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E. STATEMENT OF HISTORIC CONTEXTS

Preface

This *Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in California* Multiple Property Documentation Form (MPDF) is the first step in establishing the framework to identify and designate places in California associated with Asian American and Pacific Islander (AAPI) communities. It compliments and builds upon the national theme study, *Finding A Path Forward: Asian American Pacific Islander National Historic Landmarks Theme Study* produced by the National Park Service.¹

Even before California became a state in 1850, people from Asia and the Pacific Islands have been instrumental in its physical, social, economic, political, and cultural growth and transformation. Their contributions shaped the history of California, from gold mining and railroad building, to agriculture, urban development, and beyond. The story of Asian American and Pacific Islander (AAPI) communities is the story of California, including the racial discrimination they encountered. Repeatedly scapegoated for social and economic ills, AAPI communities endured legal and de facto segregation, and exclusion from land ownership, voting, and other aspects of citizenship. The hostility toward Chinese immigrants ultimately led to the first federal restrictions on immigration in the late nineteenth century.

Because the history and experiences of the AAPI communities in California are so varied and wide-ranging, this MPDF does not attempt to be comprehensive. Its initial focus is on those groups who had a significant presence in the state before additional federal laws and policies virtually halted migration from Asia in the 1920s and 1930s. These pioneering groups hailed in successive waves primarily from China, Japan, Korea, the Philippines, and the Punjab region of the Indian subcontinent. For the Pacific Islanders, the ones discussed in this MPDF—Native Hawaiians, Chamorros from Guam in the Mariana Islands, and Samoans from American Samoa—came, like the Filipina/os, from territories controlled by the United States and were not considered immigrants subject to the restrictive laws.

The experiences of these communities are unique to each group, though they also share many commonalities. The MPDF is organized by themes as a way to examine those common elements. Typically, a summary at the beginning of each context offers some general overview. The specific experiences of each community are then discussed in greater detail. Given the number of AAPI communities examined in this MPDF, the themes so far focus on their migration and community formation, community serving organizations, and religion and spirituality. Many more themes can and should be examined in the future.

The lifting of national-origins quota limits in 1965 opened the doors to new immigration from Asia and the Pacific Islands. This brought many more ethnic groups, nationalities, and greater diversity among those who migrated to the United States. The 1960s was also when a growing Asian American

¹ The “Asians Americans and Pacific Islanders” term used in this document is based on the national theme study, as is geographic definition of Asia and the Pacific Islands. See the Terms and Definitions section for more information.

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movement started to embrace the term “Asian American” as a political identity. The experiences and contributions of the post-1965 AAPI immigrant groups deserve examination, and it is expected that their histories will be added to this MPDF over time. Future amendments to the MPDF may also include and are not limited to further contexts, later periods of significance, and additional geographic concentrations for the groups documented to date.

Terms and Definitions

General terms used throughout are discussed below. Terms and explanation specific to each community are provided for reference. The terms and definitions provided for each community are not comprehensive and only include the terms relevant to the statement of historic contexts.

General

This document uses the term “Asian” to refer to persons of Asian descent, rather than “Oriental” as was more commonly used in the early to mid-twentieth century.

The geographic area considered to be Asia and the Pacific Islands is based on that defined by the National Park Service in the *Finding a Path Forward: Asian American Pacific Islander National Historic Landmarks Theme Study*:

The region of interest in this theme study is usually defined by China to the north and Indonesia to the south, and incorporating Afghanistan and Pakistan to Japan and the Philippines. The South China Sea, the Philippine Sea, and the Indian Ocean, in addition to the mighty Pacific Ocean, are major bodies of water in this region.²

Similarly, the term Asian American and Pacific Islander (AAPI) is the same one used by the theme study. As explained in the document:

In this Theme Study we refer to the people from these diverse and geographically far-flung cultures as “Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders”—AAPI, in short. Because they share a sense of community in the United States, they often unite for political or cultural reasons under various umbrella terms, sometimes as “Asian Pacific Americans” (APA), “Asian American and Pacific Americans” (AAPA), or simply “Asian Pacific Americans” (APA). While the two groups were once unified for census purposes, they are now disaggregated. There is no common agreement that one designation is more accurate than others; we selected AAPI as a convenient acronym, but we do not consider it superior to others.³

² Franklin Odo, “Asian Americans and Pacific Islander Americans Revisited: An introduction to the National Historic Landmark Theme Study,” in *Finding a Path Forward: Asian American Pacific Islander National Historic Landmarks Theme Study*, ed. Franklin Odo (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 2017), 3.

³ Odo, “Asian Americans and Pacific Islander Americans Revisited,” 4.

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Once established in America, some groups added “American” to how they referred to themselves, and accepted being referred to by others, e.g., Chinese American. Such terms are no longer hyphenated. Other communities did not add American to their group identification, e.g., Native Hawaiian, Chamorro, and Samoan. This document reflects preferences identified through research and conversations with subject matter experts.

The Delta refers to the Sacramento-San Joaquin River Delta in Northern California. Before being reclaimed by levees built during the late 1800s and early 1900s, the Delta was a tidal marsh. Located between San Francisco and Sacramento, the Delta is an extensive network of waterways at the confluence of the two rivers. The Sacramento, San Joaquin, Mokelumne, Calaveras, and Cosumnes Rivers flow into the Delta. It covers 700,000 acres that supports a variety of wildlife as well as rich agricultural lands in the surrounding communities such as Sacramento and Stockton.⁴

The Central Valley is defined by the Sacramento Valley in Northern California and the San Joaquin Valley in Central California.

Words in languages other than English are generally italicized, except for proper nouns.

Groups are presented in chronological order of their first appearance in California.

Native Hawaiian

Native Hawaiian is the most commonly used term that refers to the Polynesian people who first settled the Hawaiian archipelago. The term *Kanaka Maoli* was used by the Native Hawaiians to refer to themselves in their native language and over time has evolved into the most popular Hawaiian term for Native Hawaiians.⁵ *Maoli* translates to native or indigenous in the Hawaiian language.⁶ During the nineteenth century, Europeans referred to Native Hawaiian laborers as *kanakas*, which translates to “person” in Hawaiian and was also derived from *Kanaka Maoli*. *Kanakas* was used as a derisive and racialized term for Native Hawaiians who worked as laborers in the Pacific, though Europeans later used *kanakas* to refer to all Pacific Islander ethnic groups as a whole.⁷ The term appears historically and is no longer in use.

⁴ North Delta Program, Sacramento/San Joaquin Delta: Environmental Impact Statement, 1990.

⁵ Stacy L. Smith, *Freedom’s Frontier: California and the Struggle over Unfree Labor* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 32.

⁶ Davianna Pomaika’i McGregor and Melody Kapilialoha MacKenzie, *Mo’olelo Ea O Na Hawai’i: History of Native Hawaiian Governance in Hawai’i*, prepared for the Office of Hawaiian Affairs, U.S. Department of the Interior, August 19, 2014, 1.

⁷ Gregory Rosenthal, *Beyond Hawai’i: Native Labor in the Pacific World* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2018), 1.

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“Hawai‘i” with the *okina*—a glottal stop, designated in print with a single open quote mark—is the spelling in the Hawaiian language. “Hawaiian” is an English word and no *okina* is included.⁸

Three additional terms from *Hawaiians in Los Angeles*,⁹

Native Hawaiians are people who can trace their ancestry to the Hawaiian Islands before the arrival of Europeans around 1778. Native Hawaiians are indigenous like Native Americans, without the same official designation as indigenous peoples of America except in the State of Hawai‘i. Native Hawaiians have no reservation or sovereignty. When the Kingdom of Hawai‘i was annexed in 1898, Native Hawaiians simply became subjects of the United States.

Local refers to someone born and raised in Hawai‘i who shares the modern culture of the Hawaiian Islands. Local culture is combination of Hawaiian, Portuguese, Filipina/o, Japanese, Korean, Chinese, and other ethnicities that have come to Hawai‘i to work during the sugar plantation days.

Diasporic Hawaiian community consists of people who have left Hawai‘i for the continental United States. These people, while sometimes Native Hawaiian, are often mixed-race due to the high rates of intermarriage and the strong presence of local culture in Hawaii.

Chinese American

Most of the early Chinese immigrants came from the Guangdong region in southwest China (also known as Canton) and primarily spoke Cantonese or other regional dialects. Early on, names and phrases were transliterated into English as heard and without using a consistent, accepted system. Over time, different Romanization systems were developed and not universally adopted; the same Chinese character may have multiple spellings. Mandarin became the official dialect of China following the 1911 Chinese Revolution, and the pinyin system of Romanizing Chinese characters became standard in the 1980s. In this context, the most common spelling of terms is used and the standard pinyin is provided in parentheses where possible.

Chinese names are formed with surname first and then given name. They are typically two or three characters, with each character corresponding to one syllable. Names were not always recorded correctly, nor spelled consistently. Nicknames, pen names, honorifics like Ah, and family relationship titles like Oldest Uncle were sometimes used instead.¹⁰ Immigrants and their children often adopted more common American names. In this document, Chinese names are provided in the format found in

⁸ “The Hawaiian Spelling of Words,” *OOCities*, accessed March 21, 2019, <http://www.oocities.org/dhc2020/hawaiianspelling.htm>.

⁹ Elizabeth Nihipail, Lessa Kanani’opua Pelayo, Christian Hanz Lozada, Cheryl Villareal Roberts, Lorelie Santonil Olaes, *Hawaiians in Los Angeles*, Images of America (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2012), 9.

¹⁰ Sue Fawn Chung, “A Brief Overview of the Contributions of Chinese Americans in the Building of the United States,” University of Nevada, Las Vegas, September 27, 2009 (draft), 12. See also the discussion about the different ways Chinese names may have been recorded over time on the same page.

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the historical documentation; to distinguish between the surname and given name, hyphens are inserted between the two characters of the given name. Where possible, both the American and Chinese names are given.

For organizations specific to Chinese communities:

Fongs were formed by family associations to assist clan members in the United States. Meaning “house” or “room,” *fongs* were clubhouses that served as boarding houses and community centers where members could meet, exchange news, mail and receive letters, and arrange for the remains of deceased relatives to be shipped back home.

Tongs (fraternal lodges or organizations) were organized around sworn brotherhood loyalty and patterned after the secret societies, or triads, that were formed in opposition to the Qing Empire in China. *Tongs* also helped immigrants find jobs, pool economic resources, and provided other forms of mutual assistance. As they grew and expanded, *tong* activities also extended into the opium, gambling, and prostitution trades, all common vices in bachelor societies.

Above the *tongs* and *fongs* were *huigan*, regional associations based on immigrants’ native districts. In San Francisco, the first Chinese immigrants formed six distinct associations linked to areas in the Pearl River Delta. They later joined together as the Chinese Six Companies, which acted as a representative for Chinese in the United States, settled inter-district conflicts, and provided legal, educational, and health services. Eventually, it managed overseas branches in Canada and Latin America from San Francisco as well.¹¹

Japanese American

As often as possible, both English and Japanese terms are included in this context. Japanese terms appear in italics alongside their common English translation. Generational terms are important, as they are commonplace in Japanese American history and sociology.

Issei: The first-generation Japanese immigrants who were excluded from becoming U.S. citizens by law. They came to the U.S. between 1890 and 1924 and had strong ties to Japanese culture and tradition. Few attended American schools, except for those who came specifically to pursue a college education. English proficiency varied among this generation.

Nisei: The children of *Issei*, or second generation. *Nisei* were born in the United States, primarily between 1910 and 1940. They grew up during the Great Depression and were children and teenagers during World War II.

¹¹ Erika Lee, *The Making of Asian America: A History* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2015), 77-78.

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Sansei: The third generation, or members of the post-World War II baby boom. Most Sansei came of age at the height of the student protest movement of the 1960s. Many attended college and became working professionals.

Yonsei: The fourth generation. The great-grandchildren of Japanese immigrants who arrived prior to 1924 termination of immigration from Japan. Yonsei have the highest rates of interracial marriage of any Japanese American generation.

Shin Issei: Immigrants who arrived post-WWII are understood as a distinct group. *Shin* translates as “new.”

Nikkei: Refers generally to individuals of Japanese ancestry born in the United States, regardless of generation.

Kibei Nisei: Includes Japanese Americans who were born in America, and raised and partially educated in Japan.

With respect to given names of individuals, many *Nikkei* took on American names to emphasize their place in America, which means that some members of the Japanese American community may have two first names. Whenever known, both names are included here.

Over time, the preferred vocabulary for describing events relating to the World War II experiences of Japanese Americans has evolved to reflect a more accurate, authentic, and community-defined terminology. Following guidelines established in the Japanese American Citizens League’s *The Power of Words*, the terms forced removal, incarceration, temporary detention center, incarceration camp, and illegal detention center are used to describe events and actions that may appear in previous historic documentation as internment, evacuation, and relocation.¹²

Korean American

English spelling of Korean names and words in this context generally follows the rules of the revised Romanization of Korean accepted since 2000. Some older publications may have different spellings, offered in parentheses.¹³

Although Korean names typically have the surname first followed by the given name, many Korean immigrants followed the Western format of given name followed by surname. Immigrants and their

¹²Japanese American Citizens League, *Power of Words Handbook: A Guide to Language About Japanese Americans in World War II*, April 21, 2013, accessed November 15, 2018, <https://jacl.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/Power-of-Words-Rev.-Term-Handbook.pdf>.

¹³ Marn Jai Cha, *Koreans in Central California (1903-1957): A Study of Settlement and Transnational Politics* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2010), xvii-xviii.

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children often adopted more common American names. Where possible, both the American and Korean names are given and presented in the Western format for consistency. If the name is better known in the Korean format, it is presented in that format; a hyphen is inserted between words to distinguish the given name.

For organizational names, the most common English translated names are used. The Korean names are provided in parentheses, along with alternate spellings.

Filipina/o American

This context uses the term Filipina/o American to refer to people who have migrated to the United States from the Philippines or are descended from Philippine migrants. Filipina/o is the spelling most commonly used by scholars. Throughout this document, names of organizations may use Pilipino. People from the Philippines refer to themselves and their national language (synonymous with Tagalog, the language widely spoken in Manila, Bulacan, Bataan, and Batangas) as Pilipino with the letter P, as most Filipino languages and dialects do not include phonetics for the letter F.¹⁴ Pilipino is also associated with anti-colonialist sentiments and a conscientious effort to establish cultural identity. Some organizations use the feminine rendering Pilipina.¹⁵

When referring to the country and islands, Philippines is appropriate as the country’s name stems from the name Philip, the English equivalent of *Felipe* referring to Spanish King Felipe II for whom the islands were named. Information regarding migration and community formation of individuals from specific provinces is included where it was available and relevant. As often as possible, both English and terms of the Philippines’ major dialects are used. Filipino terms appear in italics with the exception of surnames, organization names, business names, and place names. Filipino terms are translated as needed.

Luzones Indios: Filipino seamen and slaves who were part of Spain’s galleon trade operating from Manila to Acapulco between 1565 and 1815. They were also known as Manila Men.¹⁶

Pinoy/Pinay: Refers to the people of the Philippines, as well as Filipina/os in the United States and around the world. This term first originated with expatriate Filipina/os living in the United States and Hawai‘i, and has since been adopted by Filipina/os elsewhere.¹⁷

¹⁴ “Filipino, Pilipino, Pinoy, Pilipinas, Philippines—What’s the Difference?” Center for Philippine Studies, University of Hawai‘i, Manoa, accessed October 31, 2018, <http://www.hawaii.edu/cps/filipino.html>.

¹⁵ Dawn Mabalon, *Little Manila Is in the Heart: The Making of the Filipina/o American Community in Stockton, California* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013), 19.

¹⁶ Emily Porcinula Lawsin and Joseph A. Galura, “Pin@y Time: Mapping the Filipino American Experience,” in *Teaching about Asian Pacific Americans: Effective Activities, Strategies, and Assignments for Classrooms and Communities*, eds. Edith Wen-Chu and Glenn Omatsu (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2006), 28-29.

¹⁷ Page & Turnbull, *San Francisco Filipino Heritage Addendum to the South of Market Historic Context Statement* (San Francisco, CA: San Francisco Planning Department, March 13, 2013 Final Draft), 3.

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Since the Philippines was a colony of the United States until its independence in 1934, early Filipina/o Americans in California were not technically immigrants from a different country, though they faced many of the same issues as others from Asia. Efforts have been made to avoid referring to Filipina/os as immigrants in this document until after 1934.

Chamorro

The Chamorros are the indigenous people of the Mariana Islands, which includes Guam and the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands. This context uses the term Chamorros to refer to the indigenous people of the Mariana Islands, although the majority of Chamorros in California before 1970 originated from Guam due to the status of Guam as a territory of the United States.

Balloneros: Young Chamorro men known as *Balloneros* joined whaling ships stopping at Guam en route predominantly to Hawai‘i and California.

Familian: Refers to the clan or extended family to which one belongs.

South Asian American

Immigrants from South Asia have been categorized by a variety of terms since they began arriving in North America. European colonizers used the term Indian for Native American peoples, so later immigration officials referred to people from South Asia as East Indian. Although immigrants of Hindu faith represented a small portion of early immigrants—most were Sikhs—the term Hindu or “Hindoo” was often used as a shortened version of their place of origin then known as Hindustan. Hindu soon became a derisive racial label used by nativists. In general, the terms used for immigrants from the South Asian region prior to 1960 were in constant flux, and often did not accurately represent the ethnic groups with which the terms were associated.

South Asian is a geopolitical term that emerged during the Cold War after India gained its independence from the British, and partition created the nation of Pakistan. South Asia encompasses people from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and Nepal. South Asian does not always reflect the differences among the multitude of ethnic groups in this category. Before World War II, most of the immigrants from South Asia came from the Punjab region in northern India. The context refers primarily to this population and the terms Punjabi and Indian are also used.¹⁸

Samoa

Samoans are the indigenous people of the Samoa Islands, which includes the independent nation of Samoa as well as American Samoa, a territory of the United States. Seven distinct geographic lands

¹⁸ Nayan Shah, *Stranger Intimacy: Contesting Race, Sexuality, and Law in the North American West* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 14.

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constitute the unincorporated U.S. territory: the five volcanic islands of Tutuila, Aunu’u, Ofu, Olosega, and Ta’u, and the two coral atolls Rose and Swains.¹⁹

This context uses the term Samoans to refer to the indigenous people of the Samoa Islands, though most Samoans who came to California before 1970 originated from American Samoa due to its status as a U.S. territory. Samoans from Western Samoa tended to migrate to New Zealand given their colonial relationship after World War I, though some also emigrated to the United States via American Samoa.²⁰

Aiga: Clan or extended family of relatives related through blood, marriage, or adoption, though they often claim descent from a common ancestor. An *aiga*, headed by a *matai* or clan chief, can range from forty to one hundred members. This traces back to the Samoan Islands, where land and property are passed down within the *aiga*.²¹

Fa’amatai: The indigenous traditional system that has governed Samoa for centuries and revolves around the governance of family leaders known as the *Matai*, literally, “in the way of” (*fa’a*) “the family name” (*matai*).²²

Fa’a Samoa: Samoan custom, or the “Samoan Way.”²³

2023 Amended Multiple Property Documentation Form (MPDF)

The original cover documentation was approved by the Keeper of the National Register in 2020 with an 1850 to 1970 period of significance. Three historic contexts—Migration and Community Formation, Community Serving Organizations, and Religion and Spirituality—were discussed for eight groups—Native Hawaiian, Chinese American, Japanese American, Korean American, Filipina/o American, Chamorro, South Asian American, and Samoan. The 2023 Amended MPDF extends the period of significance to 1995, adds two historic contexts—Business, Industry, and Labor and Activism, Civic Engagement, and Political Participation—and a ninth group, Vietnamese American.

¹⁹ American Samoa Visitors Bureau, “The Territory of American Samoa,” accessed March 29, 2019, <https://www.americansamoa.travel/our-islands>.

²⁰ Stephen R. Koletty, “The Samoan Archipelago in Urban America,” in Kate A. Berry and Martha L. Henderson, eds. *Geographical Identities of Ethnic America: Race, Space, and Place* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2002), 132-133.

²¹ Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, “From Polynesia to California,” 150; Stephen R. Koletty, “The Samoan Archipelago in Urban America,” in Kate A. Berry and Martha L. Henderson, eds. *Geographical Identities of Ethnic America: Race, Space, and Place* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2002), 136.

²² Mariesa J. McHenry, “The Samoan Way” (draft), http://www.daviddfriedman.com/Academic/Course_Pages/Legal_Systems_Very_Different_13/LegalSysPapers2Discuss13/McHenry_The_Samoan_Way.htm.

²³ Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, “From Polynesia to California,” 133; McHenry, “The Samoan Way.”

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Vietnamese American

This context uses the term “Vietnamese” to refer to those who came from within the borders of the Vietnam nation-state between 1975 and 1995, despite the intricacies of ethnic and indigenous identities among the individuals, as research sources rarely include such distinctions. Vietnam as a nation-state encompassed several ethnic groups due to its history of being colonized by China (northern region of present-day Vietnam) as well as its own history as colonizers of the Champa and Khmer empires (central and southern regions). The majority ethnic identity is known as the Kinh people (*Người Kinh*), which is what is usually considered ethnic Vietnamese. Other ethnic identities and indigenous peoples lived in the mountainous and border regions. Many tribes occupying these areas may identify with the former empires that were previously on those lands, including Hmong, Cham, Khmer, and many more tribes existed outside of these empires on their own means.²⁴ Each tribe has their own distinct languages, customs, traditions, and relationships to the ruling Vietnamese government at any given time, as well as specific migration histories and patterns to the United States.

People with Chinese heritage are also a large ethnic group in Vietnam, due to its colonial history and the migration of ethnic Chinese since the nineteenth century. As has been the result where ethnic Chinese people resettled in other areas of Asia, they became part of the merchant class in Vietnam and had an outsized role in its economic and business life. This, and their maintenance of the Chinese language and cultural heritage despite living in Vietnam for several generations, fueled a certain level of distrust and resentment.²⁵ Where source materials distinguished ethnic Chinese or Chinese-Vietnamese, such terms are used. In the United States, all these ethnic identities have been conflated with Vietnamese nationality. Such ethnic distinctions could be a factor when considering the significance of a potential historic resource.

While not a strict rule, the term “Vietnamese American” is more generally used to refer to the second generation born in the United States and those who arrived as children and spent their formative years here. This is in recognition that the first generation who arrived as adults likely did not self-identify as Vietnamese American, at least initially.

“Indochinese” typically refers to the people from Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia and was particularly prevalent in use at the height of the “boat people” migration, between 1979 and 1983, when people from all three countries escaped by sea, precipitating a mass migration. Source materials from this period tended to use the term broadly without distinguishing the country of origin, though the majority of the migration was from Vietnam. The people from the nation-states of Laos and Cambodia have their distinct colonial histories, migration patterns, demographics, and ethnic identities that are best addressed in individual studies. It should be noted that the indigenous Hmong people are included under the

²⁴ Hien Duc Do, *The Vietnamese Americans* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1999), 4-5.

²⁵ Do, *The Vietnamese Americans*, 5-6.

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Indochinese term. Their traditional lands are within the borders of various Southeast Asian countries, including Vietnam and Laos, though those who arrived in the United States came mainly from Laos.²⁶

“Refugee” is used to acknowledge migration by people that was not voluntary. Unlike immigrants, who made the deliberate choice to move to another place, refugees fled their home countries unwillingly and usually in the face of traumatic situations. They did not have the opportunity to plan their exits, bring personal items and financial resources with them, or have a plan for the future. They were also separated from their families with no sense of when reunification might occur.²⁷

The usual order of Vietnamese names in Vietnam is surname, followed by a middle name, and then the given name. The names of individuals are written in this document as they were shown in the source material. Where differing spellings or order is found among different sources for the same person, the alternate name is provided in parentheses. As such, the names may not be consistent with the order of surname and given name. To assist, the most common surname is Nguyen, while Tran, Ngo, Phan, Vo, Le, Dang, Do, Pham, Vu, Truong, Trinh, and Luong are also common.²⁸

MIGRATION AND COMMUNITY FORMATION

Migration and community formation in California of Asian American and Pacific Islander communities discussed in this context have broad similarities and distinct differences. Individuals from Hawai‘i, the Philippines, and China arrived well before the United States acquired Alta California in 1848 at the end of the Mexican-American War and the culmination of westward expansion to control the land from ocean to ocean.²⁹ They came as sailors along the trading routes between Asia, the Pacific Islands, and the Americas during the period of Western imperialism in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. Some stayed to fish along the coast and/or work in maritime and other industries, and became part of the local Californio communities.

Sustained immigration from Asia and the Pacific Islands did not occur until the Gold Rush in 1849 and the years immediately after California statehood in 1850. Chinese and Native Hawaiian gold hunters joined the rush to California’s gold fields along with others from around the world. For the next century, push factors such as economic hardship and political instability compounded by colonialism in their home countries, as well as pull factors such as recruitment for manual labor and availability of opportunities in California, brought successive waves of migrants from China, Japan, Korea, and South Asia (primarily India, and later, Pakistan). U.S. expansion beyond the shores of America at the end of

²⁶ Among the Indochinese refugee population were also the Hmong people, a Southeast Asian indigenous group. Those who arrived in the United States came mainly from Laos. See Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 460-471.
²⁷ Kenyon S. Chan, “U.S.-Born, Immigrant, Refugee, or Indigenous Status: Public Policy Implications for Asian Pacific American Families,” in Gordon H Chang, ed., *Asian Americans and Politics: Perspectives, Experiences, Prospects* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press 2001), 201.
²⁸ Do, *The Vietnamese Americans*, 4-5.
²⁹ Gary Y. Okihiro, “Imperialism and Migration,” in Odo, *Finding a Path Forward: Asian American Pacific Islander National Historic Landmarks Theme Study*, 27-29.

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the nineteenth century, for commerce and economic interests as well as through military intervention, led to acquisition of territories in Asia and the Pacific Islands.³⁰ Through military presence and colonial governance, this American form of imperialism encompassed Hawai‘i, which became a territory in 1898 following the 1893 overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy; the Philippines and Guam, acquired at the end of the Spanish-American War in 1898; and American Samoa, created from the eastern islands of the Samoan Islands following the Tripartite Convention with Britain and Germany in 1899.

The development of restrictive U.S. immigration policies targeting migration from Asia defined much of each group’s migration pattern between 1850 and 1965. Visibly and culturally different from European immigrants also arriving to the United States, Asian laborers were often the scapegoats for nativist attitudes against a perceived threat to jobs and wages. As the first Asian group to migrate en masse to California, Chinese laborers became the target of the nascent organized labor movement that represented predominately white, low-skilled workers, some of whom were just years from being unwelcomed immigrant groups themselves. The animosity toward Chinese immigrants, expressed through laws as well as mob violence, ultimately resulted in passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882, the first U.S. immigration policy to bar a specific group of people based on race or nationality.³¹

As the exclusion act limited immigration of Chinese laborers, Japanese workers arrived to meet the demand for a low-wage workforce. The Gentlemen’s Agreement, negotiated between the United States and Japan in 1907 and 1908, placed a voluntary freeze on additional Japanese laborers, which curtailed the immigration of Korean workers who were considered occupied subjects of Japan under the agreement. Angel Island Immigration Station in the San Francisco Bay opened in 1910 to enforce the Chinese Exclusion Act and other immigration laws. The Immigration Act in 1917 created an Asiatic Barred Zone that affected South Asian migration from India and elsewhere in Asia, while exempting the Philippines as a U.S. territory. Filipina/o students and professionals continued to arrive, along with non-laborers from China, Japan, and Korea, such as middle-class merchants and their families, students, and some women as picture brides, though their numbers were significantly less.³²

The 1924 Immigration Act established restrictive national origins quotas that virtually ended immigration from Asia for the next forty years, with the exception of the Philippines. Filipina/o laborers then arrived in larger numbers during the 1920s as the new workforce, and faced similar discrimination as earlier groups, despite their status as U.S. nationals. The indigenous people of Guam and American Samoa also held this status, which did not offer the same rights as U.S. citizens, when each area became a U.S. unincorporated territory in 1898 and 1899, respectively. The Chamorros from Guam and the

³⁰ Okihiro, “Imperialism and Migration,” 29-31.

³¹ Daryl Joji Maeda, “Asian American Activism and Civic Participation: Battling for Political Rights and Citizenship, 1917 to the Present,” in Odo, *Finding a Path Forward: Asian American Pacific Islander National Historic Landmarks Theme Study*, 272.

³² The term picture bride refers to the early twentieth century practice of arranged marriage that included an exchange of photographs. With the groom unable to return home to his native country for the wedding ceremony, the bride married his stand-in picture. The couple did not meet until she emigrated to join him.

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Samoans from America Samoa arrived in California in more substantial numbers after World War II and often as enlisted Navy personnel. Unlike the other territories, the residents of Hawai'i, including the Native Hawaiians, gained U.S. citizenship once Hawai'i became an incorporated territory in 1898.

Once in California, availability of work typically dictated the movement and settlement of the Asian American labor force, who were predominately male with smaller numbers of women as domestic servants, sex workers, and wives of merchants. Immigrants who first came along the international trade routes during the Spanish and Mexican eras generally remained in maritime or fishing occupations and settled near the coast. Opportunities in the mining, forestry, and railroad construction in the mid-nineteenth century led the earliest Chinese immigrants to the northern and northeastern areas of the state. They also migrated to the Delta, where human labor was needed to create the infrastructure for agriculture to become California's primary industry in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The Delta, the Central Valley, the Central Coast from Monterey to Santa Barbara, and the Los Angeles, Riverside, San Diego, and Imperial Counties in Southern California were major agricultural regions that drew Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in the pre-World War II years. Many arrived initially as recruited labor, with their passage and jobs arranged by labor contractors hired by landowners and corporations seeking low-wage, low-skill workers. Once in California, they moved to where the jobs secured by their labor contractors were located. Some laborers were seasonal workers who migrated with the harvest, while others eventually became sharecroppers or tenant farmers.

Cities also attracted Asian migrants, especially between agricultural seasons, and as the state's economy shifted to urban centers in the twentieth century. Many of the AAPI communities had a presence in San Francisco, which was California's largest city in the late nineteenth century and often the first port of disembarkation. Sacramento and Stockton, as the largest cities near the gold mines and the Delta, also had significant Asian communities. Devastation of San Francisco from the 1906 earthquake and fires propelled a population shift south. Los Angeles and San Diego became larger cities with growing AAPI communities in the early twentieth century.

Distinct Chinatowns, Japantowns, and Filipinotowns developed in towns and cities, often close to each other and other ethnic communities in the less desirable areas where minorities were relegated by law. Koreans, Indians, and Native Hawaiians typically did not have sufficient numbers to establish distinct districts, though they often had their own lodging houses, restaurants, and other businesses, as well as religious institutions and social organizations that catered to the needs of their compatriots.

World War II brought a significant shift for all the AAPI communities. The forced incarceration of Japanese Americans defined the period as they became labeled as the enemy. In contrast, the other groups, by virtue of not being Japanese, saw greater opportunities in the military and in wartime industries. The postwar period brought additional changes as some of the restrictive immigration and discriminatory laws were overturned. Agriculture became less central to the second and third generations as some barriers fell and many were able to access work in service industries, commercial

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businesses, and professional jobs, and join the middle class. Residents from Guam and America Samoa arrived in more significant numbers after World War II.

A growing consciousness of the concept of Asian Americans developed in the Civil Rights era of the 1960s. In 1965, the Hart-Celler Immigration Act ended the national origins quota system, and started a different period of immigration from Asia. Immigration from Asia grew exponentially, and diversified beyond the handful of communities who arrived previously.

Native Hawaiian

Native Hawaiians in California before 1848

The first Pacific Islanders recorded in California were the Native Hawaiians. Although the Gold Rush starting in 1848 marked the beginning of larger numbers of Hawaiian laborers coming to California, Hawai'i's interaction with and migration to the land that became California long predates the Gold Rush and subsequent 1850 statehood. According to historian David Igler, forty-two percent of the foreign ships that arrived in California between 1786 and 1848 during the era of Spanish and Mexican rule came from the Kingdom of Hawai'i, an independent monarchy. Honolulu was a bustling port city during the era of European imperialism that saw a constant flow of merchants and traders. This led to a robust transpacific trade of goods from Hawai'i to foreign markets, including the U.S., which did not control California and its coast until after the end of the Mexican-American War in 1848. Subsequently, a transpacific labor force emerged that followed these trade routes.

Native Hawaiians arrived as part of the trade routes and labored in a range of jobs predominantly oriented around the maritime industry such as working on ships off the West Coast, hunting for sea otter furs, harvesting sealskins, and conducting trade for these goods in the local villages and towns. On July 4, 1808, a group of Hawaiian workers was documented in Baja California helping their American ship captain celebrate U.S. independence.³³ In 1810, eighty Native Hawaiians were noted in Monterey as crewmembers for a revolutionary from Argentina who was leading an attack against the Spanish during the Argentine War of Independence (1810-1816), since California was Spanish territory at the time.³⁴ In the 1820s, the first American missionaries arrived in Hawai'i.³⁵

Mexican rule of California began in 1821 after the end of the Mexican War of Independence from Spain. Native Hawaiians became part of a larger labor force during this period and were scattered up and down

³³ Gregory Rosenthal, *Beyond Hawai'i: Native Labor in the Pacific World* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2018), 114.

³⁴ *Native Hawaiians & Pacific Islanders: A Community of Contrasts in California, 2014*, published by Empowering Pacific Islander Communities (EPIC) and Asian Americans Advancing Justice, 2014, 2, accessed September 10, 2018, https://www.empoweredpi.org/uploads/1/1/4/1/114188135/a_community_of_contrasts_nhpi_ca_2014_low-res1.pdf; "Argentine War of Independence," *Timeline Index*, accessed March 18, 2019, <http://www.timelineindex.com/content/view/3595>.

³⁵ David Kittelson, "A Bibliographical Essay on the Territory of Hawaii, 1900-1959," *The Journal of Pacific History* 6 (1971): 195.

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the coast.³⁶ Almost one-fifth of the adult male population in Hawai‘i served on foreign ships by 1850.³⁷ According to Gregory Rosenthal, “Spatially, Hawaiian migrants lived and labored all across California, from the shores to the Sierras.”³⁸ Native Hawaiians worked in San Diego curing cattle hides, in San Francisco on boats, in the Channel Islands skinning sea otters, in Santa Barbara working with hides and tallows, and in Northern California in the gold mines.³⁹ In Richard Henry Dana Jr.’s 1840 memoir *Two Years Before the Mast* that romanticized his travels along the California coast, he notes about twenty Native Hawaiians working near the beach in San Diego. These laborers predominantly worked jobs oriented around the hide and tallow trade, one of California’s most successful industries during the pre-Gold Rush era.⁴⁰ These early Native Hawaiian laborers in California quickly became part of an expanding global capitalist economy.⁴¹

In 1839, about a decade before the Gold Rush, John Sutter had contracted eight Native Hawaiians in Honolulu to work for him for three years. They were brought to California to help build Sutter’s rancho at New Helvetia (later Sacramento).⁴² The large numbers of Native Hawaiians leaving the island led to a law passed in 1841 prohibiting ship captains from recruiting Native Hawaiians as laborers and sailors without the permission of the island governor, as well a bond of \$200 ensuring their safe return in two years.⁴³

Native Hawaiian Immigration to California, 1848-1900

Gold was discovered in New Helvetia in 1848, kicking off the Gold Rush. Sutter immediately took his labor force, which included a total of about 150 Native Hawaiians and Native Americans, to work in the mines, where they endured even more exploitive labor practices. The Native Hawaiians found themselves trapped in an endless cycle of debt bondage, forced to use the little earnings they made to pay for any food or goods they received on loan.⁴⁴ As Gregory Rosenthal states, “Hawaiian migrant workers experienced California as both a land of opportunity and a place of loneliness and suffering.”⁴⁵

Many Native Hawaiians contracted to work on merchant ships traveling to California hoped to make their fortune in the goldfields. They often worked aboard ships as cooks or sailors or at colonial outposts in fur trade, agriculture, and mining. Many stayed upon arrival in California to work in other roles such

³⁶ Rosenthal, *Beyond Hawai‘i*, 134-135.

³⁷ Okiihiro, “Imperialism and Migration,” 20.

³⁸ Rosenthal, *Beyond Hawai‘i*, 133.

³⁹ Rosenthal, *Beyond Hawai‘i*, 133-135.

⁴⁰ Rosenthal, *Beyond Hawai‘i*, 136.

⁴¹ Rosenthal, *Beyond Hawai‘i*, 133.

⁴² Stacy L. Smith, *Freedom’s Frontier: California and the Struggle over Unfree Labor* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 32; Rosenthal, *Beyond Hawai‘i*, 140.

⁴³ Susan Edinger-Marshall, "Hawai'i: The California Connection," *Rangelands* 22, no. 5 (2000): 15.

⁴⁴ Smith, *Freedom’s Frontier*, 32.

⁴⁵ Rosenthal, *Beyond Hawai‘i*, 133.

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as domestic servants and fisherman. By the 1840s, 3,500 Native Hawaiians were leaving Hawai‘i annually to work as contracted laborers in these industries.⁴⁶

The Gold Rush marked a rapid increase in the flow of trade and goods between Hawai‘i and California. Hawai‘i was still under monarchy rule during this time. The Gold Rush catalyzed pre-existing American commercial and imperial interests in the islands. With the Civil War limiting shipments of goods such as sugar from the South, American businessmen in Hawai‘i turned to producing and exporting sugar. They formed a sugar plantation system that displaced Native Hawaiians from ancestral lands and shifted them to wage laborers.⁴⁷ In 1875, the Kingdom of Hawai‘i entered into a reciprocity agreement with the U.S., allowing Hawaiian sugar to be shipped to the U.S. tax-free. This led to a substantial increase in the flow of goods between Hawai‘i and California.⁴⁸ Sugar, and later pineapple, plantations soon expanded across Hawai‘i.

To protect U.S. economic interest, and with a growing expansionist interest following the European model of imperialism, the U.S. sent in members of the armed services and missionaries to establish control over the Native Hawaiian labor force on these plantations. This led to the widespread exploitation of Native Hawaiians. As their numbers declined, the labor-intensive plantation system also required importation of other groups of laborers from China, Japan, and other Asian countries as well as from Portugal and Spain in the second half of the nineteenth and the first decades of the twentieth centuries.⁴⁹ According to Gregory Rosenthal, “By 1880, Chinese and other non-Natives outnumbered Hawaiian workers in the sugar industry.”⁵⁰ The influx of laborers from varying ethnic groups transformed the Hawaiian population. Whereas Native Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians represented 97 percent of the islands’ population in 1852, by 1920, they only constituted 16.3 percent with Caucasians representing 7.7 percent, Chinese 9.2 percent, Japanese 42.7 percent, Portuguese 10.6 percent, Puerto Ricans 2.2 percent, Koreans 1.9 percent, and Filipina/os 8.2 percent.⁵¹ This led to the creation of a new Hawaiian identity, often Native Hawaiians mixed with the backgrounds of other imported laborers.⁵²

In 1893, Hawai‘i’s status as an independent kingdom ended when a group of sugar planters and missionaries, who believed a closer affiliation with the U.S. would reap greater economic benefits, overthrew the monarchy in a coup d’etat. As the U.S. did not annex Hawai‘i at that time, a Republic of

⁴⁶ Smith, *Freedom’s Frontier*, 31.

⁴⁷ Davianna Pomaika’i McGregor and Melody Kapilialoha MacKenzie, *Mo’olelo Ea O Na Hawai‘i: History of Native Hawaiian Governance in Hawai‘i*, prepared for the Office of Hawaiian Affairs, U.S. Department of the Interior, August 19, 2014, 256.

⁴⁸ Reed Ueda, “Los Angeles, Hawaiian Enclaves (California),” in *America’s Changing Neighborhoods: An Exploration of Diversity Through Places*, ed. Reed Ueda (Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood, imprint of ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2017), 801.

⁴⁹ Eric Brightwell, “No Enclave—Explore Hawaiian Los Angeles,” Eric Brightwell: Exploration, Adventures, and Maps (blog), accessed December 4, 2018, <https://ericbrightwell.com/2015/05/16/no-enclave-exploring-hawaiian-los-angeles/>.

⁵⁰ Rosenthal, *Beyond Hawai‘i*, 15.

⁵¹ Ronald Takaki, *Strangers from A Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans* (New York: Back Bay Books/Little, Brown and Company, 1989), 132.

⁵² Brightwell, “No Enclave—Explore Hawaiian Los Angeles.”

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Hawai‘i was established in 1894.⁵³ In 1898, the U.S. Congress passed a resolution to create the Territory of Hawai‘i, which transferred the islands to U.S. rule.⁵⁴ The Hawai‘i Organic Act established a territorial government in 1900 and extended U.S. citizenship to those who were citizens of the Republic of Hawai‘i.⁵⁵ Unlike the Philippines, Guam, and America Samoa, Hawai‘i was an incorporated territory and birthright citizenship was granted to those born in Hawai‘i after 1900.

