexican booksellers as well as the Mexican government. The Mexican library in the Belvedere neighborhood of East Los Angeles, which opened in 1926, almost exclusively housed Spanish-language books and newspapers that focused on events in Mexico and Latin America, rather than events in the United States.²²³

The swelling pride in Latino culture that occurred during the Chicano movement was reflected in its literature. The Los Angeles Latino Writers Association created a network of local writers during the Chicano movement. The association formed the Barrio Writers' Workshop and organized readings. One of the writers who helped create the workshop was Ron Arias (1941-0000), the novelist and journalist. A native Angeleno, Arias is best known for his novel *The Road to Tamazunchale*. The association fought for the inclusion of Latinos in the city's literary world, which was dominated by Anglo Americans. One of the most prominent authors of the Chicano movement was Richard Vasquez (1928-

²¹⁹ Rolando Hinojosa, "Mexican-American Literature: Toward an Identification," *Books Abroad* 49, no. 3 (Summer 1975): 423.

²²⁰ Ada Savin, "A Bridge Over the Americas: Mexican American Literature," *Bilingual Review/La Revista Bilingue*, 20, no. 2 (May-August 1995): 125.

²²¹ Charles M. Tatum, "Contemporary Chicano Prose Fiction: Its Ties to Mexican Literature," *Books Abroad* 49, no. 3 (Summer 1975): 433.

²²² Kanellos, *A History of Hispanic Theatre in the United States: Origins to 1940*, 166.

²²³ Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 115-116.



Royal Chicano Air Force Band announcement poster for *ChismeArte*. (Los Artes.com)

1990), who was born in Los Angeles. Vasquez's most celebrated novel, *Chicano* became a bestseller. It was one of the first popular novels centered on the lives of Mexican Americans. It also highlighted experience of Mexican immigration and the relationships between Latinos and Anglos in the city.²²⁴

One of the members of the Barrio Writers' Workshop, Victor Valle was also the founding editor *ChismeArte*. Valle started his career as a poet and literary translator and later joined the staff of the *Los Angeles Times*. *ChismeArte* was a publication of the Concilio de Arte Popular, a statewide arts advocacy group founded to interconnect and stabilize the network of Chicano arts organizations throughout California. Organizational members of the Concilio included the Galeria de la Raza and Mexican Museum in San Francisco, Teatro Campesino in San Juan Bautista, Royal Chicano Air Force in Sacramento,

Mechicano Art Center in Los Angeles, and Centro Cultural de la Raza in San Diego. Though originally based in Sacramento, *ChismeArte* moved to Centro de Arte Público's Highland Park studio through the efforts of Carlos Almaraz, Guillermo Bejerano, and Victor Valle. While the publication was meant to reflect the statewide network of artists and their regional organizations, after the move to Los Angeles *ChismeArte* became a much clearer reflection of the Los Angeles' 1970s Chicano art world.²²⁵

Visual Arts

The Latino visual arts were highly diverse and varied. Artists included caricature artists, painters, sculptors, and more. In addition to serving as a creative outlet, Latino art, such as paintings or illustrations in Spanish-language newspapers like *La Opinion*, often highlighted the political and social issues of the day. Although some of the artists mentioned below painted murals, artists who were first and foremost muralists are discussed in the Public Art Theme.

One of the most prominent Latino artists from the first part of the twentieth century was Hernando Gonzallo Villa (1881-1952). His parents moved to Los Angeles from Baja

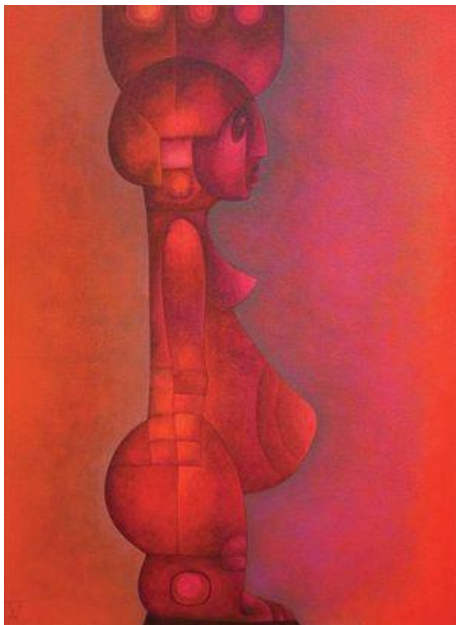
²²⁴ Jonathan Kirsch, "Mapping out the borderland," *Los Angeles Times*, October 30, 2005, <http://articles.latimes.com/2005/oct/30/books/bk-kirsch30>, accessed March 18, 2015.

²²⁵ Raúl Homero Villa, "Urban Spaces," in *The Routledge Companion to Latino/a Literature*, ed. Suzanne Bost and Frances R. Aparicio, (New York: Routledge, 2013), 48.

California in 1846. In 1905, Villa graduated from the first local art academy, the Los Angeles School of Art and Design. After traveling abroad, he returned to Los Angeles and began his career as a commercial artist. He worked for magazines as well as for the Southern Pacific and Santa Fe Railroads. His painting "The Chief" became the emblem for the Santa Fe Railroad. His work was also exhibited at the Panama-Pacific International Exhibition in 1915, and he painted the mural "The Pioneers" (1926) in the Citizens Trust and Savings Bank in Los Angeles.²²⁶ Villa's artistic career extended to mid-century.

Alfredo Ramos Martínez (1871-1946) was already an established artist by the time he moved from Mexico to Los Angeles in 1929. His work, which included both paintings and murals, was exhibited in Paris, London, and Mexico in the first decades of the twentieth century. His work was widely popular in California. Exhibitions include those at the Assistance League Art Gallery in Los Angeles in 1930, the Fine Arts Gallery in San Diego in 1932, and the California Palace of the Legion of Honor in San Francisco in 1933. His art became a favorite of Hollywood movie stars in the 1930s.²²⁷

Francisco Cornejo (1892-1963) was another Mexican artist who made Los Angeles his home, although he eventually returned to Mexico. Cornejo was a painter, sculptor, and



"Pregnant Lady" by artist John Valdés.
(bloximages.newyork1)

educator who specialized in Mayan and Aztec themes. He exhibited his studio work in galleries from Mexico City to San Francisco. In 1926, he curated an exhibition of ancient American art and its modern applications. His most famous work was collaboration with the architect Stiles Clements, which resulted in the Mayan Theater (1927) in downtown.

The visual arts reflected the shifting consciousness of the Latino community during World War II and afterwards. During this period, artists attempted to blend their dual and sometimes competing experiences of being Mexican and living in the United States. The artists of the World War II and postwar period would inspire and mentor the later artists of the Chicano movement. One of the artists working during this period was Alberto Valdés. Valdés (1918-1998), who was born in Texas and raised in East Los Angeles, was a commercial artist

²²⁶ "100 Years of Latino Art," *Latino Art*, accessed February 26, 2014, <http://latinopia.com/latino-art/100-years-of-latino-art/>; Online Archive of California, "Biographical Note," *Finding Aid to the Hernando G. Villa Collection MS.565*, accessed February 26, 2014, http://www.oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/c8rf5wjn/entire_text/; "Art Along the Hyphen: The Mexican-American Generation," *The Autry*, accessed February 27, 2014, <http://theautry.org/press/art-along-the-hyphen>.

²²⁷ "Biography," *The Alfredo Ramos Martínez Research Project*, accessed February 26, 2014, <http://www.alfredoramosmartinez.com/pages/biography.html>.

and illustrator. He specialized in magazine advertisements, fruit crate labels, and billboards. After serving in World War II, he worked as an art designer at MGM Studios before retiring in the 1940s. After his retirement, his art flourished. His work was influenced by the work of Modernists like Paul Gauguin and Pablo Picasso but also included a wide range of styles.

By the late 1960s, the Chicano movement inspired art that sought to express new ideas. Art during this period aimed to make Latinos creators of their own image rather than having an external image imposed upon them. Many artists of the Chicano movement were inspired by the earlier work of Jose Guadalupe Posada, an important Mexican printmaker from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Posada's illustrations were often political and satirical in nature. His work frequently featured costumed calacas (skeletons) that became iconic figures in both Chicano art and as representations of the Mexican holiday Dia de los Muertos.

Beginning with the establishment of Goetz Art Studios in 1969 in East Los Angeles, Chicano artists launched a collective reimagining of the urban landscape through photography, graphic arts, murals, and large-scale architectural plans, as well as through writing, painting, sculpture, drawing, and performance art. Chicano artist groups and art spaces in Los Angeles during the 1970s, included Asco, Centro de Arte Público, East Los Streetscapers, Los Four, Mechicano Art Center, Plaza de la Raza, Self Help Graphics and Art, and the Social Public Art Resource Center (SPARC). Many of the artists involved with these collectives have been interviewed by the Chicano Studies Research Center at UCLA.

One of the most important artist collectives to emerge during the early 1970s was Asco (from the Spanish word for nausea). The four original members met at Garfield High School in East Los Angeles and included Harry Gamboa Jr. (1951-0000), Glugion "Gronk" Nicandro (1954-0000), Willie Herrón (1951-0000), and Patssi Valdez (1951-0000). The four began working together on the Chicano literary and political journal *Regeneración*. Asco continued to move between media and genres, producing fotonovelas, photographs, happenings, media hoaxes, murals, and



"El Jardin" by artist Judith Hernández. (KCET)

poetry. In 1972, three members of the group boldly challenged the art establishment by tagging their names on the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (LACMA) after being told that the institution did not collect Chicano art because it was not fine art.

Los Four was instrumental in bringing Chicano art to the attention of the mainstream art world. The original group consisted of Frank Romero (1941-0000), Carlos Almaraz (1941-1989), Roberto de la Rocha (1937-0000), and Gilbert Luján (1940-2011). Judith Hernández (1948-

0000) became the fifth member following the group's exhibition at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art in 1974, the first exhibition of Chicano art by a major museum in the country. Although the exhibition represented a breakthrough for Chicano artists, the works were misunderstood by art critics. William Wilson, art critic for the *Los Angeles Times*, equated Los Four's paintings to the gang affiliated graffiti, and failed to understand that the references to the street art of the past was a conscious political statement.²²⁸ All of the members of Los Four were college educated political activists²²⁹ who with other artists formed the intellectual vanguard of the Chicano art movement.

The following year the group exhibition *Chicanarte* was held at the Los Angeles Municipal Art Gallery in Barnsdall Park. *Chicanarte* included the works of Roberto Chmiel, Richard Duardo, Gloriamalia Flores, Carlos Fournier, Juan Geyer, Lionel Heredia, Miguel Hernández, Rómulo López, Vicente Madrid, Luz Patricia Navarrette, Ricardo Navarrette, Raúl Romero, and Abelardo Talamantez. It provided the earliest model of an exhibition curated by committee. In an introductory essay to the exhibition, the importance of art in understanding and documenting the social reality of the Chicano people was explicated by the participating artists. Along with the exhibition, four weeks of educational programming was designed to reach the Latino community, including theater, dance, music, literary, and film presentations.²³⁰

Beginning in the mid-1970s, the center of gravity of the Chicano art movement began to shift from East Los Angeles to Highland Park. Among those who made the move were Carlos Almaraz and his girlfriend Patricia Parra. They rented a house on Aldama Street that became an active artist commune at which many Chicano artists would gather for varied cultural and political activities. Soon Almaraz and Parra, along with Guillermo Bejarano, a student at the People's College of Law, banded together with other artists and students to buy the house, in the process forming a collective that would become known as Corazon Productions. Among the artists who participated in this community were Frank Romero, Gilbert Luján, Roberto de la Rocha, Judith Hernández, Wayne Healy, George Yepes, Nicandro 'Gronk' Glugio, Leo Limón, and John Valadez.