Native Hawaiian Settlement in California, 1847-1940

Native Hawaiians were reported in Yerba Buena, the settlement that became San Francisco, as early as 1847, when it was not yet a very developed place and had a population of around 400 people. Ten percent of the population were Native Hawaiians, with only one of the forty a woman.⁵⁶ Even in 1850, as many more people were arriving through San Francisco to join the Gold Rush, it was described as,

[M]ore of a “dunescape” and tent city: deforested down to its last tree in just a few years, there was seemingly not enough wood, labor or perhaps even time to build a sturdy city on the bay. Merchandise was stacked out in the open. Ships in the harbor were creatively converted into shops and residences... English-language newspapers reported Hawaiian migrants on the streets, on the wharfs, among the tents.⁵⁷

During the Gold Rush, Native Hawaiians likely lived near the gold mines in and around Sacramento along with other miners from around the world. By the mid-1850s, the Gold Rush was declining as claims were mostly worked. Native Hawaiians generally moved away from the mining industry, especially with the passing of the Foreign Miners’ Tax of 1850.⁵⁸ The post-Gold Rush period saw a shift in the jobs worked by Native Hawaiians and the beginnings of the settlement of Native Hawaiians throughout California. Only seventy-one Native Hawaiians were recorded in the U.S. census by 1860. Among those that remained, many still lived in mining districts and increasingly moved towards cities like Sacramento and San Francisco and to different parts of California where they sought different occupations.⁵⁹

An early Native Hawaiian settlement was established in the Sutter County town of Vernon in the 1870s. Residents lived on the east bank of the Feather River in an assortment of huts and tents. By 1911, an article in the *San Francisco Call* notes the colony as having been in Vernon for forty years and composed of three generations. Upon settling in Vernon, many worked in the fishing industry, selling their bass, catfish, and trout in the local markets. The younger generation tended to work in agriculture,

⁵³ McGregor and MacKenzie, *Mo’olelo Ea O Na Hawai’i*, 38-39.

⁵⁴ McGregor and MacKenzie, *Mo’olelo Ea O Na Hawai’i*, 41-42.

⁵⁵ Hawai‘i Organic Act, Pub.L. 56-399, 31 Stat.141 (1900).

⁵⁶ Okihiro, *American History Unbound*, 153.

⁵⁷ Rosenthal, *Beyond Hawai’i*, 154.

⁵⁸ The State Legislature levied a twenty dollars per month tax on each foreigner engaged in mining. Following a revolt, the tax was repealed in 1851, and replaced by the Foreign Miners’ License Tax of 1852 that charged three dollars per month.

⁵⁹ Rosenthal, *Beyond Hawai’i*, 147.

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given the rich, fertile landscape of Sutter County. They often went on to eventually own their own farmland along the river. Native Hawaiians were involved in the dairy industry, raising hogs, and farming alfalfa while living in Vernon.⁶⁰ Vernon became the largest nonurban settlement of Native Hawaiians in California by the mid-nineteenth century.⁶¹

During the 1860s, the average Native Hawaiian in California was still characterized as a single man in his twenties to thirties living with a group of other men and working in the mining regions.⁶² More Native Hawaiian women were noted as living in California than had previously been recorded. In the 1870s, thirty-six percent of Native Hawaiians living in California were women, some of whom came with their husbands from Hawai‘i.⁶³ There are recorded instances of Native Hawaiians men marrying Native American women as well.⁶⁴

Native Hawaiians who remained in California and did not return to Hawai‘i during the rise of the sugar industry in the 1860s and 1870s became part of a group of surplus labor. Overall, their experience in California during the nineteenth century encompassed a wide variety of geographic, economic, and social categories. According to Gregory Rosenthal, “They were landowners and wage laborers; they were unemployed and homeless; they were farmers and fishermen; some went off to live with Native American families, and some became U.S. citizens.”⁶⁵

Native Hawaiians continued to settle in California during and after the period of annexation, often following the route of the sugar trade to California. A Native Hawaiian settlement emerged in Crockett in the East Bay (east of San Francisco Bay) around the 1920s as a result of Hawai‘i’s sugar trade to Oakland. Crockett had a ninety-eight percent Native Hawaiian population by the 1920s, where most of the town’s residents were employed by the California and Hawaiian Sugar Refining company (C & H).⁶⁶

World War II and Its Aftermath, 1941-1970

Between 1941 and 1970, Hawai‘i experienced large-scale changes that greatly affected the economic and political structure of the islands, subsequently shaping the course of Native Hawaiian settlement in California. During the 1940s, Hawai‘i was still an unincorporated territory of the U.S. and had a strong U.S. military presence, especially at Pearl Harbor. U.S. interests in Pearl Harbor traced as far back as the late 1880s, which led to the U.S. Navy taking control of the coal station in 1899 and officially establishing a naval station in November of that year.⁶⁷ The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941 led

⁶⁰ “Hawai‘i in California,” *The San Francisco Call*, March 26, 1911.

⁶¹ Rosenthal, *Beyond Hawai‘i*, 1.

⁶² Rosenthal, *Beyond Hawai‘i*, 151.

⁶³ Rosenthal, *Beyond Hawai‘i*, 150-151; Okihiro, “American History Unbound,” 153.

⁶⁴ Rosenthal, *Beyond Hawai‘i*, 151.

⁶⁵ Rosenthal, *Beyond Hawai‘i*, 165.

⁶⁶ Brightwell, “No Enclave—Explore Hawaiian Los Angeles.”

⁶⁷ Tamara L. Britton, *Pearl Harbor* (Edina, Minnesota: Abdo Publishing Company, 2003), 14.

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to U.S. involvement in World War II and marked a turning point for both the U.S. and Hawai‘i.⁶⁸ The U.S. military appropriated more land in Hawai‘i and imposed martial law.⁶⁹ Mass incarceration of those of Japanese descent did not occur as it did along the mainland’s West Coast, since they represented a large portion of the population and their removal would hurt the economy.⁷⁰ The plantation economy was already in decline, though, and many Hawaiians joined the armed services during the war. This led to a new wave of Native Hawaiian communities on the U.S. mainland as they were deployed to bases in the West. Many men that had left for the mainland by joining the military did not return to Hawai‘i.⁷¹

With the wartime boom, many of the Native Hawaiians in the East Bay left for Southern California where they often worked in the aerospace and defense industry rather than in sugar refineries. They worked for companies like Boeing and the Douglas Aircraft Company. This led to concentrations of Native Hawaiian communities primarily in the South Bay region of Los Angeles. They were in South Bay cities such as San Pedro, Torrance, Caron, Gardena, Hawthorne, and Long Beach that had a strong presence of defense industry jobs.⁷²

The United States’ desire to further secure Hawai‘i as a military base as well as to establish greater economic power in the Pacific region eventually led to Hawai‘i becoming a state in 1959.⁷³ Hawai‘i receiving statehood led to a steadier flow of Native Hawaiians moving to California.⁷⁴ A substantial Native Hawaiian community was established in Los Angeles in the post-World War II period. During the 1950s and 1960s, many Native Hawaiians made the move to California to obtain a higher quality of education, which was not as readily accessible in Hawai‘i. Some of those settling in Los Angeles became active participants in the entertainment industry through the creation of businesses centered on Hawaiian culture, such as Jennie Napula Woodd who became a hula teacher at the center of the Polynesian diaspora in Southern California as well as a Hollywood actor (as Napua Wood).⁷⁵

Another wave of Native Hawaiian immigration occurred in the 1970s when Hawaiians continued to face obstacles claiming homesteads they had been promised, as well as general difficulty in finding jobs. The U.S. government passed the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act in 1920, which set aside 200,000 acres of land for homesteading by Native Hawaiians, as a small way to compensate for the taking of land

⁶⁸ McGregor and MacKenzie, *Mo’olelo Ea O Na Hawai’i*, 22; 49; 436; 438.

⁶⁹ McGregor and MacKenzie, *Mo’olelo Ea O Na Hawai’i*, 22; 436.

⁷⁰ Brightwell, “No Enclave—Explore Hawaiian Los Angeles.”

⁷¹ “Discover More: Aloha on the Mainland,” POV Archive, accessed December 4, 2018, <http://archive.pov.org/americanaloha/aloha-on-the-mainland/>.

⁷² Brightwell, “No Enclave—Explore Hawaiian Los Angeles.”

⁷³ McGregor and MacKenzie, *Mo’olelo Ea O Na Hawai’i*, 22; 49; 436; 438.

⁷⁴ Ueda, “Los Angeles, Hawaiian Enclaves (California),” 801.

⁷⁵ Ueda, “Los Angeles, Hawaiian Enclaves (California),” 802; “Napua Wood,” Internet Movie Database, accessed March 21, 2019, <https://www.imdb.com/name/nm1476022/>.

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through annexation.⁷⁶ The act allowed Native Hawaiians, defined as having at least fifty percent Hawaiian blood, the opportunity for 99-year homestead leases at \$1 a year for residential, agricultural, or pastoral purposes.⁷⁷ The state agency administering the act did not distribute the small amount of available land equitably or quickly, with many Native Hawaiians left waiting. During this time, the tourism industry rapidly grew in Hawai‘i leading to increased foreign investment.⁷⁸ Also occurring during the 1970s was the Hawaiian Renaissance, which started in Hawai‘i and made its way to places such as Los Angeles. Native Hawaiians reclaimed their native language, dances, and heritage practices that had been outlawed since the coup d’etat in 1893. Hawaiian communities in Los Angeles began the Ho‘olaule‘a (festival) in places including Northridge and Lawndale, later moved to Torrance.⁷⁹

Chinese American

Early Chinese Immigration to California, 1849-1882

Although Chinese legends claim that explorers from China reached the Americas before 500 CE, Chinese sailors were documented as part of Manila galleons arriving along the trade routes established by colonial Spain between 1571 and 1746.⁸⁰ In the mid-nineteenth century, Chinese laborers arrived in significant numbers to work the sugar plantations in Hawai‘i, still an independent kingdom until 1897. They were also brought to South America and the Caribbean as indentured laborers, or coolies, to replace the African slave trade.⁸¹ From there, some made their way to California on shipping or fishing vessels.⁸²

The first major wave of Chinese migration to California began in 1849 for the Gold Rush.⁸³ When gold was discovered at Sutter’s Mill in 1848, not far from Sacramento, prospectors from around the country and the world came to Northern California to try their luck. Initially, 325 Chinese “forty-niners” arrived. By 1852, over 20,000 came to *Gum Saam* (or *jin shan*, Gold Mountain), the name given to California.⁸⁴

⁷⁶ “Hawaiian Homes Commission Act passed,” HawaiiHistory.org, accessed May 14, 2019, <http://www.hawaiihistory.org/index.cfm%3Ffuseaction%3Dig.page%26PageID%3D324%26returntoname%3Dyear%25201922%26returntopageid%3D206>.

⁷⁷ “Hawaiian Homes Commission Act,” Department of Hawaiian Home Lands, accessed May 3, 2019, <https://dhlh.hawaii.gov/hhc/laws-and-rules/>.

⁷⁸ “Discover More: Aloha on the Mainland.”

⁷⁹ Ueda, “Los Angeles, Hawaiian Enclaves (California),” 803.

⁸⁰ Sue Fawn Chung, “A Brief Overview of the Contributions of Chinese Americans in the Building of the United States,” University of Nevada, Las Vegas, September 27, 2009 (draft), 16-18. Other AAPI groups, like Native Hawaiians and Filipinos, also arrived along the Spanish trade routes.

⁸¹ Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 22; Erika Lee, “Immigration, Exclusion, and Resistance, 1800s-1940s,” in Odo, *Finding a Path Forward: Asian American Pacific Islander National Historic Landmarks Theme Study*, 88.

⁸² Nancy Wey, “Chinese Americans in California,” in *Five Views: An Ethnic Historic Site Survey for California* (Sacramento, CA: Office of Historic Preservation, California Department of Parks and Recreation, 1998), last modified 2004, accessed July 15, 2018, https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/5views/5views3.htm.

⁸³ Lee, “Immigration, Exclusion, and Resistance,” 88.

⁸⁴ Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 59. Once gold was discovered in Australia in the 1860s and it became known as New or Big Gold Mountain, California became Old Gold Mountain (*Jiu Jin Shan*) and the name eventually came to refer specifically to San Francisco.

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They were primarily men who were single or left behind families, as they expected to return home once they found gold. Events in China—political conflict including the Opium Wars (1839-1842) with Great Britain and the Taiping Rebellion (1850-1864), and natural disasters that created instability in southern China—pushed them to leave as much as the potential opportunities pulled them to the United States. With steamship routes established between Hong Kong and San Francisco, Seattle, Vancouver, and other ports along the west coast of the Americas as a result of Western imperialism, transport was easily arranged by labor recruiters and steamship agents.⁸⁵

California itself was in a period of change at the beginning of the Gold Rush. It was still a Mexican territory when gold was first found, ceded to the U.S. shortly after at the end of the Mexican-American War in 1848. The American system of government had not yet been established when the influx of forty-niners from the East Coast and around the world inundated the sparsely populated state. As the port through which most arrived, San Francisco transformed from a small community of 800 residents in 1848 to an urban center with over 25,000 people by the end of 1849.⁸⁶

Though Chinese miners were initially welcomed as hard-working laborers, the arrival of immigrants from around the world fueled white nativist feelings of “California for Americans,” that resulted in the passage of state and local laws in the 1850s targeting foreign miners in general and the Chinese in particular.⁸⁷ Limited to re-working old claims, some became entrepreneurs by providing mining supplies, laundry services, lodging, and food to their fellow Chinese miners.⁸⁸ Others abandoned gold mining and became merchants, laborers, or service workers in nearby towns and cities.⁸⁹

Profits from gold mining decreased by the mid-1860s, at the same time another avenue of employment was starting. In 1865, unable to hire enough white workers, the Central Pacific Railroad started to hire Chinese workers to lay tracks for the transcontinental railroad heading east from Sacramento; within two years, the company employed 12,000 Chinese laborers.⁹⁰ The railroad company saw significant savings from employing Chinese workers, since it did not provide room and board, as it did for white workers at the same wages. Gaining a reputation for being reliable, hard workers, the Chinese workforce also provided expertise with handling explosives and power drills in clearing the railroad path through mountains.

With the high demand for Chinese railroad workers, immigration from China continued, often through labor contractors who recruited from the family and regional connections of those who were already in

⁸⁵ Lee, “Immigration, Exclusion, and Resistance,” 88.

⁸⁶ “From 1820s to the Gold Rush,” Virtual Museum of the City of San Francisco, accessed February 14, 2019, <http://www.sfmuseum.org/hist1/early.html>.

⁸⁷ Wey, “Chinese Americans in California”; Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 80-82.

⁸⁸ Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 71; Architectural Resources Group, *Chinatown Historic Resource Survey*, prepared for the City of Fresno Planning and Development Department, April 4, 2006, 22.

⁸⁹ Wey, “Chinese Americans in California.”

⁹⁰ Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 84-85.

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the U.S.⁹¹ Most of the Chinese forty-niners originated from just eight districts in the Pearl River Delta in Guangdong province.⁹² By 1870, over 63,000 Chinese were in the United States, fewer than 5,000 of whom were women.⁹³ Not many wives were among the women, as husbands typically expected to return home once the job was done. The women who came with their husbands were often middle class, rather than laborers. The single women were often domestic servants or prostitutes, willingly or unwillingly as the sale of girls by their families was not uncommon.⁹⁴

Most of the Chinese population was in California, and once the transcontinental railroad was completed in 1869, many migrated to San Francisco where a Chinese community in manufacturing was already starting to form.⁹⁵ Others moved to rural regions and became agricultural laborers, though work in railroads, mining, lumber, and fishing was also available.⁹⁶ In the Delta, they built networks of irrigation channels with levees, dikes, and ditches, as well as draining swamps and marshes to create fertile agricultural lands that helped to transform California into an agricultural powerhouse.⁹⁷ They also worked as laborers for white farm owners, and some became tenant farmers leasing land to grow their own vegetable crops, often to sell as truck farmers.⁹⁸ Others headed to the Central Coast to farm seaweed, fish, or work in canneries.⁹⁹ Still others continued building railroad lines that connected Northern California to the growing cities in Southern California. In San Diego, Chinese fishermen were part of the region’s commercial fishing industry, and supplied fresh fish to the city while exporting dried fish to other parts of the state and to China.¹⁰⁰

The hard work of the Chinese was often exploited by employers who could compensate them at lower rates than other laborers. When 5,000 Chinese railroad workers went on strike for equal pay in 1867, the Central Pacific cut off their food supply and they were forced to surrender.¹⁰¹ This, along with continued immigration—by 1880, there were over 100,000 Chinese in the United States with still under 5,000 of them women—led to resentment, racial violence, and widespread anti-Chinese state and local laws that coincided with an economic downturn and high unemployment in the 1870s.¹⁰² The United States first

⁹¹ Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 72.
⁹² Lee, “Immigration, Exclusion, and Resistance,” 88.
⁹³ U.S. census data from Chung, “A Brief Overview of the Contributions of Chinese Americans,” 11.
⁹⁴ Grant Din et al., *Chinese American Historic Context Statement*, prepared for the City and County of San Francisco Planning Department, September 2018 (Internal Draft), 8; Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 67-70.
⁹⁵ Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 79, 87.
⁹⁶ Lee, “Immigration, Exclusion, and Resistance,” 89.
⁹⁷ Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 89.
⁹⁸ Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 90.
⁹⁹ Wey, “Chinese Americans in California.”
¹⁰⁰ Leland Saito, “Reclamation and Preservation: The San Diego Chinese Mission, 1927-1996,” *The Journal of San Diego History* 49, no. 1 (Winter 2003), accessed December 4, 2018, <http://www.sandiegohistory.org/journal/2003/january/chinese-4/>.
¹⁰¹ Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 75.
¹⁰² Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 108-110; U.S. census data from Chung, “A Brief Overview of the Contributions of Chinese Americans,” 11.

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barred prostitutes and forced laborers from “China, Japan, or any Oriental country,” in the 1875 Page Act, even though those who came to California were not typically coolies.¹⁰³ Ultimately, the U.S. Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882 that prohibited entry of Chinese laborers, and allowed exemptions for some classes such as merchants, students, teachers, tourists, and diplomats.¹⁰⁴ Though other immigrant laborers from Mexico and Europe also competed with American workers, only the Chinese were singled out for such broad-based restrictions. Initially passed for only ten years, the exclusion law was extended in 1892 and made permanent in 1902.¹⁰⁵ It had its intended effect, as the Chinese population in the United States declined from the over 100,000 in 1880 to under 90,000 by 1900, and down to about 60,000 in 1920.¹⁰⁶

Chinese Settlement in California, 1850-1870

Chinese immigrants mostly arrived through San Francisco as the main point of entry. Some stayed in San Francisco, known as *Dai Fow* (or *Dai Fou*, Big Port or City), and most moved on to other locations for job opportunities. In the 1850s, an emerging Chinese commercial area with eight-five establishments including general stores, apothecaries, restaurants, butchers, tailors, and boarding houses was located between Kearny and Stockton Streets, and Sacramento and Jackson Streets.¹⁰⁷

Other early settlements were in the gold mining regions in the Sierra Nevada foothills around Sacramento. By 1860, only five counties in the state did not have Chinese residents, and by 1870, Chinese lived in every county.¹⁰⁸ Following available work, Chinese laborers could be found in the lumber industry along the north coast in Del Norte, Humboldt, and Mendocino Counties; as construction workers building stone walls, roads, or flumes for mining districts in Mariposa County; working in wineries in Sonoma, Napa, and Contra Costa Counties; in San Luis Obispo along the Central Coast working in fishing, canning, or even mining quicksilver (mercury); and in Santa Barbara County as bus boys, chefs, and waiters in a hotel.¹⁰⁹

Even in the early settlements, Chinese residents were set apart from others:

Segregation of Chinese Americans began in the mining districts, where Chinese Americans were forced to live in the least desirable sections of towns. In Marysville, Yreka, and elsewhere, Chinese Americans could live only along the river, which was subject to flooding. In Mendocino, they could live only on the swampy headlands next to the ocean. In Fiddletown in

¹⁰³ Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 67; An Act supplementary to the acts in relation to immigration, H.R. 4747, 43rd Cong (1875).

¹⁰⁴ Lee, “Immigration, Exclusion, and Resistance,” 94-95.

¹⁰⁵ Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 111.

¹⁰⁶ Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 111; U.S. census data from Chung, “A Brief Overview of the Contributions of Chinese Americans,” 11.

¹⁰⁷ Din et al., *Chinese American Historic Context Statement*, 8.

¹⁰⁸ Wey, “Chinese Americans in California.”

¹⁰⁹ Wey, “Chinese Americans in California.”

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Amador County, there was no undesirable section of town, so a natural boundary, a stream that ran across the main street, was used to divide the Chinese American from the White section of town. While some White businesses were allowed to locate in the Chinese section, no Chinese American homes or businesses were permitted in the White section of Fiddletown.¹¹⁰

These segregated areas eventually became Chinese neighborhoods and Chinatowns. In larger towns and cities, there were hotels or lodging houses, restaurants, gambling halls, and prostitution houses run by and for the Chinese, where young men could come between jobs or to socialize and entertain themselves. Sacramento, *Yee Fow* (or *Yi Fou*, Second Port or City) was the largest city in the gold mining region with its first Chinatown along a four-block stretch on I Street between 2nd and 6th Streets just east of the Sacramento River.¹¹¹ Both Marysville in Yuba County as the supply center for northern mines and Stockton at the San Joaquin River in the Delta as the gateway to the southern mines, claimed Sam Fow (or *Sam Fou*, Third City).¹¹² Chinese immigrants established thirty enclaves within their first two decades in the United States.¹¹³

Movement and Community Formation Across California, 1870-1906

In the 1870s, as gold mining and transcontinental railroad work were ending, the large number of Chinese workers disbursed throughout the state. Many went to San Francisco, where the census counted fewer than 3,000 Chinese residents in 1860; about 12,000 in 1870; and over 20,000 by 1880.¹¹⁴ With the Civil War disrupting the flow of goods to the West, the 1860s saw an increase in low-skill, low-wage manufacturing jobs in San Francisco to fulfill the need for such goods as cigars, footwear, clothing, and tobacco.¹¹⁵ Buildings in Chinatown, considered an older part of town, were converted into light manufacturing factories and other uses to serve the growing Chinese community.¹¹⁶

In the Delta, Chinese immigrants who initially went to build the irrigation systems and reclaim swamp land in the 1860s settled in as tenant farmers or farm workers. Just as in the mining areas, several agricultural towns such as Walnut Grove, Isleton, and Stockton started to have Chinese businesses and enclaves that served the needs of the farm workers when they came to town.¹¹⁷ Prior to the 1890s, Stockton had three Chinese communities: one along Channel Street between El Dorado and Hunter (no longer extant), one at Scott Avenue between Madison and Commerce (no longer extant), and one at

¹¹⁰ Wey, "Chinese Americans in California."

¹¹¹ Lawrence Tom, Brian Tom, and the Chinese American Museum of Northern California, *Sacramento's Chinatown*, Images of America (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2010), 17.

¹¹² Sylvia Sun Minnick, *The Chinese Community of Stockton*, Images of America (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2002), 7; Brian Tom, Lawrence Tom, and the Chinese American Museum of Northern California, *Marysville's Chinatown*, Images of America (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2008), 17.

¹¹³ Tom, Tom, and Chinese American Museum of Northern California, *Sacramento's Chinatown*, 9.

¹¹⁴ Din et al, Chinese American Historic Context Statement, 8.

¹¹⁵ Takaki, *Strangers from A Different Shore*, 87-88.

¹¹⁶ Din et al, Chinese American Historic Context Statement, 9.

¹¹⁷ Jeff Gillenkirk and James Motlow, *Bitter Melon: Inside America's Last Rural Chinese Town* (Berkeley, CA: Heyday Books, 1997), 30.

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Washington Street between El Dorado and Hunter.¹¹⁸ In the Central Valley, Chinese miners who arrived in the 1860s were joined by farm workers, railroad workers, and canal diggers in the 1870s. A “China Alley” is shown on Fresno’s 1880 Sanborn map with a dense concentration of one-story buildings in the blocks bounded by Mariposa, Kern, and F Streets, and the railroad tracks.¹¹⁹

Chinese laborers also made their way south, including as part of the railroad expansion that linked San Francisco to Southern California. By 1870, there were nearly 200 Chinese living not far from Los Angeles Plaza (*El Pueblo de Los Angeles*), the original Spanish settlement of the City of Los Angeles.¹²⁰ They lived in an ethnically mixed neighborhood with French and Italian immigrants as well as Mexican and Native American populations, some of whom pre-dated California’s inclusion in the United States. The 1880s saw citrus becoming the main crop in Southern California, such as in Riverside, which already formed a Chinese quarter by the late 1870s bounded by Main, Orange, Eighth, and Ninth Streets in downtown Riverside (no longer extant); the citrus boom attracted more Chinese laborers.¹²¹

Chinatowns for these areas were often shown on maps as “China Alley,” “Chinese Quarter,” or just as “Chinese.” They were often near or adjoining other ethnic or immigrant neighborhoods. The larger cities had more Chinese residents, and for the most part, the early concentrations were business and social centers with lodging houses to accommodate migrant workers as they visited town. Agricultural laborers typically lived in field bunkhouses when working. Because the Chinese population was predominately male, gambling halls, prostitution establishments, and opium dens were among the businesses. These were often operated by fraternal organizations known as *tongs*, some of which evolved into organized crime syndicates.¹²² Such vice businesses catered to Chinese workers as well as laborers of other ethnic and racial backgrounds, and more adventurous mainstream white populations. Local law enforcement usually allowed these businesses to operate in Chinatowns rather than in the more reputable parts of town, earning Chinatowns an unsavory reputation.

The 1870s saw increased resentment and agitation toward the growing visibility of the Chinese community. Several violent instances during that decade occurred in towns across California. One in Los Angeles on October 24, 1871 was among the deadliest. Known as the Chinese Massacre, the events began allegedly as a dispute over an enslaved woman owned by one *huigan* (regional association, one of the Chinese Six Companies) in the possession of a rival *huigan*. In the ensuing shootout, a police officer was wounded and a white bystander killed. A mob of 500 people descended on Chinatown and began

¹¹⁸ Minnick, *The Chinese Community of Stockton*, 15.

¹¹⁹ Architectural Resources Group, *Chinatown Historic Resource Survey*, 24.

¹²⁰ National Register of Historic Places, *Asian Americans in Los Angeles, 1850-1980 MPS*, Los Angeles, Los Angeles County, California, National Register #MC100003290, E-13 to E-14.

¹²¹ M. Rosalind Sagara, *Chinese Americans in Riverside: Historic Context Statement*, prepared for the City of Riverside, September 30, 2016, 16-17.

¹²² Din et al., *Chinese American Historic Context Statement*, 24-25.

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rioting, looting, and setting fires. They tortured and killed seventeen Chinese residents, who were not involved with the shootout, marking this among the largest mass lynching in American history.¹²³

Such violence forced Chinese immigrants out of some regions, including in Humboldt and Del Norte Counties where they were all forcibly removed to San Francisco in 1885 and 1886.¹²⁴ In other places, suspicious fires damaged areas where the Chinese lived, such as in San Jose, Fresno, and Chico, all in 1887.¹²⁵ In San Francisco, local laws were enacted in the 1870s and 1880s that targeted the kinds of businesses dominated by Chinese entrepreneurs, including laundries. White mobs terrorized the city’s Chinese residents, along with its African American and Native American residents.¹²⁶ Statewide, the California legislature enacted laws that barred Chinese, African American, and Native American children from public schools (1860) and banned Chinese from owning real estate or securing business licenses (1872).¹²⁷ Amendments to the California constitution in 1879 excluded all Chinese immigrants from employment with corporations and from public works projects and further limited land ownership to aliens of the “white race or of African descent,” after the Fourteenth Amendment was ratified in 1868 that extended citizenship rights to former slaves through birthright citizenship.¹²⁸

It was among such racial tensions and violence that the Chinese Exclusion Act was passed in 1882. With it, significantly fewer Chinese laborers arrived.¹²⁹ Additional laws restricted re-entry, so the regular back-and-forth travel that allowed workers to return home to visit family or marry became more difficult. As a result, fewer Chinese immigrants returned to the United States or chose to remain permanently. Japanese workers started to come in greater numbers to meet the continued demand for a low-wage workforce.

Despite the racial animosity, which did not end with the Chinese Exclusion Act, Chinatowns across the state continue to prosper. Family associations, fraternal associations, district (benevolent) associations, and later umbrella organizations that consolidated district associations, helped Chinese residents with accessing loans, protecting legal and civil rights, attending to burials, and other services not offered by American society. They also kept the peace in Chinatown and as a check against the illegal activities of the *tongs*.¹³⁰

¹²³ National Register of Historic Places, *Asian Americans in Los Angeles*, E-14; C.P. Dorland, “Chinese Massacre at Los Angeles in 1871,” *Annual Publication of the Historical Society of Southern California, Los Angeles* 3, no 2 (1894): 22-26.

¹²⁴ Wey, “Chinese Americans in California.”

¹²⁵ Wey, “Chinese Americans in California.”

¹²⁶ Din et al., Chinese American Historic Context Statement, 14-16.

¹²⁷ Gillenkirk and Motlow, *Bitter Melon*, 26

¹²⁸ Gillenkirk and Motlow, *Bitter Melon*, 26; Cherstin M. Lyon, “Alien Land Laws,” *Densho Encyclopedia*, accessed November 27, 2018, http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Alien_land_laws/.

¹²⁹ Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 94-95.

¹³⁰ Din et al., Chinese American Historic Context Statement, 26-27.

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Religious temples and other social systems, such as Christian missions serving the Chinese population, also started to appear in the more settled Chinatowns. A second generation began to appear as merchant families had children. Efforts by the Christian missions in San Francisco to liberate Chinese women forced into prostitution also resulted in more marriages and families as the rescued women married Chinese laborers.¹³¹ Same-sex relationships may have been part of the social life in Chinatowns and among the predominately male Chinese community, though they are not well documented, likely due to the secretive nature of such relationships. On the other hand, female impersonators on the stage, who were part of the tradition in Chinese theater, continued the tradition in the New World.¹³²

Other Asian groups located in or near Chinatowns as they also faced similar racial discrimination and segregation. Some evolved into distinct communities like Japantowns; others blended together with no distinct borders.

Chinese Communities in Early Twentieth Century California, 1906-1941

Most of the buildings in San Francisco’s Chinatown were destroyed in the 1906 earthquake and subsequent fires.¹³³ In the aftermath, many Chinese left San Francisco and moved elsewhere, including to Stockton and Los Angeles.

In San Francisco, city officials and business leaders attempted to relocate the Chinese from downtown to less desirable parts of the city in the devastation’s aftermath, though the effort failed with concerted effort from Chinese residents, business owners, and the Chinese Consulate.¹³⁴ San Francisco’s Chinatown was rebuilt in the decade after the earthquake by the Chinese community with white architects to create Chinese-style architectural features as a means of distinguishing the area as uniquely, and unmistakably, Chinese.¹³⁵ The neighborhood and its distinctive buildings became a tourist draw and greatly transformed mainstream America’s impression of the Chinese community.

The earthquake and fires also destroyed a number of official records, including birth certificates. In the confusion, some Chinese immigrants claimed they were born in the United States, or had children born in the U.S., as a means to circumvent the Chinese Exclusion Act and other anti-Asian laws that did not apply to U.S. citizens.¹³⁶ Some new immigrants arrived with falsified papers as “paper sons” claiming a family relationship to a legal Chinese immigrant.¹³⁷

¹³¹ Iris Chang, *The Chinese in America: A Narrative History* (New York: Penguin Books, 2003), 85-87.

¹³² Amy Sueyoshi, “Breathing Fire: Remembering Asian Pacific American Activism in Queer History,” in *LGBTQ America: A Theme Study of Lesbian, Gay, Transgender and Queer History*, ed. Megan E. Springate (Washington DC: National Park Service, 2016) 11-4 to 11-7; Donna J. Graves and Shayne E. Watson, *Citywide Historic Context Statement for LGBTQ History in San Francisco*, prepared for the City and County of San Francisco, March 2016, 24.

¹³³ Wey, “Chinese Americans in California.”

¹³⁴ Din et al., Chinese American Historic Context Statement, 32-33.

¹³⁵ Din et al., Chinese American Historic Context Statement, 34-38.

¹³⁶ Wey, “Chinese Americans in California”; Din et al., *Chinese American Historic Context Statement*, 41.

¹³⁷ Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 95-96.

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In 1910, Angel Island Immigration Station opened off the coast of San Francisco. Built to replace a shed used as an immigration station on Pier 40, Angel Island was needed in part to screen Chinese immigrants under the Chinese Exclusion Act, along with other less desirable, non-Northern European immigrants.¹³⁸ Of the nearly 100,000 Chinese travelers who entered the United States through San Francisco between 1910 and 1940, about half were detained at Angel Island where they were subject to medical exams and extensive questioning.¹³⁹

The Chinese Revolution that started October 10, 1911 overthrew the Qing Dynasty and established the Republic of China in 1912. The revolution did not substantially change Chinese immigration to the United States. It did prompt some nationalistic Chinese in the United States to return to China.¹⁴⁰ It also ended some long-running customs, such as foot binding of women and queues (long, single braid) for men.¹⁴¹

With few women in the population and the restrictions of the Chinese Exclusion Act, the early decades of the twentieth century saw a reduction in the Chinese population. Fewer than 100,000 Chinese residents were recorded in each census between 1900 and 1940.¹⁴² Some Chinatowns, like the one in Riverside, dissolved as the generation of immigrant laborers aged and other opportunities drew residents elsewhere.¹⁴³ Other Chinatowns were destroyed in fires, such as in Walnut Grove in 1915, Isleton in 1926, and Courtland in 1930, all in the Delta.¹⁴⁴ The Chinese in both Isleton and Walnut Grove rebuilt their Chinatowns, though an unusual town also developed nearby.

After the Walnut Grove fire, a group with family ties to the Chungshan (Zhongshan) region of Guangdong was able to lease land outside of town from a white landowner, George Locke. There, they built an all-Chinese town named Locke.¹⁴⁵ Like other towns that catered to a farm labor population, Locke had reputable businesses like general stores and restaurants, as well as illicit gambling halls and opium dens.¹⁴⁶ As an unincorporated town with no police, it became a popular place in the region for Prohibition-era speakeasies. Locke eventually declined during the Depression and as mechanization

¹³⁸ Din et al., Chinese American Historic Context Statement, 40.

¹³⁹ Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 96.

¹⁴⁰ Wey, "Chinese Americans in California."

¹⁴¹ Din et al., Chinese American Historic Context Statement, 15, 21.

¹⁴² U.S. census data from Chung, "A Brief Overview of the Contributions of Chinese Americans," 11.

¹⁴³ Sagara, *Chinese Americans in Riverside*, 23.

¹⁴⁴ National Register of Historic Places, *Walnut Grove Chinese American Historic District*, Walnut Grove, Sacramento County, California, National Register #90000484, 8-1-2.

¹⁴⁵ Sucheng Chan, "Introduction: The Significance of Locke in Chinese American History," in Gillenkirk and Motlow, *Bitter Melon*, 24; Gillenkirk and Motlow, *Bitter Melon*, 31-34.

¹⁴⁶ National Register of Historic Places, *Locke Historic District*, Locke, Sacramento County, California, National Register #71000174, 24.

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reduced the need for farm workers. Retired Chinese farm workers and their families remained in Locke through the 1970s by when it was no longer an all-Chinese town.¹⁴⁷

In Los Angeles, the growing Chinatown was considered for the site of a new railroad terminal as early as the 1910s.¹⁴⁸ Unable to own land due to state laws, Chinese civic leaders struggled to acquire property in Chinatown as a means of protecting the community. Other legal disputes also delayed the railroad terminal. By the 1930s, land condemnations began and by 1934, Chinatown had been demolished to make way for Los Angeles' Union Station. A new Chinatown emerged in the late 1930s to the northwest, north of Downtown Los Angeles. It was anchored by a master-planned development spearheaded by the Los Angeles Chinatown Project Association. Like San Francisco, the design incorporated Asian-style architectural details as a way of branding New Chinatown as an attractive tourist destination that countered the stereotypes of the dangerous and crime-filled Old Chinatown.¹⁴⁹

World War II and Its Aftermath, 1941-1970

World War II marked another turning point for the Chinese in the United States. In Asia, the Republic of China and the Empire of Japan had been at war starting in 1937. Once Japan attacked Pearl Harbor in 1941, bringing the United States into the worldwide conflict, the U.S. and China became allies.

In the U.S., the attitude toward Chinese Americans also shifted. With Japanese Americans suddenly becoming the enemy, and California's Japanese residents forcibly removed and incarcerated, the Chinese community members were considered the "good Asians."¹⁵⁰ Economic and social opportunities started to open for them, with the need for wartime workers and enlisted soldiers. Chinese Americans, especially those of the second and third generations, joined the military and found work in defense industries, which allowed them, at least temporarily, to leave farm work and service jobs behind.

In an act of good faith as part of the wartime alliance, the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act was repealed in 1943 through the Magnuson Act.¹⁵¹ The act also allowed longtime Chinese residents in the U.S. to become naturalized citizens for the first time. Previously, the U.S. naturalization law of 1790 limited naturalization to free, white immigrants, which long excluded Asian immigrants from gaining citizenship. The act established a quota for immigrants from China, capped at 105 immigrants, in keeping with the national origins quota system codified in the 1924 Immigration Act.

The War Brides Act of 1945 allowed Chinese women to enter the U.S. in significant numbers, either as new brides or to reunite with their service member husbands.¹⁵² Several thousand Chinese Americans

¹⁴⁷ Gillenkirk and Motlow, *Bitter Melon*, 134.

¹⁴⁸ National Register of Historic Places, *Asian Americans in Los Angeles*, E-23.

¹⁴⁹ National Register of Historic Places, *Asian Americans in Los Angeles*, E-28.

¹⁵⁰ Din et al., Chinese American Historic Context Statement, 47.

¹⁵¹ Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 256.

¹⁵² Din et al., Chinese American Historic Context Statement, 53.

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served in the U.S. military during World War II.¹⁵³ The arrival of more women finally changed the demographics among Chinese residents in the United States and California. The Chinese community and Chinatowns across the state were no longer predominately male.¹⁵⁴

With the Chinese Communists winning the civil war in 1949, the Republic of China (ROC) retreated to the island province of Taiwan off the southeast coast of the mainland. The United States maintained a diplomatic relationship with the government in Taiwan, and not with the Communist People’s Republic of China (PRC) during much of the Cold War. The quota system applied to immigrants from both the PRC and ROC, though additional legislation targeted at refugees and communist countries allowed Chinese political dissidents into the U.S. separate from the quota.

The postwar years brought significant changes. First generation immigrants were aging and giving way to the second and third generation U.S.-born citizens. Fluent in English and educated in American schools and culture, the second and third generations had different goals and different opportunities from their parents. Some moved out of Chinatowns and to the new postwar suburbs as legal barriers against Asian Americans began to fall. In 1946, Chinese American Tommy Amer purchased the house at 127 West 56th Street (extant) in Los Angeles upon returning from World War II. Two days after he moved in, his neighbors filed an injunction to remove him from his home, which was in an area with restrictive covenants that limited residency to persons of white or Caucasian race.¹⁵⁵ His fight was one of seven lawsuits that were admitted for review by the U.S. Supreme Court, which ultimately ruled against state enforcement of racial covenants.¹⁵⁶ Amer’s case, along with that of Korean American Yin Kim also in Los Angeles, demonstrated to the courts that racial covenants affected other minorities such as Asian Americans as well as African Americans. In 1952, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled Alien Land Laws, such as those enacted by California in 1917 and 1920 that prevented Asian immigrants for leasing or owning agricultural land, were unconstitutional.¹⁵⁷

While Chinese Americans were no longer limited to living only in segregated areas like Chinatowns, they were not always welcomed in the suburbs even with discriminatory legal barriers removed. One exception was in the tracts of Midcentury Modern houses developed by Joseph Eichler in California, which did not prohibit homeownership based on race.¹⁵⁸

The postwar suburban boom, and the subsequent movement out of cities, resulted in the decline of city centers. By the 1950s and 1960s, urban renewal efforts to revitalize slums often targeted older ethnic

¹⁵³ Din et al., Chinese American Historic Context Statement, 47.

¹⁵⁴ Din et al., Chinese American Historic Context Statement; National Register of Historic Places, *Asian Americans in Los Angeles*, E-32.

¹⁵⁵ Cindy I-Fen Chen, *Citizens of Asian America: Democracy and Race during the Cold War* (New York: New York University Press, 2013), 21.

¹⁵⁶ Chen, *Citizens of Asian America*, 22.

¹⁵⁷ Lyon, “Alien Land Laws.”

¹⁵⁸ Din et al., Chinese American Historic Context Statement, 55.