The Chicano arts organization *Mechicano* also moved to Highland Park in the 1970s. Founded in 1969 by community organizer Victor Franco in the La Cienega arts district, it relocated to East Los Angeles in 1970. Artist and graphic designer Leonard Castellanos became the executive director. In 1972, they initiated the mural program at the Ramona Gardens housing project, directed by artist Armando Cabrera. In 1975, under new director Joe Rodriguez, *Mechicano* moved to Highland Park. Located on the corner of Avenue 54 and Figueroa Street, the center continued to paint murals at Ramona Gardens, while holding art exhibitions in their studio space. In 1976, artist Sonya Fe was hired to run their silkscreen workshop.

By 1976, Corazon Productions splintered in the aftermath of the end of Carlos Almaraz

²²⁸ Carlos Francisco Jackson, *Chicana and Chicano Art: ProtestArte* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2009), 152-153.

²²⁹ Romero, Hernández, and Almaraz attended the Otis College of Art and Design and Rocha and Luján attended Cal State Long Beach.

²³⁰ *Comité Chicanarte, Los Angeles Municipal Art Gallery, Exhibition Catalog* (Los Angeles: El Comité, 1976).

and Patricia Parra's relationship. In 1977 Almaraz, along with Guillermo Bejarano and Richard Duardo, founded the Centro de Arte Público at Avenue 56 and Figueroa Street. Almaraz and Bejarano had been Highland Park residents for several years and Duardo, a UCLA graduate and former printer for Self Help Graphics, had grown up in the area after his family moved there in the 1950s. For Duardo, the Centro was the first of many design studios he would develop over his career. John Valadez, a painter and muralist, also became involved, producing works that focused on Los Angeles street scenes and urban Chicana/o youth.

A number of women were invited to participate in the Centro, which reflected a growing concern for gender equality in the art community and the country as a whole. Barbara Carrasco, Dolores Cruz, and Judith Hernández were among the artists informed by a burgeoning Chicana feminist agenda, experimenting and developing a uniquely Chicana feminist iconography.²³¹ They eschewed idealized images of maids and over-sexualized iconography and began painting Latinas as they appeared in reality – applying makeup, holding a child, or in feminine forms with realistic proportions.

The following tables describe designated and known resources associated with the cultural development of the Latino community. Eligibility Standards address residential, commercial, and institutional property types.

Designated Resources

Resource Name	Theme(s)	Location	Comments
Mayan Theater	Visual Arts	1038 S. Hill Street	Francisco Cornejo was a Mexican painter and sculptor who specialized in Mayan and Aztec themes. One of his most famous works is the decorative art in the Mayan Theater. This property is designated LAHCM #460.
Million Dollar Theater	Visual Arts Performing Arts	307 S. Broadway	This theater hosted variety shows that featured Mexican and Mexican American performers from the 1940s to the 1990s. The sculptor Joseph Mora was responsible for the exterior ornamentation. It is located in the Broadway National Register Historic District.
Social Public Art Resource Center	Visual Arts	681 E. Venice Boulevard	Founded by Chicana artist and muralist Judy Baca in 1976 to promote and document public art that represents America's diverse communities. The property is designated LAHCM #749.

²³¹ "Resurrected Histories, accessed April 10, 2015, <http://resurrectedhistories.com/background/>

Known Resources

Resource Name	Theme(s)	Location	Comments
Bilingual Foundation for the Arts	Performing Arts	421 N. Avenue 19	The Bilingual Foundation for the Arts was organized in 1973 by Mexican American actress Carmen Zapata and Cuban-born playwright and director Margarita Galban. The group moved into the former Lincoln Heights Jail in 1979. They are now located at 201 N. Los Angeles Street.
Centro de Arte Público	Visual Arts	5606 N. Figueroa Street	Centro de Arte Público was a design studio founded by Latino artists in 1977.
<i>ChismeArte</i>	Literature	5605 N. Figueroa Street	<i>ChismeArte</i> was a publication of the Concillo de Arte Popular, a statewide arts advocacy group founded in the 1970s.
Los Angeles Latino Writers Association	Literature	3802 Brooklyn Avenue	The Los Angeles Latino Writers Association was a network of local Latino writers that fought for inclusion in the city's literary world.
Mariachi Plaza	Performing Arts	1711 E. Mariachi Plaza	Mariachi musicians have been gathering in this plaza since the 1930s ready to be hired for private parties, restaurants, or community events. The gazebo was placed in the plaza in 1998 and is not related to the cultural significance of the place.
Mechicano	Visual Arts	5403 N. Figueroa Street	Mechicano was an art center established by Latino artists in the 1970s. They initiated the mural program at Ramona Gardens and hosted art exhibitions.
Modern Multiples	Visual Arts	1714 Albion Street	Modern Multiples was a printmaking studio founded by Richard Duardo. The eastside studio closed in 2015 upon Duardo's death.
Plaza de La Raza	Visual Arts, Performing Arts	3540 N. Mission Road	Founded in 1970, Plaza de la Raza is a multi-disciplinary cultural center for Latino performing and visual arts. It offers classes in theater, dance, music, and art to people of all ages. The center encompasses the Lincoln Park Boathouse as well as buildings designed by the noted Los Angeles architect Kurt Meyer.

Theme: Latino Performing Arts Venues

Summary Statement of

Significance: A resource evaluated under this theme may be significant in the areas of ethnic heritage and performing arts for its association with the Latino community. Latino performing arts groups and institutions have made significant contributions to the cultural development of Los Angeles. Latino theaters filled a cultural void for Spanish-speaking audiences and exposed English-speaking audiences to the richness and diversity of Latino culture.

Period of Significance: 1920 - 1980

Period of Significance

Justification: The period of significance begins with the explosion of Latino theaters in Los Angeles during the early 1920s. 1980 is the end date for SurveyLA and may be extended as part of future survey work.

Geographic Locations: Citywide, but with the highest concentration in the areas between Downtown and Boyle Heights

Area(s) of Significance: Ethnic Heritage, Performing Arts

Criteria: NR: A CR: 1 Local: 1

Associated Property Types: Institutional – Auditorium, Concert Hall, Theater, Public Plaza
Commercial - Theater

Property Type Description: Property types under this theme include institutional and commercial buildings that were used as performance venues. The venues may or may not have been purpose built. Additionally, venues may have hosted dance, music, and film as well as live theater.

Property Type Significance: Properties significant under this theme are directly associated with important developments in the history of Latinos in the performing arts in Los Angeles.

Eligibility Standards:

- Is directly associated with important developments in the history of Latinos in the performing arts in Los Angeles
- Property functioned as an important venue for Latino performing arts production in areas including live theater, dance, and music
- Location of significant discrete events or cumulative events over time

Character-Defining/Associative Features:

- For National Register, properties associated with events that date from the last 50 years must possess exceptional importance
- Retains most of the essential character-defining features from the period of significance
- May be associated with a particular group or institution significant in the cultural history of Latinos
- May have served as a gathering place for Latino artists, writers, playwrights, dancers, musicians, etc.
- May also include space for the exhibition of art

Integrity Considerations:

- Should retain integrity of Location, Feeling, Design, and Association from the period of significance
- Setting may have changed
- Some materials may have been removed or altered

Theme: Important Institutions in Latino Literature

Summary Statement of

Significance:

A resource evaluated under this theme may be significant in the areas of ethnic heritage and literature for its association with the Latino community. Latino writers have used their ethnic backgrounds and personal experiences as material for poems, plays, short stories, novels, and essays. During the 1970s, Latino writers established journals, workshops, and collectives to support one another and to disseminate their work.

Period of Significance:

1967 - 1980

Period of Significance

Justification:

The period of significance generally coincides with the Chicano movement, a cultural as well as a political movement. During this period Latino writers reaffirmed their ethnic identity and addressed their community through fiction and non-fiction works, and joined forces to publish and promote Latino literature. 1980 is the end date for SurveyLA and may be extended as part of future survey work.

Geographic Locations:

Citywide, but with the highest concentration in the areas between Downtown and Boyle Heights

Area(s) of Significance:

Ethnic Heritage, Literature

Criteria:

NR: A CR: 1 Local: 1

Associated Property Types:

Commercial – Retail Building, Office Building

Property Type Description:

Property types under this theme include commercial buildings that were used as gathering places for writers or the offices of literary publications.

Property Type Significance:

Properties significant under this theme are directly associated with important developments in the history of Latinos in the Los Angeles literary scene.

Eligibility Standards:

- Is directly associated with important developments in the history of Latinos in the Los Angeles literary scene
- Property functioned as an important gathering place for Latino writers

- Property functioned as the offices of a significant Latino publication

Character-Defining/Associative Features:

- For National Register, properties associated with events that date from the last 50 years must possess exceptional importance
- Retains most of the essential character-defining features from the period of significance
- May be associated with a particular group or institution significant in the cultural history of Latinos
- May have served as a gathering place for Latino writers

Integrity Considerations:

- Should retain integrity of Location, Design, Feeling, and Association from the period of significance
- Original use may have changed
- Some materials may have been removed or altered

Theme: Latino Writers in L.A.

Summary Statement of

Significance:

A resource evaluated under this theme may be significant in the areas of ethnic heritage and literature for its association with important Latino writers. Latino writers have used their ethnic backgrounds and personal experiences as material for poems, plays, short stories, novels, and essays. In so doing they have enriched the Los Angeles literary scene.

Period of Significance:

1920 - 1980

Period of Significance

Justification:

The period of significance begins in 1920 with the immigration of several Mexican writers to Los Angeles. 1980 is the end date for SurveyLA and may be extended as part of future survey work.

Geographic Locations:

Citywide

Area(s) of Significance:

Ethnic Heritage, Literature

Criteria:

NR: B CR: 2 Local: 2

Associated Property Types:

Residential – Single-Family Residence, Multi-Family Residence

Property Type Description:

Property types under this theme include single-family and multi-family residential buildings that were the homes of prominent Latino writers.

Property Type Significance:

Properties significant under this theme are directly associated with Latino writers who made important contributions to the Los Angeles literary scene.

Eligibility Standards:

- Is directly associated with the productive life of a Latino writer during his or her residence in Los Angeles
- Individual must be proven to have made an important contribution to the body of American literature

Character-Defining/Associative Features:

- For National Register, properties associated with individuals whose significant accomplishments date from the last 50 years must possess exceptional importance

SurveyLA
Latino Los Angeles Historic Context Statement

- Retains most of the essential character-defining features from the period of significance
- For individuals who resided in multiple locations in Los Angeles, the property must be associated with the individual during the time that their first, largest, or best-known works were written and/or published
- For multi-family, motel or hotel properties, the apartment or room occupied by the person must be readable from the period of significance
- If the property is the only remaining resource associated with a person significant in the history of Latino literature, it may be eligible even if all or most of the person's significant writing occurred before living in the property
- The individual must have resided in the property during the period in which he or she achieved significance

Integrity Considerations:

- Should retain integrity of Location, Feeling, and Association from the period of significance
- Setting may have changed
- Some materials may have been removed or altered

Theme: Producing, Displaying, and Supporting Latino Visual Arts

Summary Statement of

Significance:

A resource evaluated under this theme may be significant in the areas of ethnic heritage and art for its association with the Latino visual arts community. In addition to serving as a creative outlet, visual art often highlighted the political and social issues of the Latino community. During the 1970s, Latino artists formed collectives, studios, and galleries to support one another and to disseminate their work.