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communities like Chinatowns. In the 1950s through 1970s, redevelopment through urban renewal and the related effort to construct freeways destroyed parts of several Chinatowns in California, including Sacramento, Oakland, and Stockton. In some places, a new Chinatown was built. Sacramento’s Chinatown Mall between 3rd and 5th Streets and I and J Streets was constructed by the Sacramento Redevelopment Agency in the late 1960s and early 1970s with the participation of the Chinese American community and architects.¹⁵⁹

Chinatowns in San Francisco and Los Angeles continued to be the cultural, social, and business centers for the Chinese community in each city, even as middle-class Chinese Americans moved elsewhere. Los Angeles’ New Chinatown saw new buildings and investments in the 1950s and 1960s by Chinese American businesses and organizations. They also hired Chinese American architects, such as USC-educated Eugene Choy and Gilbert Leong who designed Mid-Century Modern buildings with Asian influences.¹⁶⁰

The 1965 Immigration Act lifted the quota system and allowed substantial new immigration from Asia as well as family reunifications. This marked the beginning of a new era for Chinese immigration. In 1972, President Richard Nixon visited mainland China and opened dialogue with the Communist government that eventually led to normalizing diplomatic relationships with the PRC. Though the PRC, and the ROC in Taiwan, continued to control emigration, many more Chinese immigrants arrived in the United States, from mainland China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong, a colony of the United Kingdom until 1997, in the years that followed.

Japanese American

Early Japanese Immigration to California, 1869-1907

In 1639, Japanese emigration was halted beginning more than two centuries of isolation created by the imperial government when they closed the country to protect Japan from European colonialism. In 1853, the U.S. Navy demanded that Japan enter into trade relations and threatened to use force unless Japanese ports were opened. Along with lifting a ban on foreign trade in response, the Japanese government liberalized emigration policies.¹⁶¹ In 1860, the *Kanrin Maru*, the first Japanese ship to cross the Pacific, reached San Francisco, the initial port for a diplomatic corps whose mission was to ratify a treaty between Japan and the United States.¹⁶² California has played a defining role in Japanese American history ever since.

¹⁵⁹ GEI Consultants, Inc. and Mead & Hunt, Inc., *Mid-Century Modern in the City of Sacramento Historic Context Statement and Survey Results*, prepared for the City of Sacramento, September 2017, 2-11-13.

¹⁶⁰ National Register of Historic Places, *Asian Americans in Los Angeles*, E-36-37.

¹⁶¹ Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 110.

¹⁶² Brian Niiya, ed. *Japanese American History: An A-to-Z Reference from 1868 to the Present* (New York: Facts on File, 1993), 26. A *Kanrin Maru* monument was presented to the City of San Francisco by its sister city, Osaka, in 1960. The stone stands near El Camino del Mar in the Land’s End area.

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During the summer of 1869, a small group of settlers arrived from Japan intending to establish an agricultural settlement. Most of these initial immigrants made their way inland to establish the Wakamatsu Tea and Silk Farm Colony in El Dorado County, just east of Sacramento, the earliest chapter in the long, intertwined history of Japanese settlement and agriculture in the Golden State.¹⁶³ The 1870 U.S. census showed fifty-five Japanese in the United States. Thirty-three were in California, with twenty-two of them based at the Wakamatsu Tea and Silk Farm. The 1880 census demonstrated an increase to eighty-six Japanese in California, with a national total of one hundred forty-eight.

By the mid-1880s, the number of Japanese coming to the U.S. climbed more rapidly as young men sought to leave meager economic opportunities in their home communities. The 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act meant that Japanese immigrants were recruited to fill jobs previously held by immigrants from China. By 1890, 2,038 Japanese lived in the United States, with 1,114 residing in California.¹⁶⁴ Like immigrants from around the globe, many migrants from Japan planned to stay for a time, make money, and return to their home country. *Dekasegi-shosei* (student laborers) made up nearly half of the 3,475 passports the Japanese government issued for emigration to the U.S.¹⁶⁵

Unlike European immigrants who could journey as nuclear families, restrictive U.S. laws meant that the first immigrants from Japan were overwhelmingly male. Most Japanese immigrants entered the United States through San Francisco, with other significant ports-of-entry in Los Angeles; Portland, Oregon; and Seattle, Washington. As a result, the first large settlement of Japanese in California was in San Francisco. From port cities, many immigrants were drawn to rural areas up and down the coast and the Central Valley for agricultural jobs. At the turn of the twentieth century, Northern California had the largest communities of Japanese immigrants with 1,791 residing in San Francisco, over 1,200 in Sacramento County, and 1,100 in Alameda County.

After the 1906 San Francisco earthquake and fires, a move to the southern part of the state began. Within a decade, Los Angeles County became the most populous Japanese settlement in the U.S.¹⁶⁶ San Francisco retained its importance as the location for the Japanese consulate and the main office of the Japanese Association, a pre-World War II organization that served as an intermediary between the Japanese government and immigrants in the U.S., as well as the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) headquarters, which led the most important post-World War II Japanese organization.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶³ The Colony only lasted a few years, the mulberry tree seedlings they brought for silk production did not thrive, and all the settlers returned to Japan or moved on except for a 19-year-old girl Okei Ito, whose grave is a site of pilgrimage for *Nikkei* recalling their pioneer roots. Okihiro, *American History Unbound*, 162-163.

¹⁶⁴ Isami Arifuku Waugh, Alex Yamamoto, and Raymond Okamura, "A History of Japanese in California," in *Five Views: An Ethnic Historic Site Survey for California* (Sacramento, CA: Office of Historic Preservation, California Department of Parks and Recreation, 1998), last modified 2004, accessed October 8, 2018, https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/5views/5views4.htm.

¹⁶⁵ Okihiro, *American History Unbound*, 163-164.

¹⁶⁶ Okihiro, *American History Unbound*, 163-164; Niiya, *Japanese American History*, 216.

¹⁶⁷ Okihiro, *American History Unbound*, 276.

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Issei occupied a tenuous position in the United States. Since the late eighteenth century, U.S. laws had worked to limit access for Asian immigrants to American institutions and especially to citizenship. As historian Yuji Ichioka wrote, “Japanese immigrants, being neither white nor black, were classified as ‘aliens ineligible for citizenship,’ without the right of naturalization.”¹⁶⁸ Ichioka divides Japanese immigration into two major periods shaped by immigration laws specifically targeting Asian immigrants: 1885 to 1907 and 1908 to 1925.¹⁶⁹

The first phase was defined by the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act that opened the door to Japanese laborers who were primarily men. Within a short time, once Japanese laborers replaced Chinese laborers as the low-wage workforce, “they aroused the racial antagonism of the Oriental exclusionists... and thus the Japanese inherited the adverse sentiment of the people against the Orientals.”¹⁷⁰ The second, larger phase of immigration started with the 1907-08 Gentlemen’s Agreement between the U.S. and Japan, which curtailed entry by male laborers and allowed women to arrive, until the Immigration Act of 1924 imposed national origin quotas that virtually ended immigration from Asia.

Japanese Settlement in California, 1907-1941

Japanese immigrants who arrived in the last decades of the nineteenth century were, like the Chinese before them, primarily male migrant workers who planned to return to their home country with wages earned in America. Among the first group from Japan were “schoolboys” who served as live-in domestic help while studying English.¹⁷¹ Many Japanese first found work on Hawaiian sugar plantations and some then continued to the U.S. mainland. As the nineteenth century drew to a close, railroads, lumber camps, mines, and oil fields throughout the western U.S. employed Japanese immigrants to replace the previous Chinese workforce. Many others were recruited by Japanese labor contractors such as the Japanese American Industrial Corporation founded in San Francisco in 1902.¹⁷² Others increasingly filled jobs in agricultural enterprises that needed workers as the number of Chinese laborers dwindled.

Vacaville, in Solano County between San Francisco and Sacramento, is considered the birthplace of Japanese contributions to California agriculture. By 1890, the city and surrounding area housed thousands of permanent residents and migrant Japanese laborers who worked seasonally in local orchards picking stone fruit. Vacaville’s Japanese population peaked in the early twentieth century and

¹⁶⁸ Yuji Ichioka, *The Issei: The World of the First Generation Japanese Immigrants, 1885-1924* (New York: The Free Press, 1998), 1, 51-52.

¹⁶⁹ Although there was a later group of post-WWII immigrants from Japan known as *shin-issei*, they were far smaller in number than the tens of thousands who arrived between the 1880s and 1924.

¹⁷⁰ Kiichi Kanzaki, *California and the Japanese*, (1921, reprinted San Francisco: R and E Research Associates, 1971), 1.

¹⁷¹ Niiya, *Japanese American History*, 307.

¹⁷² Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 116; Okihiro, *American History Unbound*, 164.

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then declined as other Japantowns were expanding.¹⁷³ By 1908, Japanese immigrants made up the largest portion of California’s agricultural workforce.¹⁷⁴

Japanese farmers throughout the West Coast utilized a graduated strategy to move from being labor-for-hire into securing land to cultivate. Japanese immigrants entered an agricultural employment ladder of ascending agricultural rungs beginning with contract labor, and rising through sharecropping, tenant farming, and ultimately landowning status for a small percentage.¹⁷⁵ The ascent was limited after 1907 when owning property became illegal for Japanese immigrants, who sometimes circumvented the law by purchasing property in the name of their American-born children or sympathetic citizens.¹⁷⁶ By 1910, Japanese immigrants cultivated crops on 194,742 acres of California soil.¹⁷⁷ *Issei* leaders such as San Francisco-based publisher Kyutaro Abiko helped transform the vision of success for Japanese immigrants from that of temporary sojourner to rooted family farmer. Abiko’s influential newspaper, *Nichibei Shimbun*, publicized the Yamato, Cressey, and Cortez agricultural colonies in the San Joaquin Valley.¹⁷⁸ Two-thirds of California’s Japanese population worked on farms by 1909. They drew from personal experience, as the same proportion reported that their parents were farmers in Japan.¹⁷⁹

While agricultural enterprises were eager for Japanese workers, organized labor was actively hostile to incorporating Asians in their ranks, and their leaders and members were a mainstay of the anti-Chinese and anti-Japanese movements. In response, many Japanese immigrants initiated their own enterprises and industries. Some of these included areas pioneered by Chinese in previous decades, such as fishing and abalone industries in Los Angeles, San Diego and Monterey Counties and land reclamation work begun by Chinese in the Sacramento/San Joaquin Delta.¹⁸⁰

Family Formation and Settlement Patterns

The pattern of immigration created by legal restrictions on immigration and citizenship profoundly shaped Japanese communities in the United States. Sequential immigration by men and then women resulted in many marriages in which the husband was considerably older than the wife. For the first several decades, Japanese women, like others from Asia, were undesirable as immigrants according to Gary Okihiro, “...in part because their reproductive abilities could result in children, an unwelcome presence to employers... of migrant labor.”¹⁸¹ Women made up only five percent of Japanese in

¹⁷³ Takashi Tsujita and Karen Nolan, *Omo I de: Memories of Vacaville’s Lost Japanese Community* (Vacaville, California: Vacaville Museum, 2001).

¹⁷⁴ Okihiro, *American History Unbound*, 164.

¹⁷⁵ Eiichiro Azuma, *Between Two Empires: Race, History, and Transnationalism in Japanese America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) 62-72.

¹⁷⁶ Niiya, *Japanese American History*, 99.

¹⁷⁷ Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 188-189.

¹⁷⁸ Niiya, *Japanese American History*, 96-97; 124-125; 356.

¹⁷⁹ National Register of Historic Places, *Asian Americans in Los Angeles*, E-52.

¹⁸⁰ Waugh, et al., “A History of Japanese in California.”

¹⁸¹ Okihiro, *American History Unbound*, 150.

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California in 1900 and most of them are speculated to have been sex workers who migrated in the routes that agricultural workers followed.¹⁸²

With the 1907-08 Gentlemen’s Agreement, more women arrived. Between 1905 and 1940, the proportion of women in the Japanese American community climbed from five to forty-four percent.¹⁸³ Significantly, the 1908 to 1924 window of immigration for women meant that the majority of *Nisei* were born between 1910 and 1930 with the peak years of *Nisei* births between 1914 and 1925.¹⁸⁴ This sequence of restrictive immigration laws created an unusual generational structure for the Japanese American population—one age group for the original immigrants, the *Issei*, and another for their children, the *Nisei*—who shared fundamental aspects of life experience.¹⁸⁵ Not all Japanese immigrants chose heterosexual relationships. Amy Sueyoshi has documented early Japanese immigrants in San Francisco whose most intimate relationships were with other men, including *Issei* poet Yone Noguchi.¹⁸⁶ Subject to nativist as well as homophobic attacks and with precarious residency in a nation that would not allow them to be citizens, LGBTQ immigrants were forced to be especially careful in their actions.¹⁸⁷

Shut out of most employment sectors, *Issei* relied on the labor of fellow immigrants and family members as they pursued self-employment as farmers and small business operators.¹⁸⁸ The development of this separate economy and community correlated with the growth of Japantowns (*Nihonmachi*), which appeared in the Pacific Coast states in the first decades of the twentieth century. In California, *Issei* set down roots in rural agricultural communities from Marysville in the Sacramento Valley to El Centro in Imperial County near the Mexican border, as well as in cities including San Francisco, Sacramento, Oakland, and Los Angeles. Encouraged by community leaders to make an economic stake in their new land, Japanese families established their permanent homes in the Golden State. By 1920, the Japanese population of California was over 70,000, dwarfing the numbers in Washington (17,144) and Oregon (4,022).¹⁸⁹

Numerous *Nihonmachi* were established in California, ranging from Selma's one block of businesses catering to Japanese in Fresno County, to whole sections of cities such as Sacramento, Los Angeles, and

¹⁸² Okihiro, *American History Unbound*, 166.

¹⁸³ Okihiro, *American History Unbound*, 276.

¹⁸⁴ *Zaibei Nipponjin-Shi* [History of Japanese in America] (Japanese Association of San Francisco, 1940), English translation manuscript in collection of Japanese American Historical Archives, San Francisco. Hereafter noted as *History of Japanese in America*.

¹⁸⁵ Japanese immigration was shaped by the narrow window to establish life in the U.S. For the *Issei* these dates were circa 1885 to 1924. While these years represented a peak for immigrants from many nations, few were as confined to these dates as those from Japan, which meant that first and second generation immigrants were each relatively homogenous in age.

¹⁸⁶ Amy Sueyoshi, *Queer Compulsions: Race, Nation, and Sexuality in the Affairs of Yone Noguchi* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2012).

¹⁸⁷ Sueyoshi, “Breathing Fire,” 11-11 to 11-12.

¹⁸⁸ Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 180.

¹⁸⁹ Kanzaki, *California and the Japanese*, 8.

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San Jose. Often, they were near Chinatowns and other ethnic communities relegated to less desirable parts of towns. The statewide project *Preserving California’s Japantowns* documented fifty pre-World War II Japanese American communities across the state.¹⁹⁰

Despite populist campaigns and legislation targeted at restricting their rights, Japanese immigrants established families, businesses, and communities across the Pacific Coast states. They also continued to contribute as a major component of California’s agricultural sector. Japanese immigrants became important producers and growers of crops: rice in Northern California; strawberries in Southern California; vegetables along the coast, in the Central Valley, and in Southern California; grapes and tree fruit in the Central Valley and Southern California; and cut flowers in the San Francisco Bay area and the Los Angeles region. By the first days of World War II, truck crops (vegetables and fruit grown for shipping to regional and national markets) grown by Japanese American farmers in California accounted for one third of all produce’s cash value.¹⁹¹

Early Japanese settlements featured boarding houses and hotels that provided lodging, while bathhouses, pool halls, restaurants, and dry goods stores operated by fellow immigrants served the needs of an overwhelmingly male population. The presence and productivity of women were critical to the transition from communities of migrant laborers to permanent Japanese settlements in the U.S. As families grew, Japanese settlements expanded with community institutions established to maintain and transmit culture such as Buddhist temples and Christian churches, theaters, community halls, hospitals and Japanese language schools (*gakuen*). Shops selling medicines, tofu, and fresh fish joined the enterprises that characterized the previous male-dominated society. Services and professional offices such as doctors, midwives, photographers, and insurance agents served the needs of expanding communities. Japanese language newspapers connected communities across the region, while import/export businesses connected immigrants to their homeland and provided Japanese goods and foodstuffs that allowed families to maintain elements of a traditional culture and diet.¹⁹²

In contrast to the concentrated and readily identifiable ethnic concentrations generally imagined as Japantown, the largest portion of Japanese communities across California were characterized by clusters of Japanese residences with scattered places of business usually located in neighborhoods of other working-class people, often immigrants from Europe, Mexico, and other parts of Asia. Whether they

¹⁹⁰ Donna Graves and Jill Shiraki led the *Preserving California’s Japantowns* project from 2006 to 2012 with sponsorship by the California Japanese American Community Leadership Council and funding from the California State Library’s Civil Liberties Public Education Program. Detailed information about historic resources in all fifty communities is at <https://www.californiajapantowns.org>, accessed November 26, 2018.

¹⁹¹ Niiya, *Japanese American History*, 334.

¹⁹² Monographs on a number of Japanese settlements trace this arc of development including Robert T. Yamada, *The Japanese Experience: The Berkeley Legacy, 1885-1995* (Berkeley, CA: Berkeley Historical Society, 1995); Wayne Maeda, *Changing Dreams and Treasured Memories: A Story of Japanese Americans in the Sacramento Region* (Sacramento, CA: Japanese American Citizens League, 2000); *Citizens Apart: A History of Japanese in Ventura County* (Ventura, California: Ventura County Historical Society, 1994); Tsujita and Nolan, *Omo I de: Memories of Vacaville’s Lost Japanese Community*.

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lived in an area identifiable as a Japantown or not, most *Nikkei* were supported by social, religious, cultural, and political organizations that fostered and protected their close-knit communities, which were wrenched apart by the advent of World War II.

World War II Forced Removal and Incarceration, 1941-1946

The Japanese Navy’s attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941 abruptly ended the communities established by Japanese immigrants in the western U.S. In *Nihonmachi* throughout California, prominent Japanese American businessmen, clergy, schoolteachers, and other community leaders declared enemy aliens by the U.S. government were collected in FBI sweeps, detained in jails, and eventually in Department of Justice incarceration centers.¹⁹³

Despite scattered appeals for fair treatment of resident Japanese Americans, anti-Japanese hysteria in California intensified as the U.S. entered into World War II, fanned by newspaper editorials and by nativist and agricultural interest groups. During February and March 1942, the House Select Committee Investigating National Defense Migration, chaired by Congressman John Tolan from Oakland, held hearings in Seattle, Portland, San Francisco, and Los Angeles that provided a platform for anti-Japanese arguments for forced removal. Although some white allies and Japanese American leaders argued for *Nikkei* loyalty, their testimony was overwhelmed by speakers such as California Attorney General Earl Warren, who depicted Japanese land use patterns as an ominous array of clusters around military installations.¹⁹⁴

On February 19, 1942, President Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9066, which opened the door for a series of military proclamations governing conditions for all enemy aliens, including all individuals of Japanese descent (even American citizens) and Italian and German residents without U.S. citizenship. Significantly, the distinction between aliens and non-aliens was only applied to Italian and German residents, and did not extend to members of the Japanese community. The decision not to incarcerate Japanese Hawaiians, despite the bombing of Pearl Harbor, was based on their large numbers and the critical proportion of the Hawaiian labor force they comprised. These facts suggest that the removal of Japanese Americans on the West Coast was motivated by racism and long-standing enmity over Japanese immigrants’ success in agriculture, rather than out of “military necessity.”¹⁹⁵

Under the authority of Executive Order 9066, General John L. DeWitt issued a series of military proclamations from the headquarters of the Western Defense Command at the Presidio of San Francisco. By late March 1942, DeWitt issued orders that began expelling “all persons of Japanese ancestry, including aliens and non-aliens” from West Coast military zones. In a little over four months, more than

¹⁹³ The Japanese American Citizens League released a study on terminology associated with the experiences of Japanese Americans during World War II titled *The Power of Words*, which describes internment as a legally accurate description for those held in Department of Justice prisons, and not for those wrongfully incarcerated in War Relocation Centers, available at <http://jaclpowerofwords.org/>, accessed October 6, 2018.

¹⁹⁴ Niiya, *Japanese American History*, 329.

¹⁹⁵ Roger Daniels, *Prisoners Without Trial: Japanese Americans in World War II* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004) 3-22.

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120,000 Americans of Japanese ancestry—two thirds of whom were U.S. citizens—were forced from their homes and incarcerated by the government under the pretext of national security. Japanese Americans spent the months preceding this forced removal amid increasing restrictions and uncertainty about their fate that was compounded by growing anti-Japanese hysteria. Final notice of internment came just two weeks before they were to leave their homes and businesses, hardly enough time to arrange their personal and business affairs for the duration of the war.¹⁹⁶

During the years 1942 to 1945, Japanese Americans were incarcerated behind barbed wire and under armed guard in ten remotely sited concentration camps and Department of Justice detention centers. Most *Nikkei* were first imprisoned in assembly centers—temporary detention centers in racetracks and fairgrounds. California’s were located in or near Marysville, San Francisco, Sacramento, Stockton, Turlock, Merced, Salinas, Fresno, Tulare, Santa Anita, and Pomona. Evacuees were then moved to more permanent War Relocation Centers, prison camps located away from the West Coast. California held two of them: Manzanar in Inyo County and Tule Lake in Modoc County.¹⁹⁷

During the war, many Japanese American churches, temples, and cultural institutions were used to store family belongings and personal property. Non-Japanese groups, such as the American Friends Service Committee, cared for the possessions of internees and operated hostels after the war. A number of storage sites that could not be secured were raided or vandalized by looters. Not all Japanese American property ownership was safeguarded, and many possessions were lost.¹⁹⁸

Internees held complex, and often ambivalent, feelings about returning to the communities from which they had been forcibly uprooted. *Nisei* journalist Bill Hosokawa argued in a *Pacific Citizen* editorial that moving eastward “offered unexpected possibilities for advancement and social assimilation... in the long run, the integration and acceptance of Japanese Americans would be speeded by widespread dispersal.”¹⁹⁹ Given vituperative pronouncements against *Nikkei* returning to California by organizations such as the American Legion and Native Sons of the Golden West, this perspective is understandable. Following a 1944 tour of San Francisco’s Japantown to assess postwar prospects, JACL president Saburo Kido identified four major areas of concern—housing, jobs, labor union antipathy, and potentially difficult relations with the many African Americans who had moved into the neighborhood.

¹⁹⁶ Daniels, *Prisoners Without Trial*, passim.

¹⁹⁷ The literature on Japanese Americans and War Relocation Centers is vast. Good introductions include Jeffery F. Burton, Mary M. Farrell, Florence B. Lord, Richard W. Lord, *Confinement and Ethnicity: An Overview of World War II Japanese American Relocation Sites* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999); Roger Daniels, Sandra C. Taylor, Harry H.L. Kitano, *Japanese Americans: From Relocation to Redress* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1986).

¹⁹⁸ Jacobus tenBroek, Edward N. Barnhart, and Floyd W. Matson, *Prejudice, War and the Constitution* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1954), 166.

¹⁹⁹ Reid Yoshio Yokoyama, “Return, Rebuild and Redevelop: Japanese American Resettlement in San Francisco, 1945-1958” (undergraduate honors thesis, Stanford University, 2007), 13, 100.

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“Since they occupy the former Japanese residential district, they will resent being displaced by returning evacuees,” Kido wrote.²⁰⁰

Return and Resettlement, 1946-1970

Encouraged by the War Relocation Authority to resettle in the East and Midwest, approximately one-third of the internees chose this alternative. Some never returned to the West Coast. Tens of thousands of Japanese Americans did return to prewar Japantowns in California and other Western states, some of which had largely become occupied by wartime defense industry workers scrambling for shelter in a wartime housing shortage. Starting over was a particular hardship because 1913 and 1920 California Alien Land Laws had prevented most *Issei* from owning property, and finding housing and jobs in the postwar period was extremely difficult. Many returning *Nikkei* were offered temporary housing in hostels set up by Japanese American Buddhist and Christian organizations. The U.S. government housed others in temporary facilities built to shelter wartime defense workers.

Re-entry into society was met with hostility and mistrust.²⁰¹ Nativist groups continued to lobby against Japanese American return and their ability to resume economic activities. Alien Land Laws that severely restricted *Nikkei* opportunities were still in place. Those who did return to California often had to rebuild lives that had been dramatically altered by the concentration camp experience. The war was also a turning point in generational control of businesses, churches, and community politics, as the adult children of immigrants began to dominate in all spheres of Japanese activities. Most of California’s *Nihonmachi* never regained their prewar vibrancy—in some communities, half of the prewar occupants never returned.²⁰² Non-Japanese businesses and residents had moved into sections of town previously occupied by Japanese Americans.

This postwar period was one of intensive efforts to re-establish Japanese American communities. After serving as hostels for returning internees, churches re-instituted their usual activities and services. The struggle for economic survival began anew. Those *Nihonmachi* able to be rebuilt were again the centers of the Japanese American community, though residential patterns became more dispersed. Long-standing businesses, churches, and cultural institutions in historic *Nihonmachi* continued to draw *Nikkei*

²⁰⁰ Saburo Kido to Members and Friends, November 14, 1944, 1. Box 35, JA Relocation—Non-Printed Matter, John W. Nason Papers, Hoover Institution Archives cited in Yokoyama, “Return, Rebuild and Redevelop,” 58.

²⁰¹ The experiences of Japanese Americans in the decade after World War II only became the subject of focused attention in the 1990s, most prominently in the *RE:generations* oral history project that documented postwar resettlement in San Diego, Los Angeles, San Jose, and Chicago. *RE:generations* was a collaborative project with the Japanese American National Museum, the Chicago Japanese American Historical Society, Japanese American Historical Society of San Diego, and the Japanese American Resource Center/Museum of San Jose, available at http://texts.cdlib.org/view?docId=ft358003z1&doc.view=entire_text accessed December 20, 2018.

²⁰² Waugh, “A History of Japanese in California.”

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who lived elsewhere. *Nihonmachi* also reflected generational changes and were somewhat less oriented to the immigrant generation.²⁰³

According to the 1950 census, the Japanese population of California decreased to 84,956 from a prewar population of 93,717. Los Angeles County had the largest population, with 36,761 *Nikkei* residents. San Francisco, Alameda, Fresno, Sacramento, and Santa Clara Counties each had 4,000 to 6,000 Japanese residents.²⁰⁴ Passage of the McCarren-Walter Act in 1952 eliminated barriers to naturalization for *Issei*; over 40,000 gained U.S. citizenship between 1952 and 1965.²⁰⁵

The decade between 1950 and 1960 saw almost a doubling of the Japanese population in California, to 157,317. Los Angeles County again led the state with 77,314, more than seven times the number in Santa Clara County, which had 10,432 Japanese residents.²⁰⁶ This large increase is generally attributed to the birth of *Sansei*, the third generation of Japanese Americans. A secondary and far less important reason numerically was the gradual return to the West Coast of individuals who had resettled to other areas during the World War II incarceration. A minor increase can also be attributed to Japanese women who immigrated to accompany their husbands serving in the U.S. military.

The explosion of children resulted in a resurgence of activities in churches, Japanese-language schools, and athletic leagues. The Japanese population had made the transition from a rural to an urban population with the economic base less oriented to agriculture, although this was still important. In urban areas, Japanese women frequently worked in secretarial clerical positions, while men began to obtain jobs in technical professional areas.

Redevelopment and Redress

Urban renewal reshaped American cities across the nation from the 1950s through the 1970s. Ironically, many Japantowns laboriously rebuilt by *Nikkei* after World War II were the first targets for redevelopment agencies. As areas that were usually ethnically mixed, whether historically or as a result of wartime displacement and migration, and often made up of working-class renters, neighborhoods such as San Francisco’s Western Addition, Sacramento’s Westside, and Los Angeles’ Little Tokyo became targets for the wrecking ball.²⁰⁷ Whether for mega-developments such as San Francisco’s Geary Expressway and Japan Trade Center or freeways that drove through the heart of low-income neighborhoods, urban renewal projects created a second evacuation for many *Nikkei*. In larger

²⁰³ Brian Komei Dempster, ed., *Making Home from War: Stories of Japanese American Exile and Resettlement* (Berkeley, CA: Heyday Books, 2011) passim; Waugh, “A History of Japanese in California.”

²⁰⁴ Waugh, “A History of Japanese in California.”

²⁰⁵ “Immigration Act of 1952,” *Densho Encyclopedia*, accessed January 10, 2017, http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Immigration_Act_of_1952/.

²⁰⁶ Waugh, “A History of Japanese in California.”

²⁰⁷ Donna Graves and Page & Turnbull, *Historic Context Statement: Japantown, San Francisco, California*, prepared for City & County of San Francisco Planning Department, May 2011, 53-69; “Redevelopment and Urban Japantowns,” *Nikkei Heritage* XIII, no. 4 (Fall 2000); XIII, no. 1 (Winter 2001).

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Japantowns, residents organized and fought evictions and displacement, to relatively little effect. Many Japanese Americans moved into outer suburbs as redevelopment erased their historic neighborhoods and discriminatory barriers to property ownership were reduced. In Los Angeles, they moved south into communities such as Crenshaw and Gardena, and east to Montebello and Monterey Park. In San Francisco, they moved east to Berkeley, San Leandro, and Hayward and south to San Bruno and South San Francisco.²⁰⁸

Activist lessons gained from fighting redevelopment were soon turned to another major goal, securing redress and reparations for the suffering caused by World War II injustices. Early calls for reparations were made at the 1970 JACL National Convention in Seattle. As *Nikkei* debated different strategies, new organizations formed including the National Coalition for Redress/Reparations based in Los Angeles and the National Council for Japanese American Redress with strong leadership from Seattle’s *Nikkei*. At the state level, Governor Jerry Brown signed Assembly Bill 2710 into law in 1982, which provided \$5,000 each to all Japanese American state employees fired in 1942.²⁰⁹ The JACL spearheaded legislative strategy for creating the U.S. Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians (CWRIC). The commission released its recommendations in 1983 recognizing the injustice toward Japanese Americans and recommended issuance of a national apology along with redress through monetary compensation. Years of struggle and lobbying resulted in the Civil Liberties Act of 1988 signed into law on August 10 by President Ronald Reagan implementing the recommendations.²¹⁰

Korean American

Early Immigration of Koreans to California, 1882-1911

In the late nineteenth century, Korea was an isolated kingdom facing economic and political uncertainty as the world around it was changing. Known as the Hermit Kingdom, the country’s rulers sought to insulate themselves and Korea from external influences ranging from neighboring Japan and China, which each had a history of conquest, to the growing imperial presence of Western powers in the region. Catholic missionaries had arrived a century earlier and had an increasing presence as they successfully converted parts of the population to Christianity.

After bouts of contact and conflict, the United States officially established diplomatic relations with the Korean Kingdom in May 1882 through the Treaty of Peace, Amity, Commerce and Navigation, also known as the Korean-American Treaty.²¹¹ American missionaries, representing the Presbyterian and Methodist faiths, arrived shortly after and continued to expand the presence of Christianity beyond the Catholic traditions. A Korean diplomatic mission to the United States occurred in 1883 with the group

²⁰⁸ Charlotte Brooks, *Alien Neighbors, Foreign Friends: Asian Americans, Housing and the Transformation of Urban California* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 229.

²⁰⁹ Niiya, *Japanese American History*, 83.

²¹⁰ Niiya, *Japanese American History*, 289-292. By 1990, an apology and \$20,000 in redress payment was reaching the first Issei and would ultimately be offered to every living survivor of the WWII era who had been wrongfully incarcerated.

²¹¹ Hyung-chan Kim and Wayne Patterson, *The Koreans in America, 1882-1974: A Chronology and Fact Book* (New York: Oceana Publications, Inc., 1974), 1.

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arriving through San Francisco; one member of the group, Yu Kil-jun, stayed to attend school in Massachusetts.²¹²

In 1885, three Korean exiles arrived in the United States through San Francisco. Seo Jae-pil (also known as Philip Jaisohn), Seo Kwang-bum, and Pak Yong-hyo led a failed coup in Korea and sought asylum in the United States.²¹³ These individuals, along with a handful of students and ginseng merchants mistaken for Chinese when they arrived in 1893, were among the earliest Korean immigrants to the United States.²¹⁴

Among the students was Ahn Chang-Ho, also known by his penname, Dosan, who later became one of the major figures in the fight for Korean independence. Ahn and his wife, Helen (Heyryon) Lee, first immigrated to San Francisco in 1902 to be educated.²¹⁵ By 1903, the Friendship Association or Friendship Society (*Chin-mok-hoe*) was established in San Francisco with Ahn as president.²¹⁶ Fewer than fifty Koreans were in San Francisco as of 1904, including the ginseng merchants.²¹⁷ Missionary Florence Sherman founded the Korean Methodist Episcopal Mission in 1904 upon her return to Los Angeles after her missionary service with her husband in Korea.²¹⁸ The mission served a congregation of twenty-five, mostly students and service industry workers.

The first substantial wave of Korean immigration to the United States by way of Hawai'i began in 1903 driven by ongoing famines, political instability, and limited economic opportunities in Korea. Approximately one hundred people arrived in Hawai'i (by then a U.S. territory) to work as laborers on sugar plantations.²¹⁹ In a pattern repeated later in California, laborers were needed in Hawai'i after the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 limited Chinese immigration. Koreans were another option to Japanese workers who had arrived in large numbers in the previous decade to replace Chinese laborers. The first Korean arrivals were primarily Christians associated with missionaries like Dr. Horace Allen, an American Presbyterian missionary in Seoul who had ties to Hawaiian plantation ventures and secured work contracts for Korean laborers.²²⁰

²¹² Kim and Patterson, *The Koreans in America*, 1.

²¹³ Kim and Patterson, *The Koreans in America*, 1; Ilpyong J. Kim, "A Century of Korean Immigration to the United States: 1903-2003," in Ilpyong J. Kim, ed., *Korean-Americans: Past, Present, and Future* (Elizabeth, NJ: Hollym International Corp., 2004), 18-19.

²¹⁴ Bong-Youn Choy, *Koreans in America* (Chicago: Nelson-Hill, 1979), 71-72, 105; Marn Jai Cha, *Koreans in Central California (1903-1957): A Study of Settlement and Transnational Politics* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2010), 2-3.

²¹⁵ Katherine Yungmee Kim, *Los Angeles's Koreatown*, Images of America (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2011), 13; 18.

²¹⁶ Kim and Patterson, *The Koreans in America*, 4; Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 23.

²¹⁷ Choy, *Koreans in America*, 105.

²¹⁸ David Yoo, *Contentious Spirits: Religion in Korean American History, 1903-1945* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010), Chapter 4.

²¹⁹ Choy, *Koreans in America*, 73-75.

²²⁰ Choy, *Koreans in America*, 92-94.

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With high demand for cheap manual labor, and encouragement from other Christian missionaries, many other Koreans made the same journey over the following few years.²²¹ Approximately 7,000 Koreans, of whom about forty percent were Christian converts, landed in Hawai‘i between 1903 and 1905, after which Japan effectively controlled Korea and emigration became restricted.²²² From Hawai‘i, about 1,000 to 2,000 of these mostly young, single men and some women and children then migrated to the continental United States.²²³

By 1905, Koreans from Hawai‘i began arriving in California by way of the Port of San Francisco. The influx of Koreans did not last long. In August 1910, the Empire of Japan formally annexed the Korean Empire. Although Korea had been firmly within the Japanese sphere of influence for years, this formal annexation established the peninsula as a Japanese colony that was subject to strict and repressive regulations, including emigration policies. With Koreans considered Japanese citizens, and subject to the limitations on immigration of laborers under the 1907-08 Gentlemen’s Agreement between the United States and Japan, the first wave of Korean immigration effectively ended around 1911.

Korean Settlement in California, 1903-1911

For the first wave of Korean immigrants, San Francisco was a pass-through on their way to work elsewhere. Following Korean labor contractors who secured work contracts and recruited laborers, some immigrants went to railroad and mining jobs in Utah, Wyoming, and Arizona. Most followed the path of the Chinese and Japanese laborers before them and made their ways to California’s agricultural communities in the Central Valley, a 400-mile stretch from the Sacramento Valley to the San Joaquin Valley that includes cities such as Sacramento, Stockton, Modesto, Fresno, and Bakersfield.²²⁴

Towns in Southern California’s Riverside and San Bernardino Counties attracted Korean immigrants as well. Riverside was among the earliest areas with a significant presence of Korean laborers. They were working in the citrus industry or as domestic or hospitality workers. Ahn Chang-Ho went to Riverside in 1904 and helped to establish the Korean Labor Bureau in 1905 to negotiate labor contracts with ranchers and farmers and to compete with the Japanese labor contractors who dominated in the area. The Korean Labor Bureau ensured ongoing work for Korean laborers in the Riverside area. The number of Korean laborers in Riverside increased from seventy in 1905 to one hundred fifty by 1907. A small, distinct grouping of boarding houses and other dwellings formed around the Korean Labor Bureau’s office at

²²¹ Yong-ho Ch’oe, “History of the Korean Church: A Case Study of Christ United Methodist Church, 1903-2003,” in Kim, *Korean-Americans: Past, Present, and Future*, , 38.

²²² Eun Sik Yang, “Koreans in America, 1903-1945,” in *Koreans in Los Angeles: Prospects and Promises*, ed. Eui-Young Yu, Earl H. Phillips, and Eun Sik Yang (Los Angeles: Koryo Research Institute, Center for Korean-American and Korean Studies, California State University, Los Angeles, 1982), 5-6; Won Moo Hurh, *The New Americans: The Korean Americans* (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1998), 34.

²²³ Ch’oe, “History of Korean Church,” 38; Yang, “Koreans in America, 1903-1945,” 6; Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 19.

²²⁴ Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 18; Yang, “Koreans in America, 1903-1945,” 7; Choy, *Koreans in America*, 105-106.

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1532 Pachappa Avenue (not extant) in Riverside, noted on the 1908 Sanborn map as the “Korean Settlement.”²²⁵ From Riverside, small groups of Koreans also scattered to surrounding communities: Redlands and Upland to the east in San Bernardino County, and Claremont to the west in Los Angeles County, where there was an early Korean presence.²²⁶

In the Central Valley, the first stops were three main agricultural centers: Fresno (Fresno County), Hanford (Kings County), and Visalia (Tulare County).²²⁷ Between 1906 and 1908, there were about 200 Koreans in these three cities.²²⁸ They arrived following available work in the fields for the major fruit and produce crops in this part of the San Joaquin Valley, including grapes and sugar beets.²²⁹ A few Korean-run boarding houses opened in Fresno and Hanford, along with chapters of Korean mutual aid associations. By 1910, they had all closed. The Korean workers, facing anti-Asian sentiments in the urban areas along with the need for agricultural laborers in the more rural areas, moved to the nearby smaller towns of Dinuba and Reedley.²³⁰

The urban centers of San Francisco and Los Angeles continued to have small populations of Koreans, compared to other Asian immigrants. “Schoolboy jobs” as domestic or hospitality workers were available in the more urban areas, as were opportunities to open small businesses like groceries or produce stands.²³¹ These and other cities functioned as central hubs for laborers, as places to go during the off-season, and to connect with other jobs. The number of permanent Korean residences in urban California remained relatively small, as cities were not particularly kind to the Koreans, who faced the same discrimination and anti-Asian sentiments that confronted Chinese and Japanese communities. There were often not enough Koreans in a concentrated area in these cities to constitute a distinct district equivalent to Chinatowns or Japantowns. Instead, the establishment of two main Korean institutions signaled the emerging presence of a substantial Korean population: mutual-aid organizations and churches.

The mutual-aid organizations served as financial sponsors, employment agents, and social centers for new arrivals who did not speak English and had few skills.²³² Several organizations were established in the first years of the twentieth century, including the Friendship Society, the Mutual Assistance Association (*Gong-rip Hyeop-hoe*), the Great National Protection Association (*Dae-dong Bo-guk-hoe*), the Consolidated Cooperative Association (also known as the United Korean Society or the United

²²⁵ Edward T. Chang and Hannah Brown, “Pachappa Camp: The First Koreatown in the United States,” *California History* 95, no. 3 (Fall 2018): 49.

²²⁶ Chang and Brown, “Pachappa Camp,” 51.

²²⁷ Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 20.

²²⁸ Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 29.

²²⁹ Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 20.

²³⁰ Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 29-30, 34.

²³¹ Choy, *Koreans in America*, 105; Chang and Brown, “Pachappa Camp,” 48.

²³² Choy, *Koreans in America*, 105-106.

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Korean Association), and the Korean Women’s Association.²³³ Branches were found in areas with early concentrations of Koreans laborers, such as Riverside and Fresno.

The early foundations of Korean Christian churches started in this period as missions. The Korean Mission Home, later the Korean Methodist Church of San Francisco, opened in 1905 and was holding regular services by 1906.²³⁴ In Los Angeles, the Korean Methodist Episcopal Mission was founded in 1904 by Florence Sherman, a former missionary in Korea, while in 1906, a Presbyterian mission was established with the help of the Presbyterian Missionary Extension Board. The Presbyterian mission became the Korean Mission by 1909.²³⁵ Both the mutual-aid organizations and the missions served as gathering places for Koreans, in cities and in the rural communities. They often overlapped, with the churches functioning as the headquarters for a local chapter of the mutual-aid association, or vice versa.

In 1908, two Korean immigrants assassinated Durham W. Stevens, an American who worked for the Japanese government as a foreign policy advisor for Korea.²³⁶ The assassination occurred at the Ferry Building in San Francisco, after Stevens arrived in the city on his way to Washington, DC. Stevens had given interviews with reporters that held Japan’s occupation of Korea in a positive light, which infuriated the Koreans. Korean nationalists Myeng-woon Chun and In-hwan Chang shot Stevens, who died of his wounds two days later. The Korean community in the United States, through the three main mutual aid associations—the Mutual Assistance Association, the Great National Protective Association, and the Consolidated Cooperative Association based in Hawai‘i—raised funds for the legal defense. Chun was acquitted for lack of evidence, while Chang was sentenced to twenty-five years for second-degree murder.²³⁷ The assassination, and the subsequent united response, prompted all the various Korean mutual-aid organizations to consolidate and form the Korean National Association (*Dae-han-in Kung-min-hoe* or KNA) in 1909.²³⁸

Community Formation, 1911-1942

With migration of laborers essentially ended by 1911, Koreans in California remained a relatively small population compared to other immigrant groups. The U.S. census documented 304 Koreans in in California in 1910.²³⁹ Other data indicated more Korean residents were likely in the state. The Mutual

²³³ Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 23; Kim and Patterson, *The Koreans in America*, 8, 15.

²³⁴ Kim and Patterson, *The Koreans in America*, 6-7; Paek-Kol Song and Tong-Sik Yu, *A History of San Francisco Korean United Methodist Church* (Seoul, Korea: Korean United Methodist Church: 2003), 693.

²³⁵ Yoo, *Contentious Spirits*, Ch. 4; Kim, *Los Angeles’s Koreatown*, 15; Kim and Patterson, *The Koreans in America*, 10. Sherman was in Korea with her husband, Dr. Harry Sherman, from 1898 to 1900 when he fell ill. He passed away not long after their return to the U.S.

²³⁶ Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 195.

²³⁷ Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 197.

²³⁸ Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 197-198; Song and Yu, *A History of San Francisco Korean United Methodist Church*, 696.

²³⁹ Campbell Gibson and Kay Jung, “Historical Census Statistics on Population Totals by Race, 1790 to 1900, and by Hispanic Origin, 1970 to 1990, for the United States, Regions, Divisions, and States,” (Working Paper No. 56, Population

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Assistance Association reported 291 members in San Francisco and 150 in Riverside in 1907.²⁴⁰ It is more likely there were over 500 Korean residents in California around 1910.²⁴¹ The discrepancy may be attributed to some individuals not counted in the census or misidentified as Japanese or Chinese.

In the 1910s, populations of Koreans were found throughout the state: in the citrus areas of Riverside and Redlands of Southern California; in the smaller towns of the Central Valley’s produce regions such as Dinuba and surrounding towns; in sugar beet farming around Stockton; and in rice farming in and around Willows and Maxwell north of Sacramento.²⁴² A handful of business corporations were established to pool funds, though none appear to be long-term successes.²⁴³

Not only did Japanese colonialization provoke further resentment toward the Japanese, it also galvanized a sense of Korean nationalism and a desire to re-establish an independent Korea. The KNA took on the role as the primary organization for the Korean independence movement. A few military training centers were also established in the United States. Yong-man Park, along with Ahn Chang-Ho and Syngman Rhee, was one of the leaders in the Korean independence movement in the United States. Unlike Ahn and Rhee, Park sought a military path, and established the Korean Youth Military Academy in Hastings, Nebraska in 1909.²⁴⁴ Following his lead, military training camps were established in California in Lompoc and Claremont in 1910 and 1911.²⁴⁵

For the most part, these early Korean pioneers still numbered too few to have their own identified enclaves, with the exception of Riverside. In the urban centers of San Francisco, Sacramento, and Los Angeles, Koreans typically lived among other ethnic groups. The churches and KNA branches remained the main hallmarks of their communities and were the central hub where gatherings, celebrations, lectures, social events, and English classes, as well as later Korean classes for the second generation, were held.

In the agricultural areas, laborers typically stayed in boarding houses run by other Koreans or Asian immigrants and in ethnically mixed neighborhoods with Chinese, Japanese, and Mexican residents, who had larger populations often noted on Sanborn maps. During harvest seasons, the number of Koreans increased, as students and urban residents came from all over for extra work.

Division, U.S. Census Bureau, Washington, DC, September 2002), Table C-10, accessed November 11, 2018, <https://census.gov/content/dam/Census/library/working-papers/2002/demo/POP-twps0056.pdf> .

²⁴⁰ Chang and Brown, “Pachappa Camp,” 49.

²⁴¹ Email comments received from Edward Chang to the California Office of Historic Preservation, April 9, 2019.

²⁴² Cha, Koreans in Central California, 40-44; 157-164; Kim and Patterson, The Koreans in America, 24-26.

²⁴³ Choy, Koreans in America, 129.

²⁴⁴ Choy, Koreans in America, 85.

²⁴⁵ Choy, *Koreans in America*, 150; Myung Kyun Kim, Samuel Sunjoo Lee, and Tom H.J. Byun, *Rainbow over the Pacific: Korean Centennial Pictorial Book of the North America*, Vol. 1 and 3 (Los Angeles: The Christian Herald USA and The Committee for the Korean Centennial Pictorial Book of the North America, 2006), 459; Kim and Patterson, *The Koreans in America*, 19.

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Dinuba, in Central California’s Tulare County, started to see a concentration of Korean immigrants in this period. In 1909, Korean labor contractors first brought forty to fifty Korean laborers to Dinuba for a job at a vineyard.²⁴⁶ The availability of work in the grape, raisin, and tree fruit crops attracted more Korean workers alongside Japanese, Chinese, Mexican, and Filipina/o laborers.²⁴⁷ In time, some Korean farmers used the “ten percent deal” model, wherein the landowner provided equipment and paid the cost, while the tenant farmer provided the labor. The return on the crops was shared with ninety percent to the landowner, and ten percent to the tenant farmer.²⁴⁸

By 1912, there were enough Koreans to support a church in Dinuba, along with a chapter of the Korean National Association, which had taken over the role of the mutual-aid organizations in addition to the fight for Korean independence. As in Riverside, some Koreans also moved to the towns surrounding Dinuba, such as Delano and Reedley, following work opportunities and availability of land for lease. Eventually, there were around 200 Korean farm workers in the area, and eight Korean-run boarding houses in Dinuba, Reedley, and the surrounding area; none appear to be extant.²⁴⁹

By the 1920s, some of the agricultural communities dwindled following crop failures and natural disasters. Failure of the orange crop in 1913 was the beginning of the end of the Korean community in Riverside, as people started to move to other agricultural areas in Central and Northern California, as well as urban centers like Los Angeles, in search of work.²⁵⁰ By 1918, the settlement around the Korean Labor Bureau disbursed, and by the 1940 census, only eight or nine Korean families were listed as living in Riverside.²⁵¹

In Northern California, Koreans were among the groups who entered rice farming in Colusa County, Glenn County, and Yuba County north of Sacramento in the wake of increased demand created by World War I.²⁵² Some were able to lease small farms under the ten percent model. One Korean rice farmer, Kim Chong-Lim, became so successful he was known as the “Korean Rice King.”²⁵³ He used his fortune to support Korean independence efforts, including funding the Korean Aviation School (some resources extant) in Willows in 1920. The purpose of the school was to train pilots to fight against the Japanese and help to secure independence for Korea.²⁵⁴ The air school garnered substantial media

²⁴⁶ Cha, Koreans in Central California, 41.

²⁴⁷ Cha, Koreans in Central California, 41.

²⁴⁸ Cha, Koreans in Central California, 42.

²⁴⁹ Cha, Koreans in Central California, 57.

²⁵⁰ Chang and Brown, “Pachappa Camp,” 52-53.

²⁵¹ Chang and Brown, “Pachappa Camp,” 53.

²⁵² Cha, Koreans in Central California, 162.

²⁵³ Edward T. Chang and Woo Sung Han, *Korean American Pioneer Aviators: The Willows Airmen* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2015), 10.

²⁵⁴ Chang and Woo, *Korean American Pioneer Aviators*, 13.

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attention in the U.S. Korean media as well as the English newspapers. It trained the pioneers of Korean aviation, who went on to influence the South Korean air force.

Heavy rains and flooding destroyed Kim’s rice fields in late 1920, along with those of many other rice farmers. With the source of his fortune ruined, funding for the Korean Aviation School ceased and the school closed after a year in operation. Many of the Asian farmers in Willows, including Kim Chong-Lim, never recovered and eventually left the area.²⁵⁵

Others Korean settlements grew stronger, such as Dinuba and Reedley, where available work attracted laborers. In Reedley (Fresno County), just northwest of Dinuba, Koreans started to settle after 1919. It was the arrival of Harry S. Kim (Kim Hyung-soon) and his wife Daisy Kim (née Han Deok-se) in 1921 that created a robust Korean settlement. Harry and Daisy moved to Reedley from Los Angeles and opened a nursery.²⁵⁶ They were soon joined in the business by Daisy’s former teacher Charles Ho Kim (Kim Jeong-jin) to form Kim Brothers, Inc., despite the lack of a family connection between the two men. By 1938, there were eleven households and about fifty Koreans in Reedley.²⁵⁷

In the 1930s, Kim Brothers, Inc. gained exclusive rights to grow and sell a patented series of nectarines from horticulturalist Fred Anderson that transformed the business. One of the new varieties, the fuzzless Le Grand nectarine released in 1942, became a popular variety and propelled Kim Brothers, Inc. and its owners to financial success. Kim Brothers, Inc. expanded in Reedley, adding an orchard and packing house at Eighth and I Streets and employing over 300 people during harvest.²⁵⁸

The success of Kim Brothers, Inc. led to the success of another Korean-owned business, K&S Jobbers in Los Angeles. Also known as the K&S Company, it was a produce wholesaler founded in 1925 by Kim Yong-jeung (also known as Youse or Young Kim) and Leo Song (Song Cheol or Chull).²⁵⁹ With their connection to Kim Brothers, Inc., K&S Jobbers became the only Los Angeles wholesaler for their nectarines.²⁶⁰ By 1936, K&S Company was located in the City Market area of Los Angeles at 1119 South San Pedro Street (extant) and remained there until at least the mid-1960s.²⁶¹

²⁵⁵ Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 170.

²⁵⁶ Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 77-78.

²⁵⁷ Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 84.

²⁵⁸ Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 79.

²⁵⁹ Alice McLean, *Asian American Food Culture* (Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood, imprint of ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2015), 22; Harry Cline, “Song Family Quality Nectarine Tradition Continues after Six Decades,” *Western Farm Press*, August 20, 2001, accessed December 7, 2018, <http://www.westernfarmpress.com/song-family-quality-nectarine-tradition-continues-after-six-decades>.

²⁶⁰ Choy, *Koreans in America*, 131.

²⁶¹ GPA Consulting, “City Market, Los Angeles, California Historic Resource Report,” January 2013, revised June 2013 and April 2014, for City Market Los Angeles Project Re-Circulated Environmental Impact Report (Case No. ENV-2012-3003-EIR), prepared by Parker Environmental Consultants on behalf of the City of Los Angeles Department of City Planning, July 2016, 64; Hak Sun Pak, ed., *The Korean Community of Southern California Year Book 1964* (Hollywood: Oriental Heritage Inc., 1964), 98.

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The growth of the Korean population was made possible by continued migration of women allowed under the 1907-08 Gentlemen’s Agreement between the United States and Japan. Although women and children were among the first wave of Korean immigrants, they were vastly outnumbered by the male laborers. Under the Gentlemen’s Agreement, workers were limited and wives and children could still emigrate. Between 1910 and 1924, approximately 1,100 Korean picture brides arrived in Hawai‘i, of which about 150 migrated to the mainland as wives through arranged marriages; most stayed in Hawai‘i where a larger Korean community existed.²⁶² With more women, the small community of Koreans in California grew as a second generation was born. The practice of arranged marriages and picture brides was commonplace until the passage of the Immigration Act of 1924, which stopped virtually all immigration to the United States from Asia.²⁶³

By 1930, there were about 8,000 Korean Americans, first and second generation, living in the United States, including Hawai‘i, where the majority resided. Approximately 1,000 lived in California and smaller numbers were documented in Washington, Wyoming, and Illinois.²⁶⁴ The largest concentration, about 320, lived in Los Angeles, primarily in the neighborhood west of the University of Southern California around Jefferson Boulevard. The focus of the Korean community had shifted south from San Francisco. The Korean National Association moved its headquarters to Los Angeles in 1937, where it constructed a new, permanent building the following year at 1368 West Jefferson Boulevard (extant). The Los Angeles Korean Presbyterian Church built its new church next door at 1374 W. Jefferson Boulevard (extant) in the same year.²⁶⁵ The KNA’s hall served as the center of the Korean independence movement in the United States through political efforts to oppose the Japanese occupation of Korea and support the exiled Korean provisional government based in China. The Korean-language newspaper *The New Korea (Sinhan Minbo)*, with a political bent, was published on site, and the building served as home to other organizations over the years, including the Korean Women’s Patriotic League and the United Korean Committee.

Compared with the larger Chinese and Japanese communities, the Korean community in Los Angeles was still so small that there were no predominately Korean residential or commercial enclaves. Korean-owned businesses often served other Asian and non-Asian populations in mixed neighborhoods. Korean-owned restaurants were usually run as Chinese restaurants.²⁶⁶

²⁶² Hurh, *The New Americans*, 34; Kim, Lee, and Byun, *Rainbow over the Pacific*, 87.

²⁶³ Hurh, *The New Americans*, 34.

²⁶⁴ U.S. census statistics for 1930 compiled by USC Korean Heritage Library and Gibson and Jung, “Historical Census Statistics,” Table C-8.

²⁶⁵ David Yoo and Hyung-ju Ahn, *Faithful Witness: A Centennial History of the Los Angeles Korean United Methodist Church (1904-2004)* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles Korean United Methodist Church), 84.

²⁶⁶ Helen Lewis Givens, “The Korean Community in Los Angeles County,” (master’s thesis, University of Southern California, 1939), 48-50.

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Section number E Page 53***Growth of the Second Generation***

The second generation of Korean Americans was maturing during this period. In the cities, many grew up attending racially integrated neighborhood elementary and high schools, and went on to college and university. Though faced with discrimination common to all Asian Americans, some gained particular prominence. Korean American athlete Sammy Lee became the first Asian American to win a gold medal in the 1948 Olympic Games.²⁶⁷ Lee was born in Fresno in 1920 to parents who had a truck farming business before moving to Los Angeles.

Lee learned to dive at Brookside Park pool in Pasadena, which had one day a week set aside for non-white swimmers before the pool was drained.²⁶⁸ He sneaked in practice dives at the Los Angeles Swimming Stadium in Exposition Park, where he caught the attention of Jim Ryan who became his coach.²⁶⁹ While attending Occidental College, Lee won the 1942 national championship in platform and three-meter springboard diving. His Olympic ambitions had to wait when the games were canceled due to World War II. In the meantime, Lee joined the Army Reserves, and attended medical school at USC. He finally reached the Olympics in 1948 where he won the gold medal in platform diving. He won a second gold medal in the same event at the 1952 games and won the bronze in the three-meter springboard.²⁷⁰

The children of Ahn Chang-Ho were also starting to make a name for themselves. The oldest, Philip Ahn, became a well-known actor in Hollywood, and was the first Asian American actor to receive a star on the Hollywood Walk of Fame.²⁷¹ He started acting in the 1930s and appeared in dozens of films through the 1940s, often playing Chinese and later, Japanese villains. His films included *Anything Goes* (1936) with Bing Crosby, *The General Dies at Dawn* (1936) with Shirley Temple, and *Daughter of Shanghai* (1937) and *King of Chinatown* (1939) with Chinese American actress Anna May Wong.²⁷²

World War II and Its Aftermath, 1942-1950

Immediately following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and the subsequent declaration of war by the United States, the Korean community mobilized. Korean Americans of military age throughout the U.S. enlisted to serve, including Captain Young Oak Kim, a second-generation Korean American raised in

²⁶⁷ Kim, Los Angeles's Koreatown, 70.

²⁶⁸ Jerry Crowe, "Lee Never Let Racism Block His March to Diving Glory," *Los Angeles Times*, May 30, 2011.

²⁶⁹ Valarie J. Nelson and Nathan Fenno, "Sammy Lee, Diver Who Became First Asian American to Win Olympic Medal, Dies at 96," *Los Angeles Times*, December 3, 2016."

²⁷⁰ Nelson and Fenno, "Sammy Lee."

²⁷¹ Edward Chang, email to California Office of Historic Preservation April 9, 2019.

²⁷² Hye Seung Chung, *Hollywood Asian: Philip Ahn and the Politics of Cross-ethnic Performance* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2006), 213-214; "Philip Ahn," Internet Movie Database, accessed December 7, 2018, <http://www.imdb.com/name/nm0014217/>.

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Los Angeles. Captain Kim became an army officer and led a unit of Japanese American soldiers during the war.²⁷³

Three of Ahn Chang Ho's children joined the military at this time. Actor Philip Ahn enlisted in the U.S. Army. Susan Ahn was the first Korean American woman in the American military and served as a lieutenant in the U.S. Navy, their first female gunnery officer.²⁷⁴ Ralph Ahn, Dosan's youngest son, also enlisted in the U.S. Navy. Other Korean Americans of note include John Park, killed in action during the storming of Normandy on D-Day, and Fred Ohr, who became a flying ace for the U.S. Air Force.²⁷⁵

Older men, unable to serve, worked in manufacturing and construction to further the war effort, while Korean American women volunteered for the Red Cross. Korean Americans who spoke Japanese were invaluable to the intelligence community as translators.²⁷⁶ A Korean National Guard unit was established and incorporated into the California National Guard.²⁷⁷ Called the Tiger Brigade (*MangHoKun*), the unit consisted of approximately one fifth of the entire Korean population of Los Angeles, or 109 enlistees from a community of around 500.²⁷⁸

While these enthusiastic contributions to the war effort were undoubtedly rooted in a sense of American patriotism, particularly for second-generation Korean Americans, it is impossible to separate the influence of the Korean political organizations and support for the Korean independence movement. Many members of the community saw a long-awaited opportunity for a Korea free from Japanese occupation. Shortly after the attack on Pearl Harbor, high-ranking members of the KNA gathered at the Los Angeles headquarters to discuss the events. A series of resolutions were issued:

- 1) Koreans shall promote unity during the war and act harmoniously.
- 2) Koreans shall work for the defense of the country where they reside and all those who are healthy should volunteer for National Guard duty. Those who are financially capable should purchase war bonds, and those who are skilled should volunteer for appropriate duties.
- 3) Koreans shall wear a badge identifying them as Koreans, for security purposes.²⁷⁹

These resolutions reflect the leading role of the Korean independence movement within the broader context of the Korean American experience, and the common misidentification with other, larger Asian ethnic groups that became problematic with the fervent anti-Japanese sentiments of the day. Although

²⁷³ Woo Sung Han, *Unsung Hero: The Story of Colonel Young Oak Kim*, trans. Edward T. Chang (Riverside, CA: Young Oak Kim Center for Korean American Studies, UC Riverside, 2011), 22-38. Captain Kim was promoted to major during the Korean War and retired as a highly decorated colonel in 1972. Han, *Unsung Hero*, 315, 358.

²⁷⁴ Kim, *Los Angeles's Koreatown*, 56; Edward Chang, email to California Office of Historic Preservation July 17, 2019.

²⁷⁵ Edward Chang, email to California Office of Historic Preservation July 17, 2019.

²⁷⁶ Choy, *Koreans in America*, 173-174.

²⁷⁷ Kim and Patterson, *The Koreans in America*, 49.

²⁷⁸ Kim, *Los Angeles's Koreatown*, 55; Choy, *Koreans in America*, 174.

²⁷⁹ Kim and Patterson, *The Koreans in America*, 45.

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many in the Korean community were not U.S. citizens and were technically subjects of the Japanese Empire, the United States government recognized that Korea was an occupied territory and issued Military Order No. 45 stating that Koreans were exempted from the enemy alien status attributed to Japanese Americans.²⁸⁰

In the years following World War II, fewer Koreans remained in agriculture. The second generation did not follow their parents into the field, and others migrated to cities like Los Angeles for different opportunities. The aftermath of the war also had socio-political implications for the community. The long-established Korean independence movement and the dozens of organizations associated with its promotion were involved in the formation of a new government in Korea. With the establishment of the Republic of Korea in 1948, led by Syngman Rhee as president, the independence movement’s prominence faded in the Korean American community. Many who had come to the United States as students or religious leaders moved back to Korea to participate in the founding of the new republic. In 1948, a consulate for the Republic of Korea was established in Los Angeles, with Whui Sik Min appointed the consul general, and served as a hallmark of the new republic at the time.²⁸¹ Other consular offices were opened in Honolulu, New York, and San Francisco.

Korean War and the Second Wave of Immigration, 1950-1965

On June 25, 1950, the onset of the Korean War embroiled the Korean peninsula in a renewed conflict. The clash was a tragic byproduct of World War II, one that divided the peninsula and families in an arbitrary fashion. Against the backdrop of the Cold War, the communist-backed Northern forces fought the Southern forces who were supported heavily by several Western countries, predominately the United States. The U.S. saw the conflict in geopolitical terms, as much a means to contain communist expansion, and a symbol of the new battle of values between the centrally planned Soviet and Chinese governments verses the democratic, capitalist West.²⁸² Though many Koreans living in California did not take sides, there was tension between those who supported Syngman Rhee’s government in South Korea and a smaller number who supported the communist government in North Korea.

On July 27, 1953, the armistice between the warring parties was signed, effectively ending the Korean War.²⁸³ The peninsula was largely devastated and the conflict unresolved. North and South Korea emerged along agreed-upon boundaries, which were almost unchanged from the start of the conflict. The Korean American community across the United States funded relief efforts to ease the suffering on the peninsula. Orphan children, displaced by the conflict and adopted by American families, became the first immigrants from Korea to the United States since the 1920s, many of whom arrived in California. Returning U.S. servicemen brought Korean brides with them. These women arrived in small numbers,

²⁸⁰ Kim and Patterson, *The Koreans in America*, 46.

²⁸¹ Kim and Patterson, *The Koreans in America*, 49.

²⁸² Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 267; “Korean War,” History Channel, accessed May 13, 2019, <https://www.history.com/topics/korea/korean-war>.

²⁸³ Kim and Patterson, *The Koreans in America*, 50.

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and were often separated from the established Korean American community by circumstance.²⁸⁴ Students from South Korea started to make their way to the United States in the years after World War II and the Korean War.²⁸⁵

Approximately 14,000 Koreans arrived in the United States between 1950 and 1965.²⁸⁶ This second wave of immigration was aided by scaled-back immigration laws in the 1950s to allow entire Korean families to claim refugee status. The arrival of refugees was met by the established Korean American communities with support.

In addition to the new wave of immigration, the Korean American community was undergoing other changes. In 1952, the Immigration and Nationality Act (also known as the McCarran-Walter Act) was passed, which relaxed the limits on immigration from certain Asian countries. It also ended the “alien ineligible for citizenship” status for Asian immigrants and allowed them to become American citizens.²⁸⁷ Several court cases in the late 1940s and early 1950s challenged discriminatory racial covenant laws that barred Asian Americans from living in certain neighborhoods. Lawsuits brought by two Asian Americans in Los Angeles, Tommy Amer of Chinese heritage and Yin Kim of Korean heritage, were among the legal cases that helped to end housing segregation.²⁸⁸ The home that Yin Kim and his family quietly moved into at 1201 Gramercy Place is extant in the locally designated Country Club historic district.²⁸⁹

With the lifting of racial covenants, Korean Americans and other Asian immigrants had more freedom to live beyond traditionally ethnic neighborhoods. They still faced resistance when attempting to move into previously all-white neighborhoods. Even Olympic champion Sammy Lee and his Chinese American wife, Roz, encountered opposition from residents of suburban developments in Orange County that did not want to sell to non-whites, despite his Olympic record, military service, and profession as a medical doctor.²⁹⁰ The ensuing uproar drew attention and support from Vice President Richard Nixon, himself an Orange County resident, as well as investigation by the Federal Housing Administration.²⁹¹ Lee and his family ultimately settled in 1955 at 12011 Cliffwood Drive in Anaheim (extant), where neighbors

²⁸⁴ Kim, *Los Angeles’s Koreatown*, 72; “A Brief History of Korean Americans,” National Association of Korean Americans, accessed December 7, 2018, <http://www.naka.org/resources/history.asp>.

²⁸⁵ Yoo and Ahn, *Faithful Witness*, 135-136.

²⁸⁶ Kim Hak-Hoon, “Residential Patterns and Mobility of Koreans in Los Angeles County,” (master’s thesis, California State University, Los Angeles, 1986), 8.

²⁸⁷ Maeda, “Asian American Activism and Civic Participation,” 273.

²⁸⁸ Cindy I-Fen Cheng, *Citizens of Asian America: Democracy and Race During the Cold War* (New York: New York University Press, 2013), 22-23.

²⁸⁹ In the City of Los Angeles, locally designated historic districts are identified as Historic Preservation Overlay Zones.

²⁹⁰ Nelson and Fenmo, “Sammy Lee.”

²⁹¹ “Nixon and FHA Join in Dr. Lee’s Fight for Home,” *Los Angeles Times*, August 21, 1955.

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and civic leaders welcomed them.²⁹² The new home was not far from 1431 Broadway in Santa Ana (extant), where Dr. Lee opened his medical practice in 1955.²⁹³

The Korean War brought greater awareness of a distinct Korean identity to the mainstream, and businesses started to embrace their Korean roots. The first restaurant in Los Angeles that specifically served Korean cuisine was Korea House at 2731 West Jefferson Boulevard (extant, altered).²⁹⁴ Opened by Francis Lewe in 1965, it appears to have moved to 1540 North Cahuenga Boulevard in Hollywood in 1970.²⁹⁵ In 1961, the Korean Chamber of Commerce of California was organized and established in Los Angeles at 1205 West Jefferson Boulevard (not extant). It was headed by Frank Ahn, who oversaw the efforts to promote Korean American commercial interests.²⁹⁶

In 1960, Alfred Song became the first Korean American in California to serve on a local city council when he was elected as a councilmember for the City of Monterey Park. Born in Hawai‘i, Song was the son of Korean plantation workers. He moved to Los Angeles to attend USC for undergraduate studies, and eventually law school, following his enlistment in the Air Force during World War II. He was elected to the State Assembly in 1962, and State Senate in 1966—the first Korean American to hold these positions.²⁹⁷ Song’s law office was at 608 South Hill Street (extant) in Los Angeles in 1964.²⁹⁸

Third Wave of Immigration and the Beginnings of Koreatown, 1965-1970

In 1965, U.S. immigration policy underwent a substantial overhaul with the passage of the Hart-Celler Act. Formally known as the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, the Hart-Celler Act effectively ended the discriminatory restrictions for immigrants from select nations of origin. By removing policies that had previously favored European immigrants, a substantial influx of immigrants arrived over the following years from Latin America and Asia, including Koreans. At first, the annual number of people emigrating from Korea was a few thousand people, which already more than doubled the 1,000 to 2,000 Koreans arriving each year before 1965.²⁹⁹ By the early 1970s, the numbers increased dramatically with over 30,000 Korean immigrants entering the U.S. alone in 1976.³⁰⁰

Those who came to the U.S. as part of the third wave were predominantly well-educated and skilled workers, unlike the unskilled laborers of the first wave more than half a century prior. Political and

²⁹² “Anaheim Gives Official Welcome to Dr. Lee,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 1, 1955. The city boundaries later shifted, and the property became part of the City of Garden Grove.

²⁹³ “Dr. Sammy Lee Will Practice in Santa Ana,” *Los Angeles Times*, September 7, 1955.

²⁹⁴ Kim, *Los Angeles’s Koreatown*, 79.

²⁹⁵ Lois Dwan, “Roundabout,” *Los Angeles Times*, July 26, 1970.

²⁹⁶ Kim and Patterson, *The Koreans in America*, 58.

²⁹⁷ Kim and Patterson, *The Koreans in America*, 58.

²⁹⁸ Hak Sun Pak, ed., *The Korean Community of Southern California Year Book 1964*, 86.

²⁹⁹ Kim, “Residential Patterns,” 10.

³⁰⁰ Pyong Gap Min, “Korean Immigrants in Los Angeles,” (paper presented at the Conference on California’s Immigrants in World Perspectives, UCLA, Los Angeles, April 26-27, 1990), 3.

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economic uncertainty in South Korea created a desire for many to move to the U.S. to pursue other opportunities; little migration out of communist North Korea occurred. Many of the new immigrants who had received higher education and professional qualifications in Korea were unable to transfer those credentials or immediately overcome the language barrier. They pursued goods and services based economic opportunities, such as small business ownership of grocery stores, dry cleaners, tailors, and restaurants.³⁰¹ Import-export trading companies and garment industries also became popular businesses.

In Los Angeles, the seeds of what became Koreatown were planted by 1970. The Korean community was already beginning to shift north from Jefferson Boulevard, where it had settled since the 1920s. The influx of third-wave immigrants and the dispersion of the second generation following the postwar suburban boom and lifting of racial covenants shifted the concentration of Koreans north of the Interstate 10 Freeway by 1970. The arrival of the freeway marked a decline for the shops along Olympic Boulevard as crosstown traffic gravitated toward the new highway. With high vacancies and low rents, Korean entrepreneurs stepped in.

The catalyst for the formation of Koreatown is often attributed to the founding of the Olympic Market by Hi-Duk Lee. Opened in 1969, Olympic Market at 3122 West Olympic Boulevard (not extant) was one of the first Korean grocery stores located along the Olympic Boulevard commercial corridor.³⁰² After the success of Olympic Market, Hi-Duk Lee opened VIP Palace restaurant (Young Bin Kwan) at 3014 West Olympic Boulevard in 1975.³⁰³ VIP Palace, along with the adjacent shopping center, VIP Plaza at 3030 West Olympic Boulevard also developed by Lee in 1979, incorporated Korean-style architectural elements in its building design, including 10,000 blue roof tiles Lee imported from Korea.³⁰⁴ They were among the first buildings in Los Angeles to showcase Korean architectural elements.

Soon, hundreds of Korean businesses opened along Olympic Boulevard and expanded to Eighth Street.³⁰⁵ As the number of Korean-oriented businesses increased along Olympic Boulevard, so did the population of Koreans in the surrounding neighborhood as the high rate of immigration continued. The area bounded by Olympic Boulevard and Eighth Street between Crenshaw Boulevard and Hoover Street became one of the most densely populated areas of Koreans and Korean-owned businesses; it had over 70,000 Korean residents and 1,000 small businesses by 1976.³⁰⁶

By 1979, Los Angeles had the largest population of Koreans living outside of Korea. This population, estimated at the time to be approximately 170,000, was largely concentrated in the Koreatown area.

³⁰¹ Nancy Yoshihara, "Koreans Find Riches, Faded Dreams in L.A." *Los Angeles Times*, February 1, 1976.
³⁰² Junyoung Myung, "Values-Based Approach to Heritage Conservation: Identifying Cultural Heritage in Koreatown," (master's thesis, University of Southern California, 2015), 20.
³⁰³ Kim, Los Angeles's Koreatown, 82.
³⁰⁴ Kim, Los Angeles's Koreatown, 82.
³⁰⁵ Hyunsun Choi, "Magnetic Koreatown: Location and Growth in Transition," *Korea Observer* (Winter 2007): 593.
³⁰⁶ Yoshihara, "Koreans Find Riches."

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Koreatown was the commercial center, where business signage in Korean and traditional Korean design elements incorporated into some buildings identify the area as distinctly Korean. Koreatown continued to grow and expand into the 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s. Korean Americans also spread across Los Angeles, Southern California, and elsewhere in the state. The painful events surrounding the 1992 uprising in Los Angeles, wherein many Korean businesses were targeted for looting and destruction, marked a turning point for the community. Korean Americans became more politically engaged locally as well as nationally. New community organizations were founded and the population disbursed to other parts of Southern California, such as the San Gabriel Valley in Los Angeles County, Orange County, and the Inland Empire, though Koreatown remained a commercial and cultural center. The period of Korean American migration and community formation after 1992 is a topic for further study.

Filipina/o American

Western Colonialism and the Spanish-American War, 1565-1898

Unlike Chinese, Japanese, and other early migrants from Asia, Filipina/o migration to the U.S. has been greatly impacted by the reach of Western colonialism.³⁰⁷ Filipina/os encountered Western influence beginning in the sixteenth century, when Ferdinand Magellan landed on the island of Cebu and claimed it for Spain in 1521. Named for King Philip II of Spain, the Philippines became a Spanish colony in 1565.³⁰⁸ The term *Luzones Indios* or “Manila Men” was used to refer to the indigenous people from the Philippines who first arrived in North America as a result of the Manila-Acapulco galleon trade between 1565 and 1815.³⁰⁹ This trade route linked Spain’s colonies in Asia and the Americas in the transportation of goods to and from Europe via Mexico, including stops in Manila.³¹⁰ In 1587, the Spanish galleon *Nuestra Senora de Esperanza* landed at what became Morro Bay, California; the landing party included Filipinos described as *Luzones Indios*, and marked the first recorded entry of Filipinos to the Americas.³¹¹ Some Filipinos settled in the U.S. in the late 1700s after escaping brutal conditions on Spanish galleons, or arrived in California as crewmembers on Spanish vessels that landed along the North American Pacific Coast, including in California.

Consistent migration patterns did not emerge until the late nineteenth century, as the United States and Spain vied for empire in the Pacific. The Philippines remained a territory of Spain until 1898, when Filipinos, led by Emilio Aguinaldo, and U.S. military troops defeated Spain in the Spanish-American War. On December 10, 1898, the Treaty of Paris ceded the Philippines, Guam, and Puerto Rico to the

³⁰⁷ National Register of Historic Places, *Asian Americans in Los Angeles*, E-123.

³⁰⁸ National Register of Historic Places, *Asian Americans in Los Angeles*, E-124.

³⁰⁹ Mary Yu Danico, ed., *Asian American Society: An Encyclopedia* (Los Angeles, CA: Sage Reference, 2014), n.p. This term referred to the first migrants to the U.S., Filipina/o did not emerge as a term for the indigenous population of the Philippines until the nineteenth century

³¹⁰ S.J. Paik, S.M.M Choe, and M.A. Witenstein, “Filipinos in the U.S.: Historical, Social, and Educational Experiences,” *Social and Education History*, 5, no. 2 (2016): 134-160; Eloisa Gomez Borah, “Filipinos in Unamuno’s California expedition of 1587,” *Amerasia Journal* 21.3 (1995), 175-183.

³¹¹ “Luzones Indios—First Filipinos in the U.S.,” Filipino American National Historical Society, Central Coast Chapter, updated 2011, accessed October 1, 2018, <http://fanhs10.com/history/luzones.html>.

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U.S. for a sum of \$20 million, thwarting Filipina/o goals for independence.³¹² The United States assumed colonial rule of the Philippines following Spain’s cession, and encountered resistance from the Philippine Army and Filipina/o nationalists. The subsequent Philippine-American War, which resulted in a combined death toll of several hundred thousand to one million Filipina/os from fighting, disease, and starvation, officially ended in 1902 with the Philippine Organic Act that codified the U.S. territorial government in the Philippines, though fighting continued in some areas through 1915.³¹³

During the American regime from 1898 to 1946, the United States focused on the colonization and assimilation of Filipina/os.³¹⁴ Professor Yen Le Espiritu explains, “As a civilian government replaced military rule, the cultural Americanization of the Philippine population became an integral part of the process of colonization,” which saw the introduction of a “revamped Philippine education system as its model and English as the language of instruction.”³¹⁵ Regarding the processes of colonization and assimilation, historian Dawn Bohulano Mabalon described, “American colonial policymakers set themselves apart from other imperial powers by their policy of ‘benevolent assimilation,’ in which the majority of the populace could come under colonial control through public education and preparation for eventual self-rule.”³¹⁶

Early Filipina/o Migration to California, 1898-1934

The first wave of Filipina/os to the U.S., and in particular California, commenced following the passage of the Pensionado Act in 1903. Through the Pensionado Act, the U.S. colonial government created an education program that sponsored Filipina/o students to study at colleges and universities in the U.S.³¹⁷ *Pensionados* were highly selected, most often male, and typically the children of prominent Filipina/o families.³¹⁸ Regarding the impact of the Pensionado Act, *Asian Americans in Los Angeles* indicates:

In 1903, U.S. Congress passed the Pensionado Act, which provided funds for select Filipinos to study abroad in the U.S. through 1943. The intent of the program was for students to return to the Philippines and take positions in the American colonial administration. In addition to the pensionados who received government fellowships, self-supporting students also came to the U.S. during this period. [...] While pensionados were expected to return to the Philippines and assume government roles, there were some who remained in the U.S. Those who did return

³¹² National Register of Historic Places, *Asian Americans in Los Angeles*, E-124.

³¹³ Yen Le Espiritu, *Filipino American Lives* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1995), 2.

³¹⁴ National Register of Historic Places, *Asian Americans in Los Angeles*, E-124.

³¹⁵ Espiritu, *Filipino American Lives*, 3.

³¹⁶ Dawn Bohulano Mabalon, *Little Manila Is in the Heart: The Making of the Filipina/o American Community in Stockton, California* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013), 31.

³¹⁷ Catherine Ceniza Choy, *Empire of Care: Nursing and Migration in Filipino American History* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 33-34.

³¹⁸ Espiritu, *Filipino American Lives*, 3.

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promoted the pensionado program and America, thereby encouraging continued migration to the U.S.³¹⁹

The vast majority of Filipina/o migrants were laborers who arrived in California by way of Hawai‘i. The Gentlemen’s Agreement, negotiated between the United States and Japan in 1907 and 1908, restricted immigration of Japanese workers as the primary source of manual labor in Hawai‘i’s sugar plantations. Because Korea was under Japanese rule, the restrictions also applied to Korean workers. Filipina/o laborers were the next group of Asian migrants recruited to work the fields. Restrictive immigration laws, such as the Immigration Act of 1917 that limited immigration from much of Asia as an “Asiatic Barred Zone,” and the 1924 Immigration Act (Johnson-Reed Act) that established national origins quotas for most Asian countries, did not apply to Filipina/os, who were considered U.S. nationals—residents of a U.S. territory yet not full U.S. citizens.³²⁰ Between 1909 and 1946, more than 120,000 Filipina/os arrived in Hawai‘i; about sixteen percent of them eventually found their way to the West Coast, including California.³²¹

Another path to the U.S. for Filipinos was through the U.S. military. In the early twentieth century, the U.S. Navy recruited local men to serve in the Philippines rather than bring sailors from the United States, since it was more costly to recruit and ship American soldiers to and from the islands.³²² Joining the U.S. military was a way to earn a good living for Filipino men and offered the opportunity to ship off to bases in America. Concentrations of Filipina/o American residents were found around naval installations in California, including in the Wilmington and San Pedro areas of Los Angeles Harbor, where other maritime industries like fishing, canning, shipbuilding, and the merchant marines also offered employment opportunities.³²³ San Diego also saw considerable numbers of Filipinos arrive during the early twentieth century as *pensionados* or enlisted naval recruits.³²⁴

The 1920s marked the first great wave of Filipina/o migration to the mainland United States. In 1920, California counted 2,700 Filipina/o residents. These numbers swelled to 30,500 Filipina/o residents by the end of the decade.³²⁵ With the 1924 Immigration Act in place, Professor Yen Le Espiritu notes:

From 1923 to 1929, Filipinos streamed into the state at the rate of over 4,100 per year. [...] The majority of these immigrants had little formal education and came primarily from the Ilocano

³¹⁹ National Register of Historic Places, *Asian Americans in Los Angeles*, E-125.

³²⁰ “Immigration Act of 1917,” Densho Encyclopedia, accessed December 6, 2018, <https://encyclopedia.densho.org/Immigration%20Act%20of%201917/>.

³²¹ Mabalon, *Little Manila is in the Heart*, 40.

³²² Rudy Guevarra, *Becoming Mexipino: Multiethnic Identities and Communities in San Diego* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2012), 25.

³²³ National Register of Historic Places, *Asian Americans in Los Angeles*, E-127-128.

³²⁴ Adelaida Castillo, “Filipino Migrants in San Diego 1900-1946,” *San Diego Historical Society Quarterly* 22, No. 3 (Summer 1976), accessed October 16, 2018, <https://www.sandiegohistory.org/journal/1976/july/migrants/>.

³²⁵ Ronald Takaki, *In the Heart of Filipino America* (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1994), 31.

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region. Almost all came as single young men without families. Out of every hundred Filipinos who migrated to California during the 1920s, 93 were males, 80 of whom were between sixteen and thirty years of age.³²⁶

As American nationals and exempt from the Immigration Act of 1924, Filipina/o workers filled the labor vacuum. During the 1920s, this led to a dramatic increase in the number of Filipina/os in California from 2,674 to 30,470.³²⁷

With other Asian immigrants banned, the arrival of Filipina/os in such great numbers shifted anti-Asian sentiments toward them. In an effort to limit Filipina/o migration, a coalition of Philippine nationalists in the Philippines and Filipina/o exclusionists in the United States crafted a deal where Philippine independence would be granted in exchange for subjecting Filipina/os to the 1924 Immigration Act.³²⁸ The Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934, which provided for Philippine independence from U.S. territorial governance after a ten-year transitional period of Commonwealth government, declared Filipina/os to be aliens by removing their prior status as nationals and reduced immigration to a quota of fifty persons per year.³²⁹

Filipina/o American Settlement in California, 1898-1934

Although Filipina/o migrants scattered across the country, the largest concentration was in California.³³⁰ They typically entered the mainland United States through San Francisco, where, unlike other Asian immigrants, they bypassed Angel Island Immigration Station once it was established in 1910. Because of their U.S. national status, Filipina/os were brought directly to the port of San Francisco.³³¹

From there, some stayed in San Francisco or migrated to other cities. Approximately sixty percent sought and found work in agriculture.³³² Many filled the demand for manual labor left vacant by the previous restrictive immigration laws targeting Asians. As Espiritu describes in *Filipino American Lives*, “Although they were the largest group of Asian laborers along the Pacific Coast in the 1920s, few became tenant farmers or independent farm owner-operators.”³³³ Most were migrant laborers heavily influenced by the availability and rotational nature of agricultural employment throughout California’s agricultural regions. In contrast to Filipina/o laborers in Hawai‘i, who remained relatively stationary at

³²⁶ Espiritu, *Filipino American Lives*, 9.