Period of Significance:

1967 - 1980

Period of Significance

Justification:

The period of significance generally coincides with the Chicano movement, a cultural as well as a political movement. During this period Latino artists launched a collective reimagining of the urban landscape through photography, graphic arts, murals, and large-scale architectural plans, as well as through writing, painting, sculpture, drawing, and performance art. 1980 is the end date for SurveyLA and may be extended as part of future survey work.

Geographic Locations:

Citywide, but with the highest concentration in the areas between Downtown and Boyle Heights

Area(s) of Significance:

Ethnic Heritage, Art

Criteria:

NR: A CR: 1 Local: 1

Associated Property Types:

Institutional – Museum
Commercial – Gallery, Retail Building, Office Building
Residential – Single-Family Residence
Industrial – Studio

Property Type Description:

Property types under this theme include exhibition spaces such as galleries and museums, meeting places such as art clubs and residences, as well as art foundations and art schools.

Property Type Significance:

Properties significant under this theme are directly associated with important developments in the history of Latinos in the visual arts in Los Angeles.

Eligibility Standards:

- Is directly associated with important developments in the history of visual arts in Los Angeles, either as the location of discrete events or cumulative activities over time
- Property functioned as an important place for the production, display, appreciation of, or education in, the visual arts
- Includes exhibition spaces such as galleries and museums, meeting places such as art clubs and residences, and art foundations and art schools

Character-Defining/Associative Features:

- For National Register, properties associated with events that date from the last 50 years must possess exceptional importance
- Retains most of the essential character-defining features from the period of significance
- May be associated with a particular group or institution significant in the cultural history of Latinos
- May have served as a gathering place for Latino artists

Integrity Considerations:

- Should retain integrity of Location, Feeling, and Association from the period of significance
- Original use may have changed
- Some materials may have been removed or altered

Theme: Latino Visual Artists in L.A.

Summary Statement of

Significance: A resource evaluated under this theme may be significant in the areas of ethnic heritage and/or art for its association with important Latino artists. In addition to serving as a creative outlet, visual art often highlighted the political and social issues of the Latino community. During the 1970s, Latino artists formed collectives, studios, and galleries to support one another and to disseminate their work.

Period of Significance: 1920 - 1980

Period of Significance

Justification: The period of significance begins in 1920 with the immigration of several Mexican artists to Los Angeles. 1980 is the end date for SurveyLA and may be extended as part of future survey work.

Geographic Locations: Citywide

Area(s) of Significance: Ethnic Heritage, Art

Criteria: NR: B CR: 2 Local: 2

Associated Property Types: Residential – Single-Family Residence, Multi-Family Residence

Property Type Description: Property types under this theme include single-family and multi-family residential buildings that were the homes and studios of prominent Latino artists.

Property Type Significance: Properties significant under this theme are directly associated with Latino artists who made important contributions to the Los Angeles art scene.

Eligibility Standards:

- Is directly associated with the productive life of a Latino who made an important contribution or played a pivotal role in the development of the L.A. visual arts scene such as an artist, curator, collector, teacher or patron

Character-Defining/Associative Features:

- For National Register, properties associated with individuals whose significant accomplishments date from the last 50 years must possess exceptional importance

SurveyLA
Latino Los Angeles Historic Context Statement

- Retains most of the essential character-defining features from the period of significance
- For individuals who resided in multiple locations in Los Angeles, the property must be associated with the individual during the time that their first, largest, or best-known works were created
- For multi-family, motel or hotel properties, the apartment or room occupied by the person must be readable from the period of significance
- If the property is the only remaining resource associated with the person, may be eligible even if all or most of the person's significant work occurred before living in the property
- The individual must have resided in the property during the period in which he or she achieved significance

Integrity Considerations:

- Should retain integrity of Location, Feeling, and Association from the period of significance
- Setting may have changed
- Some materials may have been removed or altered

Theme 6 – Public Art, 1930 - 1984

Los Angeles has a rich history of public art, ranging from civic projects and corporate sculpture to folk art, murals, and graffiti. The public art in Los Angeles reflects the city's vast geography facilitated by crisscrossing freeways as well as its cultural diversity. Latinos have been integral to the public art of Los Angeles, mostly through murals and to a lesser extent sculptures.

Though most frequently identified with the Chicano movement of the 1960s, murals have been a popular form of Latino art since the early twentieth century. Muralism was a way for this underrepresented segment of the population to publically express their reaction to the social, economic, and political conditions of Mexican Americans. It allowed the Latino community to represent their own culture, as opposed to having their culture projected onto them by an outside population. During the Chicano movement, the city's Latino community, including both formally trained artists and community members, became active in using art to reclaim their history and space. After this period, Los Angeles became home to one of the largest concentrations of mural art in the country, though many of the murals painted during the 1960s and 1970s no longer remain.

Early murals in Los Angeles were often created by Mexican immigrants who used the walls of restaurants as their canvases. These immigrants were frequently painters trained in traditional art academies in Mexico. Restaurant murals harkened back to the traditions and motifs of murals painted on Mexican *pulquerías*, or pulque bars.²³² Painted during the 1920s and 1930s, these early murals were found on the interior and exterior walls of local businesses, and they often featured scenes that depicted daily life or Mexican film stars.²³³

By the 1930s, muralism in Los Angeles was being influenced by the Mexican mural movement.²³⁴ The movement was a response to the ideological changes that swept the country in the years after the Mexican Revolution (1910-1920). Artists demanded an art school that would foster a uniquely Mexican art; one that would promote the new sense of Mexican identity that emerged during the Revolution. The new government of President Victoriano Huerta commissioned public works of art that would support the values of the Revolution and more strongly link Mexican identity to the country's pre-Columbian past. Three muralists – Diego Rivera, David Alfaro Siqueiros, and José Clemente Orozco – emerged as the leaders of the movement. Known as “Los Tres Grandes,” they believed that art should serve as an impetus towards social revolution.²³⁵

²³² Tomás Ybarra-Frausto, “A Panorama of Latino Arts,” in *American Latinos and the Making of the United States: A Theme Study* (Washington D.C.: National Park Service, 2013), 144.

²³³ Alicia María González, “Murals: Fine, Popular, or Folk Art?” *Aztlán: International Journal of Chicano Studies Research* 13, no. 1, 2 (Spring-Fall 1982): 155.

²³⁴ González, “Murals: Fine, Popular or Folk Art?,” 155.

²³⁵ San Bernardino County Museum, “The Mexican Muralists Movement,” *The Art of Ramón Contreras and the Mexican Muralists Movement*, <http://www.sbcounty.gov/museum/exhibits/contreras.htm> (accessed June 4, 2015).

Siqueiros traveled to Los Angeles in 1932 after being exiled from Mexico; during his stay, he taught a class on fresco painting at the Chouinard Art Institute. He was also commissioned to paint two public murals – “Street Meeting” at the Chouinard Art Institute and “América Tropical” on the side of a building on Olvera Street in downtown Los Angeles. Both ended up being highly controversial. The second mural, “América Tropical,” was the more controversial of the two.²³⁶ The director of the Plaza Art Center on Olvera Street envisioned the mural as an idealized history of the indigenous cultures of the Americas. The mural Siqueiros painted, however, was a critical look at the treatment of North America’s native peoples. It depicted a Native American crucified beneath an eagle (as a symbol of both the United States’ and Mexico’s treatment of indigenous peoples), and two figures armed for resistance – an Andean Native American and a Mexican.²³⁷ The mural was whitewashed soon after its unveiling.²³⁸ In the early 1990s, the Getty Conservation Institute and the City of Los Angeles conceived a project to conserve, protect, and make publicly accessible “América Tropical.” The coordination, design, and implementation of the project lasted over twenty years, and in October 2012, on the eightieth anniversary of its original unveiling, the mural was opened to the public.²³⁹



“América Tropical” by David Alfaro Siqueiros. (National Public Radio)

As the century progressed, Latino artists, many of whom were now born in the U.S., began to be recognized by the mainstream art community, though this continued to be rare. It was not until the 1960s, when the Chicano community became increasingly vocal about their underrepresentation in the arts, that things began to change.

During the Chicano movement of the 1960s and 1970s, Los Angeles became one of the epicenters of Chicano muralism in the country. Always used as a form of political self-expression, murals during this period became especially significant as Chicanos sought to have their voices heard and their needs met. As Maureen Orth wrote in 1978, “in the

²³⁶ Max Benavidez and Kate Vozoff, “The Wall: Image and Boundary, Chicano Art in the 1970s,” in *Mexican Art of the 1970s: Images of Displacement*, ed. Leonard Folgarait (Nashville, TN: Center for Latin American and Iberian Studies, Vanderbilt University, 1984), 46.

²³⁷ Guisela Latorre, *Walls of Empowerment: Chicana/o Indigenist Murals of California* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2008), 39-40.

²³⁸ Benavidez and Vozoff, “The Wall: Image and Boundary, Chicano Art in the 1970s,” 46.

²³⁹ Teresa Grimes et al., “National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form: Latinos in 20th Century California,” June 30, 2014, Section E, 55.

Chicano's struggle for social justice and self-expression, art and politics would serve each other. The picket lines, the barricades, would give 'the cause' its thrust. The arts would, in turn, explain and charge it."²⁴⁰

Muralism also arose during this period from a desire to create a type of art that was "public, monumental and accessible to the common people," one that expressed the needs and desires of a community underrepresented in mainstream politics and culture.²⁴¹ From the beginning, the murals of the Chicano movement were painted both by artists, who guided efforts, and members of the community. It was important to both groups that the murals reflect the values, histories, and stories of the communities in which they were located. Artist Judith Hernández said that, "Before beginning work, we would interview people who lived and worked in the area [...] to learn what sorts of images they would like to see."²⁴²

In the wake of the Chicano Moratorium protests in 1970, artists began organizing collectives to foster an environment where Chicanos could create art that was meaningful to them. Numerous collectives were formed during this period, including Los Four, Asco, and East Los Streetscapers. Many artists in these collectives devoted themselves to murals as well as other forms of visual art.



Asco's "The Walking Mural," 1972.
(Los Angeles County Museum of Art)

Asco, which is discussed above in the subtheme on visual arts, utilized various forms of art, including murals. Though not a work of visual art, they used their 1972 work "The Walking Mural" to express their views about the mural movement. On Christmas Eve of that year, they gathered for a parade down Whittier Boulevard in East Los Angeles. All four members were dressed as mural figures come alive from the walls of a building. The work was a protest

against what they saw as the mural movement's increasing ubiquity and mainstream popularity, traits they viewed as counter to its very essence.²⁴³

²⁴⁰ Benavidez and Vozoff, "The Wall: Image and Boundary, Chicano Art in the 1970s," 48.

²⁴¹ Ybarra-Frausto, "The Chicano Movement," 172, 177.

²⁴² Benavidez and Vozoff, "The Wall: Image and Boundary, Chicano Art in the 1970s," 49.

²⁴³ Benavidez and Vozoff, 51.

East Los Streetscapers was founded by Wayne Healy (1943-0000) and David Botello (1946-0000) in 1975. Both artists were involved in work at Estrada Courts and Ramona Gardens in 1973.²⁴⁴ The group produced various types of public art, including tile work, murals, and sculptures. Their first collaborative art project was "Chicano Time Trip" (1977), located on the side of a bank building on North Broadway. The mural was a response to the 1976 United States Bicentennial, which did not address any aspect of Latino history.²⁴⁵

The walls of buildings in East Los Angeles became covered with murals during this period; many of them no longer remain. This was sometimes due to the fact that the murals were applied with paint not suited for long-term outdoor exposure and deteriorated or faded over time. An increasing numbers of remaining murals from the period are being restored, often by the original artists themselves.