³²⁷ Eiichiro Azuma, “Racial Struggle, Immigrant Nationalism, and Ethnic identity: Japanese and Filipinos in the California Delta,” *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. 67, No. 2 (May 1998), 169.

³²⁸ Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 187-188.

³²⁹ Linda España Maram, *Creating Masculinity in Los Angeles’s Little Manila: Working-Class Filipinos and Popular Culture, 1920s-1950s* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 4, 38.

³³⁰ Espiritu, *Filipino American Lives*, 9.

³³¹ Mabalon, *Little Manila is in the Heart*, 60.

³³² Espiritu, *Filipino American Lives*, 9.

³³³ Espiritu, *Filipino American Lives*, 10.

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sugar plantations, the variety of crops and harvest seasons in California drove migration of laborers as frequently as every two to six weeks.

Typical patterns included migration from the Delta where asparagus was cultivated early in the year to the Central Valley and Central Coast where row crops were harvested.³³⁴ In Southern California, lettuce and citrus picking occurred in January and February, preceding pea picking in San Luis Obispo County (Central Coast) and Alameda County (San Francisco Bay Area) in April and May. May also saw harvesting of stone fruits, asparagus, and peas in the Sacramento Valley (north of Sacramento). Fall harvest started in the Imperial Valley (southeastern California) and moved northward as various crops matured. In October, cotton and grapes were harvested in the San Joaquin Valley (Central California).

Overall, short growing seasons resulted in short-term work in various regions of the state. Accordingly, housing for Filipina/o laborers was intended to be temporary; growers saw little incentive to maintain housing that was used on and off throughout the growing seasons.³³⁵ As the typical Filipino laborer was a single male without a family, farmers and growers housed many Filipino males in a single barn or larger (and often dilapidated) bunkhouse. Fixing up houses for laborers with families required larger dwelling spaces and somewhat better housing conditions.³³⁶

For those who did not follow the crops, Stockton in particular became an important hub for Filipina/o settlement during the early migration period. The Delta area around Stockton provided year-round work with asparagus in the spring, tomatoes and grapes in the summer and fall, and pruning in the wintertime.³³⁷ As Dawn Bohulano Mabalon demonstrates in her book *Little Manila is in the Heart*, Stockton was also the center of a West Coast migratory labor circuit for those who worked in salmon canneries in Alaska and vineyards in Southern California. Stockton became the primary destination for Filipina/os arriving in San Francisco.³³⁸

A large fraction of the migrants arriving in Stockton hailed from the Ilocos region on the northern island of Luzon. Smaller numbers came from the Visayan region from the islands of Cebu, Panay, Leyte, and Bohol. The typical migrant came from a lower to middle class family who often worked in tenant farming or were small landowners. Despite the various regional differences in dialect and culture among

³³⁴ Espiritu, *Filipino American Lives*, 9; Jennifer Helzer, “Building Communities—Economics & Ethnicity, Delta Protection Commission,” Delta Narratives, June 11, 2015 (Final Revision), 33-34.

³³⁵ “Crop Seasons,” Routes and Roots: Cultivating Filipino American History on the Central Coast, Cal Poly San Luis Obispo Ethnic Studies Department with South County Historical Society, accessed October 16, 2018, <https://sites.google.com/site/centralcoastroutesandroots/following-the-crops-1/crop-seasons>.

³³⁶ Yen Le Espiritu, *Asian American Women and Men: Labor, Laws, and Love* (Walnut Creek, CA: Alta Mira Press, 2000), 17.

³³⁷ Mabalon, *Little Manila is in the Heart*, 5.

³³⁸ Helzer, “Building Communities—Economics & Ethnicity,” 33-34.

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the Filipina/o migrants, they found they shared rural and agricultural background upon their arrival in Stockton.³³⁹

Between the early twentieth century and the postwar years, Stockton's Little Manila neighborhood was home to the largest Filipina/o community outside of the Philippines. Little Manila began forming around El Dorado Street and Lafayette Street near the existing Chinatown and Japantown neighborhoods. By the 1920s, the bulk of the community was bordered by Market Street to the north, Hunter Street to the east, Sonora Street to the south, and Center Street to the west.³⁴⁰

San Francisco, Los Angeles, and San Diego also saw Filipina/o communities grow in the 1920s. Filipina/o Americans residing in cities typically worked in service roles at restaurants, hotels, and as domestic servants in private residences, where they often lived at their places of employment.³⁴¹ Settlements of Filipina/o boarding houses, restaurants, employment agencies, and other services developed in towns and cities to serve off-season migrant agricultural workers as well as the service workers and military personnel. In San Francisco, many Filipina/o Americans settled in an area adjacent to the city's Chinatown along Kearny Street that became known as Manilatown. A less defined concentration also developed in the South of Market Area (SoMa).³⁴²

In Los Angeles, a Little Manila appeared during the 1920s in downtown between Second, Commercial, Main, and Los Angeles Streets that later expanded to San Pedro Street on the east, Figueroa Street on the west, Sunset Boulevard to the north, and Sixth Street to the south. It thrived as a distinct Filipina/o concentration until World War II.³⁴³ Other concentrations of Filipina/o settlements in Los Angeles were found in the Sawtelle, Hollywood, North Hollywood, and Pacoima neighborhoods as well as in San Pedro and Wilmington near military installations at Los Angeles Harbor. As the city adjacent to Los Angeles Harbor, Long Beach's Westside also had a concentration of Filipina/o Americans. In San Diego, Filipina/o enclaves were in the South Bay and Southeastern sections of San Diego, in small pockets of Coronado and La Jolla known as the "servants' quarters" supporting nearby resorts, and in downtown San Diego's Chinatown considered "skid row." The blocks of Fourth through Sixth Avenues, Island, Market, and J Streets were distinctly Filipino, with markets, hotels, restaurants, barbershops, pool halls, and taxi dance halls owned by or catering to Filipina/o Americans, alongside similar establishments serving the Japanese, Chinese, and Mexican American communities.³⁴⁴ Filipina/o settlements in cities tended to be near earlier ethnic and Asian districts like Chinatowns or Japantowns, as they too were relegated to only certain parts of town.³⁴⁵

³³⁹ Helzer, "Building Communities—Economics & Ethnicity," 34.

³⁴⁰ Mabalon, Little Manila is in the Heart, 116-117.

³⁴¹ National Register of Historic Places, *Asian Americans in Los Angeles*, E-127.

³⁴² Ronald Takaki, *In the Heart of Filipino America* (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1994), 63-64.

³⁴³ Maram, Creating Masculinity in Los Angeles's Little Manila, 5

³⁴⁴ Rudy P. Guevarra, Jr., "Skid Row: Filipinos, Race and the Social Construction of Space in San Diego," *Journal of San Diego History* 54, no.1 (Winter 2008), 26-29.

³⁴⁵ Guevarra, "Skid Row: Filipinos, Race and the Social Construction," 27.

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As more Filipinos arrived in California, and became the new, visible group of Asian laborers, they increasingly came into competition with other low-skill wage earners and encountered resistance in the form of violence, racism, and eventually discriminatory legislation.³⁴⁶ They were accused of taking away jobs from white American workers, though they primarily worked in agricultural fields with Mexican and other Asian immigrants.³⁴⁷ Another complaint was related to social relationships and intermarriage between Filipino men and white women.

Like the Chinese laborers, the Filipina/o community was predominantly male with a limited number of single Filipinas; 93% of those that arrived from the Philippines were male.³⁴⁸ In comparison to other Asian groups, Filipino men generally dated or married across racial lines more often.³⁴⁹ They tended to be more Westernized after centuries of Spanish colonial rule and educated by the American-established education system in the Philippines. They also saw themselves as U.S. nationals instead of foreigners and were well versed in American popular culture. At the same time, the progressive era of the 1920s led to some freedom from social norms for white women. An example of the increased socialization between Filipino men and white women was the taxi dancehalls, where men of all ethnic backgrounds could purchase dances with female dancers who were predominately white. Nearly a quarter of the taxi dancehall patrons in major cities in the 1920s and early 1930s were Filipino men who arrived dressed in their finest Western suits.³⁵⁰

In terms of marriage, California law prohibited marriage between so-called Mongolians and whites. It was up to the local county clerks to determine if the law applied to Filipinos, who were considered of the Malay race. In Los Angeles County, Filipina/o and white marriages were legal between 1921 and 1930 when the county counsel concluded that Filipinos were not Mongolians.³⁵¹ This stemmed from Dr. Walter S. Hertzog, director of historical research for the Los Angeles public schools, who claimed there were three races: black, white, and yellow. In regards to Filipinos, Hertzog claimed that, “Filipinos were an admixture of the black and yellow groups, a claim that made them doubly ineligible for intermarriage with whites, as a result of their Negro and Mongolian ancestry.”³⁵² Legal challenges ensued, as did rising tensions against Filipinos. In 1933, California’s anti-miscegenation laws were extended to include Filipinos and made Filipino-white marriages illegal.³⁵³

³⁴⁶ Sonia Emily Wallovits, “The Filipinos in California” (master’s thesis, University of Southern California, 1966, reprinted San Francisco: R and E Research Associates, 1972), 33.

³⁴⁷ Lee, “Immigration, Exclusion, and Resistance, 1800s-1940s,” 97.

³⁴⁸ Leti Volpp, “American Mestizo: Filipinos and Antimiscegenation Laws in California,” *U.C. Davis Law Review*, 33, no. 795 (1999), 804.

³⁴⁹ Takaki, *Strangers from A Different Shore*, 341.

³⁵⁰ Burns, “Splendid Dancing,” 24.

³⁵¹ Volpp, “American Mestizo: Filipinos and Antimiscegenation Laws in California,” 813-814.

³⁵² Rick Baldoz, *The Third Asiatic Invasion: Migration and Empire in Filipino America, 1898-1946* (Diliman, Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 2011), 94-95.

³⁵³ Lee, “Immigration, Exclusion, and Resistance, 1800s-1940s,” 97.

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Racial and labor tensions materialized into the so-called “Filipino problem.”³⁵⁴ With jobs scarce during the Depression, a study of anti-Filipina/o sentiment in California—conducted between 1929 and 1930—revealed twenty-one incidents against Filipina/os, including five major clashes or riots.³⁵⁵ The California Legislature attempted to pass laws restricting Filipina/o migration, and anti-Filipina/o sentiments ultimately led to the Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934 that allowed for Philippine independence and re-classification of Filipina/os as aliens subject to the 1924 Immigration Law’s national origins quotas. By then, Filipina/o migration had already begun to slow dramatically with the onset of the Great Depression. In 1929, Filipina/o migration reached 11,400 persons. By 1932, the number had fallen to only 1,300.³⁵⁶

World War II, 1941-1945

Since the Spanish-American War, the United States maintained military bases in the Philippines as part of its colonial rule and recruited Filipino nationals to serve in its Armed Forces. Bases in the Philippines drew steady numbers of Filipino recruits to the U.S. Navy throughout the early twentieth century. During the 1930s, the number of Filipinos serving in the Navy was roughly 4,000, up from just nine in 1903.³⁵⁷ In 1941, the emergent threat of war with Japan led to U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt’s issuance of a Presidential Order that called the Philippine Commonwealth Army (established in 1935) into the service of the Armed Forces of the United States. Upon declaration of war with Japan in December 1941, the Philippine Commonwealth Army incorporated into United States Army Forces Far East (USAFFE).³⁵⁸

Many Filipinos living in the U.S. volunteered for military service, which was further driven by the Japanese invasion and occupation of the Philippines during World War II. They were initially barred until President Franklin Roosevelt signed an order revising the Selective Service Act, which provided for the organization of Filipino infantry regiments. In California, approximately forty percent of the Filipino male population—16,000 men—volunteered for service.³⁵⁹ The 1st Filipino Battalion, later known as the 1st Filipino Infantry Regiment, was formed in March 1942, and a second regiment was formed later that year. Filipinos were not prevented from serving in other regiments, and many served with distinction in “American” (i.e., white) units during the war.³⁶⁰ During the same period that the

³⁵⁴ Bruno Lasker, *Filipino Immigration to Continental United States and to Hawaii*, published for the American Council Institute of Pacific Relations (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1931), 4.

³⁵⁵ Benicio T. Catapusan, *Social Adjustment of Filipinos in the United States* (Los Angeles: University of Southern California, 1940), 59.

³⁵⁶ Ronald Takaki, *In the Heart of Filipino America* (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1994), 58.

³⁵⁷ Philip Q. Yang, *Asian Immigration to the United States* (Cambridge, U.K.: Polity Press, 2011), 15.

³⁵⁸ “Philippine Army and Guerrilla Records,” National Personal Records Center, U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, accessed October 15, 2018, <https://www.archives.gov/personnel-records-center/military-personnel/philippine-army-records>.

³⁵⁹ Takaki, *In the Heart of Filipino America*, 98.

³⁶⁰ Alex S. Fabros, “The 1st Filipino Infantry Regiment,” California State Military Museum, accessed October 15, 2018, <http://www.militarymuseum.org/Filipino.html>.

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Filipino units were being organized, Congress passed an amendment to the Nationality Act of 1940 that allowed Filipina/o Americans in the military to become naturalized citizens.³⁶¹ One result of this was a mass naturalization ceremony for 1,200 soldiers of the 1st Filipino Infantry Regiment in 1943 at Camp Beale in Marysville.³⁶² Over the course of the war, approximately 16,000 Filipina/o Americans in California obtained U.S. citizenship.³⁶³

During World War II, Filipina/o Americans not serving in the armed forces found ample employment opportunities in U.S. shipyards, manufacturing plants, and other defense industries. They were also encouraged to take over property that had been managed or owned by Japanese Americans forcibly removed and incarcerated—a development made possible through a ruling by the California Attorney General that reinterpreted the state’s Alien Land Laws and stated Filipina/o Americans could legally lease land.³⁶⁴

Postwar and Post-Philippine Independence, 1946-1965

On July 2, 1946, the Luce-Cellar Act, granting citizenship eligibility to persons of Indian (South Asian) and Filipina/o descent, was passed. Two days later, President Harry Truman proclaimed Philippine independence and the Treaty of General Relations was signed, relinquishing U.S. sovereignty that had been in place since 1898.³⁶⁵

Philippine independence was conditional on the acceptance of various policies that ensured continued U.S. influence and strong presence in the islands. These included the Philippine Trade Act, also known as the Bell Act, adopted by the Philippine Congress just prior to signing of the treaty. It stipulated that American citizens and corporations were to have the same rights as Filipina/os in the use or exploitation of Philippine natural resources. Acceptance of this clause was contingent on the Philippines receiving \$620 million provided for by the Philippine Rehabilitation Act of 1946.³⁶⁶ Numerous U.S. military bases were also retained, and Filipina/os were prohibited from manufacturing or selling products that might compete with American goods.

In addition to granting Filipina/o Americans the ability to become naturalized citizens, the Luce-Cellar Act also slightly increased the annual quota for Filipina/o immigration to the United States from fifty to one hundred persons, the same annual immigration quota for other Asian countries.³⁶⁷ Additional legislation allowed a greater number to enter, including the War Brides Acts of 1945 and 1947, and the

³⁶¹ Mabalon, *Little Manila is in the Heart*, 233.

³⁶² “Camp Beale History,” *Historic California Posts, Camp Stations, and Airfields: Beale Air Force Base*, accessed March 18, 2019, <http://www.militarymuseum.org/Beale.html>.

³⁶³ Wallovits, “The Filipinos in California,” 10.

³⁶⁴ Takaki, *In the Heart of Filipino America*, 100; Maeda, “Asian American Activism and Civic Participation,” 273.

³⁶⁵ Shelley Sang-Hee Lee, *A New History of Asian America*, (New York: Routledge, 2014), 238.

³⁶⁶ Ronald E. Dolan, ed., *Philippines: A Country Study* (Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1991), accessed October 15, 2018, <http://countrystudies.us/philippines/23.htm>.

³⁶⁷ Takaki, *In the Heart of Filipino America*, 105.

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Veterans’ Aliens Fiancées Act of 1946, that allowed foreign wives, fiancées, and children of soldiers to enter the U.S. outside of the quota.³⁶⁸ The U.S.-Philippine Military Bases Agreement enacted in 1947 permitted the U.S. Navy to continue enlisting Filipina/os, who entered the country as non-quota immigrants.

Between 1946 and 1965, a second major wave of Filipina/o immigration saw 33,000 Filipina/os relocate to and settle in the U.S.³⁶⁹ Unlike previous periods, the migrants of the late 1940s and 1950s included many women and children—many of whom were war brides and the families of Filipino servicemen who were already U.S. citizens. Throughout the 1950s, an annual average of 1,200 Filipina women migrated to the U.S. as war brides, which transformed Filipina/o American communities. A number of Filipinas came for nursing training. Participants of the Exchange Visitor Program (EVP) of the State Department, whose general objective was to promote a better understanding of the U.S. abroad through the exchange of people, education, and skills, received a monthly stipend for their work at U.S.-sponsored institutions.³⁷⁰ EVP offered foreign nursing graduates an opportunity for two-year postgraduate study and clinical training in U.S. hospitals.³⁷¹ Though nurses were not the only participants in the EVP, once the Philippine government became actively involved in the EVP, the Philippines dominated the program with Filipina nurses the majority of the exchange visitor nurses in the program.

With these developments and the influx of Filipina nurses, the 1960s saw a transformation in the nursing labor force in the U.S.³⁷² Similar to the early *pensionado* migrants, this was on the condition that they return to the Philippines upon completing their training. Many Filipina nurses found ways to avoid returning to the Philippines after completing their training. This included petitioning for a waiver, marrying U.S. citizens, and migrating to Canada.³⁷³

A large share of Filipina/o immigrants in the postwar period were “composed of World War II veterans affiliated with and inducted into the US Armed Forces and who elected to become US citizens and continue their military service. Many of these veterans... chose to settle permanently with their families in California cities.”³⁷⁴ During the Cold War era, thousands of Filipinos were recruited by the U.S. Navy, who settled in close proximity to naval installations the U.S. New Filipina/o American communities appeared near naval installations, such as Alameda, Vallejo, and Hayward in the San

³⁶⁸ Rick Baldoz, *The Third Asiatic Invasion: Migration and Empire in Filipino America, 1898-1946* (New York: New York University Press, 2011), 227-228.

³⁶⁹ James A. Tyner, “Filipinos: The Invisible Ethnic Community,” in *Contemporary Ethnic Geographies in America*, eds. Ines M. Miyares and Christopher A. Airriess (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2007), 255.

³⁷⁰ Choy, *Empire of Care*, 64.

³⁷¹ National Register of Historic Places, *Asian Americans in Los Angeles*, E-140.

³⁷² Choy, *Empire of Care*, 65.

³⁷³ National Register of Historic Places, *Asian Americans in Los Angeles*, E-140.

³⁷⁴ Rodolfo I. Necesito, *The Filipino Guide to San Francisco*, (San Francisco: Technomedia, 1977), 7.

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Francisco Bay Area; San Pedro, Wilmington, and Long Beach in the Los Angeles-Long Beach Harbor area; in San Diego, and in Oxnard near Port Hueneme.³⁷⁵

During the 1950s and 1960s, postwar factors such as suburbanization, the lifting of racial real estate covenants, the G.I. bill, and urban renewal also affected existing Filipina/o American communities in Stockton, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and San Diego as they grew and shifted. As an example, Filipina/o Americans in Los Angeles moved to the Temple-Beverly neighborhood as their former community in downtown Los Angeles was demolished for urban redevelopment; later the Temple-Beverly neighborhood became known as Historic Filipinotown.³⁷⁶ Valentin Aquino, a graduate student at the University of Southern California who studied the Los Angeles Filipina/o American community in his 1952 masters' thesis, mapped Filipina/o American homeownership that showed they lived throughout the city, though with concentrations in Venice and West Los Angeles, along with Temple-Beverly and the San Pedro/Wilmington harbor areas.³⁷⁷

As the U.S. economy expanded following the war, new opportunities for employment in factories, trades, and sales were opened to long-time Filipina/o American residents as well as new immigrants, who, eligible for citizenship, could pursue professional licenses and higher-skill occupations. In 1950, more than half of all Filipina/o American workers in the United States were agricultural laborers. By 1960, this number had fallen to one-third. The majority of Filipina/o Americans still faced discrimination and closed doors, and had a difficult time moving into jobs outside of agricultural or service industries.³⁷⁸ Most Filipino navy recruits were restricted to the roles of stewards or galley staff, a situation that remained common until the mid-1970s.³⁷⁹

For Filipina/o Americans who remained in agriculture, the postwar years saw a rise in efforts to organize farm workers into labor unions. Filipina/o Americans were among those who organized the Agricultural Workers Association in Stockton in the late 1950s. With Filipino American union organizers Larry Itliong and Rudy Delvo working alongside Mexican American activists Cesar Chávez and Dolores Huerta, Filipina/o American farm workers played a major role in the strikes and boycotts that focused national attention on the plight of agricultural laborers in the 1960s. It was Itliong and Pete Velasco who first organized Delano's Filipina/o American grape workers to strike in 1965 and approached Huerta and Chávez' National Farm Workers Association to join the efforts that became the Delano Grape Strike.³⁸⁰

³⁷⁵ Daryl Kelley and Psyche Pascual, "Demographics: Filipinos Put Down Roots in Oxnard," *Los Angeles Times*, March 10, 1991.

³⁷⁶ National Register of Historic Places, *Asian Americans in Los Angeles*, E-142-144.

³⁷⁷ Valentin Aquino, "The Filipino Community in Los Angeles," master's thesis, University of Southern California, 1952, as cited in National Register of Historic Places, *Asian Americans in Los Angeles*, E-143-144.

³⁷⁸ Takaki, *In the Heart of Filipino America*, 109.

³⁷⁹ Caridad Concepcion Vallangca, *The Second Wave: Pinay & Pinoy (1945-1960)* (San Francisco: Strawberry Hill Press, 1987), 26-27.

³⁸⁰ Mabalon, *Little Manila is in the Heart*, 258-263.

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Toward the late 1950s and 1960s, many earlier Filipina/o American communities in major cities were challenged by the growing national trend of urban renewal projects. Such projects combined with the California Community Redevelopment Laws passed in 1945 and 1949 to eradicate areas of urban blight. Widespread redevelopment occurred in communities primarily populated by minorities, including Filipina/o American communities in Los Angeles’ Bunker Hill neighborhood, the Beacon Street area in San Pedro, San Francisco’s Western Addition and Financial District areas, and Stockton’s Little Manila.³⁸¹

Third Wave of Filipina/o Immigration, 1965-1970

Coinciding with the rise of the American Civil Rights Movement, the Immigration Act of 1965 was responsible for the third major wave of Filipina/o immigration. The law lifted national origins quotas that curtailed immigration from Asian countries since 1924. Scholar Benito M. Vergara, Jr. notes, “The large influx of Filipinos to the U.S. is traceable to the revised immigration laws of 1965, which produced a fivefold increase in the Filipina/o immigrant population in the succeeding five years.”³⁸² As opposed to the first waves of immigration, which included mostly laborers, and some students and naval personnel, this third wave included a more sizeable number of professionals—many of whom sought to escape the government of President Ferdinand Marcos, who was widely perceived as corrupt and repressive.

Along with family-sponsored immigration, employment-based preferences also served as a major gateway for Filipina/o migrants coming to the U.S. during the late 1960s. Between 1966 to 1970, more than 4,300 Filipina/o engineers, scientists, social scientists and 3,000 physicians and surgeons migrated to the U.S.; nurses from the Philippines had already become a presence in the U.S. due to the Exchange Visitor Program of the 1950s. Even more Filipina/o nurses and other health care professionals entered the U.S. after the passage of the Immigration Act of 1965, due to additional provisions made to accommodate health care professionals. Many scholars argued that the changes to U.S. immigration policies in the 1960s caused the Philippines to experience a “brain-drain.”³⁸³

Between 1964 and 1970, the number of Filipina/o entrants to the U.S. increased from 3,000 to more than 30,000 per year.³⁸⁴ By 1970, forty percent of all doctors educated in the Philippines and twenty percent of all nurses immigrated to the United States. Steady immigration continued into the new millennium. Overall, 665,000 Filipina/os entered the United States between 1965 and 1984.³⁸⁵ The number of

³⁸¹ National Register of Historic Places, *Asian Americans in Los Angeles*, E-123.

³⁸² Benito M. Vergara, Jr., “Betrayal, Class Fantasies, and the Filipino Nation in Daly City,” *Philippine Sociological Review* 44, no. 1/4, (January-December 1996), 79-100, 79.

³⁸³ National Register of Historic Places, *Asian Americans in Los Angeles*, E-146.

³⁸⁴ Tyner, “Filipinos: The Invisible Ethnic Community,” 256.

³⁸⁵ Takaki, *In the Heart of Filipino America*, 111-112.

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Filipina/o immigrants in the United States tripled between 1980 and 2006, making them the second largest immigrant group in the United States after Mexican immigrants.³⁸⁶

Chamorro

Chamorro Immigration and Settlement in California, 1898-1970

Chamorro immigration to the U.S. began shortly after the Spanish-American War. In the 1898 Treaty of Paris that ended the war, Spain ceded to the United States Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines, which became unincorporated U.S. territories.³⁸⁷ The Northern Mariana Islands, part of the same island group as Guam, were ceded to Germany after the end of the Spanish-American War. This resulted in the Chamorros of the Mariana Islands being on different sides of political borders up until World War II, when the U.S. gained control of the Northern Mariana Islands.

The U.S. Navy became the authority put in charge of governing Guam under U.S. rule. Young Chamorro men known as *Balloneros* joined whaling ships stopping at Guam en route predominantly to Hawai'i and California. The *Balloneros* were among the first Chamorro immigrants to California during the early decades of the 1900s. The Chamorros of Guam had a similar status to Filipina/os as U.S. nationals and not citizens. They faced discriminatory practices, such as being prohibited from marrying whites, and were barred from becoming citizens in the United States.³⁸⁸ More scholarship is needed to better understand the settlement pattern of the *Balloneros* and other Chamorros who arrived to California before World War II.

The presence of the U.S. Navy in Guam continued to influence the experience of the Chamorros, many of whom were drafted into the U.S. Navy as early as the 1930s.³⁸⁹ Japan invaded Guam two days after Pearl Harbor and occupied the island until U.S. forces regained control in 1944.³⁹⁰ In 1947, most of Micronesia, with the exception of Guam, was made a territory of the United States known as the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (TTPI), including the Northern Mariana Islands. The U.S. Navy administered separate control over Guam as a United States flag territory not part of the TTPI.³⁹¹ During this time, those that resided in Guam were not eligible for U.S. citizenship unless they entered the U.S. armed services.

³⁸⁶ Sierra Stoney and Jeanne Batalova, "Filipino Immigrants in the United States," Migration Policy Institute, June 5, 2013, accessed October 31, 2018, <http://www.migrationinformation.org/usfocus/display.cfm?ID=694>.

³⁸⁷ Faye F. Untulan, "Chamorro Migration to the U.S.," Guampedia, accessed November 6, 2018, <https://www.guampedia.com/chamorro-migration-to-the-u-s/>; Donald L. Platt, "Spanish-American War," *Guampedia*, accessed December 7, 2018, <https://www.guampedia.com/spanish-american-war>.

³⁸⁸ Mansel G. Blackford, "Guam, the Philippines, and American Samoa," in *Pathways to the Present: U.S. Development and its Consequences in the Pacific* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), 169.

³⁸⁹ "Chamorro Migration to the U.S.;" "Spanish-American War."

³⁹⁰ Blackford, "Guam, the Philippines, and American Samoa," 169.

³⁹¹ Blackford, "Guam, the Philippines, and American Samoa," 170.

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After the end of World War II, many Chamorro military families left Guam for California.³⁹² They settled near naval bases in Vallejo and Alameda in Northern California as well as Long Beach and San Diego in Southern California.³⁹³ The Korean War in the 1950s resulted in Chamorro men being inducted into the U.S. Army and U.S. Air Force instead of the U.S. Navy.³⁹⁴

Many residents of Guam found themselves disenfranchised because they neither qualified for birthright citizenship with Guam as an unincorporated territory nor could they become naturalized citizens of a foreign nation.³⁹⁵ Guam experienced a major change in political status with the Guam Organic Act of 1950, which replaced the naval government that had been overseeing Guam with a civilian government.³⁹⁶ At that time, U.S. citizenship was granted to residents of Guam and their descendants.³⁹⁷ Travel was still heavily controlled by the Navy until 1962 due to security concerns, which made it difficult to leave Guam.³⁹⁸

During the 1960s, California saw another wave of Chamorro immigration, this time shaped by the effects of a natural disaster. In 1962, Typhoon Karen left a significant destruction in its wake and led many Chamorros to seek refuge in California, where many already had family members. Simultaneously, the United States Fruit Company recruited Chamorros to work in California as fruit pickers. Many of those that came to California to engage in this agricultural work ultimately returned to Guam due to the extreme working conditions they experienced, though some stayed in California to pursue other economic opportunities and later brought additional family members to join them in California.³⁹⁹

The Northern Mariana Islands pursued integration with Guam several times in the 1950s and 1960s. The people of Guam voted against the idea. Rather than seek independence, the decision was made to seek commonwealth status from the United States in 1972, which was approved in 1975. The Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands is an unincorporated territory similar in status to Guam.⁴⁰⁰

South Asian American
Early South Asian Immigration to California, 1899-1917

³⁹² “Chamorro Migration to the U.S.”

³⁹³ “Chamorro Migration to the U.S.”

³⁹⁴ “Chamorro Migration to the U.S.”

³⁹⁵ Blackford, “Guam, the Philippines, and American Samoa,” 171.

³⁹⁶ Blackford, “Guam, the Philippines, and American Samoa,” 172.

³⁹⁷ James Perez Viernes, “Organic Act of Guam,” Guampedia, accessed December 7, 2018, <https://www.guampedia.com/organic-act-of-guam/>.

³⁹⁸ Blackford, “Guam, the Philippines, and American Samoa,” 172.

³⁹⁹ “Chamorro Migration to the U.S.”

⁴⁰⁰ “Title 48: The Covenant to Establish a Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands in Political Union with the United States of America,” March 24, 1967, accessed March 21, 2019, https://www.law.cornell.edu/uscode/pdf/uscode48/lii_usc_TI_48_CH_17_SC_I_SE_1801.pdf.

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South Asians began migrating to the U.S. during the last decade of the nineteenth century, when small numbers arrived at ports of entry in Canada and the U.S. An article published in the *San Francisco Chronicle* on April 6, 1899 described the arrival of four Sikh men, former soldiers in the British Army, from the Punjab region in northern India.⁴⁰¹ One of the last areas to come under British rule, Punjab was annexed in 1849. Its Sikh male residents found employment in the new police force and Indian Army that brought contact with, and travel to, outside lands. Although only one percent of India's total population, Sikhs represented approximately twenty percent of the British military, which sent soldiers to Shanghai, Canton, Hong Kong, and Canada. Their exposure to the possibilities of economic advancement elsewhere also came through construction of long-distance rail lines through the region, designed by the British to defend western borders, and that stimulated expanded trade.⁴⁰² Punjab, once among India's most productive agricultural regions, was transformed from local farms to a cash crop system that supported Great Britain through heavy taxes, making immigration more appealing.

The majority of Indian immigrants to the western U.S. were from Punjab, with far smaller numbers coming from additional northern regions of Gujarat, Bengal, and Oudh. Eighty-five to ninety percent of these immigrants were Sikh, another ten percent were Muslim, and a very small percentage were Hindu. These proportions were in contrast to the Punjabi population in the late nineteenth century, which was nearly sixty percent Muslim, thirty percent Hindu, and approximately thirteen percent Sikh.⁴⁰³

Prior to 1899 there are scattered accounts beginning in the late eighteenth century of South Asians living in New England, associated with the robust trade with India in textiles, indigo, and spices.⁴⁰⁴ A man named John from Southern India working as a cook in Monterey in 1836 is the first recorded South Asian in California, and several men from India are reported to have participated in the Gold Rush. By the post-Civil War decades, an estimated 500 Indian traders operated in various regions of the U.S. despite U.S. officials' attempts to discourage immigration.⁴⁰⁵ Elite American interest in the cultures and religions of India was evidenced by Walt Whitman's 1868 poem "Passage to India," and the great interest inspired by Swami Vivekananda's visit to the 1893 World Parliament of Religion in Chicago.⁴⁰⁶ A small number of immigrants came from India's urban, middle-class population and were primarily Hindu. They were geographically mobile and lived on the west and east coasts of the U.S.⁴⁰⁷

⁴⁰¹ "Sikhs Allowed to Land," *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 6, 1899, 10; Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 151.

⁴⁰² Okihiro, *American History Unbound*, 171-172.

⁴⁰³ "Echoes of Freedom: South Asian Pioneers in California, 1899-1965," *University of California Berkeley Library*, accessed September 15, 2018. <https://guides.lib.berkeley.edu/echoes-of-freedom>.

⁴⁰⁴ Joan Jensen, *Passage From India: Asian Indian Immigrants in North America* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998) 12-13; National Park Service, "Salem's International Trade," Salem Maritime National Historic Site, accessed October 21, 2018. <https://www.nps.gov/sama/learn/historyculture/trade.htm>.

⁴⁰⁵ Jensen, *Passage from India*, 14-15. The 1900 U.S. census counted 2050 Indians in the country, however an unknown portion of those are presumed to be people who came from India and were of British descent.

⁴⁰⁶ Jensen, *Passage from India*, 15 and Bruce La Brack, *The Sikhs of Northern California: 1904-1975* (New York: American Migration Series, 1988), 58.

⁴⁰⁷ Okihiro, *American History Unbound*, 285.

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The journey for Indian immigrants to the U.S. was lengthier and more expensive than for other Asian immigrants.⁴⁰⁸ Beginning in the late nineteenth century, a handful of Indian men began coming to the U.S. to study, and most selected universities on the West Coast, with University of California (UC), Berkeley drawing the largest share. Jawala Singh, a successful farmer from Holt, California, donated funds to create a scholarship at UC Berkeley in 1912 that brought six students from India. A leader in the burgeoning South Asian community in Stockton, Singh was one of the founders of the Pacific Coast Khalsa Diwan Society—a community support organization—and of the first *gurdwara* (Sikh house of worship) in the U.S., the Gurdwara Sahib Stockton, also in 1912. Singh was also an active member of the Ghadar Party, an Indian nationalist group seeking to end British colonial rule.⁴⁰⁹ With the help of Jawala Singh, the Pacific Coast Khalsa Diwan owned a hostel by 1912 at 1731 Allston Way in Berkeley (not extant) that offered rent-free lodging to students coming from Punjab.⁴¹⁰

While a few Indian merchants and students arrived in the U.S., economic and political conditions inspired many more Indian laborers, primarily from Punjab, to follow in the footsteps of previous immigrants from China and Japan to seek work in North America. Land reforms that drove many small farmers from their fields and high taxes levied by the British forced many families to send members abroad to increase their collective livelihoods.⁴¹¹ Most were men with backgrounds in agriculture and the military who found work in the fields of Canada and the Western U.S. Initially, many South Asians immigrated to Canada because they shared status as subjects whose nations were part of the British Empire; over 9,000 Indians arrived in British Columbia between 1900 and 1910.⁴¹² Anti-Indian sentiment and more opportunities to the south led many to cross the border into Washington and journey further south for work in Oregon and California. The 1910 U.S. census counted half of the 5,424 South Asians in the country as residents of California.⁴¹³

Tuly Singh Johl’s journey traced a typical arc from India to California. In 1904, Tuly left his wife and infant son in the village of Jandiala in Jalandhar, Punjab and travelled with four other men from his hometown, first to Hong Kong and then to Vancouver, Canada where he worked in a lumber mill. Friends convinced him to cross the border for work in a Bellingham, Washington mill. The Bellingham Riots of 1907 targeting South Asians led Tuly and the others to leave Washington for Northern California where they worked on the Southern Pacific Railroad. Tuly left the Punjabi railroad work crew for employment on Eager Ranch in Live Oak near Yuba City in Sutter County growing grapes and other

⁴⁰⁸ Erika Lee and Judy Yung. *Angel Island: Immigrant Gateway to America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 147-48.

⁴⁰⁹ Jensen, *Passage from India*, 175. In 1914, Singh returned to India to participate in the *Ghadar* campaign against the British.

⁴¹⁰ “Echoes of Freedom: South Asian Pioneers in California, 1899-1965,” and “Stockton Gurdwara,” *UC Davis Pioneering Punjabis Digital Archive*, accessed September 15, 2018, <https://pioneeringpunjabis.ucdavis.edu/contributions/religion/stockton-temple/>.

⁴¹¹ Okihiro, *American History Unbound*, 170.

⁴¹² Shah, *Stranger Intimacy*, 20.

⁴¹³ Okihiro, *American History Unbound*, 172.

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fruit. Apart from several years in India around World War I and a treacherous journey back to the U.S. through Mexico, Tuly Singh worked as a foreman on the same ranch until he retired in the 1960s.⁴¹⁴

By the turn of the twentieth century, renewed alarms about invasions from the East began sounding. From the outset, these Indian sojourners faced discriminatory sanctions that positioned them as threats to public health and working conditions for white residents. The press inflamed negative sentiments by warning about an invasion by the “Turbanned Tide.”⁴¹⁵ The year 1907 was marked by violent riots against South Asian workers in Vancouver and Bellingham, fanned by the Asiatic Exclusion League, a white labor organization with chapters from its San Francisco base and northwards. With the Pacific Northwest inhospitable to South Asians residents, many relocated south, including to California, and new arrivals disembarked at the port in San Francisco. South Asian immigrants became the next Asian group targeted for discrimination and exclusion as their presence increased in California.⁴¹⁶ In the next few years, expulsions similar to those in Vancouver and Bellingham occurred in Sutter and Sacramento Counties.⁴¹⁷ Following the Chinese and Japanese precedents, legislators from western states argued the need for federal exclusionary laws targeting South Asians as the next serious threat in the line of Asian migrants. By 1911, the U.S. Immigration Commission deemed South Asians “the least desirable race of immigrants thus far admitted....”⁴¹⁸

The Supreme Court case, *U.S. vs. Bhagat Singh Thind*, established exclusion of South Asians from U.S. citizenship, and the application of the Alien Land Laws to South Asian immigrants. Bhagat Singh Thind immigrated to the U.S. from Punjab in 1913 and applied for citizenship in 1920 after serving in the U.S. Army during World War I. Singh’s application was approved by the District Court, and challenges took his case all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court, which determined that Singh was not “Caucasian” or “white” and therefore ineligible for U.S. citizenship.⁴¹⁹ The decision led the government to strip naturalized citizenship from sixty-nine South Asian men who had gained that status from 1908 to 1922.⁴²⁰

South Asian Settlement in California, 1910-1946

Despite such opposition, Indians continued to arrive, although in much smaller numbers than immigrants from China, Japan, and the Philippines, until they were largely excluded by the Immigration

⁴¹⁴ His return to India placed him under British surveillance due to his participation in the Indian nationalist Ghadar Party. Gulzar S. Johl, “Tuly Singh Johl,” *Sutter County Historical Society*, XLV, no. 4 (October 2003), 6-8; Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 154.

⁴¹⁵ Jensen, *Passage from India*, 22-23; La Brack, *The Sikhs of Northern California*, 69.

⁴¹⁶ Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 163-165.

⁴¹⁷ Shah, *Stranger Intimacy*, 30, 35.

⁴¹⁸ Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 163; Hindu Immigration: Hearings Before the Committee on Immigration, House of Representatives (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1914).

⁴¹⁹ “Echoes of Freedom,” accessed January 2, 2019, <http://guides.lib.berkeley.edu/echoes-of-freedom/chapter10>

⁴²⁰ Shah, 247.

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Act of 1917.⁴²¹ Approximately 2,000 men found initial work between 1907 and 1909 on the Western Pacific Railroad connecting Oakland to Salt Lake City. After the railroad was completed, agricultural jobs became more available as the effects of immigration restrictions on other Asian workers were felt. By the 1910s, South Asians worked in orchards around Vacaville and east of Sacramento; in bean, potato, and celery fields near Stockton; in beet fields near Oxnard and Visalia; and in orange groves in Southern California. Soon, hubs for Indian immigrants emerged in the Sacramento and San Joaquin Valleys in Northern California and in the Imperial Valley at the border with Mexico.