One of the most important collections of murals from this period is located in the Estrada Courts public housing complex in Boyle Heights. The complex, constructed during World War II to address housing shortages, was predominately Latino by the 1970s. The walls of the buildings were eventually home to more than fifty murals painted by Chicano artists and Estrada Courts residents between 1972 and 1978. Artists featured include Willie Herrón, Charles W. Felix, Wayne Healy, Norma Montoya, and David Botello.



"The Sacrifice Wall" by artist Charles Felix. (Heritage Preservation)

Though the Chicano mural movement was initially male-dominated, women became increasingly involved as it progressed. In Los Angeles, individuals like Judith Baca (1946-0000) gained visibility as accomplished artists.²⁴⁶ After working with the city's Department of Recreation and Parks, Baca became director of the city's first mural program in East Los Angeles and engaged community youth in assisting her paint murals around the city. She formed the non-profit organization Social and Public Art Resource Center (SPARC) after politics surrounding the city's mural program began to affect the murals they could create. One of Baca's most well-known works, the "Great Wall of Los Angeles," was the first mural painted under the umbrella of SPARC. It is a half-mile long mural of the multi-cultural history of California and was painted with assistance from other artists and members of the community.

²⁴⁴ Margarita Nieto, "A Brief History of the Chicano-Latino Artists of Los Angeles," *Le Démon des Anges*, 1989, 220.

²⁴⁵ Mural Conservancy of Los Angeles, "Chicano Time Trip," <http://www.muralconservancy.org/murals/chicano-time-trip> (accessed June 8, 2015).

²⁴⁶ Benavidez and Vozoff, "The Wall: Image and Boundary, Chicano Art in the 1970s," 50.

The Los Angeles Bicentennial in 1981 and the 1984 Olympics brought about increased institutional support for muralism.²⁴⁷ The city commissioned several Latino artists to commemorate the bicentennial with mural art. Artist Barbara Carrasco's work "L.A. History: A Mexican Perspective" was immediately controversial. The portable mural was created with assistance from community youth and depicted the city's history from the perspective of Latinos and other underrepresented groups. It illustrated the hardships and suffering these groups had suffered during the city's history, a story that had not been told elsewhere. The city rejected the mural, and the work of art was never shown during the bicentennial celebration, though it was shown elsewhere.²⁴⁸ Three years later, the city commissioned several Latino artists, including Willie Herrón, Judith Baca, and Frank Romero to paint murals to commemorate the Summer Olympics. The murals were painted along the 101 Freeway in downtown Los Angeles. They were covered by the California Department of Transportation for their protection in 2007, and began to be restored by the Mural Conservancy of Los Angeles in 2013.

Also created for the 1984 Olympics was the sculpture entitled "Olympic Gateway," by sculptor Robert Graham (1938-2008). It is located at the entrance of the Los Angeles Coliseum and depicts two nude, headless Olympic athletes cast in bronze. Graham was born in Mexico City and moved to San Jose at the age of eleven. He was educated at San Jose State College and the San Francisco Art Institute in the 1960s before moving to Los Angeles in the 1970s. Graham's work can be found in Los Angeles and in cities around the country.²⁴⁹ Another significant concentration of public art is El Parque de Mexico, a sculpture garden featuring work by Latino artists adjacent to Lincoln Park in Lincoln Heights. Originally known as Eastlake Park, Lincoln Park was developed beginning in 1889 on land previously belonging to the Southern Pacific Railroad.²⁵⁰ The park's first sculptures, "Lincoln the Lawyer" and "Florence Nightingale" were installed in 1926 and 1937, respectively.



"Olympic Gateway" by Robert Graham.
(Robert Graham, Artist)

²⁴⁷ Nieto, "Le Démon des Anges: A Brief History of the Chicano-Latino Artists of Los Angeles," 220, 222.

²⁴⁸ Latorre, *Walls of Empowerment: Chicana/o Indigenist Murals of California*, 57.

²⁴⁹ Suzanne Muchnic and Cara Mia Dimassa, "Robert Graham, L.A. sculptor, dies at 70," *Los Angeles Times*, December 28, 2008, <http://www.latimes.com/local/la-me-graham28-2008dec28-story.html#page=1> (accessed June 9, 2015); "Olympic Gateway," Robert Graham, Artist, http://www.robertgraham-artist.com/civic_monuments/olympic_gateway.html (accessed June 9, 2015).

²⁵⁰ Nathan Masters, "When Lincoln Park Was Eastlake," May 23, 2013, http://www.kcet.org/updaily/socal_focus/history/la-as-subject/when-lincoln-park-was-eastlake.html (accessed June 9, 2015).

It was not until the 1970s and 1980s, however, that most of the sculptures by Latino artists began to appear in what became known as El Parque de Mexico. Works include “Benito Juarez” by an anonymous artist (1976), “Emiliano Zapata” by Ignacio Asunsolo (1980), and “Emperor Cuauhtemoc” by an anonymous artist (1981). The sculptures depict figures significant to Mexican history and the majority were created by Latino artists (several sculptures’ artists are anonymous or unknown).²⁵¹ El Parque de Mexico was dedicated in 1981 by several Latino organizations, including the Comité Mexicano Cívico Patriótico and Los Angeles City Employees Chicano Association.²⁵²

The following tables describe designated and known resources associated public art created by Latinos in Los Angeles. Eligibility Standards address murals and sculptures as property types.

Designated Resources

Resource Name	Artist(s)	Location	Comments
<i>Tropical America</i>	David Alfaro Siqueiros	650 N. Main Street El Pueblo State Historic Park	Dedicated to the local Mexican-American community, the mural is of a Native American impaled on a double crucifix with a screaming American eagle perched on top. The controversy resulting from its anti-capitalist theme led to the artist's expulsion from the U.S. and the whitewashing of the mural. The mural has been partially conserved and is currently covered by a protective shield.

Known Resources

Resource Name	Artist(s)	Location	CPA	Date
<i>Advancements of Man</i>	Willie Herron III	2331 Cesar Chavez Avenue Botica del Sol Buildings (painted over)	Boyle Heights	1976
<i>A History of Mexico</i>	Anthony Padilla	3311 N. Figueroa Street Florence Nightingale Junior High School (not	Northeast LA	1975

²⁵¹ “Sculptures in Lincoln Park/El Parque de Mexico,” Public Art in LA, http://www.publicartinla.com/sculptures/Lincoln_Park/sculptures_descr.html (accessed June 10, 2015).

²⁵² “Main statue section, El Parque de Mexico,” Public Art in LA, http://www.publicartinla.com/sculptures/Lincoln_Park/parque.html (accessed June 10, 2015).

SurveyLA
 Latino Los Angeles Historic Context Statement

		visible from public right-of-way)		
<i>Chicano Heritage</i>	Judithe Hernandez	11759 Missouri Avenue Stoner Recreation Center (not visible from public right-of-way)	Boyle Heights	1976
<i>Chicano Time Trip</i>	David Botello and Wayne Healy	2601 N. Broadway East West Bank Building	Northeast LA	1977
<i>Corrido de Boyle Heights</i>	East Los Streetscapers	2336 Avenida Cesar Chavez	Boyle Heights	1984
<i>Estrada Courts Murals</i>	Various	3357-59 E. Olympic Boulevard	Boyle Heights	1973-1978
<i>Eye on 84</i>	Alonzo Davis	Interstate 110 South at 4 th Street exit ramp (painted over)	Central City	
<i>Going to the Olympics</i>	Frank Romero	Interstate 101 retaining wall	Central City	1984
<i>History of Highland Park</i>	Judith Baca, Joe Bravo, Sonya Fe, Arnold Ramirez	1207 N. Avenue 56 Pac Bell Building	Northeast LA	1978
<i>Hitting the Wall</i>	Judith Baca	Interstate 110 North at 4 th Street exit ramp	Central City	1984
<i>Parque de Mexico (Sculpture)</i>	Various	3501 Valley Boulevard Lincoln Park	Northeast LA	1976-1988
<i>L.A. Freeway Kids</i>	Glenna Boltuch Avila	Interstate 101 South near Los Angeles Street overpass	Central City	1984
<i>La Adelita</i>	Carlos Almaraz and Judithe Hernández	2781 Alcazar Street (painted over)	Boyle Heights	1976
<i>La Raza's Struggle for Freedom</i>	Pedro Pelayo	201-299 Leroy Street	Chinatown	1983
<i>Life Flows at Aliso Pico</i>	East Los Streetscapers	1501 E. 1 st Street Aliso Pico Multipurpose Center	Boyle Heights	1983
<i>Mi Abuelita</i>	Judith Baca	415 S. St. Louis Street Hollenbeck Park (painted over)	Boyle Heights	1970
<i>Olympic Gateway (Sculpture)</i>	Robert Graham	Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum	South Los Angeles	1984

SurveyLA
 Latino Los Angeles Historic Context Statement

<i>The People of Venice vs. the Developers</i>	Emily Cordova Winters	316 S. Venice Boulevard	Venice	1975
Ramona Gardens Murals	Various	2830 Lancaster Avenue	Boyle Heights	1973-1976
<i>Return of the Maya</i>	Carlos Almaraz	3400 block of N. Figueroa Street (painted over)	Northeast LA	1979
<i>Silent Prison (also called Silent World)</i>	Margaret Garcia	Interstate 110 North at 8 th Street on-ramp (painted over)	Central City	1984
<i>The Great Wall of Los Angeles</i>	Judith Baca	Coldwater Canyon Avenue between Oxnard Street and Burbank Boulevard	Van Nuys - North Sherman Oaks	1974-1979
<i>The Learning Tree</i>	Alfredo Diaz Flores	3540 N. Mission Road Plaza de la Raza (not visible from public right-of-way)	Northeast LA	1975
<i>The People of Venice vs. the Developers</i>	Emily Cordova Winters	316 S. Venice Boulevard	Venice	1975
<i>Two Blue Whales</i>	Margaret Garcia	12901 Venice Boulevard Westside Center for Independent Living	Venice	1978
<i>You Are My Other Me (Wilhall Anti-Gang Violence)</i>	Joe Bravo	325 N. Neptune Avenue Wilmington Recreation Center	Wilmington-Harbor City	1976
Untitled	Daniel Haro	3316 Hunter Street Estrada Courts	Boyle Heights	1983
Untitled	Margaret Garcia and Yreina Cervantez	1419 Colton Street Echo Park Pool (painted over by another mural)	Silver Lake - Echo Park	1984

Theme: Community Mural Movement

Summary Statement of

Significance:

A resource evaluated under this theme may be significant in the areas of ethnic heritage and art for its association with the Latino community mural movement. Los Angeles is renowned as one of the world's great mural capitals. Latino artists and their culture are an integral part of the city's mural heritage. Though most frequently identified with the Chicano movement of the 1960s, murals have been a popular form of Latino art since the early twentieth century. Muralism was a way for this underrepresented segment of the population to publically express their reaction to the social, economic, and political conditions of Mexican Americans.

Period of Significance:

1930 - 1984

Period of Significance

Justification:

The period of significance begins in the 1930s when David Siqueiros, the great Mexican muralist, arrives in Los Angeles. During this period he was commissioned to paint two public murals – "Street Meeting" and "América Tropical." 1980 is the end date for SurveyLA. In this case; however, the period of significance was extended to 1984 to include murals that were created by Latino artists for the Olympic Games, a seminal event in Los Angeles history.