Like other U.S. immigrants from Asia, most arriving from India were young men who planned to make some money and return home. Few women and children accompanied them because of immigration policies, traditional gender roles, and the high cost of transport.⁴²² A notable exception was the Bagai family who emigrated from Punjab with their three sons in 1915. The father, Vaishno, was already active in the nationalist Ghadar Party seeking Indian independence. The party had a base in San Francisco, and Vaishno Bagai wanted to join the effort in the U.S.⁴²³ While other Indians processed through Angel Island were rejected as likely to become public charges, the Bagais were held for only a few days, in no small part due to the \$25,000 in gold Vaishno held as a result of selling family land at home. Within a few years, the family ran an import store in San Francisco, Bagai's Bazaar at 3159 Fillmore Street (extant), where they lived above the shop. Nand Kaur was one of only a handful of female Punjabi immigrants who immigrated to California prior to World War II. She and her husband Puna Singh settled in Yuba City in the mid-1920s. They established a dairy and farming enterprise that ultimately supported seven children.⁴²⁴

For the most part, the single male laborers arrived typically alongside or to join others with kinship, village, or regional ties. They usually began working in crews, often made up of other Indian immigrants under an Indian labor boss who negotiated payment and communication with the owners. Many workers sent money home to their families and saved in order to acquire their own property.⁴²⁵

As Punjabis gained time and experience in the fields, many moved up the agricultural ladder from hired laborer to tenant farming and leasing land. By the 1910s, groups of Sikhs had formed the Punjab Cattle Company and the Atlantic Cattle Company northeast of Manteca in San Joaquin County.⁴²⁶ These

⁴²¹ According to Lee, 8,055 South Asians were admitted to the U.S. between 1910 and 1932. Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 151.

⁴²² Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 156.

⁴²³ "Bridges Burnt Behind: The Story of Vaishno Das Bagai." Immigrant Voices: Angels Island Immigration Station Foundation, accessed December 20, 2018, <https://www.immigrant-voices.aiisf.org/stories-by-author/876-bridges-burnt-behind-the-story-of-vaishno-das-bagai/>.

⁴²⁴ "Puna Singh and Nand Kaur," *UC Davis Pioneering Punjabis Digital Archive*, accessed September 15, 2018, <https://pioneeringpunjabis.ucdavis.edu/people/pioneers/puna-singh-and-nand-kaur/>.

⁴²⁵ Allan P. Miller, "An Ethnographic Report on the Sikh (East) Indians of the Sacramento Valley," (unpublished manuscript, University of California, Berkeley, 1950), 21.

⁴²⁶ Howard Shideler, "Manteca: City in Transition," *The San Joaquin Historian* 2, no.1 (Spring 1988), 7.

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businesses were often run as collectives of men who had established relationships through shared labor, and often through kinship and village ties; they shared the costs and profits for farm operations.⁴²⁷ By 1920, South Asians leased over 86,000 acres and owned almost 2,100 acres of farmland in California, primarily in the Sacramento Valley from Butte and Glenn Counties to Sacramento County, in the San Joaquin Valley from San Joaquin County to Fresno and Tulare Counties, and in the Imperial Valley east of San Diego.⁴²⁸

Bruce LaBrack compares the patterns of leased acreage between Japanese and South Asian farmers, with Japanese immigrants farming smaller plots of intensive, high profit crops such as strawberries and flowers, while Indians managed larger scale operations that required substantial capital to lease. In these cases, groups of men pooled their finances and labor to work these farms on evenings, lunch breaks, and weekends apart from their regular jobs.⁴²⁹

Nayan Shah describes a “shifting ensemble of male migrant workers, foremen, labor contractors and tenants” who shared bunkhouses, temporary labor camps, and ranch houses among the fields. One account of a bunkhouse in the Sacramento-San Joaquin River Delta described sleeping quarters as housing up to a dozen men on a four-by-eight foot wooden plank divided into body-length sections that could accommodate one to two men and their bedrolls.⁴³⁰ Sixty miles away, Sacramento’s Southside was a hub for migrant workers in the region with boarding houses, restaurants, saloons, pool halls, brothels, and streets where they could socialize, rest, and recreate. Shah describes the “stranger intimacy” that grew between transient workers who traveled and worked together and frequented such neighborhoods, sometimes including sexual intimacy that was actively policed to protect “middle-class and respectable families.”⁴³¹

South Asians who climbed the ladder of California agriculture were assisted by familiarity with the English language as well as with banking and legal contracts.⁴³² Joan Jensen’s study of South Asians in the U.S. describes a trade-off made by these immigrants. In exchange for economic acceptance that yielded large leases and bank loans that were not available to other Asian immigrants, they lived in “cultural and geographic isolation.”⁴³³ While cities such as Sacramento offered some recreation to South Asians, they spent most of their time in the orchards and fields where they worked and socialized.⁴³⁴ Towns like Marysville, which had earlier driven out Chinese residents in 1886, acted as a center for the

⁴²⁷ Jensen, *Passage from India*, 39.

⁴²⁸ Shah, *Stranger Intimacy*, 90; “Echoes of Freedom.”

⁴²⁹ La Brack, *The Sikhs of Northern California*, 160.

⁴³⁰ Shah, *Stranger Intimacy*, 92-93, 103; “Echoes of Freedom.”

⁴³¹ Shah, *Stranger Intimacy*, 77.

⁴³² Shah, *Stranger Intimacy*, 95.

⁴³³ Jensen, *Passage from India*, 40.

⁴³⁴ La Brack, *The Sikhs of Northern California*, 111.

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growing pre-World War II South Asian farming population.⁴³⁵ Marysville witnessed acute discrimination even into the 1940s when a researcher found that “Sikhs stay in foreign quarters of Marysville because they are ridiculed if they frequent regular bars, theaters, and restaurants. Gangs of high school boys harass [them] and grab turbans.”⁴³⁶

Despite such hostility, Marysville Sikhs had been able to establish several businesses in the 1930s and 1940s that primarily served other South Asians, including one or two general stores, a restaurant, a few rooming houses, and a tire shop and garage.⁴³⁷ The Imperial Valley, an important agricultural center for South Asian immigrants, held a pair of grocery stores, a liquor store, and a few small restaurants run by South Asians. Due to their small numbers, Indian immigrants did not create distinct residential, commercial, and cultural districts similar to Chinatowns and Japantowns. South Asians, whose presence was scattered, founded only a handful, mostly ephemeral, cultural associations in the 1910s to 1930s.⁴³⁸ A few associations were founded in San Francisco, Yuba, and Sutter Counties and a single organization, the Hindustanee Welfare and Reform Society, was created in Imperial Valley in 1918.⁴³⁹

Although many South Asian immigrants initially planned to return to India, as time went on, they set down roots in the U.S. As barriers to immigration and citizenship rose, bringing over family members or visiting India and finding brides became increasingly difficult. While some men remained bachelors, others found wives in the U.S. in the 1920s through 1940s, with a sizable portion being Mexican or Mexican American women, especially in the Imperial Valley. Karen Leonard documented approximately 230 Punjabi Mexican couples in that region prior to 1946.⁴⁴⁰ Apparently, county clerks did not apply anti-miscegenation laws to these couples because they perceived them as racially similar.⁴⁴¹ The early years of these marriages were often spent in the male households that Indian immigrants had previously formed. As children were born “couples tended to establish their own households,” although sometimes bachelor “uncles” continued to live with couples and their children for years helping with chores and contributing to the household income.⁴⁴²

Post-Independence and Partition, 1946-1965

The years immediately following World War II signaled major changes for South Asian Americans in the U.S. Their lobbying, and India’s role as an ally in the war effort, helped lead to passage of the 1946

⁴³⁵“Yuba City Area,” *UC Davis Pioneering Punjabis Digital Archive*, accessed December 7, 2018, <https://pioneeringpunjabis.ucdavis.edu/places/destinations/yuba-city/>.

⁴³⁶ Allan Miller quoted in Shah, *Stranger Intimacy*, 39.

⁴³⁷ Miller, “An Ethnographic Report on the Sikh (East) Indians of the Sacramento Valley,” 24.

⁴³⁸ With the exception of most South Asian immigrants engaging with the nationalist Ghadar Party.

⁴³⁹ La Brack, *The Sikhs of Northern California*, 131.

⁴⁴⁰ Karen Isaksen Leonard, *Making Ethnic Choices: California’s Punjabi Mexican Americans* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992), 109.

⁴⁴¹ Shah, *Stranger Intimacy*, 96.

⁴⁴² Bruce LaBrack and Karen Leonard. “Conflict and Compatibility in Punjabi-Mexican Immigrant Families in Rural California, 1915-1965,” *Journal of Marriage and Family* 46, no. 3, 1984.

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Luce-Cellar Act, which allowed Indians to apply for legal entry under immigration quotas and granted them the ability to become naturalized citizens.⁴⁴³ The following year, the seismic shift of independence from British colonial rule took place on August 15, 1947. Dismantling British rule in India included the separation of the British Raj into two separate states, India and Pakistan, with the new boundary drawn in Punjab based on both religious and political decisions. Within a few years, excited Californians thronged to hear both countries’ prime ministers Jawaharlal Nehru and Liaquat Ali Khan address overflow crowds at Berkeley’s Greek Theater (extant).⁴⁴⁴

Between 1945 and 1956, almost 7,000 immigrants came to the U.S. from Pakistan and India. Although the new legislation allowed South Asian Americans to visit their homeland for the first time without concern that they would not be allowed to re-enter the U.S., the wounds of partition were felt as many Punjabis found themselves displaced and refugees in their homeland. Punjab had been divided according to religious majorities: India was meant to be the predominant home for the Hindu population, and Pakistan was meant to be home of the Muslim population. This left many Sikhs, including those in California, without a home to which they could return.⁴⁴⁵ Approximately twelve million Punjabis were displaced during this forced migration.⁴⁴⁶ Over time, increased immigration and growing tensions in India and Pakistan led to a gradual attenuation of the “often close interactions between Sikhs and Muslims” that had characterized South Asian American life in California.⁴⁴⁷

After World War II, the number of South Asian American businesses in California grew, especially in or near agricultural areas, and they began to serve customers from outside the community as well. Pakistani Muslims in the Sacramento and Stockton areas began running small residential and travel hotels, often with associated cafes. The first reported South Asian American hotel was established by three Gujarati men who took over a Sacramento hotel from a Japanese American forced to relocate to a wartime incarceration camp. By 1947, one of the men, Kanji Manchu Desai, had moved to the Goldfield Hotel (157 4th Street, not extant) in San Francisco’s SoMa neighborhood where he reportedly encouraged others to enter the business.⁴⁴⁸ Families with the surname Patel immigrated from the city of Bombay

⁴⁴³ Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 263.

⁴⁴⁴ “Echoes of Freedom.” Seema Sirohi, “California Calling: PM Modi Follows Jawaharlal Nehru,” *Economic Times*, July 29, 2015 accessed November 26, 2018, <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/blogs/letterfromwashington/california-calling-pm-modi-follows-jawaharlal-nehru/>.

⁴⁴⁵ La Brack, *The Sikhs of Northern California*, 210-12

⁴⁴⁶ Urvashi Butalia, *The Other Side of Silence: Voices From the Partition of India* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 3.

⁴⁴⁷ La Brack, *The Sikhs of Northern California*, 216.

⁴⁴⁸ The 1951 *Polk’s Directory for San Francisco* lists Kanji M. Desae at the Goldfield Hotel 157 4th Street, later part of the Moscone Convention Center redevelopment project. By the 1980s Gujaratis, often named Patel, dominated the industry in much of the U.S. Yudhijit Bhattacharjee, “How Indian Americans Came to Run Half of All U.S. Motels,” *National Geographic*, September 2018, accessed October 23, 2018, <https://www.nationalgeographic.com/culture-exploration/2018/09/south-asia-america-motels-immigration/?user.testname=none>.

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(later Mumbai) and the state of Gujarat under the post-World War II quota program and began to claim “near monopolies” in rooming houses, hotels, and motels in the Bay Area.⁴⁴⁹

South Asians in California, 1965-1970

The 1965 Hart-Cellar Immigration Act led to a dramatic increase in arrivals from South Asia. Pakistani and Indian immigrants answered the call for people with professional skills and family reunification targeted by the new legislation, which also ended the national origins quota system in place since 1924. In contrast to the early Punjabi pioneers who concentrated on the Pacific Coast, the new immigrants settled all over the U.S. and were roughly equal in numbers of men and women, often as members of a nuclear family.⁴⁵⁰ The number of immigrants from India and Pakistan climbed from 582 in 1965 to 15,733 a decade later. Often with professional degrees, these later immigrants were well educated and relatively affluent, especially compared to the earlier immigrants from Punjab.⁴⁵¹

The 1970 dedication in Yuba City of California’s third Gurdwara, the Gurdwara Sahib Yuba City, marked the shift toward Sutter County as the center of the post-World War II Sikh community in Yuba County, Sutter County, and the greater Sacramento area, aided by the influx of Punjabi Sikh immigrants after the 1965 Immigration Act lifted national origins quotas. The large building was erected on donated land that had been part of an almond orchard.⁴⁵² By 1980, Yuba City began hosting the annual *Nagar Kirtan*, a procession that draws over 100,000 participants and observers in an event described as the largest gathering of Sikhs outside of India.⁴⁵³

Samoan

American Samoa and U.S. Relations, 1899-1951

During the period of Western imperialism from the early 1700s to the 1800s, European and American explorers visited the Samoa Islands, yet none established colonial rule over the islands.⁴⁵⁴ Trade routes through the Pacific brought regular contact as well as Christian missionaries in the nineteenth century. The local government established trading treaties and alliances with some nations, including a treaty with the United States in 1878 to establish a naval station.⁴⁵⁵ Escalating interests of the U.S., Britain, and Germany led to the Tripartite Convention in 1899, which partitioned the Samoan Islands. The U.S. received the eastern islands while Germany received the western islands after trading other South Pacific

⁴⁴⁹ La Brack, *The Sikhs of Northern California*, 253.

⁴⁵⁰ “Echoes of Freedom.”

⁴⁵¹ La Brack, *The Sikhs of Northern California*, 275.

⁴⁵² La Brack, *The Sikhs of Northern California*, 300-301.

⁴⁵³ “Yuiba City’s Sikh Parade,” *UC Davis Pioneering Punjabis Digital Archive*, accessed December 7, 2018, <https://pioneeringpunjabis.ucdavis.edu/contributions/religion/yuba-citys-sikh-parade/>; Stephen Magagnini, “Yuba City Hosts Biggest Sikh Event Outside India,” *Sacramento Bee* November, 6, 2016, accessed October 23, 2018 <https://www.sacbee.com/entertainment/living/religion/article112994498.html>.

⁴⁵⁴ “Cultural History of American Samoa,” American Samoa Historic Preservation Office, accessed December 4, 2018, <http://www.ashpo.org/index.php/history.html>.

⁴⁵⁵ “American Samoa’s Role in World War II,” National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, accessed March 21, 2019, <https://www.nps.gov/teachers/classrooms/american-samoa-s-role-in-world-war-ii.htm>.

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interests to Britain.⁴⁵⁶ During World War I, New Zealand seized Western Samoa from the Germans and retained oversight until 1962, when the independent nation of Samoa was established.⁴⁵⁷

From 1900 to 1951, American Samoa was under U.S. Navy control, and served as a coaling station for the Navy. During World War II, it was an important link in the chain of communications between the United States and Australia and New Zealand.⁴⁵⁸ A naval station on the island of Tutuila served as headquarters for the Samoan Defense Group. The first Samoan Defense Group was established in January 1942 by the U.S. Marines upon their arrival on Tutuila. By 1942, it expanded to Western Samoa and by 1945, it was the largest defense group in the Pacific.⁴⁵⁹ The armed services on American Samoa included the 1st Samoan Marine Battalion, Marine Corps Reserve, and the Fita Fita Naval Guard Unit. Unlike the regular naval service, the Fita Fita was composed of indigenous Samoans serving the American Naval Government administering America Samoa.⁴⁶⁰ Various military facilities are found scattered on these islands, with many considered historic properties from the World War II era.

Following World War II, the naval station reverted to peacetime status as a permanent base.⁴⁶¹ In 1951, oversight of America Samoa was transferred to the Department of the Interior, which retains control over the unincorporated territory.⁴⁶² Since 1977, the Territorial Governors have been elected rather than appointed. American Samoa remains an unincorporated territory and its residents are U.S. nationals, not citizens, unless they apply for citizenship following the naturalization process.⁴⁶³

Early Samoan Immigration to California, 1899-1950

The trend of Samoans leaving American Samoa for the United States is linked to how U.S. military relations shaped and affected the indigenous communities composing the eastern islands. During World War I, the effects of warfare had not made a substantial impact on American Samoan communities. Small communities of American Samoans settled in Honolulu and California during this time, and in general, life on the islands, especially in Tutuila, remained unchanged.⁴⁶⁴

⁴⁵⁶ “American Samoa’s Role in World War II.”

⁴⁵⁷ “Samoa History,” U.S. Embassy in Samoa, accessed December 7, 2018, <https://ws.usembassy.gov/our-relationship/policy-history/samoan-history/>.

⁴⁵⁸ “American Samoa’s Role in World War II.”

⁴⁵⁹ “History,” *National Marine Sanctuary of American Samoa*, accessed March 18, 2019, <https://americansamoa.noaa.gov/about/history.html>; John Burke, “The U.S. Naval History of the Samoan Defense Group,” 1945, American Samoa Historic Preservation Office, <http://ashpo.com/downloads/library/7500058.pdf>, 5-6.

⁴⁶⁰ James C. Rill, *A Narrative History of the 1st Battalion, 11th Marines: During the Early History and Deployment of the 1st Marine Division, 1940-43* (Bennington, VT: Merriam Press, 2003), 17.

⁴⁶¹ “American Samoa’s Role in World War II.”

⁴⁶² “Cultural History of American Samoa;” “American Samoa.”

⁴⁶³ Ann M. Simmons, “American Samoans Aren’t Actually U.S. Citizens. Does That Violate the Constitution?” *Los Angeles Times*, April 6, 2018.

⁴⁶⁴ Gordon R. Lewthwaite, Christiane Mainzer, and Patrick J. Holland, “From Polynesia to California: Samoan Migration and its Sequel,” in *The Journal of Pacific History* 8 (1973), 133-134.

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By the 1920s, it was noted that American Samoans rarely left for the United States. Even into the late 1940s, the United Nations noted that there was no substantial labor migration pool from American Samoa to the United States.⁴⁶⁵

The onset of World War II led to the further expansion of military presence on the islands into almost all aspects of American Samoa, especially the economy. Less than a tenth of the American Samoan population engaged with naval employment before 1940, and during the war, “almost every able-bodied male” was associated with jobs such as construction, trade, and stevedoring that transformed American Samoa into a strategic naval base.⁴⁶⁶ In the immediate postwar years between 1947 and 1950, approximately 500 Samoans “purchased letters of identity—which served in lieu of passports for American Samoans travelling [sic] to United States territory—and either settled abroad or joined the armed services there.”⁴⁶⁷ Their status as U.S. nationals meant they were not subject to the same immigration quotas as other groups.

Samoan Immigration and Settlement in California, 1950-1970

It was not until after 1950 that immigration from American Samoa to the United States began occurring in large numbers. In the 1950s, economic conditions in American Samoa took an unexpected turn with the decline of the naval industry. These conditions included a limited amount of food supplies due to drought, the end of the provision for vocational training and education in the G.I. Bill, the rise of import prices and decrease of export, and the exhaustion of cash reserves and stocked goods gathered during World War II. This dramatically changed the living conditions that Samoans had become used to during the war. Population had also increased by forty-seven percent with 19,000 individuals living on the islands.⁴⁶⁸

An additional push factor was the decision to move the naval station from Pago Pago in Tutuila to Hawai‘i. What was described as “migration fever” soon filled the atmosphere with many Samoans who had either been enlisted in the defense services on American Samoa or worked for the naval industry finding themselves without a means of income.⁴⁶⁹ The rumors of wage economies with more financial opportunity led to many leaving American Samoa for Hawai‘i, Guam, and the U.S. mainland. Over 1,500 volunteered for the U.S. Navy, although not all requests for recruitment were accepted. In 1954, eighty-four were selected from four hundred volunteers.⁴⁷⁰

Between 1951 and 1956, 2,962 people left American Samoa and over 1,600 passports and letters of identity were issued.⁴⁷¹ Once commercial air travel was established in 1959 between America Samoa

⁴⁶⁵ Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, “From Polynesia to California,” 13.
⁴⁶⁶ Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, “From Polynesia to California,” 134.
⁴⁶⁷ Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, “From Polynesia to California,” 134.
⁴⁶⁸ Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, “From Polynesia to California,” 134-135.
⁴⁶⁹ Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, “From Polynesia to California,” 135.
⁴⁷⁰ Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, “From Polynesia to California,” 135-136.
⁴⁷¹ Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, “From Polynesia to California,” 136.

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and Hawai‘i, and then on to California, even more could leave. By 1960, it is estimated that over 6,000 Samoans made the move from American Samoa to either Hawai‘i or the mainland.⁴⁷²

Although Hawai‘i was often the initial settlement location for Samoans leaving the islands, California ultimately surpassed Hawai‘i as a destination. Among those headed to California were male workers recruited by farm labor contractors between 1951 and 1953.⁴⁷³ In the later 1950s, those who migrated were predominantly young and skilled, such as teachers and nurses, and included women.⁴⁷⁴

More Samoans settled in California when the U.S. Navy decided to move Samoans stationed in Hawai‘i to the western Pacific Coast. Oceanside, where Marine Corp Base Camp Pendleton is located north of San Diego, is believed to have been the location of the first Samoan community in California.⁴⁷⁵ National City, also near San Diego, is suggested to have been the second location and San Diego the third, with eighty-four Samoans moving from Hawai‘i to San Diego in 1954. Other Southern California areas with Samoan settlements in the 1950s included Oxnard, Los Angeles, Compton, Torrance, Long Beach, and Santa Ana.⁴⁷⁶

The San Francisco Bay region also saw the establishment of Samoan communities during the 1950s. Aliifaatui Laolagi’s 1961 *A Descriptive Study of the Samoan Families Who Have Settled in San Francisco* provides early data regarding the settlement of Samoan nuclear families. According to this study, four of a total of one hundred twenty Samoan children were born in the San Francisco area by 1949 and six more in either San Francisco or San Diego by 1952. By 1960, 150 Samoan families were noted in the San Francisco region.⁴⁷⁷ Among the areas with Samoan settlements in 1961 were Forest Hill, Ingleside, Bay View, and Visitacion Valley in the city of San Francisco as well as the cities of Daly City, Brisbane, and South San Francisco.⁴⁷⁸ By the end of the 1950s, California was considered a center for Samoan immigrants.⁴⁷⁹

By 1960, Samoan settlements in California were characterized by individuals that had come directly from American Samoa rather than Hawai‘i. These communities included many women as the ratio between men and women had largely been balanced by this time, as well as several children born in California. These later settlers had primarily come to California for high school or college, or to join

⁴⁷² Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, “From Polynesia to California,” 138.

⁴⁷³ Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, “From Polynesia to California,” 136; 140.

⁴⁷⁴ Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, “From Polynesia to California,” 139.

⁴⁷⁵ The Marine Corps operates under the Department of the Navy.

⁴⁷⁶ From “Location of Samoan Settlement in California,” CSUN Geography Department map in Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, “From Polynesia to California,” 140-141.

⁴⁷⁷ Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, “From Polynesia to California,” 140.

⁴⁷⁸ From “Location of Samoan Settlement in California,” CSUN Geography Department map in Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, “From Polynesia to California,” 141.

⁴⁷⁹ Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, “From Polynesia to California,” 143.

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relatives. Many also sought jobs in the wage economy of major urban centers such as San Francisco, Los Angeles, and San Diego.

These settlements continued to draw additional Samoans from the homeland who spread the word of economic opportunities. These communities also created social lives that drew from activities and traditions they had practiced back home such as weddings, dances, and organized social groups.⁴⁸⁰ Churches became the heart of Samoan communities. As scholar Joan Ablon states, “the churches quickly became the center of Samoan life, and stand as the perpetuators of *fa’a Samoa*, the Samoan custom.”⁴⁸¹

In 1963-64, California also saw the influx of older Samoans joining their family already settled in the U.S.⁴⁸² By 1972, an estimated 50,000 Samoans were living away from American Samoa in both the U.S. mainland and Hawai’i. California was noted as the new population center for Samoans from American Samoa, replacing the island of Tutuila in its numbers.⁴⁸³

Vietnamese American

Tribes referring to themselves as “Viet” emerged around the third century BCE in an area from contemporary southern China to the Red River Valley, which is primarily in the northern region of modern Vietnam.⁴⁸⁴ They were one among several ethnic groups in the Southeast Asia area that were ruled by Chinese emperors from at least 200 BCE to 928 CE.⁴⁸⁵ With the weakening of China’s imperial rule, a quasi-independent Dai Viet, or “Great Viet” state emerged. It remained connected to China, and faced threats from surrounding regional powers, such as the Cham and Khmer peoples. Dai Viet briefly became a province of China between 1407 and 1428, when the Ming rulers reasserted China’s imperial ambitions. In driving out the Chinese, the rebel leader, Le Loi, centralized control of most of the land that constitutes modern Vietnam. In turn, Dai Viet became the aggressors and colonized the land of the Cham Kingdom (called Champa) to the south in 1471.⁴⁸⁶

In the early 1500s, the first Europeans arrived: Portuguese sailors in 1516, Dominican missionaries in 1527, Franciscans in 1580, and Jesuits in 1615. By the late 1500s, internal unrest split the country between the northern Trinh and the southern Nguyen clans. Over the next 200 years, European trade and Catholic missionary efforts continued, with the French increasingly dominating both activities. In the

⁴⁸⁰ Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, “From Polynesia to California,” 143.

⁴⁸¹ Joan Ablon, “The Social Organization of an Urban Samoan Community,” *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* XXVII (1971), 77.

⁴⁸² Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, “From Polynesia to California,” 150.

⁴⁸³ Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, “From Polynesia to California,” 133.

⁴⁸⁴ Christopher E. Goscha, *Vietnam: A New History* (New York: Basic Books, 2016), 15.

⁴⁸⁵ “History of Vietnam,” Pritzker Military Museum and Library, accessed August 22, 2023,

<https://www.pritzkermilitary.org/explore/vietnam-war/history-vietnam>.

⁴⁸⁶ Goscha, *Vietnam: A New History*, 22-33; “History of Vietnam.”

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late 1700s, the southern Nguyen clan conquered the north with French support, reuniting the country in 1802 and renaming it Dai Nam or “Great South” in 1833.⁴⁸⁷

French Colonialism and the First Indochina War, 1858-1954

Despite the alliance, subsequent suspicion of Europeans and persecution of Catholics and missionaries by the new Dai Nam government were met by French retaliation. The French, ruled by Napoleon III, invaded and occupied the city of Da Nang in 1858, followed by Saigon in 1861, the south of the country in 1867, and finally the north in 1883. In 1887, France combined the Vietnamese regions and the adjacent nation of Cambodia to form the Indochinese Union or French Indochina, adding Laos to the Union in 1893.⁴⁸⁸ As a colony, France introduced Western education, expanded Roman Catholic missionary activity, and introduced a plantation economy to extract tobacco, indigo, tea, and coffee. French occupiers settled around Saigon in the southern part of the country where Western influences were more prominent.

In the waning years of European colonialism after World War I, internal pressure for independence increased. A young, French-educated leader, Ho Chi Min, founded the Indochina Communist Party in Vietnam in 1930 to press for liberation from colonial status. In 1940, as World War II raged, Japan invaded and occupied Indochina. The efforts of Ho and other anti-colonialists coalesced as a national liberation movement with an army to combat both the occupying Japanese and French rule. Known as the Viet Minh, they coordinated with Allied troops, eventually ousting Japan from Vietnam in 1945. With victory, the Viet Minh established a provisional government at Hanoi in North Vietnam and, in 1946, declared independence from French rule.⁴⁸⁹

Vietnam’s declaration triggered an intervention by French forces and internal challenges to communist leadership, precipitating a First Indochina War that continued until 1954. The First Indochina War concluded with a French defeat and its withdrawal from the region. The ensuing Geneva Accords structured a partitioned country: North Vietnam as the Democratic Republic of Vietnam with its communist government led by Ho Chi Minh, and South Vietnam as the Republic of Vietnam, led by Roman Catholic Ngo Dinh Diem.

Divided Vietnam and the Second Indochina (Vietnam) War, 1954-1975

The United States, with a foreign policy focused on containing communist expansion during the Cold War, had supplied financial and diplomatic support to France throughout the First Indochina War. At war’s end, the U.S. rejected relations with the North Vietnamese government, and was instrumental in installing the South Vietnamese government. It also aided in the relocation from north to south of about one million Vietnamese residents, mostly Catholics and Vietnamese locals associated with the French

⁴⁸⁷ Goscha, *Vietnam: A New History*, 33-48; “History of Vietnam.”

⁴⁸⁸ “History of Vietnam.”

⁴⁸⁹ “History of Vietnam;” “Dien Bien Phu and the Fall of French Indochina, 1954,” Office of the Historian, United States Department of State, accessed August 22, 2023, <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1953-1960/dien-bien-phu>.

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colonial presence, who feared persecution and reprisal by the communist government. This same group figured prominently in the flight from Vietnam two decades later.⁴⁹⁰

From 1954 to 1964, internal corruption and external pressures hindered efforts to buttress the South Vietnamese government’s resistance to communism. By 1959, insurgencies coordinated by the South Vietnamese communist guerillas known as the Viet Cong, in concert with the North’s Viet Minh, destabilized the South and precipitated the Second Indochina War, a battle over ideological supremacy known variously as the Vietnam War and the American War.

With the communist governments in the Soviet Union and the People’s Republic of China supporting North Vietnam, the United States government continued and expanded its support for the South Vietnamese government under the Cold War’s domino theory that the loss of one country to communist control would quickly lead to similar results in surrounding countries. The U.S. initiated direct military assistance to South Vietnam, providing training and in-country military advisors. In 1961, approximately 1,000 U.S. advisors were operating in South Vietnam.⁴⁹¹

The road to war escalated in 1964, with the Gulf of Tonkin incident, wherein North Vietnamese boats were alleged to have attacked an American destroyer in international water. With this supposed act of aggression, Congress authorized the president as Commander in Chief to take measures to repel armed attacks on U.S. forces, though no formal declaration of war was issued. Direct U.S. military involvement began with air strikes and then the decision to send American ground troops into Vietnam.⁴⁹² By December 1965, 184,300 troops were actively at war in the country.⁴⁹³

The war continued for the next ten years with increasing loss of life and no clear victory in sight. Facing an increasingly unpopular war at home, the U.S. agreed to remove American combat troops from Vietnamese soil in the 1973 Paris Peace Accords. Fighting continued among the North Vietnamese and South Vietnamese militaries. When the South Vietnam government surrendered, and its capital city, Saigon, fell to the North Vietnamese army on April 30, 1975, the United States removed its remaining personnel from the country and cut relations with the newly installed Socialist Republic of Vietnam until 1995.

Early Vietnamese Presence in California, circa 1850-1975

Some oral histories indicate Vietnamese immigrants may have participated in the vast migration to California for the Gold Rush in the 1850s, along with others from all corners of the world.⁴⁹⁴ With

⁴⁹⁰ Gail Paradise Kelly, *From Vietnam to America: A Chronicle of the Vietnamese Immigration to the United States* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1977), 13.

⁴⁹¹ Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 316.

⁴⁹² Do, *The Vietnamese Americans*, 22.

⁴⁹³ “History of Vietnam.”

⁴⁹⁴ Charles Keith, “The First Vietnamese in America,” *Sojourn: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia*, 34, no. 1 (March 2019): 61.

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France as the dominate colonial power in Southeast Asia during the nineteenth century, France and its colonies were a more likely destination for Vietnamese travelers or migrants. Records for early Vietnamese presence in the United States included occasional narratives by wealthy tourists, accounts from students who traversed the country on their way to or from studies in France, and scant administrative data for Vietnamese laborers who worked in the United States for brief periods in the employment of steamships, hotels, restaurants, and factories. Their few travelogues recounted visits to San Francisco, Yosemite, Los Angeles, and Hollywood as part of longer trips or experiences as they embarked for home from California’s ports. Among the few reported diplomatic or trade interactions between countries was Vietnam’s delegation to the 1939 Golden Gate International Exposition in San Francisco. The event allowed Vietnam’s French colonial administration to exhibit the country’s export sector and encourage travel between nations.⁴⁹⁵

In the aftermath of the 1946 declaration of independence from France, the new Democratic Republic of Vietnam established a Vietnamese American Friendship Association in Hanoi with an outreach and fundraising branch in New York City. During the First Indochina War, competing anti-communist regimes sent their own emissaries to the United States, and the rival Associated State of Vietnam, formed in 1949, established the first formal diplomatic presence in the United States with an embassy in Washington D.C. in 1952. Increasingly, non-communist elites and intellectuals traveled to the United States to advocate for support from journalists, Congress, and Catholic leadership.⁴⁹⁶ Some chose to remain in the United States.

Soft diplomacy in the post-World War II and early Cold War years also attracted a new group. Designed to broaden the U.S. voice in international affairs through education and exposure to democratic values, the Fulbright Act of 1946 and the Educational Act (Smith Mundt Act) of 1948 established new higher education programs for foreign students. The programs aspired to train trans-national leaders in political, economic, and intellectual spheres.⁴⁹⁷ Public, private, and especially Catholic institutions actively sponsored and funded Vietnamese scholars.

By 1969, the total number of Vietnamese immigrants in the United States was still small, totaling about 3,000 individuals. Most were university students, diplomats, and war brides who returned with U.S. personnel involved in the early phases of the Second Indochina (Vietnam) War. By the early 1970s, as the United States increased its involvement in the war, this number rose to between 15,000 and 18,000 individuals, most of whom were students.⁴⁹⁸ An April 1975 *New York Times* article noted that, days

⁴⁹⁵ Keith, “The First Vietnamese in America,” 52-64.

⁴⁹⁶ Keith, “The First Vietnamese in America,” 65-67.

⁴⁹⁷ Keith, “The First Vietnamese in America,” 67-68.

⁴⁹⁸ Ruben G. Rumbaut, “A Legacy of War: Refugees from Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia,” in *Origins and Destinies: Immigration, Race, and Ethnicity in America*, eds. Silvia Pedraza and Ruben G. Rumbaut (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth 1996), 320-321.

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before the fall of Saigon, the bulk of Vietnamese students were clustered in California schools, especially at California State University campuses and the University of Southern California.⁴⁹⁹

Migration and (Re)Settlement, 1975-1995

Following the Vietnam War, the primary migration from Vietnam to California was of asylum seekers, or refugees, during two distinct periods or waves. The first was from 1975 to 1976 related to the rapid and chaotic end of the Second Indochina (Vietnam) War, and the evacuation of South Vietnamese who mostly had been connected to the U.S. presence there. The second wave, starting in 1978, peaking in 1983, and with a policy-defined end in 1989, relate to the mass migration of so-called boat people out of Southeast Asia driven by continued war, persecution, and instability in the aftermath of the Second Indochina (Vietnam) War.

The third, smallest wave is defined by the adoption of additional special programs in the late 1980s that allowed for certain groups to move from Vietnam (Socialist Republic of Vietnam) to the United States. The need for such special programs became obsolete in 1995, when the two countries re-established normal diplomatic relationships. Migration from Vietnam after 1995 fell under existing U.S. immigration laws rather than special programs or under the refugee designation.

First Wave of Migration, 1975-1976

With the South Vietnamese government collapsing more quickly than any side anticipated, the U.S. government rushed to prepare evacuation plans for U.S. personnel and their South Vietnamese allies in the weeks surrounding the war's end. Some early evacuations were of orphans in early April 1975, known as Operation Babylift.⁵⁰⁰ More left in mid-April, including Vietnamese-born American dependents, on flights leaving Vietnam. In the ten days before April 30, approximately 10,000 to 15,000 people escaped.⁵⁰¹ As the North Vietnamese forces advanced into Saigon, the pace of evacuation escalated in a period of chaos. About 85,000 Vietnamese and American citizens were brought out in the last days of April. Following the fall of Saigon, an additional 40,000 to 60,000 Vietnamese residents escaped on their own, often by sea to the American or South Vietnamese fleets in the South China Sea or to neighboring Hong Kong and Thailand. Of those who managed to leave, approximately 130,000 Vietnamese refugees entered U.S. territory during April and May, many first landing at U.S. bases in the Philippines and Guam, and then to the U.S. mainland.⁵⁰² Other countries also accepted Vietnamese refugees in this first wave.

The rapid evacuation and high numbers of people needing assistance encountered no existing refugee or processing system in place. President Gerald Ford established an Interagency Task Force (IATF) by

⁴⁹⁹ Robert Reinhold, "Vietnam Students in U.S. Both Divided and United by War News," *New York Times*, April 27, 1975.
⁵⁰⁰ Gregory Ball, "1975-Operation Babylift and Frequent Wind," Air Force Historical Support Division, accessed August 23, 2023, <https://www.afhistory.af.mil/FAQs/Fact-Sheets/Article/458955/1975-operation-babylift-and-frequent-wind/>.
⁵⁰¹ James M., Freeman, *Changing Identities: Vietnamese Americans, 1975-1995* (Needham Heights, MA: Allyn and Bacon, 1995), 30.
⁵⁰² Kelly, *From Vietnam to America*, 36, 61; Ball, "1975-Operation Babylift and Frequent Wind."

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executive order on April 18 to coordinate federal agencies in the evacuation and resettlement efforts.⁵⁰³ Congress passed an Indochina Migration and Refugee Assistance Act in May 1975 to convey special status for immediate entry to the country and allocate emergency funds for transport, processing, and resettlement costs.⁵⁰⁴

On arrival to the U.S. mainland, refugees were bussed to one of four government reception centers jointly run by the IATF and one of the military services: Camp Pendleton, opened April 29, 1975 in Southern California (Marines), Fort Chaffee, opened May 2 in northwest Arkansas (Army), Eglin Air Force Base, opened May 4 in Florida (Air Force), and Fort Indiantown Gap, opened May 28 in Pennsylvania (Army). Preparation of the camps was hurried; orders to prepare Camp Pendleton were received one day before refugees began to arrive. The military was responsible for logistics, security, and temporary housing. The IATF processed all registrations, oversaw cultural programs, and coordinated resettlement with the non-federal governmental agencies that became involved only after the refugees arrived when the extent of their need became apparent.⁵⁰⁵

Refugees were fingerprinted and medically examined. Interviews determined occupational skills, financial resources, and educational level. Each individual was assigned a social security and alien registration number and registered with a resettlement agency.⁵⁰⁶ The refugees could only leave the military camps if they wanted to return to Vietnam, wished to be resettled in another country, could demonstrate they had sufficient funds to be self-supporting, or could find an American individual or group to sponsor them.⁵⁰⁷ Almost all sought to stay in the United States and needed sponsors.

While refugees waited for sponsorship, they lived at the camps in temporary shelters. At Camp Pendleton, housing consisted of army tents with wood floors, while at Forts Chaffee and Indian Town Gap, two-story wood barracks housed up to 100 persons each.⁵⁰⁸ During the day, the camps hosted language programs, primary and high school coursework, vocational classes, and cultural orientation meetings to introduce American culture. Organizations like the Red Cross and YMCA provided baby care classes, college placement assistance, recreation halls and dances, sewing machines, and English language tutors to assist with assimilation. The support organizations also navigated the logistics of reunification, reuniting nuclear families between U.S. camps. Volunteer groups of American citizens planned celebrations and movies and organized clothing drives.⁵⁰⁹

⁵⁰³ Kelly, *From Vietnam to America*, 64.

⁵⁰⁴ Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 323; “Resettlement,” Southeast Asian Archive, University of California, Irvine, accessed August 22, 2023, <https://www.lib.uci.edu/sites/all/exhibits/seaexhibit/resettle.html>.

⁵⁰⁵ Darrel Montero, *Vietnamese Americans: Patterns of Resettlement and Socioeconomic Adaption in the United States* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1979), 24-25.

⁵⁰⁶ Kelly, *From Vietnam to America*, 79-81.

⁵⁰⁷ Freeman, *Changing Identities*, 46.

⁵⁰⁸ Kelly, *From Vietnam to America*, 83.

⁵⁰⁹ Kelly, *From Vietnam to America*, 64-70, 85.