Geographic Locations:

Citywide, but with the highest concentration in the areas between Downtown and Boyle Heights

Area(s) of Significance:

Ethnic Heritage, Art

Criteria:

NR: A/C CR: 1/3 Local: 1/3

Associated Property Types:

Mural

Property Type Description:

Property types under this theme include murals.

Property Type Significance:

Properties significant under this theme are directly associated with the Latino community by virtue of the subject matter or the artist(s) responsible for their design.

Eligibility Standards:

- Is an excellent representation of a mural associated with Los Angeles' community mural movement
- Dates from the period of significance

Character-Defining/Associative Features:

- For National Register, a property that dates from the last 50 years must possess exceptional importance
- Retains most of the essential character-defining features from the period of significance
- May be directly associated with the Latino civil rights movement
- Illustrates the history, culture and experiences of the Latino community in which it is located
- Rich in political and social content
- May have been funded by the City's Citywide Mural Project, beginning in 1974
- May have been funded by the LA County Inner City Mural Fund between June 1973 and May 1974
- Possesses high artistic value
- Represents the work of a master artist
- Often executed by teams of people recruited by the artist
- Located on freeway underpass or retaining wall
- Located on the wall(s) of a highly visible, and often ordinary, building in a community

Integrity Considerations:

- Should retain integrity of Location, Design, Feeling, and Association from the period of significance

Theme: Sculpture

Summary Statement of

Significance:

A resource evaluated under this theme may be significant in the areas of ethnic heritage and art for its association with the Latino art community. Although Latino artists are closely associated with murals, they worked in a wide variety of mediums and forms including sculptures. The majority of sculptures are figurative, often commemorating significant individuals or groups within the community.

Period of Significance:

1970 - 1984

Period of Significance

Justification:

Although Latino artists in Los Angeles were creating sculptures during the early and middle parts of the twentieth century, sculptures in public settings do not begin to appear until the 1970s. 1980 is the end date for SurveyLA. In this case; however, the period of significance was extended to 1984 to include sculptures that were created by Latino artists for the Olympic Games, a seminal event in Los Angeles history.

Geographic Locations:

Citywide, but with the highest concentration in the areas between Downtown and Lincoln Heights

Area(s) of Significance:

Ethnic Heritage, Art

Criteria:

NR: A/C CR: 1/3 Local: 1/3

Associated Property Types:

Sculpture

Property Type Description:

Property types under this theme include sculptures.

Property Type Significance:

Properties significant under this theme are directly associated with the Latino community by virtue of the subject matter or the artist(s) responsible for their design.

Eligibility Standards:

- Freestanding
- Dates from the period of significance
- Located outdoors and is visible from publicly accessible spaces

Character-Defining/Associative Features:

- For National Register, a property that dates from the last 50 years must possess exceptional importance
- For National Register, a commemorative property must meet Criteria Consideration F, possess significance based on its own value and not the person or event being memorialized
- Retains most of the essential character-defining features from the period of significance
- After 1968, may have been a requirement of the CRA's "percent for art" policy
- Possesses high artistic value
- Represents the work of a master artist
- Depicts, commemorates or represents a significant event
- Depicts, commemorates or represents a significant individual or group of people
- Symbolizes civic, cultural and/or social values

Integrity Considerations:

- Should retain integrity of Materials, Design, Workmanship, Feeling, and Association from the period of significance
- May have been relocated
- Setting may have changed
- Some original materials may have been altered, removed, or replaced

Theme 7 – Entertainment Industry, 1925 - 1980



Dolores Del Rio was a movie star in both Hollywood and Mexico. (Fine Art America)

The entertainment industry is a broad term that encompasses the motion picture, radio, television, and recording media. The history of Latinos in the entertainment industry is dichotomous, involving both the Anglo and the Latino media. The Anglo media is defined as English-language programming directed at audiences in both the U.S. and abroad. Latinos have achieved great success, but faced many challenges in the Anglo media. Like other racial and ethnic groups, Latino performers were historically cast in stereotypical roles, which often reflected broader cultural biases. That trend began to change during the late twentieth century as Latinos became more involved in

the production of motion pictures and television shows. However, Latinos are still underrepresented in the Anglo media in front of and behind the camera. The Latino media, on the other hand, strived to represent and fulfill the needs of this otherwise poorly and underrepresented community. It is defined as media produced “by, for, or about Latinos and their communities.”²⁵³ While not all Latino media outlets in the twentieth century were owned by Latinos, the employees who produced the programming, including the highest level staff, were typically Latino. It is important to note that Latino media throughout the twentieth century was not limited to Spanish-language media; rather, it also included English-language media produced by and for Latinos, as well as bilingual media, and the content was always geared toward Latino audiences.

Motion Pictures

One-sided unrealistic portrayals of Latinos in Anglo motion pictures date back to the silent era. As in the popular literature of the day, Latino characters, Mexicans in particular, were always based on and limited to a set of manufactured stereotypes. At least six major stereotypes developed in the early years of motion pictures: the bandit/greaser, the half-breed harlot, the male buffoon or clown, the female clown, the Latin lover, and the dark lady.²⁵⁴ The bandit/greaser was a particularly popular Hollywood character in the 1910s when films like *Tony and Greaser* (1911) and *Guns and Greasers* (1918) were produced.²⁵⁵

²⁵³ Félix F. Guittierrez, "More than 200 Years of Latino Media in the United States," in *American Latinos and the Making of the United States: A Theme Study* (Washington D.C.: National Park Service, 2013), 100.

²⁵⁴ Bryan Ryan and Nicolas Kanellos, eds., "Hispanic Americans in the Media," in *Hispanic American Almanac* (New York: UXL, 1995), 186.

²⁵⁵ David R. Maciel, "Latino Cinema," in *Handbook of Hispanic Cultures in the United States: Literature and Art*, ed. Francisco Lomeli (Houston: Arte Público Press, 1994), 313.



Ramon Novarro's house in the Hollywood Hills was designed by Lloyd Wright in 1928. (Los Angeles Public Library)

Two of the most well-known Latino stars in early Hollywood were Ramon Novarro and Dolores del Rio. Ramon Novarro (1899-1968) was born Jose Ramon Gil Samaniegos in Durango, Mexico and moved to Los Angeles with his family in 1913. He rose to prominence in Hollywood in 1922 with his performance in *The Prisoner of Zenda* and soon after with starring roles in *Scaramouche* (1923) and *The Arab* (1924). His greatest success came with his performance as Judah Ben-Hur in *Ben-Hur: A Tale of Christ* (1925). With the death of Rudolph Valentino in 1926, Novarro became the leading Latino actor in Hollywood and one of the preeminent romantic actors of the period, although he was gay. His career continued successfully into the late 1920s, but the introduction of talkies effectively brought his career to an end. After this, he was only able to find roles in small parts, and no longer had a studio contract. His career experienced a brief revival in the early 1960s with the TV series *Dr. Kildare* and *Bonanza*

on NBC, but he did not see the same success he experienced during earlier decades.²⁵⁶

Dolores del Rio (1905-1983) began her career in the silent film era. Born Lolita Dolores Martinez Asunsolo Lopez Negrette in Mexico to an upper class family, del Rio moved to Los Angeles in 1926. Her first film in Hollywood was *What Price Glory* (1926). Her first starring role came in *Resurrection* (1927), though her character in the movie was Russian, rather than Latino. Her performance in *Ramona* (1928) was lauded as "an achievement." The *New York Times* wrote "Not once does she overact, and yet she is perceived weeping and almost hysterical. She is most careful in all the moods of the character. Her beauty is another point in her favor."²⁵⁷ Yet despite her success, del Rio was subject to the stereotypes of the time, and was often typecast as ethnic or exotic characters. Though her career continued successfully after the advent of talkies in the late 1920s, her accent tended to restrict her to these stereotypical roles. In 1943, she returned to Mexico and continued her career on both the screen and stage, becoming part of the golden age of Mexican cinema. She returned to Hollywood in the 1960s to continue acting and passed away in Newport Beach, California.²⁵⁸

²⁵⁶ Turner Entertainment Networks, Inc. "Ramon Novarro," Turner Classic Movies, <http://www.tcm.com/tcmdb/person/142433|127360/Ramon-Novarro/> (accessed July 9, 2015).

²⁵⁷ Dorothy J. Gaiter, "Dolores del Rio, 77, is dead; film star in U.S. and Mexico," *New York Times*, April 13, 1983, <http://www.nytimes.com/1983/04/13/obituaries/dolores-del-rio-77-is-dead-film-star-in-us-and-mexico.html> (accessed July 9, 2015).

²⁵⁸ Ibid.

Treatment of Mexicans in film began to change in the 1930s, largely for political reasons. First, the rising tensions in Europe at the time produced a new selection of villains, including Nazis. Second, the governments of several Latin American countries voiced their opposition to the rampant stereotyping of the previous decade. Movie studios, increasingly aware of the economic possibilities of exhibiting their films in Latin America, gave into the political pressures in some instances, though stereotypical portrayals continued in general. A prime example of the conflicting portrayals of Latinos during this period was the *Cisco Kid* series of films, which featured Gilbert Roland (1905-1994).²⁵⁹ These movies employed the bandit, Latin lover, and dark lady stereotypes, yet the hero of the films was Mexican.²⁶⁰ A few favorable films produced during the period included *Juárez* (1939), *Saludos Amigos* (1943), and *The Three Caballeros* (1945).²⁶¹

There was a gradual decline in stereotypical Mexican characters in Hollywood films during the 1960s and 1970s. The use of stereotypes for Puerto Rican characters, on the other hand, was on the rise during this period, as was evident in the Oscar-winning film *West Side Story* (1961).²⁶² From the 1970s through the end of the twentieth century, Mexican Americans became increasingly involved in the production of full-length feature films. Examples of the films produced during this period include *Don't Bury Me Alive* (1976) by Efrain Gutiérrez, *Raíces de Sangre* (Roots of Blood, 1976) by Jesús Salvador Treviño, and *Once in a Lifetime* (1977) by Alejandro Grattan.²⁶³ In 1981, the film *Zoot Suit* by Luis Valdez became the first Mexican American movie produced by a major Hollywood studio.²⁶⁴ In the decade that followed, several important Latino feature films were made, including *The Ballad of Gregorio Cortez* (1982), *El Norte* (1983), *Born in East L.A.* (1985), *La Bamba* (1987), *Stand and Deliver* (1988), and *Break of Dawn* (1988).²⁶⁵

Music

During the late nineteenth century, the dissemination of Latino music was largely conducted by Anglo Americans, who viewed Mexican culture through a highly romanticized lens. Charles Lummis (1859-1928), a well-known advocate for the preservation of the culture of the American Southwest, documented local Mexican and Native American folk songs in the 1890s. Though the majority of these songs were never published, he collected and recorded more than 500 songs, including those imported from Spain and Mexico. The majority of the songs were love songs and ballads; however, the corrido, a widely popular narrative song in Mexico, was underrepresented because Lummis did not think it sounded refined enough. Although his portrayal of early Mexican culture was often inaccurate, Lummis nevertheless contributed to its

²⁵⁹ Roland was born Luis Antonio Damask de Alonso. He chose his screen name by combining the names of his favorite actors John Gilbert and Ruth Roland.

²⁶⁰ David R. Maciel, "Latino Cinema," in *Handbook of Hispanic Cultures in the United States: Literature and Art*, ed. Francis Lomeli (Houston, TX: Arte Público Press, 1994), 313.

²⁶¹ Ibid.

²⁶² Maciel, "Latino Cinema," 313.

²⁶³ Maciel, "Latino Cinema," 319.

²⁶⁴ Maciel, "Latino Cinema," 321. The film *Zoot Suit* was based on Valdez's play by the same name.

²⁶⁵ Maciel, "Latino Cinema," 322-325.

preservation.²⁶⁶ Contemporary scholars have revealed a more complex exchange of musical styles within Mexico and around Latin American and, once it arrived in Los Angeles, with Anglo and other types of music.²⁶⁷



Album cover of the Greatest Hits of Las Hermanas Padilla. (Ajriscos)

By the 1920s, the growing Mexican population in the city made Latino music increasingly prevalent. Major recording studios produced and marketed Latino music geared towards this expanding community. Local talent, as well as performers and groups from Mexico and Latin America, was tapped. Many became nationally and internationally known. For example, Margarita and María Padilla, Mexican American sisters from Los Angeles, formed Las Hermanas Padilla and toured in Mexico, Venezuela, and California in the 1930s and 1940s. Sometimes called the "Mexican Andrews Sisters," they performed locally at the Million Dollar Theater and were featured artists at

variety shows along with stars such as Red Skelton and Abbot and Costello. Adelina García (1923-0000) was another well-known singer during the 1930s and 1940s. Originally from Phoenix, Arizona, she moved to Los Angeles when she was fifteen. She performed on the radio before attracting the attention of Columbia Records. Her career continued into the mid-1950s, and she toured throughout the United States as well as Latin America.²⁶⁸

In addition to ranchera, cumbia, and bolero music, mariachi became increasing popular in Los Angeles during the 1920s. Mariachi is a form of folk music that originated in the Mexican state of Jalisco, but rose to national prominence during the early part of the twentieth century. The music was originally played on string instruments, but as it became more urban, brass instruments were added and mariachi musicians began to wear charro outfits.²⁶⁹ One of the most admired mariachi groups was the Mariachi Los Camperos de Nati Cano. Founded in the early 1950s, the band re-located to Los Angeles and initially performed at the Million Dollar Theater. Nati Cano (1933-2014) eventually took over as the leader and re-named the band. In 1969, Cano opened La

²⁶⁶ Teresa Grimes et al., "National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form: Latinos in 20th Century California," June 30, 2014, Section E, 46.

²⁶⁷ Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 176-177.

²⁶⁸ Loza, *Barrio Rhythm: Mexican American Music in Los Angeles* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 35-36.

²⁶⁹ "History of Mariachi Music," *New Mexico State University*, accessed February 26, 2014, <http://web.nmsu.edu/~lleeper/pages/Voice/marrujo/history.htm>.

Fonda Restaurant (LAHCM #268) on Wilshire Boulevard (now closed) and the band performed there regularly.²⁷⁰

In the 1930s, Latino music in Los Angeles began to evolve. Dance club music, sung in both English and Spanish and consisting of American and Latin American styles, became popular. This style of music appealed to the second generation of Mexican American youth who embraced American culture.²⁷¹ La Bamba nightclub at Macy and Spring Streets and La Casa Olvera, adjacent to Olvera Street, were just two of the nightclubs that cropped up in the city that drew this new audience.²⁷²



Lalo Guerrero (middle) performing with Trio Imperial at the Mayflower Club, circa 1948. (Mark Guerrero)

One of the most well-known figures from this period was Lalo Guerrero (1916-2005), who arrived in Los Angeles from Tucson, Arizona in 1937 and began working at La Bamba nightclub. He became a highly successful composer, singer, and bandleader. He was active in the Los Angeles Latino music scene between the 1930s and 1970s. His songs appeared on the radio and in successful records; he also owned a nightclub. His music often blended humor and satire about social problems of the day.²⁷³ His orchestra, with Guerrero as lead vocalist, toured the Southwest and played popular Latino music styles such as the cumbia or mambo.²⁷⁴ Guerrero scaled back his musical career in the 1970s, but continued performing after that.²⁷⁵

Los Angeles became a center for Latino music production during the postwar period. Latino music continued to evolve as it intermingled with other genres, including rock 'n' roll. Latino rock 'n' roll musicians were influenced by different musical styles in Mexico as well as musical styles popularized by African Americans, who often lived in the same neighborhoods as Latinos. A rock 'n' roll pioneer and a forefather of the Chicano rock movement was Ritchie Valens. Born Richard Valenzuela in Pacoima, he rose to stardom in the late 1950s. Valens is best known for his hit song *La Bamba*, which he adapted from a Mexican folk song. He died in a plane crash on February 3, 1959 alongside Buddy Holly and J.P. "The Big Bopper" Richardson. Los Angeles bands that attracted

²⁷⁰ Loza, *Barrio Rhythm: Mexican American Music in Los Angeles*, 87-89; David Colker, "Musician Nati Cano dies at 81; leader of Mariachi Los Camperos," *Los Angeles Times*, October 4, 2014, <http://www.latimes.com/local/obituaries/la-me-nati-cano-20141005-story.html> (accessed March 24, 2015).

²⁷¹ Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 184-186.

²⁷² Macy Street is now César Chávez Avenue.

²⁷³ Loza, *Barrio Rhythm: Mexican American Music in Los Angeles*, 162, 164-165.

²⁷⁴ Loza, *Barrio Rhythm: Mexican American Music in Los Angeles*, 163.

²⁷⁵ Latino MPDF, Section E, page 49.

national attention during the 1960s included Cannibal and the Headhunters, Thee Midnites, The Blendells, and The Premiers. Many rock 'n' roll bands during the 1960s asserted their Chicano identity through album cover art as well as songs that addressed social and political themes.²⁷⁶ Eddie Davis, a former child actor and successful restaurateur, helped many bands get started. His company Rampart Records was almost exclusively devoted to the development of Mexican American talent.²⁷⁷

Television



Desilu Productions was formed in 1950.
(media-cacheak0.pinimg.com)

The same negative stereotypes of Latinos that developed during the silent film era were replicated during the early days of television. Despite this obstacle, one of the most prominent television actors of the 1950s was Cuban American Desi Arnaz (1917-1986). Arnaz's character Ricky Ricardo on the long-running show *I Love Lucy* (1951-1960) was a major, albeit stereotypical Latino character. Ricardo personified the male buffoon stereotype in many of the show's episodes.²⁷⁸ Despite the limitations of his onscreen character, Arnaz had a successful music career in real life. He also produced many other sitcoms, in addition to *I Love Lucy*, through the company Desilu Productions.

Ball and Arnaz met in 1940 on the set of the musical *Too Many Girls* and married later that year. When CBS approached Ball about moving her successful radio show "My Favorite Husband" to television in 1950, she requested that the network cast Arnaz in the role of her on-screen husband. When CBS executives were reluctant to cast a Latino as the husband of the all-American Ball, the couple formed Desilu Productions and used

their own money to produce the pilot of *I Love Lucy*. Desilu eventually bought RKO Studios and became a highly successful production house. Their lot was home to shows like *The Dick Van Dyke Show* and *The Andy Griffith Show*. Although the couple divorced in 1960, Ball continued to star in *I Love Lucy* while Arnaz directed until 1962, when he asked Ball to buy out his portion of Desilu.

²⁷⁶ Hernandez, "Oye Como Va!," 35, 39-40.

²⁷⁷ "The Rampart Records Story," June 20, 2010, <http://latinopia.com/latino-music/the-rampart-records-story/> (accessed July 10, 2015).

²⁷⁸ Ryan and Kanellos, "Hispanic Americans," 190.

Desilu Productions was pioneering in a number of ways. It was the first independent television production company, and it provided the show *I Love Lucy* to CBS as a product rather than working directly for the network, which was common practice at the time. In addition, Desilu remained in Hollywood, at a time when the majority of television production was located in New York, since the major Hollywood studios viewed television as a threat. The company also suggested airing *I Love Lucy* from film rather than the commonly-used kinescopes, an innovative solution that allowed the show to be aired clearly on the East Coast. The show was so successful that by the early 1960s, the majority of prime-time television shows were filmed on the West Coast.²⁷⁹ Desilu has also been credited with the invention of reruns and residual fees as they are known and distributed today.²⁸⁰ Considering that major television networks were originally opposed to the idea of showing a white woman married to a Latino man on screen, Arnaz's substantial success both in front of the camera and behind the scenes in the early days of the medium was remarkable.

Spanish-language television was established right after English-language television as a brokerage system in which English-language stations would lease air-time to Spanish-language programmers. In the 1950s, it began to expand into full-fledged Latino-oriented stations. From the 1960s through the 1980s, media companies created Spanish-language networks through the purchase and consolidation of local stations around the country. In Los Angeles, the Texas-based company Spanish International Communications Corporation (SICC, precursor to Univision), bought local station KMEX; it was the only SICC station to turn a profit for at least ten years.²⁸¹

KMEX, created by Spanish International Broadcasting in 1962 and later purchased by SICC, was the first Spanish-language television station in Los Angeles.²⁸² Like later Spanish-language stations, its programming originated in Mexico. The station's first program was a two and a half hour-long taping of President John F. Kennedy's trip to Mexico earlier that year.²⁸³ The station aired musical shows, dramas, and sports. It was the first UHF (ultra-high frequency) station in Los Angeles aimed at a specific demographic in the city.²⁸⁴ By 1968, the station reached 1.5 million viewers and was the first commercial UHF station to win a National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences award. Though the station aired all Spanish-language programming, the majority of Latinos who watched its shows were bilingual. This may point to the pride in Latino culture and language that arose during the Chicano movement as well as the shared cultural interests, tastes, and values between generations.²⁸⁵

²⁷⁹ "Desi Arnaz and Lucille Ball: The Geniuses Who Shaped the Future of Television," *Entrepreneur Magazine*, October 8, 2008, <http://www.entrepreneur.com/article/197550> (accessed July 9, 2015).

²⁸⁰ "Desi Arnaz and Lucille Ball: The Geniuses Who Shaped the Future of Television," *Entrepreneur Magazine*, October 8, 2008, <http://www.entrepreneur.com/article/197550> (accessed December 26, 2013).

²⁸¹ All facts in this paragraph excerpted from Subervi-Velez et al, "Mass Communications," 335-336.

²⁸² No Author, "Spanish-Language TV Opens in L.A. Office," *Los Angeles Times*, June 26, 1962, B9.

²⁸³ No Author, "City's First All-Spanish Video Station on Air," *Los Angeles Times*, October 1, 1962, A1.

²⁸⁴ Martin Rossman, "TV Station Aims at Spanish-Speaking," *Los Angeles Times*, September 30, 1962, H1. The major television stations during the period were VHF (very high frequency), and UHF stations could only be viewed with a special converter. When KMEX aired, the area saw a rapid increase in the sales of the converters needed to view the station.

²⁸⁵ Ruben Salazar, "Best Kept Secret in L.A. Television," *Los Angeles Times*, May 8, 1970, G33.

In 1963, Ruben Salazar began writing a column for the *Los Angeles Times* entitled "Mexican TV" about the station's programming. In 1970, he left his job at the *Times* to become news director of KMEX, replacing Danny Villanueva. However, he only served as news director of KMEX for a few months before he was killed during the Chicano Moratorium March in August 1970. Villanueva, a former professional football player,

became the president of KMEX and later played a prominent role in founding the Spanish-language media giant Univision.