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As refugees found sponsors and were resettled across the country, more arrived from the offshore U.S. bases. By December 1975, IATF closed the military reception and processing centers after resettling approximately 130,000 people, most of whom were Vietnamese with some from Cambodia and Laos.⁵¹⁰ Some who had been in camps in Hong Kong and Thailand continued to seek asylum in the United States. While part of the first wave, this group of 10,000 individuals who arrived in the fall of 1975 and an additional 11,000 who arrived in the spring of 1976 did not experience time at the four military camps.⁵¹¹

First Wave Resettlement

With the experience of Cuban refugees in the 1960s as a recent experience, the federal government planned to disperse the new Vietnamese arrivals across all fifty states to minimize negative economic and social impacts on receiving communities. The resettlement agencies were not federal government agencies, but ones contracted to assist with finding sponsorship and coordinating resettlement. They had to find sponsors who were responsible for providing fiscal and moral care for an individual or for a family group for at least two years. Agency representatives in each military camp had forty-five days to match refugees with sponsors and send the new arrivals on to their new home location. Each Vietnamese individual received a \$500 federal resettlement grant to assist with travel, housing costs, and initial expenses.⁵¹²

The resettlement agencies at this point were mostly a limited number of so-called volunteer agencies or VOLAGs—nonprofit organizations with long traditions of resettling immigrants in the United States. They included the United States Catholic Conference, Church World Service, International Rescue Committee, Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society, Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service, Tolstoy Foundation, American Council for Nationalities Services, American Fund for Czechoslovak Refugees, Travelers Aid International, and Social Service of America. State and local agencies in at least seven states also rose to the task along with the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association in Los Angeles and New York, and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints in Utah.⁵¹³

These agencies brokered a rapid transition from camp to sponsor and supported ongoing integration at the refugee’s destination. They appealed to their own networks to find individuals and groups willing to take on the sponsorship responsibilities, which many did. Some groups went as far as purchasing property as temporary shelter, such as St. Barbara’s Catholic Church in Santa Ana, Orange County, which purchased an eight-unit apartment complex in 1975 with the condition that the complex would become self-supporting as the refugees found jobs and began paying rent.⁵¹⁴

⁵¹⁰ Paul J. Strand and Woodrow Jones, Jr., *Indochinese Refugees in America: Problems of Adaptation and Assimilation* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1985), 33; 149-150.

⁵¹¹ Kelly, *From Vietnam to America*, 36.

⁵¹² Kelly, *From Vietnam to America*, 132-135.

⁵¹³ Kelly, *From Vietnam to America*, 152-153.

⁵¹⁴ Sherry Angel, “Church Gives Refugees Home and Hope,” *Los Angeles Times*, July 26, 1975.

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A notable example was Hope Village in Weimer, Placer County, where the nonprofit organization Food for the Hungry, Inc. opened a non-military placement center to offer additional support and orientation between arrival and reassignment. Located an hour northeast of Sacramento in a former tuberculosis treatment center, Hope Village provided an intermediate respite and more time for sponsors to be found.⁵¹⁵ During its five-month existence from June through November 1975, Hope Village provided food, clothing, and assistance with job training and house hunting to 900 families. Residents reported positively on the hospitality where they felt supported as individuals and families rather than as numbers to be processed. It was here that actress Tippi Hedren visited and instigated manicurist classes that launched Vietnamese women into the trade (see **Business, Industry, and Labor** for additional information).⁵¹⁶

By December 1975 when the four military camps closed, the 130,000 refugees had been resettled, with the United States Catholic Conference responsible for around fifty percent and the International Rescue Committee for another fifteen percent.⁵¹⁷ Vietnamese refugees were resettled to every state. Close to 28,000 were in California, with the next largest concentrations in Texas (9,139), Pennsylvania (7,159), and Florida (5,322). Twenty-nine other states hosted between 1,000 and 5,000 individuals with the largest of those numbers in Washington, New York, Illinois, Oklahoma, Louisiana, and Minnesota. Guam accepted 700 refugees, and the remaining states hosted fewer than 100 each.⁵¹⁸

Second Wave of Migration, 1978-1989

Between 1978 and the early 1980s, a second wave of Vietnamese refugees known as the “boat people” (*vượt biển*) escaped Vietnam by sea. Their migration was triggered by instability and continuing military assaults under the new government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, including the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia, a border war with China, and conflict in Laos. It was also fed by internal persecutions and the breakdown of civil society. North Vietnamese forces in control targeted former South Vietnamese officials, civil servants, artists, educators, and religious leaders for imprisonment and re-education camps. Ethnic Chinese, who were multigenerational citizens of Vietnam and constituted a large percentage of the merchant class, with some resentment, were expelled, and their businesses were raided and closed. Failed harvests and food distribution collapse compounded the distress.⁵¹⁹

Their plight was part of a mass refugee crisis across the region, with those in Laos and Cambodia also fleeing war and instability that were, in part, legacies of the Second Indochina (Vietnam) War. Most of these refugees crossed the South China Sea and Gulf of Thailand seeking asylum in neighboring countries. Others crossed by foot across Cambodia into Thailand. Those who survived the journey

⁵¹⁵ “More Refugees: Weimar Center Awaits 20 Additional Vietnamese,” *Sacramento Bee*, June 5, 1975, 19.

⁵¹⁶ Chris Haire, “Ex-Vietnamese Refugees Reunite With, Thank Those Who Helped Them 40 Years Ago,” *Orange County Register*, July 29, 2015.

⁵¹⁷ Freeman, *Changing Identities*, 46.

⁵¹⁸ Kelly, *From Vietnam to America*, 152-154.

⁵¹⁹ Freeman, *Changing Identities*, 32-36; Rumbaut, “A Legacy of War,” 319.

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landed in refugee camps in the Philippines, Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia, and Hong Kong. By spring 1979, as many as 60,000 refugees were arriving in these countries each month.⁵²⁰ The Asian destination countries refused to accept new refugees, spurring an international resettlement crisis when they forced Vietnamese as well as Cambodians and Laotians back out to sea or back across mined border crossings.⁵²¹

In response, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) negotiated with Vietnam to establish the Orderly Departure Program (ODP) in July 1979. Southeast Asian countries agreed to provide temporary asylum, Vietnam agreed to promote orderly departure, and Western nations agreed to accelerate resettlement. As a result, Vietnamese refugees could be approved for family reunion and resettlement for humanitarian reasons and allowed a journey to their new sponsoring country without a harrowing voyage of escape.

The United States was still accepting limited numbers of Southeast Asian refugees after the initial wave in 1975 through a series of special programs in 1976 for Laotian refugees who had not been included in the previous program, and Vietnamese refugees who were in Thailand camps and had not yet made their way to the United States.⁵²² With the emerging mass migration, the U.S. used similar special programs with set quotas to accept and resettle the boat people from the Asian camps.⁵²³ In 1978, Congress authorized admission of 53,000 additional Indochinese refugees (from Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos), and committed to an additional 25,000 per year over the next few years. This was insufficient to address the mounting numbers in the Asian refugee camps, which were holding over 225,000 refugees. The United States was not alone; other countries, including Canada, Australia, France, Japan, and China, were also accepting refugees, though the need remained great. In early 1979, the Carter administration, in consultation with Congress, increased the cap to 84,000 (or 7,000 per month) and doubled it to 168,000 (or 14,000 per month) by the end of 1979.⁵²⁴

The resettlement and refugee support system for this second wave was the same as for the initial wave in 1975, without the military camps as a first stop on the U.S. mainland. From the refugee camps in Asia, most traveled by air to Travis Air Force Base in the extended the Bay Area, where they were then flown to where they would be resettled.⁵²⁵ As more arrived, some limited time may have been spent at nearby hotels or at Hamilton Air Force Base in Marin County north of San Francisco before transport to their new homes.⁵²⁶ The VOLAGs that organized sponsorship for the first wave were again tapped to arrange

⁵²⁰ Rumbaut, "A Legacy of War," 319; Gold, *Refugee Communities*, 59.

⁵²¹ Rumbaut, "A Legacy of War," 319; Freeman, *Changing Identities*, 34.

⁵²² Strand and Jones, *Indochinese Refugees in America*, 36.

⁵²³ Paul James Rutledge, *The Vietnamese Experience in America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 37.

⁵²⁴ Strand and Jones, *Indochinese Refugees in America*, 35-36. "France Offers to Accept Refugees," *Los Angeles Times*, November 16, 1978; Spencer Sherman, "Stream of Refugees Unending," *Los Angeles Times*, August 24, 1980; Rutledge, *The Vietnamese Experience in America*, 37.

⁵²⁵ William Endicott, "Refugees Straining S.F. Social Services," *Los Angeles Times*, August 15, 1979.

⁵²⁶ Endicott, "Refugees Straining S.F. Social Services;" Sherman, "Steam of Refugees Unending."

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similar sponsorship for this second wave.⁵²⁷ Other organizations nationwide also answered the call to assist and to sponsor refugees.

Congress passed the Refugee Act of 1980 that established a new refugee system to address the increased needs. It superseded the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1968 related to refugees and defined who is a refugee and may be admitted under refugee status, which closely paralleled the United Nations definition. Four federal agencies had responsibilities for applying the new Act. The Office of the United States Coordinator for Refugee Affairs (USCRA) had primary responsibility for coordinating refugee policy in the U.S., while the Bureau for Refugee Programs (BRP), under the U.S. State Department, oversaw the relief policies conducted overseas. The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) processed refugees, including determining the refugee status of an individual or family for entry into the United States. The newly created Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR), under the Department of Health and Human Services, was tasked with administering domestic assistance programs. It served as a clearinghouse for information on refugees, assisted state offices with refugee needs, and provided cash assistance, social services, and broad range of refugee programs.⁵²⁸

With funding from ORR, the VOLAGs continued their contracts to resettle refugees while new resettlement agencies started to help resettle the thousands of new arrivals. Their activities were focused on finding sponsorship, as well as continued assistance with adjustment to life in a new country, learning the language, and securing employment to achieve economic self-sufficiency. The new refugees received direct cash assistance from the federal government, through state and local government distribution systems, for three years to help with their settlement. The period was reduced to eighteen months in 1982, then to eight months in 1992.⁵²⁹ Vietnamese refugees from the first wave contributed as employees of the resettlement agencies, or in mutual assistance associations (MAA), some of which also received ORR funding (see **Community Serving Organizations** for additional information).

Under the 1979 Orderly Departure Program (ODP), Vietnamese refugees could enter the United States if they had close relatives already here—spouses, children, parents, grandparents, and unmarried grandchildren. Those who had been employed by American companies or were officials, soldiers, and their close relatives associated with the United States, also qualified.⁵³⁰ Approximately 450,000 Indochinese refugees arrived in the U.S. between 1979 and 1982, with about sixty percent of them from Vietnam.⁵³¹ As the people in the Asian refugee camps were resettled around the world over the subsequent years, the number of refugees entering the United States declined to between 35,000 to 50,000 each year from 1983 and 1989.

⁵²⁷ Penelope McMillan, "Viet Refugees in U.S. Migrating to California," *Los Angeles Times*, August 24, 1979.

⁵²⁸ Rutledge, *The Vietnamese Experience in America*, 36-38.

⁵²⁹ Freeman, *Changing Identities*, 56.

⁵³⁰ Freeman, *Changing Identities*, 35.

⁵³¹ Rumbaut, "A Legacy of War," 321.

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The 1989 end date was part of the Comprehensive Plan of Action (CPA) agreement negotiated by the United Nations and signed by seventy-eight nations to discourage continued escape from Vietnam. Those who arrived at Asian refugee camps after a certain date had to prove they qualified for refugee status, and were not just accepted as refugees, as they had been previously.⁵³² Overall, approximately three-quarters of a million Indochinese refugees came to the United States as part of the second wave, boat people migration between 1978 and 1989, of which roughly 420,000 were from Vietnam. In addition, another 40,000 arrived from Vietnam during the same period as non-refugee immigrants through the limited use of existing immigration channels and often sponsored by close relatives.⁵³³ Canada, Australia, and France also accepted over 100,000 Indochinese refugees each as part of the first and second waves, while over 250,000 went to China. In 1989, over 100,000 refugees remained in camps in the Southeast Asian countries still waiting for resettlement.⁵³⁴

Third Wave of Migration, late 1980s-1995

Toward the end of the 1980s, the United States and Vietnam agreed to additional migration programs separate from the ODP. Family reunification was further facilitated by the passage of the 1988 Amerasian Homecoming Act for children of American servicemen and their relatives.⁵³⁵ The 1987 agreement between the U.S. and Vietnam brought former South Vietnamese political prisoners and their families to the United States through the Humanitarian Operation Program (HO), which started in 1989.⁵³⁶ Vietnamese migration in the late 1980s comprised the final groups of refugees leaving the Asian refugee camps, those arriving under the Amerasian Homecoming Act and the HO program, and continued limited immigration through regular channels. By the early 1990s, federal appropriations for refugee resettlement services waned, and those arriving in smaller numbers during this third wave had fewer resources available to them.⁵³⁷

The United States lifted its trade embargo on Vietnam in 1994 and formal normalization of diplomatic relationships occurred in 1995. Following this, movement of people, trade, and funds (remittances) between the two countries became easier and more direct. Vietnamese immigration after 1995 was no longer defined by the special programs of the previous twenty-five years.

Demographics

The majority of first wave immigrants were from South Vietnam’s urban areas and immigrated as extended families with children and grandparents. They were largely members of the country’s elite, with close to half having had some secondary or university education. Many had exposure to Western culture and spoke some French or English. A number had existing relations with the United States, either as members of the South Vietnamese government or as employees of the U.S. mission during the

⁵³² Freeman, *Changing Identities*, 39.

⁵³³ Rumbaut, “A Legacy of War,” 321; Freeman, *Changing Identities*, 29-30.

⁵³⁴ Steven J. Gold, *Refugee Communities: A Comparative Field Study* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1992), 61.

⁵³⁵ Freeman, *Changing Identities*, 35.

⁵³⁶ Freeman, *Changing Identities*, 63.

⁵³⁷ Linda Trinh Vo, *Mobilizing an Asian American Community* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2004), 46.

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war and feared retribution if they remained in Communist-controlled Vietnam. As many as forty percent of the refugees were Catholic. In a country where only ten percent of the population practiced this faith, they were among the large numbers of Catholics who had previously fled North Vietnam for South Vietnam in 1954 to avoid persecution after the end of the First Indochina War. One quarter of the heads of household had professional, technical, academic, or managerial skills, and the refugees accounted for close to half of Vietnam’s doctors, dentists, and pharmacists.⁵³⁸

The demographics of the Vietnamese second wave differed from the first, comprised of many more individuals from rural areas of the country. Instead of the elite, this wave comprised merchants, farmers, fishermen, and skilled laborers. Compared to the first wave, they were less educated, less influenced by Western culture, and had not worked in the military or government. Later arrivals in this wave also included many professionals such as physicians, lawyers, and teachers, as well as Buddhist and Christian clergy. Former South Vietnamese veterans who survived re-education camps were also among the second wave.⁵³⁹ Because of the danger of escape across the sea, more young men were among the second wave than women, children, or older adults.⁵⁴⁰

Many in this second wave were urban ethnic Chinese, who had been among the merchant class historically in Vietnam. They faced persecution, including confiscation of property and funds, as Vietnam and China clashed at the border. Over 200,000 ethnic Chinese refugees from Vietnam were resettled in the United States.⁵⁴¹

The third wave had lower education levels and were even less likely to have English language or immediately marketable skills. After more than a decade under Communist rule, they had few contacts with Western culture and had unrealistic expectations for prosperity in their resettled life. Some had suffered great trauma from their time in Vietnamese re-education camps.⁵⁴²

Community Formation in California, 1975-circa 2000

The U.S. policy of wide dispersal for the first wave of Vietnamese refugees arriving in 1975 scattered them throughout the country without regard for existing family ties or proximity to established Asian American communities. Though the intent was in part to avoid large numbers of new arrivals overwhelming limited housing and job opportunities, another goal was to avoid establishing insular ethnic enclaves as had been the experience with previous refugee populations.⁵⁴³ As a result,

⁵³⁸ Kelly, *From Vietnam to America*, 45-53; Freeman, *Changing Identities*, 50-52.

⁵³⁹ Freeman, *Changing Identities*, 55-56; Thuy Vo Dang, Linda Trinh Vo, and Tram Le, *Vietnamese in Orange County*, Images of America (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2015), 57, 71.

⁵⁴⁰ Gold, *Refugee Communities*, 61-62.

⁵⁴¹ Freeman, *Changing Identities*, 31-32.

⁵⁴² Freeman, *Changing Identities*, 62; Diane Seo, “Memories of the Vietnam War Haunt Southeast Asian Refugees,” *Los Angeles Times*, July 3, 1994.

⁵⁴³ Rumbaut, “A Legacy of War,” 322.

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Vietnamese refugees who arrived in 1975 settled throughout the country, including throughout California.

Some stayed where they were resettled. Many then migrated a second time to U.S. cities and regions seeking reunification with family and friends or job opportunities. This resulted in migrations to areas with more Vietnamese resettlement, such as Southern and Northern California, Houston and Dallas in Texas, and Washington D.C., which subsequently emerged as loci of Vietnamese residence, culture, and business. Los Angeles, San Diego, and Orange Counties in Southern California and Santa Clara County in Northern California became prominent destinations due to affordable housing, available employment in technology and defense industries, and a familiar climate.⁵⁴⁴ By 1979, when the influx of the second wave was underway and had yet to reach its peak, the *Los Angeles Times* reported that 100,000 of the 213,000 Vietnamese, Laotian, and Cambodians resettled in the United States since 1975 had moved to California.⁵⁴⁵

The initial settlement of second wave Vietnamese refugees was again nationwide, and California became a preferred destination. The state offered a strong economy, good weather, a familiarity with Asian culture through its longstanding Chinese and Japanese populations, and the draw of fledgling communities already established by first wave refugees. These offered the familiarity of markets, churches, restaurants, newspapers, and entertainment and the potential for integration with established family and social networks.⁵⁴⁶ With more arrivals came growth, particularly of businesses and services that then attracted more resettlement and secondary migration in the late 1980s and into the 1990s. The second wave generally accepted the leadership of the first wave, though with some residual suspicion of the former elite class.⁵⁴⁷

On the residential side, the availability of low-cost housing was one factor in where the new arrivals settled. In some cases, property owners rented to several Vietnamese tenants.⁵⁴⁸ Vietnamese residents may have gathered in concentrations and typically not in substantial numbers where they were the predominate ethnic group. They more likely blended into existing, often diverse neighborhoods within different parts of cities, while able to sustain some business concentrations.

By the arrival of the third wave in the late 1980s, Vietnamese communities in some areas were well established, including Little Saigon in Orange County. San Jose also had a large and visible community,

⁵⁴⁴ Rumbaut, "A Legacy of War," 322.

⁵⁴⁵ McMillan, "Viet Refugees in U.S. Migrating to California."

⁵⁴⁶ Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 327; Josie Juang, "40% of Nation's Vietnamese Immigrants Call California Home," KPCC Multi-American, August 25, 2014, accessed August 23, 2023, <https://archive.kpcc.org/blogs/multiamerican/2014/08/25/17200/california-vietnamese-immigrant-orange-county/>; Steven R. DeWilde, "Vietnamese Settlement Patterns in Orange County's Little Saigon" (master's thesis, California State University, Long Beach, 1996), 4-5.

⁵⁴⁷ Gold, *Refugee Communities*, 120-122.

⁵⁴⁸ Dexter Waugh, "Southeast Asians Blending in All Over the Bay Area," *San Francisco Examiner*, March 30, 1981.

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with smaller concentrations found across California’s metropolitan areas. The new arrivals tended to settle in existing Vietnamese communities.

Settlement Patterns

The sizes of the Vietnamese concentrations varied and changed over time. For example, some among the first wave resettled on the Monterey Peninsula, and then moved inland to Salinas to find employment in farm labor and service industries.⁵⁴⁹ With the arrival of the second wave, more likely to include people from rural backgrounds, Vietnamese fishermen became part of the fishing industry in Monterey Bay by 1982.⁵⁵⁰

Some metropolitan areas had multiple pockets of Vietnamese settlement. Los Angeles County documented 60,000 refugees from Vietnam by the early 1980s, and no dominant Vietnamese enclaves developed. Some settled around Los Angeles’ Chinatown as an existing Asian American community and where the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association, which had been active in resettling the first wave, was located. Another pocket emerged in Hawthorne and the South Bay communities as a result of the All Culture Friendship Center located at Hawthorne United Methodist Church.⁵⁵¹ The center started in 1975 and was one of two refugee assistance centers in Southern California established by churches associated with the Church World Service VOLAG to support first wave refugees.⁵⁵² San Fernando Valley and San Gabriel Valley also saw concentrations of Vietnamese residents in the 1980s, and eventually businesses. The San Gabriel Valley cities of Monterey Park, Alhambra, Rosemead, and others were becoming suburban Chinatowns in the 1970s and 1980s, fueled by Chinese American residents moving to the suburbs, as well as new ethnic Chinese immigrants from Hong Kong and Taiwan following the 1965 immigration reforms. Chinese-Vietnamese refugees from the second wave who shared language (often Cantonese) and cultural backgrounds with the Chinese community gravitated toward these areas.⁵⁵³

Settlement in and around existing Asian American communities was one of the trends for the first and second wave arrivals. In San Diego, where the existing Asian American communities were widespread across the city with few ethnic-specific neighborhoods, they blended as another group with some shared commonalities such as religious practices and food preferences. Despite the proximity to Camp Pendleton, San Diego did not experience an overly high level of resettlement with the first wave in 1975. This was in part due to the dispersal policy for the first wave resettlement and in part to the reluctance of local politicians to settle too many refugees in San Diego.⁵⁵⁴ More second wave refugees resettled in San Diego, with VOLAGs such as the Catholic Community Services of San Diego and

⁵⁴⁹ “Refugees’ Home Expensive,” *San Jose Mercury News*, August 21, 1975.

⁵⁵⁰ Aleta Watson, “Vietnamese Blame Fishing Woes on New Law,” *San Jose Mercury News*, September 13, 1982.

⁵⁵¹ Bob Williams, “Cultural Fair Aims to Assist Refugees,” *Los Angeles Times*, September 24, 1981.

⁵⁵² John Dart, “Churches Among Most Reliable Refugee Sponsors,” *Los Angeles Times*, August 11, 1975. The other was St. Anselm Immigrant and Refugee Community Center in Garden Grove, Orange County.

⁵⁵³ Mark Arax, “San Gabriel Valley: Asian Influx Alters Life in Suburbia,” *Los Angeles Times*, April 5, 1987.

⁵⁵⁴ Vo, *Mobilizing an Asian American Community*, 44-45.

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International Rescue Committee, as well as other resettlement agencies and support organizations like the Indochinese Service Center operating in San Diego County.⁵⁵⁵ The neighborhoods that the second wave of Indochinese refugees from Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia settled in included Southeast San Diego, East San Diego (City Heights and Talmadge neighborhoods), Linda Vista, and Mira Mesa. By the early 1980s, a pan-Asian business concentration appeared in Linda Vista along Convoy Street and in East San Diego along University Avenue and El Cajon Boulevard.⁵⁵⁶

In the Bay Area, San Francisco was one of the first stops for many from the first and second waves, with a concentration of Vietnamese residents in the Tenderloin district by the early 1980s, not far from the city’s Chinatown.⁵⁵⁷ Many then migrated to other parts of the region seeking affordable housing and employment opportunities, including Alameda County (Oakland, Berkeley, and farther south in Union City and Fremont), Contra Costa County (Richmond, San Pablo, Martinez, Pittsburg, and El Cerrito), Marin County, and San Mateo County. Eventually, Vietnamese businesses and services started to be established where enough Vietnamese residents had settled. In Oakland, for example, Sun Hop Fat grocery store, owned by Lynne Truong since 1994, was one of the first Vietnamese-owned businesses in the Eastlake neighborhood, with others following shortly after. A pocket of Vietnamese-owned businesses developed over the next two decades.⁵⁵⁸ By 2019, the Oakland Vietnamese Chamber of Commerce estimated that roughly 8,000 Vietnamese residents lived in Oakland, mainly in the Eastlake area around East 12th Street and International Avenue, and from 1st Avenue to 23rd Avenue.

Santa Clara County became a particular draw for Vietnamese resettlement. Its cities of Palo Alto, San Jose, Cupertino, Mountain View, Sunnyvale, and Santa Clara were at the heart of the growing high-tech industry. As both a research and manufacturing hub, Silicon Valley offered a range of employment opportunities that attracted people from across the country, as well as recent Asian immigrants and exchange students graduating from U.S. schools.⁵⁵⁹ From the 1975 first wave, more than 6,000 Vietnamese refugees settled in Santa Clara County by 1978, with the Indochinese Resettlement and Cultural Center (IRCC) in San Jose placing about 450 refugees in jobs mainly in the electronics industry in 1978.⁵⁶⁰ Resettlement of the second wave and secondary migration fueled the growth of the Vietnamese community, particularly in San Jose where affordable housing was available. At least seven

⁵⁵⁵ Robert Montemayor, “Linda Vista Tries to Cope with Influx of Indochinese,” Los Angeles Times, November 30, 1980.

⁵⁵⁶ Jonathan Gaw, “A Flowering Little Saigon: Influx of Vietnamese in East S.D. Has Revitalized the Area,” *Los Angeles Times*, August 20, 1990; Troy Johnson, “How Convoy Became the Heart of San Diego’s Asian Food Scene,” *San Diego Magazine*, May 27, 2021, accessed September 5, 2023, https://www.sandiegomagazine.com/food-drink/how-convoy-became-the-heart-of-san-diegos-asian-food-scene/article_57017aae-ba7c-11eb-ab1e-1baf7d3ad01.html.

⁵⁵⁷ Waugh, “Southeast Asians Blending in All Over the Bay Area.”

⁵⁵⁸ Katey Rusch, “Vietnamese Refugees Dream of a ‘Little Saigon’ in East Oakland,” Oakland North, April 12, 2019, accessed August 30, 2023, [Vietnamese refugees dream of a "Little Saigon" in East Oakland - Oakland North](https://www.oaklandnorth.com/vietnamese-refugees-dream-of-a-little-saigon-in-east-oakland/).

⁵⁵⁹ Wei Lie and Edward J.W. Park, “Asian Americans in Silicon Valley: High-Technology Industry Development and Community Transformation,” in *From Urban Enclave to Ethnic Suburb: New Asian Communities in Pacific Rim Countries*, ed. Wei Li (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 2006), 120.

⁵⁶⁰ Dennis Rockstroh, “Viet Refugees – 3 Years Later,” *San Jose Mercury News*, January 30, 1978; Frank D’Emilio, “Indochina Refugee Quota Rises; So Do Potential Sponsors,” *San Jose Mercury News*, June 29, 1979.

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concentrated pockets of Vietnamese residents spread across geographic and socioeconomic boundaries of the city were documented in 1981.⁵⁶¹ These included Elm Street between Highway 17 and Hedding Street; Poco Way north of King Road; Santee Drive east of the 101 Freeway; Locke Drive southeast of Capitol Expressway and Pinto Drive northwest of the expressway; Menker Avenue and surrounding streets north of Fruitdale Avenue; and Cadillac Drive west of Winchester.

Another area in downtown San Jose, bounded by San Salvador, South Fourteenth, Margaret, and South Third Streets, was served by Vietnamese-owned businesses along Santa Clara Street a few blocks to the north. Additional business concentrations developed along the commercial streets within this residential area south of San Jose State University by the 1985 when the Santa Clara County’s Vietnamese community at about 60,000 people, was recognized as the second largest in the United States, only after Orange County with 80,000 people.⁵⁶²

The residential areas where the Vietnamese population initially settled featured apartment buildings, though some had duplexes and single-family residences. Overcrowding became an issue, and over time, as the community prospered, people had the means to purchase homes in the North Valley, Aborn-Silver Creek area of Evergreen, and the East San Jose area near McLaughlin Avenue and Senter Roads. The McLaughlin Avenue and Senter Roads areas, not far from a few of the early pockets of Vietnamese settlement noted in 1981, developed into another, more suburban concentration. Where the two streets crossed Tully Road was also in an area with a growing pan-Asian community, anchored by Lion Plaza, a shopping center developed by Asian Americans in the mid-1980s.⁵⁶³ Duc Vien Buddhist Temple, founded in 1980 by nun Dam Luu, a second wave refugee, moved to a property near the intersection of McLaughlin and Tully Avenues in 1985. In 1993, the nuns constructed a new temple designed with Asian architectural influences there at 2420 McLaughlin Avenue (extant).⁵⁶⁴ By the mid-1990s, a Vietnamese business district was emerging along Senter Road between Tully Road and Capitol Expressway.⁵⁶⁵

Orange County

By far, the largest settlement of Vietnamese residents was in Southern California’s Orange County. Its faith-based organizations and conservative, anti-communist sentiments led to many families being sponsored there starting with the first wave. Further, its proximity to Camp Pendleton held the prospect of easy reunification with family and friends.⁵⁶⁶ According to the *Los Angeles Times*, 12,000 first wave

⁵⁶¹ “Where They Live,” *San Jose Mercury News*, April 5, 1981.

⁵⁶² Harry Farrell, “Refugees Carve Downtown Niche,” *San Jose Mercury News*, April 29, 1985.

⁵⁶³ Stan Moreillon, “Lion Plaza’s ‘Phenomenal’ Results in S.J.,” *San Jose Mercury News*, July 29, 1987.

⁵⁶⁴ Jim Dickey, “A Special Buddhist Temple: A Spiritual Haven on a Busy S.J. Street,” *San Jose Mercury News*, August 24, 1993.

⁵⁶⁵ Ken McLaughlin, “Emigres Seek Sign to ‘Saigon’ Vietnamese-Americans,” *San Jose Mercury News*, July 31, 1994.

⁵⁶⁶ Rumbaut, “A Legacy of War,” 322; Do, *The Vietnamese Americans*, 42; Thuy Vo Dang, et al., *Vietnamese in Orange County*, 31.

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refugees settled in Orange County through sponsorship by churches, social service organizations, and others. By 1976, another 6,000 had migrated to the area from other places in the United States.⁵⁶⁷

An early group of forty families were settled in a Garden Grove apartment complex near St. Anselm of Canterbury Episcopal Church in Garden Grove.⁵⁶⁸ The church was a member of the Church World Service VOLAG and became one of the nation’s largest Vietnamese sponsorship groups.⁵⁶⁹ It started the St. Anselm Immigrant and Refugee Community Center at its campus in 1976, which, along with the All Culture Friendship Center in Hawthorn, were the two refugee assistance centers in Southern California established by Church World Service-associated churches.⁵⁷⁰ St. Anselm settled other Vietnamese families in apartment complexes near its church at 13091 Galway Street (extant), helping to create a concentration. Another early sponsor organization was St. Barbara’s Catholic Church in nearby Santa Ana, about four miles from St. Anselm, which purchased an eight-unit apartment complex in 1975 to house those they sponsored.⁵⁷¹

By 1978, members of the first wave were starting to open businesses catering to the Vietnamese residents in the Garden Grove, Westminster, and Santa Ana areas. The Danh drug store started by Quach Nhut Danh, Harry Wu’s grocery store, and Frank Jao’s real estate office along Bolsa Avenue in Westminster were the seeds of what became Little Saigon.⁵⁷² They started their businesses along a street that had underutilized shopping centers (strip malls) and was still partially agricultural. By 1979, roughly thirty Vietnamese businesses were in Orange County, as the second wave of migration was underway.⁵⁷³

By 1980, Orange County had 18,000 Indochinese refugees. Around 700 new arrivals each month landed through second wave resettlement to reunite with family or through secondary migration.⁵⁷⁴ Orange County’s Vietnamese population was estimated at approximately 60,000 in 1984, about the same numbers as Los Angeles County, in a much more concentrated area.⁵⁷⁵ They integrated into the existing, predominately white community, sending their children to the local schools, and finding work in nearby industries. Although the numbers were high, few Vietnamese residential enclaves developed. Some

⁵⁶⁷ Kathleen Day and David Holley, “Boom on Bolsa: Vietnamese Create Their Own Saigon,” *Los Angeles Times*, September 30, 1984.

⁵⁶⁸ Christy Ko Kim, “Lessons from Little Saigon: Heritage Conservation and Ethnic Enclaves in Orange County” (master’s thesis, University of Southern California, 2018), 11.

⁵⁶⁹ Lily Dizon, “Like Its Clients, Refugee Center Faces a Need to Adapt and Grow,” *Los Angeles Times*, January 26, 1997.

⁵⁷⁰ Dart, “Churches Among Most Reliable Refugee Sponsors.” The other was St. Anselm Immigrant and Refugee Community Center in Garden Grove, Orange County.

⁵⁷¹ Angel, “Church Gives Refugees Home and Hope.”

⁵⁷² Kim, “Lessons from Little Saigon,” 12; “Voices in the Vietnamese Community,” *Los Angeles Times*, September 30, 1984; David Holley, “Chinese, Vietnamese Feel Tension, but They Coexist,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 3, 1984.

⁵⁷³ Patrick Mott, “Little Saigon: Immigrants Cling to Culture While Adapting to a New, Fast Way of Life,” *Los Angeles Times*, February 13, 1988.

⁵⁷⁴ Kenneth F. Bunting, “Welfare Staff Beefed up to Aid Refugees,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 8, 1980.

⁵⁷⁵ Day and Holley, “Boom on Bolsa.”

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streets or blocks, such as Hazard Avenue, also in Garden Grove, approximately two miles south of St. Anselm, saw settlement of several Vietnamese families.⁵⁷⁶ Generally, they lived where housing was available, and moved as their personal economic situations improved.

Bolsa Avenue in Westminster was becoming the center of Vietnamese businesses. Between 1978 and 1981, more than 100 Vietnamese-owned businesses had opened along Bolsa Avenue, which only attracted more to the street and the area.⁵⁷⁷ By 1984, the Orange County chapter of the Vietnamese Chamber of Commerce in America estimated the county had 650 Vietnamese businesses; by 1988, that estimate increased to between 700 and 800.⁵⁷⁸ Vietnamese residents from throughout Southern California frequented what was becoming known as Little Saigon—named for the former capital city of South Vietnam, renamed Ho Chi Minh City after its fall—to shop, attend religious services and cultural events, and be part of a familiar community. In 1988, the Westminster City Council officially recognized Little Saigon as a social and cultural center for Vietnamese Americans. The same year, California governor George Deukmejian attended ceremonies celebrating the installation of Little Saigon signage along Bolsa Avenue and at nearby freeway offramps.⁵⁷⁹ Although Little Saigon had between 1,600 and 2,000 Asian-run businesses in 1994, under fifteen percent of Orange County’s Vietnamese population lived in the area, which reflected the broad spread of the community throughout the county.⁵⁸⁰

COMMUNITY SERVING ORGANIZATIONS

Community serving organizations are critical components of all societies, and are especially important for members of immigrant communities, who often face barriers of language, custom, and restricted access to economic resources as well as outright discrimination. As Nayan Shah writes, “Business, family and kin networks were vital for people to sustain migration. Without information, assistance and opportunities from friends and relatives, and credit, employment, and housing resources from trading networks, it would be too risky and expensive to sustain migration streams.”⁵⁸¹ Like other immigrants, members of AAPI communities in California established community serving organizations once they decided that their stay in the United States would be more than temporary.

Early migration networks often drew immigrants from specific regions and villages that shaped community organizations in their new country as people sought to build on previous connections from home. Over time each immigrant community developed more formal institutions and associations from these networks to sustain and improve life for their members. They provided mutual aid to help with financial and health challenges, as well as economic and legal support to immigrants who could not access those services from mainstream institutions. In addition to providing support and relief, these

⁵⁷⁶ Thuy Vo Dang, et al., *Vietnamese in Orange County*, 29.

⁵⁷⁷ Kim, “Lessons from Little Saigon,” 13-14.

⁵⁷⁸ Day and Holley, “Boom on Bolsa;” Mott, “Little Saigon.”

⁵⁷⁹ Richard C. Paddock, “Deukmejian Courts 'Little Saigon' Votes,” *Los Angeles Times*, June 19, 1988.

⁵⁸⁰ Dizon, “Little Saigon is Big in Hearts of Vietnamese.”

⁵⁸¹ Shah, “Establishing Communities, 1848-1941,” 112.

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organizations sustained community development by strengthening social ties and maintaining cultural traditions.

Community serving organizations established by AAPI groups, such as Chinese American tongs or Filipino American fraternal associations, sometimes drew from traditions in their home countries. Other organizations addressed their specific needs as immigrants, such as the Pacific Coast Khalsa Diwan Society, which served the educational and general welfare needs of South Asians, and the Friendship Society and Mutual Assistance Association, which supported Korean immigrants in finding housing and jobs, and learning English. Later, after the Friendship Society consolidated into the Korean National Association (KNA), the KNA filled that role along with its advocacy for Korean independence. In addition to serving spiritual needs and traditions, religious institutions were often home to affiliated community serving organizations across AAPI groups. Churches, temples, and mosques formed groups for men, women, and youth that provided for community needs and offered social events. Some community serving organizations were formed as chapters of organizations such as the Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA) and Young Women’s Christian Association (YWCA) that were popular across the United States. YMCAs and YWCAs were established in Chinese and Japanese American communities.

By the post-World War II decades, many of the early mutual aid organizations had closed or dwindled as the needs of established AAPI communities shifted due to generational changes as well as the arrival of new immigrants after 1965. Organizations that fostered ties within each community were maintained.

Native Hawaiian

Native Hawaiians generally interspersed into the rest of American society once California gained statehood. Few accounts of community or mutual aid organizations and groups formed by Native Hawaiians in late nineteenth or early twentieth century California have been found. More scholarship would be needed to uncover the organizations that were important to Native Hawaiians in California.

In Hawai‘i, an important organization for Native Hawaiians was the Hawaiian Civic Club (HCC). The first was established in Honolulu in 1918 by Prince Jonah Kuhio Kalaniana’ole, delegate to the United States House of Representatives representing the Territory of Hawai‘i.⁵⁸² Prince Kuhio was concerned over the spike in the mortality rate of Native Hawaiians, and that they would not have the educational skills to protect their interests. This combined with his hope that the native Hawaiian community would be protected in the future and able to succeed in the new cultural environment introduced to Hawaii through U.S. colonization led to the founding of the club. By 1959, several branches had been established throughout Hawai‘i and joined together as the Association of Hawaiian Civic Clubs.⁵⁸³

⁵⁸² “Club History: Founding of the Hawaiian Civic Club of Honolulu,” Hawaiian Civic Club of Honolulu, accessed April 12, 2019, <http://www.hcchonolulu.org/welina-mai-kakou/club-history/>.

⁵⁸³ Dot Uchima, “Association of Hawaiian Civic Clubs: History,” Association of Hawaiian Civic Clubs, 2, accessed March 28, 2019, https://www.aohcc.org/images/stories/AHCC%20history_28Jul07.pdf.

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The establishment of branches in the mainland U.S. did not happen until the early 1970s. The idea of creating a Mainland Council was initially discussed around 1975, though the idea was first met with hesitation. Though members of the association had a solid network of family and friends in the U.S. to open clubs in the U.S., it was the idea of creating an individual council in the U.S., not having individual clubs, which was greeted with hesitation. This led to the council establishment being put on hold, and individual U.S. clubs created in the meantime. In 1973, Kalakaua HCC of San Francisco was chartered and the Ahahui o Liliuokalani HCC was chartered 1983. By March 1988, the Mainland Council was formed and chartered at that year’s annual convention.⁵⁸⁴ As of 2019, there appear to be five active California-based Hawaiian civic clubs in San Diego (1810 Double D Drive), Huntington Beach (9582 Hamilton Avenue), Cerritos (13220 Semora Place), Moreno Valley (address unknown), and Reseda (7445 Balcolm Avenue).⁵⁸⁵

Chinese American

The first Chinese immigrants who arrived between the Gold Rush and the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act originated primarily from the Guangdong (previously known as Canton) province. Their family and regional ties defined their support system. Fraternal organizations, political parties, chambers of commerce, secret societies, regional associations, and labor unions were organized in the previously described structure of *fong-tong-huigan*.⁵⁸⁶

Individuals could belong to one or more of these types of organizations as needed. There were many *fongs* and *tongs* in Chinese communities. Between 1870 and 1890, more than ten *fongs* were established in San Francisco.⁵⁸⁷ *Tongs* (fraternal lodges or organizations) were wide-ranging and could be herb stores, cemetery associations, and other trade groups, as well as political organizations, such as the Chee Kong Tong (*Zhigongtang*) or Chinese Free Masons that was dedicated to overthrowing the Manchu government in China and which supported the Republic of China under Sun Yat-sen after the 1911 revolution.⁵⁸⁸ Because some *tongs* were engaged in illegal activities, the term became sensationalized in the mainstream American press as in “tong wars” and contributed to Chinatowns gaining a notorious reputation.⁵⁸⁹

Huigan (regional or benevolent associations) were legitimate organizations, though they could not register as legal entities in the California government.⁵⁹⁰ The earliest *huigan* was the Kong Chow

⁵⁸⁴ Uchima, “Association of Hawaiian Civic Clubs: History,” 23.

⁵⁸⁵ “Hawaiian Civic Clubs (California),” Heleloa, accessed March 28, 2019, <http://www.heleloa.com/hawaiian-civic-clubs-california/>.

⁵⁸⁶ See Terms and Definitions, E-4.

⁵⁸⁷ Din et al., Chinese American Historic Context Statement, 25.

⁵⁸⁸ National Register of Historic Places, *Asian Americans in Los Angeles*, E-20.

⁵⁸⁹ Din et al., Chinese American Historic Context Statement, 28.

⁵⁹⁰ Din et al., Chinese American Historic Context Statement, 26.