Ruben Salazar became the news director at KMEX in 1970. (Ruben Salazar Project)

By 1983, the television stations of SICC and sister company the Spanish International Network (SIN, founded in 1961 by Azcárraga Vidauretta) were reaching 3.3 million U.S. Latino households. Programming on these stations mostly came from Mexico. In particular, it came from Univision, another of Azcárraga Vidauretta's companies. The shows provided by Univision included novelas, variety shows, and news programs, as well as coverage of major sporting events. The small percentage of shows produced in the U.S. typically consisted of local newscasts and special programs. In 1987, after an FCC ruling and federal court case, SIN and SICC were purchased by Hallmark Cards, Inc. and First Capital Corporation of Chicago. The new owners merged the companies and renamed them Univision. Ultimately, Azcárraga Vidauretta regained control of Univision in 1993.²⁸⁶

For more information about Latinos in the television industry, see *American Latinos and the Making of the United States: A Theme Study* and *Latinos in Twentieth Century California Multiple Property Submission (MPS)*

For more information about Latinos in the various formers of media that make up the entertainment industry, see *American Latinos and the Making of the United States: A Theme Study* and *Latinos in Twentieth Century California Multiple Property Submission (MPS)*

The following tables describe designated and known resources associated with the Latinos in the entertainment industry. The tables are not intended to be an exhaustive list of Latinos in the entertainment industry. Many persons working in the entertainment industry, including Latinos, lived in neighboring cities such as Beverly Hills, West Hollywood, and Santa Monica. Lupe Veléz, Gilbert Roland, and Cesar Romero are

²⁸⁶ All facts in this paragraph excerpted from Subervi-Velez et al, "Mass Communications," 336-339.

among this group. Furthermore, Latinos who also worked in the theater, such as Rita Moreno and Jose Ferrer, tended to live in New York. Thus, there are no properties closely associated with them in Los Angeles for inclusion in SurveyLA. Eligibility Standards address residential, commercial, and industrial property types.

Designated Resources

Resource Name	Location	Comments
Del Rio - Gibbons Residence	757 Kingman Road	Del Rio (1905-1983) was a Mexican-born actress who was a silent film star during the 1920s and 1930s. She returned to Mexico during the 1940s and became one of the most important stars of the Golden Age of Mexican cinema. She lived here with her husband, the art director Cedric Gibbons from 1930 to 1941. The property is listed in the National Register of Historic Places.
Ramon Novarro Residence aka Samuel-Novarro Residence	5609 Valley Oak Drive	Novarro (1899-1968) was a silent film star during the 1920s and 1930s. In 1925, he achieved his greatest success in <i>Ben Hur</i> . With the death of Rudolph Valentino in 1926, Novarro became the leading Latino actor in Hollywood. He was a second cousin to Dolores del Rio. Louis Samuel was Novarro's business manager. The property is designated LAHCM #130.
La Fonda Restaurant	2501 Wilshire Boulevard	This restaurant became the permanent home of the distinguished mariachi band, Los Camperos, from 1967 until it closed in 2007. Natividad 'Nati' Cano was the musical director and owner. In 1990 he was awarded the National Endowment for the Arts National Heritage Award. The property is listed in the National Register and designated LAHCM #268.

Known Resources

Resource Name	Location	Comments
Dolores Del Rio Residence	1903 Outpost Drive	This residence was built for Dolores Del Rio in 1926-27. She lived here until she married Cedric Gibbons in 1930.
Eduardo "Lalo" Guerrero Residence	4144 Blanchard Street	Guerrero (1916-2005) is known as the "father of Chicano music." Guerrero's 1948 first solo record hit the top of the charts and established him as a major recording artist in both the United States and Mexico. He addressed social and political issues in his music.
Ritchie Valens Residence	13428 Remington Street Valens purchased the residence at this address from his mother in 1958 and lived here until his death in 1959.	Born Richard Steven Valenzuela (1941-1959), Valens was a singer, songwriter, and guitarist. He is widely regarded as the forefather of Chicano rock. His most notable hit, <i>La Bamba</i> (1958), was transformed from a Mexican folk song. He was inducted into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame in 2001.
Desilu-Cahuenga Studios	846 N. Cahuenga Boulevard	Desilu Productions was located here beginning in the early 1960s. As the company grew, it moved from the Paramount Pictures lot to its own facilities on Cahuenga Boulevard.
KMEX	721 N. Bronson Avenue	KMEX's opened offices at 1044 South Hill Street in 1962, and then moved to the Paramount Pictures lot in 1963.

Theme: Residential Properties Associated with the Entertainment Industry

Summary Statement of

Significance:

A resource evaluated under this theme may be significant in the areas of ethnic heritage and entertainment for its association with important Latinos in the entertainment industry. Latinos were participating in the entertainment industry, in front of and behind the camera, from the beginning. Many had gained experience in the theater or musical stage. By the 1920s, Latinos were generally excluded from the industry except in front of the camera where they played stereotypical roles. After the 1930s, most Latinos who rose to prominence did so using Anglo names and by hiding their identities. Beginning in the 1970s, Latinos became increasingly involved in the production of entertainment.

Period of Significance:

1925 - 1980

Period of Significance

Justification:

The period of significance begins in 1925 with the construction of residences for Latinos working during the silent film era. 1980 is the end date for SurveyLA and may be extended as part of future survey work.

Geographic Locations:

Citywide

Area(s) of Significance:

Ethnic Heritage, Entertainment

Criteria:

NR: B CR: 2 Local: 2

Associated Property Types:

Residential – Single-Family Residence and Multi-Family Residence

Property Type Description:

Property types under this theme include single-family and multi-family residential buildings that were the homes of prominent Latinos in the entertainment industry.

Property Type Significance:

Properties significant under this theme are directly associated with Latinos who made significant contributions to the entertainment industry.

Eligibility Standards:

- A residence designed specifically for a significant Latino person in the entertainment industry, or the long-term residence of a significant Latino person in the entertainment industry

- Individual must be proven to have made an important contribution to the entertainment industry
- Is directly associated with the productive life of the person within the entertainment industry

Character-Defining/Associative Features:

- For National Register, properties associated with individuals whose significant accomplishments date from the last 50 years must possess exceptional importance
- Retains most of the essential character-defining features from the period of significance
- The individual must have resided in the property during the period in which he or she achieved significance

Integrity Considerations:

- Should retain integrity of Location, Design, Feeling, and Association from the period of significance
- Integrity is based on the period during which the significant person occupied the residence
- Properties may be difficult to observe from the public right-of-way due to privacy walls and landscaping

Theme: Television Broadcasting Industry

Summary Statement of

Significance:

A resource evaluated under this theme may be significant in the areas of ethnic heritage, communications, and industry for its association with the Latino community and television broadcasting. The same negative stereotypes of Latinos that developed during the silent film era were replicated during the early days of television. As such, only a small but significant group of Latinos found success in early television. The situation began to change in the 1960s as media companies created Latino-oriented television stations and then networks.

Period of Significance:

1950 - 1980

Period of Significance

Justification:

The period of significance begins in 1950 with the development of Latino television. Originally, it took the forms of Spanish-language programming broadcast from Anglo stations in time slots purchased by Latino brokers and it expanded quickly into full-time, Latino-oriented stations. 1980 is the end date for SurveyLA and may be extended as part of future survey work.

Geographic Locations:

Citywide, but with the highest concentration in Hollywood

Area(s) of Significance:

Ethnic Heritage, Communications, Industry

Criteria:

NR: A CR: 1 Local: 1

Associated Property Types:

Industrial – Television Production Studio, Television Broadcasting Facility

Property Type Description:

Property types under this theme may include television stations, broadcast facilities, and production studios.

Property Type Significance:

Properties significant under this theme are directly associated with companies owned and/or operated by Latinos. The companies made significant contributions to the television industry by presenting a balanced image of Latinos in the media.

Eligibility Standards:

- Dates from the period of significance
- Used primarily as a television broadcast or production facility for an extended period of

time

- Owned and operated by Latinos

Character-Defining/Associative Features:

- For National Register, a property associated with events that date from the last 50 years must possess exceptional importance
- Retains most of the essential character-defining features from the period of significance
- May be composed of one large building or multiple smaller buildings designed to house office space and production facilities
- May be located near major motion picture studios
- Some facilities may include accommodations for a live studio audience; those will be distinguishable by their size, and may also have associations with the television or motion picture industries
- Most significant facilities were constructed during the 1940s and 1950s

Integrity Considerations:

- Should retain integrity of Location, Design, and Association from the period of significance
- Original use may have changed
- The original facility may have been altered or expanded over time to accommodate changing technology

Selected Bibliography

- Acuña, Rodolfo. *Occupied America: A History of Chicanos*, 3rd ed. New York: Harper Collins, 1988.
- Almaguer, Tomás. *Racial Fault Lines: The Historical Origins of White Supremacy in California*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.
- Alvarez, Luis. *The Power of the Zoot: Youth Culture and Resistance during World War II*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008.
- Alvarez, Luis. "Zoot Violence on the Home Front" in *Mexican Americans & World War II*, edited by Maggie Rivas-Rodriguez. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005.
- "Art Along the Hyphen: The Mexican-American Generation." *The Austry*. Accessed February 27, 2014. <http://theaustry.org/press/art-along-the-hyphen>.
- Avila, Eric. *Popular Culture in the Age of White Flight*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004.
- Benavídez, Max and Kate Vozoff. "The Wall: Image and Boundary, Chicano Art in the 1970s," in *Mexican Art of the 1970s: Images of Displacement*, edited by Leonard Folgarait. Nashville: Vanderbilt University, 1984.
- Brilliant, Mark. *The Color of America Has Changed: How Racial Diversity Shaped Civil Rights Reform in California, 1941-1978*. New York: Oxford, 2010.
- Brooks, Charlotte. *Alien Neighbors, Foreign Friends*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009.
- Burns, Jeffrey M. "The Mexican Catholic Community in California," in *Mexican Americans and the Catholic Church, 1900-1965*, edited by Jay P. Dolan and Gilberto M. Hinojosa. London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994.
- Burt, Kenneth C. *The Search for a Civic Voice: California Latino Politics*. Claremont: Regina Books, 2007.
- Cadava, Geraldo L. "Entrepreneurs from the Beginning: Latino Business and Commerce since the 16th Century," in *American Latinos and the Making of the United States: A Theme Study*. Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 2013.
- Camarillo, Albert. *Chicanos in a Changing Society: From Mexican Pueblos to American Barrios*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979.

- Camarillo, Albert. *Chicanos in California: A History of Mexican Americans*. San Francisco: Boyd & Fraser, 1984.
- Cameron, James W. "The History of Mexican Public Education in Los Angeles, 1910-1930" (Ph.D. dissertation, USC, 1976)
- Cherny, Robert W., Gretchen Lemke-Santangelo, and Richard Griswold del Castillo. *Competing Visions: A History of California*, 2nd edition. Boston: Wadsworth, 2014.
- Cobb, Wilbur K. "Retardation in Elementary Schools of Children of Migratory Laborers in Ventura County, California" (M.A. thesis, USC, 1932)
- Cockcroft, Eva Sperling and Holly Barnet-Sánchez. Introduction to *Signs From the Heart: California Chicano Murals*. Eva Sperling Cockcroft and Holly Barnet-Sánchez, eds. Eva Sperling Cockcroft and Holly Barnet-Sánchez. 1990. Reprint, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2001.
- Cueva-Fernández, Olivia. *Images of America: Mexican Americans in Wilmington*. Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2011.
- Deck, Allan Figueroa, S.J. "The Challenge of Evangelical/Pentecostal Christianity to Hispanic Catholicism," in *Hispanic Catholic Culture in the U.S.: Issues and Concerns*, edited by Jay P. Dolan and Allan Figueroa Deck. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994.
- DeFreitas, Gregory. *Inequality at Work: Hispanics in the U.S. Labor Force*. New York: Oxford, 1991.
- "Desi Arnaz and Lucille Ball: The Geniuses Who Shaped the Future of Television." *Entrepreneur Magazine*. October 8, 2008. Accessed December 26, 2013. <http://www.entrepreneur.com/article/197550>.
- DeSipio, Louis. "Demanding Equal Political Voice... and Accepting Nothing less: The Quest for Latino Political Inclusion," in *American Latinos and the Making of the United States: A Theme Study*. Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 2013.
- DeSipio, Louis. "The Pressures of Perpetual Promise: Latinos and Politics, 1960-2003," in *The Columbia History of Latinos in the United States Since 1960*, edited by David Gutiérrez. New York: Columbia University Press, 2004.
- Felker-Kantor, Max. "Fighting the Segregation Amendment," in *Black and Brown in Los Angeles*, edited by Josh Kun and Laura Pulido. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014.

- Gann, L.H. and Peter J. Duignan. *The Hispanics in the United States*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1986.
- García, Mario T. *Católicos: Resistance and Affirmation in Chicano Catholic History*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008.
- García, Matt. *A World of Its Own: Race, Labor, and Citrus in the Making of Greater Los Angeles, 1900-1970*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001.
- Gluck, Sherna Berger. *Rosie the Riveter Revisited*. Boston: Twayne, 1987.
- Gómez-Quíñones, Juan. *Chicano Politics: Reality and Promise, 1940-1990*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990.
- Gómez-Quíñones, Juan. *Mexican American Labor, 1790-1990*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994.
- Gómez-Quíñones, Juan. *Mexican Students por La Raza: The Chicano Student Movement in Southern California, 1967-1977*. Santa Barbara: Editorial La Causa, 1978.
- González, Alicia María. "Murals: Fine, Popular, or Folk Art?" *Aztlán: International Journal of Chicano Studies Research* 13, no. 1, 2 (Spring-Fall 1982)
- Gonzales, Gilbert. *Chicano Education in the Era of Segregation*. Philadelphia: Balch Institute Press, 1990.
- Griswold del Castillo, Richard. *The Los Angeles Barrio, 1850-1890*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979.
- Guerin-Gonzales, Camille. *Mexican Workers and American Dreams*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1994.
- Gutiérrez, David G. "An Historic Overview of Latino Immigration and the Demographic Transformation of the United States," in *American Latinos and the Making of the United States: A Theme Study*. Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 2013.
- Gutiérrez, David. *Walls and Mirrors: Mexican Americans, Mexican Immigrants, and the Politics of Ethnicity*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.
- Gutiérrez, Félix F. "More Than 200 Years of Latino Media in the United States," in *American Latinos and the Making of the United States: A Theme Study*. Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 2013.

- Guzman, Ralph. "The Hand of Esau: Words Change, Practices Remain in Racial Covenants." *Frontier* 7 (June 1956)
- Hamilton, Nora and Norma Stoltz Chinchilla. *Seeking Community in a Global City: Guatemalans and Salvadorans in Los Angeles*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001.
- Haslam, Gerald. "Por La Causa! Mexican-American Literature." *College English*, Vol. 31, No. 7 (April 1970): 700.
- Hayes-Bautista, David E. *La Nueva California: Latinos in the Golden State*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004.
- Hernandez, Deborah Pacini. *Oye Como Va!: Hybridity and Identity in Latino Popular Music*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2010.
- Hinojosa, Rolando. "Mexican-American Literature: Toward an Identification." *Books Abroad* 49, no. 3 (Summer 1975)
- HoSang, Daniel Martinez. *Racial Propositions: Ballot Initiatives and the Making of Postwar California*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010.
- Jackson, Carlos Francisco. *Chicana and Chicano Art: ProtestArte*. Tuscon: University of Arizona Press, 2009.
- Johnson, Kevin R. "The Continuing Latino Quest for Full Membership and Equal Citizenship," in *The Columbia History of Latinos in the United States Since 1960*, edited by David Gutiérrez. New York: Columbia University Press, 2004.
- Latorre, Guisela. *Walls of Empowerment: Chicana/o Indigenist Murals of California*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008.
- León, Luis D. *La Llorona's Children: Religion, Life, and death in the U.S.-Mexican Borderlands*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008.
- Loza, Steven. *Barrio Rhythm: Mexican American Music in Los Angeles*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993.
- MacDonald, Victoria-María. "Demanding their Rights: The Latino Struggle for Educational Access and Equity," in *American Latinos and the Making of the United States: A Theme Study*. Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 2013.
- Maciel, David R. "Latino Cinema," in *Handbook of Hispanic Cultures in the United States: Literature and Art*, edited by Fransisco Lomeli. Houston: Arte Público Press, 1994.

- Mariscal, George. *Brown-Eyed Children of the Sun: Lessons from the Chicano Movement, 1965-1975*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005.
- Martínez, Juan Francisco. *Los Protestantes: An Introduction to Latino Protestantism in the United States*. Santa Barbara: Praeger, 2011.
- McNamara, Patrick H. "Catholicism, Assimilation, and the Chicano Movement," in *Chicanos and Native Americans: The Territorial Minorities*, edited by Rudolph O. de la Garza, Z. Anthony Kruszewski and Tomás A. Arcienega. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1973.
- McWilliams, Carey. *North From Mexico: The Spanish-Speaking People of the United States*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1968.
- Menchaca, Martha. *The Mexican Outsiders: A Community History of Marginalization and Discrimination in California*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995.
- Molina, Natalia. *Fit to be Citizens? Public Health and Race in Los Angeles, 1879-1939*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006.
- Monroy, Douglas. "An Essay on Understanding the Work Experience of Mexicans in Southern California, 1900-1939." *Aztlán* 12, 1 (Spring 1981)
- Monroy, Douglas. "Making Mexico in Los Angeles," in *Metropolis in the Making: Los Angeles in the 1920s*, edited by Tom Sitton and William Deverell. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2006.
- Monroy, Douglas. *Rebirth: Mexican Los Angeles from the Great Migration to the Great Depression*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.
- Monroy, Douglas. *Thrown Among Strangers: The Making of Mexican Culture in Frontier California*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990.
- Montoya, Margaret. "Latinos and the Law," in *American Latinos and the Making of the United States: A Theme Study*. Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 2013.
- Nieto, Margaret. "Le Démon des Anges: A Brief History of the Chicano-Latino Artists of Los Angeles." In *Le Démon Des Anges*. Nantes, France: Centre De Recherché Pour Le Développement Culturel, 1989.
- "Noticiero Latino." *Radio Bilingue*. Accessed December 20, 2013.
<http://radiobilingue.org/en/rb-programas/noticiero-latino/>.
- Novas, Himilce. *Everything You Need to Know About Latino History*. New York: Plume Division of Penguin Group, 2008.

- Orenstein, Dara. "Void for Vagueness: Mexicans and the Collapse of Miscegenation Law in California." *Pacific Historical Review*, 74, 3 (August 2005)
- Oropeza, Lorena. *¡Raza Sí, Guerra No!: Chicano Protest and Patriotism during the Viet Nam War Era*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005.
- Osborne, Thomas. *Pacific El Dorado: A History of Greater California*. West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013.
- Pastor, Jr., Manuel. "Poverty, Work, and Public Policy: Latino Futures in California's New Economy," in *Mexicans in California: Transformations and Challenges*, edited by Ramón A. Gutiérrez and Patricia Zavella. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009.
- Pitti, Stephen J. *The Devil in Silicon Valley: Northern California, Race, and Mexican Americans*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003.
- Pitti, Stephen J. "The American Latino Heritage," in *American Latinos and the Making of the United States: A Theme Study*. Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 2013.
- Purcell, Eileen M. *The Public Sanctuary Movement: A Historical Basis of Hope, Book 1*. San Francisco: Sanctuary Oral History Project, 2007.
- Rafferty, Judith Rosenberg. *Land of Fair Promise: Politics and Reform in Los Angeles Schools, 1885-1941*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992.
- Ramirez, Daniel. "Borderlands Praxis: The Immigrant Experience in Latino Pentecostal Churches." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 67, no. 3 (September 1999)
- Ramos, Henry. *The American GI Forum: In Pursuit of a Dream, 1948-1983*. Houston: Arte Público Press, 1998.
- Ríos-Bustamante, Antonio and Pedro Castillo. *An Illustrated History of Mexican Los Angeles, 1781-1985*. Los Angeles: University of California, Los Angeles Chicano Studies Research Center Publications, 1986.
- Rivera, Tomás. "Chicano Literature: The Establishment of Community." *The Bilingual Review/La Revista Bilingüe*, Vol. 13, No. 1/2 (January-August 1986)
- Romo, Ricardo. *East Los Angeles: History of a Barrio*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981.
- Rosales, Arturo. *Dictionary of Latino Civil Rights History*. Houston: Arte Público Press, 2006.

- Ruiz, Vicki. *Out of the Shadows: Mexican Women in Twentieth Century America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Ryan, Bryan and Nicolas Kanellos, eds. "Hispanic Americans in the Media," in *Hispanic American Almanac, 185-196*. New York: UXL, 1995.
- Sánchez, George. *Becoming Mexican American: Ethnicity, Culture and Identity in Chicano Los Angeles, 1900-1945*. New York: Oxford Press, 1993.
- Sandoval, Moises. *On the Move: A History of the Hispanic Church in the United States*, 2nd edition. Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 2006.
- Savin, Ada. "A Bridge Over the Americas: Mexican American Literature." *Bilingual Review/La Revista Bilingue*, 20, no. 2 (May-August 1995)
- Segura, Rosamaria. *Images of America: Central Americans in Los Angeles*. Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2009.
- Sides, Josh. *L.A. City Limits: African American Los Angeles from the Great Depression to the Present*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006.
- Sierra, Christine Marie. "Hispanics and the Political Process," in *Hispanics in the United States*, edited by Pastora San Juan Cafferty and David W. Engstrom. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishing, 2000.
- "The Sleepy Lagoon Case." Los Angeles: Citizen's Committee for the Defense of Mexican American Youth, 1942.
- Splitter, Henry Winford. "Education in Los Angeles: 1850-1900," *Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly* 33, 2 (June 1951)
- Stern, Alexandra Minna. *Eugenic Nation: Faults and Frontiers of Better Breeding in Modern America*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005.
- Stevens-Arroyo, Antonio M. *Prophets Denied Honor: An Anthology on the Hispano Church in the United States*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1980.
- Subervi-Velez, Federico A., Charles Ramírez Berg, Patricia Constantakis-Valdés, Chon Noriega, Diane I. Ríos and Kenton T. Wilkinson. "Mass Communications and Hispanics," in *Handbook of Hispanic Cultures in the United States: Sociology*, edited by Felix Padilla. Houston: Arte Público Press, 1994.
- Tatum, Charles M. "Contemporary Chicano Prose Fiction: Its Ties to Mexican Literature." *Books Abroad* 49, no. 3 (Summer 1975)

Vargas, Zaragosa. *Labor Rights are Civil Rights: Mexican American Workers in Twentieth-Century America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005.

Vargas, Zaragosa. *Crucible of Struggle*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Watkins, Frances E. "'He Said It With Music': Spanish-California Folk Songs Recorded by Charles F. Lummis." *California Folklore Quarterly* 1, no. 4 (October 1942)

Wollenberg, Charles. *All Deliberate Speed: Segregation and Exclusion in California Schools, 1855-1975*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976.

Ybarra-Frausto, Tomás. "A Panorama of Latino Arts," in *American Latinos and the Making of the United States: A Theme Study*. Washington D.C.: National Park Service, 2013.