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Association, literally Pearl River Delta, named for the delta in Guongdon.⁵⁹¹ As more immigrants arrived from different parts of the region, sub-groups formed, including the Sam Yip Association (or Company), Sze Yup Association, Yeong Wo Association, Hip Kat Association (later known as Yan Wo), and Ning Yung Association Company.⁵⁹² In 1882, these six established the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA), also known as the Chinese Six Companies, to mediate conflicts between clans and to resolve cultural differences between the Chinese and the mainstream American society. The CCBA was the de facto government in Chinatown, settling disputes and hiring night watchmen to maintain peace in Chinatown. It also represented Chinese interests to those outside of Chinatown and hired lawyers to fight discriminatory laws against the Chinese.⁵⁹³

In Los Angeles, the same six *huigan* also had branches. In 1889, the Los Angeles branch of the CCBA was established, housed in the Garnier Building (423 N. Los Angeles Street, National Register-listed).⁵⁹⁴ Along with various services to support immigrants, the CCBA in Los Angeles also provided a Chinese school and a cemetery in 1919.⁵⁹⁵

Over time and into the twentieth century, the influence of these organizations diminished as fewer Chinese immigrants arrived and sought their support following the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act. The reputation of Chinatowns transformed as well, such as with the rebuilt and rebranded San Francisco Chinatown or the relocated Los Angeles Chinatown. The Chinese community became less isolated and reliant on their own government and policing. Second generation Chinese Americans, more assimilated into American culture than their parents, did not turn to the traditional association for socialization or protection. They formed the Chinese American Citizens Alliance, founded in San Francisco in 1895 and with a Los Angeles branch by 1912, with membership limited to U.S. citizens such as American-born Chinese or American citizens of Chinese descent.⁵⁹⁶ The Alliance sought justice in U.S. courts to settle disputes and fight discrimination, particularly related to voting rights and the loss of citizenship of Chinese American-born women who married Chinese aliens.

YMCAs and YWCAs also offered an alternative social organization, especially for the second and subsequent generations. The YMCA organization had a history of outreach to immigrant and ethnic communities. YMCAs serving the Chinese community first started in 1875 in San Francisco.⁵⁹⁷ This was the time when the Protestant Christian denominations were gaining traction in their efforts to convert Chinese immigrants through Sunday and evening schools that taught English along with the

⁵⁹¹ Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 79.

⁵⁹² William Hoy, *The Chinese Six Companies* (San Francisco: Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association, 1942), 2-6.

⁵⁹³ Din et al., *Chinese American Historic Context Statement*, 25-26. The names are in their Cantonese spellings as found in historic documents.

⁵⁹⁴ National Register of Historic Places, *Asian Americans in Los Angeles*, E-19.

⁵⁹⁵ Susie Ling, "Our Legacy: History of Chinese Americans in Southern California," in *Bridging the Centuries: History of Chinese Americans in Southern California*, 15.

⁵⁹⁶ National Register of Historic Places, *Asian Americans in Los Angeles*, E-20.

⁵⁹⁷ "History—1870 to 1890s," YMCA, accessed February 18, 2019, <https://www.ymca.net/history/1870-1890s.html>.

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Bible. The churches, primarily Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, and Congregationalist, came together to form the Chinese YMCA.⁵⁹⁸ Lee Tong-hay was president of the Chinese YMCA and a member of the Methodist church. With regard to Chinese YMCA membership, “Any Chinaman of good moral character, willing to forsake idolatry, and desiring to associate with Christians, may become an associate member, having all the privileges of other members, except the right to vote.”⁵⁹⁹

The first Chinese YWCA was organized in San Francisco in 1916.⁶⁰⁰ Located in an old salon on Stockton and Sacramento Streets, the YWCA offered bilingual services such as assistance in legal and labor issues, immigration assistance, job training, health, hygiene, and well-baby programs. White and Chinese Americans financially supported the YWCA as a way to change the negative stereotypes about Chinese women and Chinatown. Chinese women were involved in all aspects of the YWCA, including its day-to-day operations. By the mid-1920s, the YWCA outgrew its space, and the central San Francisco YWCA passed a resolution to build a new compound for the Chinatown branch. Architect Julia Morgan, who designed a number of YWCAs, designed the Chinatown YWCA at 965 Clay Street that opened in 1932 (extant, housing the Chinese Historical Society of America).

In 1926, the Chinatown branch of the YMCA was built at 855 Sacramento Street. Like the Christian churches, the YMCA attracted more of the American-born Chinese population than their immigrant parents. The sports, youth, and social activities appealed to the younger generations growing up in Western culture, and continued the Americanization of the Chinese community. Other social organizations modeled after similar mainstream American organizations were formed by the subsequent generations, including women’s, girls’, and boys’ clubs.

The *fongs*, *tongs*, and *huigans* continued to exist even if the social and mutual aid roles they played changed. Other organizations took over some functions, such as Chinese Chambers of Commerce to support and advocate for Chinese businesses.

Japanese American

Kenjinkai

Organizations made up of Japanese immigrants from the same prefecture, or *ken*, were one of the early voluntary Japanese American associations. People from different prefectures (roughly equivalent to U.S. states) shared customs, dialect, and food preferences that contributed to feelings of solidarity on top of their immigrant and national status. Although *kenjinkai* served members in need, they functioned primarily as social organizations that offered member gatherings such as dinners and annual picnics often held in public parks. Even though the allegiance to prefectural associations shrank as ties to the home country diminished, *kenjinkai* flourished up until World War II. The 1941 *Japanese American*

⁵⁹⁸ Gibson, *The Chinese in America*, 197.

⁵⁹⁹ Gibson, *The Chinese in America*, 197.

⁶⁰⁰ “Julia Morgan Legacy Project,” Chinese Historical Society of America, accessed February 19, 2019, <https://chsa.org/exhibits/online-exhibits/julia-morgan-legacy-project/>.

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News directory lists over a dozen *kenjinkai* in San Francisco's Japantown. *Kenjinkai* lost their popularity after the war as prefectural identity became less salient to Japanese Americans.⁶⁰¹

Religiously Affiliated Organizations

It is difficult to overstate the role of Protestant and Buddhist churches in the early decades of social and mutual aid organizations formed by and for Japanese Americans. Beginning in the 1910s, many Japanese American social organizations were established under the umbrella of churches, such as YWCA and YMCAs, Young Buddhist Associations (YBAs), Salvation Army chapters, youth sports leagues, and Boy Scout Troops. In the 1920s, church-sponsored summer schools were opened at White Point Hot Springs in San Pedro in southern California and in Monterey in northern California.⁶⁰² Christian churches engaged in social service work such as establishing the *Rafu Shonien* (Japanese Children's Home) in Los Angeles around 1914, which provided care for children whose parents had died or were unable to care for them. Similar facilities were established by the Salvation Army in San Francisco and at the Maryknoll Home in Los Angeles.⁶⁰³ After World War II, the Southern California Japanese Church Federation began running a counseling service out of the Miyako Hotel in Los Angeles that offered support and advice on housing, immigration, medical care, and employment.⁶⁰⁴

Gakuen (Japanese Language Schools)

Alongside churches, Japanese language schools, or *gakuen*, were the most central institutions to Japanese communities across the West Coast. The first recorded *gakuen* in California was San Francisco's *Shogakko*, established in 1902.⁶⁰⁵ According to historian Gail Dubrow, the hundreds of language schools in Japantowns up and down the Pacific Coast in the early twentieth century, "testify to the growing Nisei population, Issei anxiety over their precarious status in the United States as aliens ineligible for citizenship, and dismay over the manners of their American-born children."⁶⁰⁶ Because parents' acquisition of English was generally quite limited, one of the *gakuen*'s roles was to support better communication between parents and children. A 1921 volume, *California and the Japanese* by Kiichi Kanzaki, General Secretary of the Japanese Association of America, stated that a *gakuen*, "teaches the mother tongue only so far as it is necessary for family harmony and for social efficiency and economy." Japanese language schools allowed *Issei* parents to educate their children in the language

⁶⁰¹ Niiya, *Japanese American History*, 200-201.

⁶⁰² The Eighty-Fifth Anniversary of Protestant Work Among Japanese in North America, 1877-1962 (Los Angeles, 1964), 10-11.

⁶⁰³ *The Eighty-Fifth Anniversary of Protestant Work*, 41; Joy R. Kusamoto, "Story of the Shonien," accessed March 18, 2019, <http://shonien.org>; National Register of Historic Places, *Asian Americans in Los Angeles*, E-64; Catherine Irwin, "Manzanar Children's Village," *Densho Encyclopedia*, accessed March 18, 2019, http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Manzanar_Children%27s_Village/.

⁶⁰⁴ The Eighty-Fifth Anniversary of Protestant Work, 42.

⁶⁰⁵ Waugh, Yamamoto, and Okamura, "A History of Japanese Americans in California."

⁶⁰⁶ Gail Dubrow and Donna Graves, *Sento at Sixth and Main: Preserving Landmarks of Japanese American Heritage* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Books, 2004), 109.

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and customs of their home country, with the additional benefit that the youth would be prepared should the family decide to return to Japan.

Japanese schools flourished throughout the state as *Nisei* children grew in numbers and age. Buddhist and Christian churches, as well as independent organizations such as local Japanese Association chapters, often served as sponsors for *gakuen*, which might operate out of space in churches and community halls. Some communities, such as Watsonville, Arroyo Grande, and Richmond, erected purpose built language schools. Large Japantowns, or areas with multiple Japanese concentrations such as San Francisco and Los Angeles, often had several schools.

Nikkei educators were aware that Japanese schools were a sensitive subject in the context of continuous anti-Japanese activism in the West. In 1912, the Japanese Association of America countered attacks on Japanese schools as promoting “Emperor worship” by describing their purpose as inculcating Japanese character and American spirit to develop permanent U.S. residents.⁶⁰⁷ The Japanese Education Association claimed in 1913 that, “language schools are conducted with the fact in view that the Japanese children are Americans and are going to spend all their years here, and our whole educational system must be founded upon the spirit of public instruction of America.”⁶⁰⁸ Suspicions about the motives behind *gakuen* led California to pass a law in 1921 that restricted student hours and required that Japanese school teachers pass tests in the English language and U.S. history.⁶⁰⁹

On the eve of World War II, there were 248 *gakuen* in California with 17,834 pupils and 454 teachers. Japanese language school teachers were among the community leaders rounded up for questioning and detention immediately following the bombing of Pearl Harbor.⁶¹⁰ After the war, many *gakuen* eventually reopened although they did not serve the numbers of children they had previously. *Gakuen* with pre-World War II roots can still be found serving Japanese Americans across California.⁶¹¹

Japanese Hospitals

Discrimination from mainstream institutions and rising birthrates among Japanese Americans in the 1910s and 1920s led to establishment of hospitals staffed by and serving Japanese Americans. Japanese hospitals include Stockton’s Nippon Hospital (25 South Commerce Street, extant), Fresno’s Japanese Hospital at 935 E Street (extant) and a second Okonogi Hospital, at 708 E Street (not extant), and Los Angeles’ Japanese Hospital at 101 S. Fickett Street in Boyle Heights (Los Angeles Historic-Cultural

⁶⁰⁷ Alexander Yamato, Golden Gate Institute (Kinmon Gakuen) Historic Resources Inventory Form (Sacramento: California Office of Historic Preservation, 1979).

⁶⁰⁸ Kiichi Kanzaki, *California and the Japanese* (San Francisco: Japanese Association, 1921; reprinted in 1971 by R&E Researchers, San Francisco), 20.

⁶⁰⁹ Niiya, *Japanese American History*, 189-190.

⁶¹⁰ Niiya, *Japanese American History*, 176.

⁶¹¹ Niiya, *Japanese American History*, 189-190.

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Monument, National Register determined eligible).⁶¹² San Jose's Kuwabara Hospital (565 N. 5th Street, extant) was built in 1910 by the Kumamoto Kenjinkai Association across the street from a midwifery at 580 N. 5th Street (extant).⁶¹³

Tanomoshi

Despite a Japanese American Financial Company established in 1899 in San Francisco, most Japanese immigrants were unable to borrow money from American or established Japanese banks. Some turned to a community-based rotating credit system known as *tanomoshi* for assistance.⁶¹⁴ The system relied on a high level of trust, which meant that they often drew from immigrants who shared a prefectural connection. The system entailed all members making an equal donation on a regular schedule. Individual members accessed the total sum at each interval in order to make a large purchase or put a down payment on property.⁶¹⁵ Other networks yielded systems of financial support as well. In 1931, Dr. Toyohiko Kagawa, the Japanese Christian labor activist and pacifist, visited the U.S. and helped to establish a Christian credit union and mutual aid society under the Southern California Japanese Church Federation.⁶¹⁶

Korean American

In the early Korean immigrant communities, the Christian church was one of two central organizations that offered social support and mutual aid along with their primary roles. The Korean laborers who arrived in the early twentieth century were primarily Christian, converted by foreign missionaries in Korea. Primarily Presbyterian or Methodist, the denominations extended their missionary efforts stateside by establishing missions to serve the Korean immigrants.

In addition, between 1903 and 1909, several Korean mutual aid organizations were established to help immigrants connect with labor contractors, find housing, learn English, and adapt to life in the United States. These organizations included the Friendship Society (*Chin-mok-hoe*), the Mutual Assistance Association (*Gong-rip Hyeop-hoe*), and the Great National Protection Association (*Dae-dong Bo-guk-hoe*).⁶¹⁷ The Friendship Society and the Mutual Assistance Association started in San Francisco, while the Great National Protection Association (also known as the Daedong Education Association and later

⁶¹² Niiya, *Japanese American History*, 188; "Preserving California's Japantowns," accessed December 28, 2018, <https://www.californiajapantowns.org/index.html>; National Register of Historic Places, *Asian Americans in Los Angeles*, E-69.

⁶¹³ Carey & Co., *San Jose Japantown Historic Context Statement*, prepared for the City of San Jose, 2006, 19-20.

⁶¹⁴ Lane Ryo Hirabayashi, "Asian American Businesses, 1848 to 2015: Accommodation and Eclectic Innovation," in Franklin Odo ed. *Finding a Path Forward: Asian American Pacific Islander National Historic Landmarks Theme Study* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2018), 147.

⁶¹⁵ Niiya, *Japanese American History*, 326.

⁶¹⁶ The Eighty-fifth Anniversary of Protestant Work, 36.

⁶¹⁷ Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 23.

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the Daedong Patriotic Society) started in Pasadena. Agricultural communities with concentrations of Korean workers often had branches of these organizations, including in Riverside and Fresno.⁶¹⁸

Circa 1904-05, the Friendship Society merged with the Mutual Assistance Association (also known as the United Korean Cooperation Federation or United Korean Federation); Korean independence movement leader Ahn Chang-Ho was involved with both.⁶¹⁹ The Mutual Assistance Association’s San Francisco building burned down in the fires following the 1906 San Francisco earthquake and the association temporarily relocated to Oakland.⁶²⁰

The various groups had different viewpoints on resisting Japan’s growing presence in Korea, the defining political issue for Korean immigrants. The 1908 assassination of Durham Stevens, an American foreign policy advisor to the Japanese government, by two Korean immigrant students brought the different groups together to form the Korean National Association (KNA) in 1908.⁶²¹

The KNA became the primary Korean nationalist organization opposing Japan’s occupation of Korea and led the drive for an independent Korea. In addition to its transnational political role, the KNA served as the primary social and mutual aid organization serving the Korean community in the United States. The KNA also became the representative agency of Koreans in the United States following the 1913 Hemet incident in which white workers accosted and threatened a group of Korean workers as they arrived in Hemet. To counteract efforts by the Japanese consulate in San Francisco to intervene and claim the laborers as Japanese subjects, the KNA submitted recommendations for protecting Koreans to Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan; he accepted KNA’s claim to represent Korean immigrants to avoid an international incident with Japan.⁶²²

Headquartered at 1053 Oak Street San Francisco in 1909, just about every town or city with a Korean community had a branch of the KNA along with a Christian church. The KNA also organized annual parades and recognition of March 1, which commemorated the date in 1919 when Koreans in Korea held mass demonstrations protesting against Japan’s rule, demonstrations that were harshly suppressed by the Japanese. The incident became a rallying point for the Korean diaspora. In 1920, the Korean communities in Dinuba, Sacramento, Hawai‘i, and Mexico held commemorations of the March 1 rebellion on its first anniversary with parades; student pilots from the Korean Aviation School in Willows marched in the Sacramento parade.⁶²³ March 1 continues to be an important date for Koreans to commemorate.

⁶¹⁸ Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 23; Kim, Lee, and Byun, *Rainbow over the Pacific*, 456.

⁶¹⁹ Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 23; Kim, Lee, and Byun, *Rainbow over the Pacific*, 456.

⁶²⁰ Kim, Lee, and Byun, *Rainbow over the Pacific*, 456-457.

⁶²¹ Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 195-198.

⁶²² Kim, Lee, and Byun, *Rainbow over the Pacific*, 460; Chang and Han, *Korean American Pioneer Aviators*, xxxvi-xxxviii.

⁶²³ Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 200.

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The KNA had affiliated groups that served the Korean community in different capacities. Korean women in Dinuba founded the Korean Patriotic Women’s League in 1919 to fundraise for the provisional government; regional branches were subsequently established throughout Korean communities in California.⁶²⁴ Though other women’s friendship groups had previously been established to aid new immigrants, the Korean Patriotic Women’s League had a broader focus in also advocating for Korean independence. They organized boycotts of Japanese goods, promoted educational and relief work for Koreans in the U.S. and in Korea, and raised scholarship funds. Often, the Korean Patriotic Women’s League shared space and held meetings at the local KNA.

Although the KNA was a consolidation of Korean organizations, there remained differences of opinions among the Korean nationalists. Some followed the different leaders, and with Ahn Chang-Ho more associated with the KNA, Syngman Rhee started a different organization called the Comrade Society (*Dong-ji Hoe*) in Hawai‘i in 1921. The Comrade Society also served a social and mutual aid purpose, along with the focus on Korean independence. The Korean communities split in who supported which leader. In larger populations, there was support for both, and in smaller groupings, they often supported one over the other. The Koreans in Dinuba supported Syngman Rhee, while those in Reedley backed the KNA and Ahn, which set the two neighboring communities in political opposition.⁶²⁵

While the KNA, and the Comrade Society to a lesser extent, were the dominant social-political organizations alongside the Christian church, other community organizations were also established in the Korean community. Some had multiple branches, such as the Young Korean Academy (*Heung Sa Dahn*) started by Chang-Ho Ahn in 1913 in San Francisco to encourage young people to cultivate moral virtues and ethical values.⁶²⁶ Ahn also led the organization in Los Angeles, when he and his family moved there around 1914.⁶²⁷ The Young Korean Academy in Los Angeles was located at 3421 South Catalina Avenue (extant) by 1936.⁶²⁸ Some of these organizations held national conferences that allowed them to gather every year in different locations. Student friendship associations were also common, as were Korean language schools.⁶²⁹ Left-leaning political parties were also organized, though they typically pre-dated the Korean War and were not associated with the North Korea–South Korea divide.

After the end of the Korean War, and the establishment of the Republic of South Korea (with Syngman Rhee as the first president), the KNA’s central role within California’s Korean American community diminished once Korean independence was no longer the focus. Other community serving organizations developed, including the Korean Center founded in 1962 by Charles Ho Kim and Harry S. Kim of

⁶²⁴ Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 200; Choy, *Koreans in America*, 119-120.

⁶²⁵ Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 69.

⁶²⁶ Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 43; Lee, and Byun, *Rainbow over the Pacific*, 460.

⁶²⁷ Historic Resources Group, “Dosan Ahn Chang-Ho Family House,” City of Los Angeles Historic-Cultural Monument application, June 30, 2013; Kim, *Los Angeles’s Koreatown*, 8.

⁶²⁸ *Los Angeles City Directory 1936*, 1995.

⁶²⁹ Kim, Lee, and Byun, *Rainbow over the Pacific*, 461-467.

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Reedley’s Kim Brothers, Inc., along with their associates Leo Song and Warren Y. Kim.⁶³⁰ They purchased the former Danish Hall at 1359 W 24th Street (extant) in Los Angeles for the organization.⁶³¹ The Korean Center later merged with the Korean Residents’ Association to become the Korean Association of Southern California in 1968.⁶³² The Korean Association of Southern California purchased the office building at 981 S. Western Avenue, Los Angeles in 1975 in the area that was rapidly becoming Koreatown.⁶³³ The building became both a source of revenue for the organization and a location where many Korean businesses were located.

Filipina/o American

As Filipina/o laborers arrived in substantial numbers, the 1920s and 1930s saw the development of the first Filipina/o American community organizations to serve as a collective voice and resource for Filipina/o Americans in response to anti-Filipina/o sentiment.⁶³⁴ Throughout California, a proliferation of ethnic, labor, and community organizations emerged since community leaders struggled to unite the Filipina/o migrants under broader organizations due to differences in politics, ethnic identity, and internal disagreements. The result was a large number of groups, and sometimes additional branches that broke off to form their own organizations.⁶³⁵ In Stockton, the Filipino Community of Stockton and Vicinity, Inc. was formed in 1927 as an umbrella group to attempt to pull together the large number of organizations that were established.⁶³⁶

Aside from church-affiliated groups, another broad group was fraternal organizations.⁶³⁷ Such organizations, including Masonic orders, are characterized by close acquaintance, often based on hometown or home region association, selective in their membership, and typically limited to men.

Fraternal Organizations

Among the most prominent, largest, and oldest Filipina/o American organizations were the American branches of Philippine fraternal and Masonic orders.⁶³⁸ According to a 1956 study of Filipina/o social organizations in Los Angeles, fraternal organizations were associations characterized by relatively close acquaintance; promoting the welfare of each other; secret rituals, uniforms, ceremonies, and symbols;

⁶³⁰ Choy, *Koreans in America*, 188; 306-308.

⁶³¹ Choy, *Koreans in America*, 188.

⁶³² Kim, Lee, and Byun, *Rainbow over the Pacific*, 472.

⁶³³ Choy, *Koreans in America*, 231.

⁶³⁴ Earlier Filipino arrivals were typically students under the 1903 Pensionado Act. Little information has been found about any organizations formed to support these students.

⁶³⁵ Mabalon, *Little Manila Is in the Heart*, 106.

⁶³⁶ Mabalon, *Little Manila Is in the Heart*, 106.

⁶³⁷ Churches are discussed in the “Religion and Spirituality” context. In the post-WWII years, labor unions representing agricultural workers also became important organizations for the Filipina/o community, to be addressed in a future context of activism and/or labor.

⁶³⁸ Mabalon, *Little Manila Is in the Heart*, 107; Mario Paguia Ave, “Characteristics of Filipino Social Organizations in Los Angeles,” (master’s thesis, University of Southern California, 1956), 7, 51.

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and insurance benefits for its members for accidents, sickness, economic hardship, and death.⁶³⁹ Fraternal organizations served as an integral resource for Filipina/o Americans during the hardships of the Depression; as non-citizens, Filipina/o Americans were not eligible for New Deal relief programs. Stockton’s fraternal, Masonic, and regional hometown associations provided Filipina/o American residents with mutual aid insurance benefits including cash assistance for medical bills, housing, social events, funerals, and weddings. In addition, the associations connected Filipina/o Americans with each other, providing a means of socialization and the formulation of an extended kin network.⁶⁴⁰

The American branches were often founded in cities with significant Filipina/o American communities. Three prominent fraternal and Masonic order organizations were founded in San Francisco during the pre-WWII period with additional branches organized in other Filipina/o American communities in California. This included the Masonic order Gran Oriente founded by the Filipino Merchant Marines in 1925, the Caballero de Dimas-Alang (CDA) fraternity founded in San Francisco in 1920, and the Legionarios del Trabajo (LDT) fraternity first founded in Manila in 1916 as a brotherhood of workers and brought to San Francisco in 1924.⁶⁴¹ According to Dawn Bohulano Mabalon, “All three organizations—the Gran Oriente, CDA, and LDT—were closely based on the secret organizational structure, ideologies, and nationalist creed of Andres Bonifacio’s secret revolutionary society, the Katipunan, which itself was based on the principles of freemasonry.”⁶⁴² These three groups, in addition to the Filipino Federation of America (FFA), also promoted Philippine nationalism and were committed to Philippine independence.⁶⁴³

The Gran Oriente, CDA, and LDT were formed based on the idea of “universal brotherhood of man.” Christian doctrines and religious principles also served a guide for the groups; members had different denominational preferences with most Catholic, some Protestants, and some Aglipayanos, as the Philippine Independent Church was also known. Membership also reflected the regional and language differences seen among Filipino Americans, with members from the various provinces including Visayan, Ilocano, Pangasinan, Pampango, and Zambal. Members used Tagalog as their official language for meetings and communication.

For all three groups, membership was restricted to men only, although wives and daughters of members could organize auxiliary chapters. Membership was highly selective. A recommendation from a member was required to apply with additional evaluation based on the applicant’s social life, personal character, and criminal records.⁶⁴⁴ Occupations varied from those in the service industry working as busboys,

⁶³⁹ Ave, “Characteristics of Filipino Social Organizations in Los Angeles,” 7.

⁶⁴⁰ Mabalon, *Little Manila Is in the Heart*, 107.

⁶⁴¹ Mabalon, *Little Manila Is in the Heart*, 107; David Yoo, ed., *New Spiritual Homes: Religion and Asian Americans*, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999), 81 as cited in Page & Turnbull, *San Francisco Filipino Heritage Addendum*, 9.

⁶⁴² Mabalon, *Little Manila Is in the Heart*, 107.

⁶⁴³ Mabalon, *Little Manila Is in the Heart*, 107.

⁶⁴⁴ Ave, “Characteristics of Filipino Social Organizations in Los Angeles,” 13-26.

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waiters, and foremen to more professional members such as engineers and physicians. This variety demonstrated how these groups united Filipino Americans across occupational, class, ethnic, religious, and language lines.

The Gran Oriente appears to have been one of the most prominent fraternal organizations for Filipino Americans in the San Francisco area. The lodge, located at 1524 Powell Street (extant), operates as the Chinese Baptist Church.⁶⁴⁵

The CDA was formed primarily based on Philippine nationalism and on the guiding principles of anti-Spanish colonial activists Apolinario Mabini and José Rizal. The CDA had a lodge in Stockton in the early 1920s known as the Regidor Lodge. Stockton also saw the organization of a women’s chapter with the chartering of the Maria Clara lodge in 1928.⁶⁴⁶ In San Francisco, two lodges appear to have been present by 1925 at 301 and 916 Kearny Street (extant).⁶⁴⁷ In the Los Angeles area, multiple chapters of the CDA were chartered including in Boyle Heights, believed to have been the CDA headquarters from the 1950s-1960s (127 S. Boyle Street, extant), and a lodge in San Pedro (not extant).

The LDT was the largest of the three groups and had accumulated over 80,000 members in both the Philippines and the U.S. during the 1920s and 1930s. It was founded by Domingo Ponce, a Marxist in Manila, who organized working-class Filipinos. His ideology focused on nationalism and labor consciousness.⁶⁴⁸ First brought to San Francisco in 1924, a lodge soon opened in Stockton at the Mariposa Hotel in Little Manila at 130 E. Lafayette Street (extant) known as the Worshipful Dahugoy Lodge No. 528. In some larger cities, multiple chapters of the LDT were found, as seen in the Los Angeles area where at least three chapters of the LDT existed, two in Little Manila during the 1930s and 1940s (not extant), and one at 227 N. Avalon Boulevard in Wilmington (extant).⁶⁴⁹ By 1940, there were over thirty LDT lodges in Filipina/o American communities across the nation.⁶⁵⁰

Associations and Organizations

Aside from fraternal organizations, groups of volunteers formed other associations and organizations oriented around a particular purpose, cause, or concern, such as Philippine independence. They did not involve a vetting process or have selective membership. Membership was open to those who wished to join, including women. These organizations often met at someone’s home, restaurants, or halls, rather than establishing a permanent location like the Masonic orders.⁶⁵¹ At times, organizations organized separated political spaces for women

⁶⁴⁵ Page & Turnbull, *San Francisco Filipino Heritage Addendum*, 11.

⁶⁴⁶ Mabalon, *Little Manila Is in the Heart*, 109.

⁶⁴⁷ Page & Turnbull, *San Francisco Filipino Heritage Addendum*, 9.

⁶⁴⁸ Mabalon, *Little Manila Is in the Heart*, 108.

⁶⁴⁹ National Register of Historic Places, *Asian Americans in Los Angeles*, E-134.

⁶⁵⁰ Mabalon, *Little Manila Is in the Heart*, 109.

⁶⁵¹ Ave, “Characteristics of Filipino Social Organizations in Los Angeles,” 8; National Register of Historic Places, *Asian Americans in Los Angeles*, E-134.

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One of the most prominent and eventually among the largest was the Filipino Federation of America (FFA).⁶⁵² Founded by Hilario Camino Moncado in Los Angeles as a federation of Filipina/o American farm laborers, the FFA had 12,000 members alone on the Pacific Coast by 1930. Lodges were found mostly in California including Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Stockton, as well as in the Pacific area including Seattle and the Hawaiian Islands.⁶⁵³ The FFA also had a women's division, tasked with the responsibility of maintaining the federation homes in addition to social and educational activities for the members and their families.

In addition to the focus on farm worker needs, the organization's objectives were to foster friendly relations between Filipina/os and other Americans, develop Christian fellowship, extend material aid and assistance to members, and foster the educational advancement of its members.⁶⁵⁴ The FFA included Filipina/o Americans from different provinces with Visayans, Tagalogs, and Ilocanos.⁶⁵⁵

Most members were male agricultural laborers; others were in the service, cannery, or aerospace industries.⁶⁵⁶ Members worked to create recreational and social programs to bring Filipina/o Americans together.⁶⁵⁷ Among the activities were local sporting events, publishing the *Filipino Nation* newspaper, creating a women's division, and organizing nationwide conferences. In addition, they organized Rizal Day, an annual celebration to celebrate and commemorate the contributions of José Rizal, a national hero in the Philippines. In the 1940s, Moncado purchased a house at 2302 W. 25th Street (Los Angeles Historic-Cultural Monument) in the West Adams neighborhood of Los Angeles. The 1904 residence served as his home until 1946 and continues as the headquarters of the FFA.⁶⁵⁸

Other labor organizations were also important for organizing Filipina/o agricultural workers to advocate for fair wages and labor conditions. Among these included the Filipino Labor Union started in Salinas by Filipina/o labor leaders and activists in 1933, which grew to more than 2,000 members in seven chapters statewide.⁶⁵⁹ In 1938-39, the Filipino Agricultural Laborers Association (FALA) was formed by labor leaders along the Pacific Coast in Stockton, and later renamed Federated Agricultural Laborers Association as it opened its membership to other ethnic groups. The FALA led several strikes and by the eve of World War II, it had more than 30,000 members.⁶⁶⁰ After the war, Filipino American labor leaders Larry Itliong, Rudy Delvo, Philip Vera Cruz, and Pete Velasco were among those who formed

⁶⁵² Mabalon, *Little Manila Is in the Heart*, 105.

⁶⁵³ Wallovits, "The Filipinos in California," 56; Ave, "Characteristics of Filipino Social Organizations in Los Angeles," 34.

⁶⁵⁴ Ave, "Characteristics of Filipino Social Organizations in Los Angeles," 35

⁶⁵⁵ Ave, "Characteristics of Filipino Social Organizations in Los Angeles," 36.

⁶⁵⁶ Ave, "Characteristics of Filipino Social Organizations in Los Angeles," 36.

⁶⁵⁷ Wallovits, "The Filipinos in California," 56.

⁶⁵⁸ National Register of Historic Places, *Asian Americans in Los Angeles*, E-133.

⁶⁵⁹ Alex S. Fabros, Jr. and Daniel P. Gonzales, "Filipinos—Forgotten Heros of the UFW," *Filipinas Magazine* (January 31, 2006), reposted at Los Angeles Indymedia, accessed August 16, 2019, <http://la.indymedia.org/news/2006/05/157216.php>.

⁶⁶⁰ Mabalon, *Little Manila is the Heart*, 220-226; Fabros and Gonzales, "Filipinos—Forgotten Heros of the UFW."

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the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC) within the AFL-CIO in 1959. Headquartered in Stockton, the AWOC first organized Delano’s Filipina/o American grape workers to strike in 1965 that led to the Delano Grape Strike.⁶⁶¹

Many smaller associations and organizations, represented in only one city or splintered from larger groups, can be found in towns and cities with Filipina/o American residents. They often served very many similar purposes as the larger social and mutual aid organizations and offered the same benefits. In San Francisco, the Filipino Young Men’s Association, Filipino Welfare Association, Filipino Home, Filipino Youths Organization, Filipino Schools, Philippine National Seamen’s Mutual Aid Society, and Filipino Ladies Aid Society served the Filipina/o American community in the 1920s and 1930s.⁶⁶² In Stockton, the Iloilo Circle was formed in 1939 as a social organization composed of former residents of the area around Iloilo on the island of Panay. Many of them were part of the same work crews that traveled and labored together. During the 1960s, the development of the Crosstown Freeway led to the organization relocating to East Sonora Street.⁶⁶³

The Pangasinan Association of Southern California was founded in 1939 as a regional mutual aid organization for Filipina/o Americans from the Pangasinan province living in Los Angeles.⁶⁶⁴ It provided benefits such as financial security for its members and their children and worked to promote cultural activities to conserve heritage, customs, and traditions for subsequent generations.⁶⁶⁵ In Los Angeles, the Filipino American Community of Los Angeles (FACLA) registered with the state in 1945. It was originally in the Bunker Hill neighborhood, where it was displaced by urban renewal. FACLA constructed a new building, the Filipino Community Center of Los Angeles, at 1740 West Temple Street in the Temple-Beverly neighborhood in the 1960s.⁶⁶⁶ Other organizations in Los Angeles included the Filipino-American Citizens, Inc., established in 1949 to promote civic participation and protect the rights of those who were U.S. citizens along with mutual aid and social interaction among its members.⁶⁶⁷ The Filipino Alumni Association in Los Angeles was for Filipina/o college graduates and had a more intellectual focus.⁶⁶⁸

⁶⁶¹ Mabalon, *Little Manila is in the Heart*, 258-263; Fabros and Gonzales, “Filipinos—Forgotten Heros of the UFW.”

⁶⁶² Page & Turnbull, *San Francisco Filipino Heritage Addendum*, 9-10

⁶⁶³ Mabalon, *Little Manila Is in the Heart*, 73; 315.

⁶⁶⁴ National Register of Historic Places, *Asian Americans in Los Angeles*, E-134; Ave, “Characteristics of Filipino Social Organizations in Los Angeles,” 52.

⁶⁶⁵ Ave, “Characteristics of Filipino Social Organizations in Los Angeles,” 52; National Register of Historic Places, *Asian Americans in Los Angeles*, E-134

⁶⁶⁶ Mae Respico Koerner, *Filipinos in America*, Images of America (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2007), 57-58; Carina Forsyth-Montoya, *Los Angeles’s Historic Filipinotown*, Images of America (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2009), 102.

⁶⁶⁷ Ave, “Characteristics of Filipino Social Organizations in Los Angeles,” 38-42.

⁶⁶⁸ Ave, “Characteristics of Filipino Social Organizations in Los Angeles,” 39.

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Chamorro

There are some accounts of Chamorro groups and organizations in California, though the available scholarship is limited. Reference is given to some prominent organizations established after 1970, though more scholarship and research would be needed to explore these and additional groups in the future.

Among the first, and most prominent organizations formed was the Sons and Daughters of Guam Club in 1953 in San Diego. This group was started by José “Joe” Flores (familian Cabesa).⁶⁶⁹ Flores first came to California to continue his priesthood studies. After joining the Marine Corps, he was stationed at Camp Pendleton. After World War II, he left the Marine Corps and settled in San Diego. Joe, his cousin José Aquiningoc (familian Cabesa), and friend Gil Taitano (familian Calextro) formulated the idea of a club for those from Guam.⁶⁷⁰

Originally known as the Guamerica Club, the mission of the Sons and Daughters of Guam Club was to serve the common interests of the Chamorro migrants, such as to learn English, as well as to foster Chamorro heritage practices. It also fosters social connection within the Chamorro community with recreational activities and regular meetings.⁶⁷¹ The creation of the Sons and Daughters of Guam Club led to the formation of village clubs in San Diego and inspired similar clubs in Los Angeles, Long Beach, Washington, D.C., Florida, and Washington state.⁶⁷²

Other prominent organizations formed by Chamorro individuals in California after 1970 include the Guam Communications Network in 1993 and the Chamorro Optimist Club in 2015.⁶⁷³

South Asian American

South Asian immigrants appear not to have formed organizations based on shared affiliation by village, region, or caste.⁶⁷⁴ Most formal organizations had some connection to religious membership and were generously supported by donations from workers whose wages were quite meager. Perhaps because of the population’s small numbers, religious organizations played multiple roles among Indian immigrants. As Karen Leonard noted, the Stockton Sikh temple (Gurdwara Sahib Stockton) served all California

⁶⁶⁹ Familia (singular familian), a Spanish word meaning family, has a more inclusive definition in Chamorro, including branches of families who make up one’s clan as well as immediate family members. Several families who have an ancestor in common make up a clan. Guampedia “Familia,” accessed May 1, 2019, <https://www.guampedia.com/familia/>.

⁶⁷⁰ “About,” Sons & Daughters of Guam Club, Inc., accessed March 29, 2019, <https://www.guamclub.org/about/>.

⁶⁷¹ “About,” Sons & Daughters of Guam Club, Inc.; Sandy Flores Uslander, “Sons & Daughters of Guam: San Diego group a home away from home,” *Pacific Daily News*, February 3, 2013.

⁶⁷² Uslander, “Sons & Daughters of Guam.”

⁶⁷³ “Chamorro,” Wincart, California State University, Fullerton, accessed November 6, 2018, <http://wincart.fullerton.edu/Communities/Chamorro.htm>; “About us,” Chamorro Optimist Club San Diego, accessed November 6, 2018, https://www.chamorrooptimistclubsd.org/about_us; Sandy Flores Uslander, “New Chamorro Optimist Club Forms,” *Pacific Daily News*, December 12, 2015.

⁶⁷⁴ Karen Isaksen Leonard, *Making Ethnic Choices: California’s Punjabi Mexican Americans* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992), 83-88.

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Punjabis regardless of religious affiliation. “It played its most significant role as a multipurpose meeting place for all Punjabis in the American West, serving economic, political, and social ends as frequently as religious ones.”⁶⁷⁵ One of the few organizations of South Asian women, the Indian Lady Educational Society met at the Gurdwara Sahib Stockton as part of an annual Sikh Convention, according to one of Karen Leonard’s informants. According to historian Jane Singh, this society was primarily focused on the subject of women’s education in their home country.⁶⁷⁶

The Pacific Coast Khalsa Diwan Society, founded in 1912 in Stockton, was one of the first formal community organizations. Serving as the administrative arm of the Gurdwara Sahib Stockton, the Society was dedicated to the welfare and education of newcomers from India including the elderly and workers in ill health. Among the organization’s functions was arranging for Sikhs who died in the U.S. to be cremated.⁶⁷⁷ Soon the Pacific Coast Khalsa Diwan Society owned a hostel at 1731 Allston Way in Berkeley (not extant) that offered rent-free lodging to students.⁶⁷⁸

In 1920, Dalip Singh Saund arrived from Punjab to attend the University of California in Berkeley and began residing at the Allston Way house. He completed his masters and doctorate in Mathematics by 1924 and credited the Allston Way house as a critical resource and source of support for him and other newcomers from Punjab that enabled them to pursue their education.⁶⁷⁹ Saund went on to settle in the Imperial Valley where he worked as a farmer and became active in the local political sphere. Following the change in naturalization laws in 1946, he became a U.S. citizen and furthered his interest in politics. He became an elected judge in El Centro and in 1956, he ran for and won a seat in the U.S. House of Representative from the 29th District of California. Saund became the first person of South Asian descent elected to the U.S. Congress.⁶⁸⁰

The Ghadar Party, formed in 1913 in San Francisco as the Pacific Coast Hindustan Association, was one of the main organizations in the South Asian community. Its focus was on Indian independence. The struggle to overthrow Britain’s colonial hold on India brought together Punjabi laborers and Bengali intellectuals in the diaspora communities across the world, including in California. The party published a newspaper, the *Ghadar* (Punjabi for uprising or revolt), at its San Francisco location at 436 Hill Street (not extant), and raised funds in support of the cause. Primarily a transnational political organization, it did not appear that the Ghadar Party provided social services to the South Asian community.⁶⁸¹

⁶⁷⁵ Leonard, *Making Ethnic Choices*, 90.

⁶⁷⁶ Leonard, *Making Ethnic Choices*, 130; Jane Singh, email to California Office of Historic Preservation, May 13, 2019.

⁶⁷⁷ Leonard, *Making Ethnic Choices*, 83.

⁶⁷⁸ “Echoes of Freedom: South Asian Pioneers in California, 1899-1965;” “Stockton Gurdwara,” Pioneering Punjabis Digital Archive, UC Davis, accessed September 15, 2018, <https://pioneeringpunjabis.ucdavis.edu/contributions/religion/stockton-temple/>.

⁶⁷⁹ Dalip Singh Saund, *Congressman from India* (New York: Dutton, 1960), 36-37.

⁶⁸⁰ Saund, *Congressman from India*, 36-37; Jensen, *Passage from India*, 280.

⁶⁸¹ Maia Ramnath. “Two Revolutions: The Ghadar Movement and India’s Radical Diaspora, 1913-1918,” *Radical History Review* 92 (Spring 2005): 7-9.

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Imperial Valley immigrants formed the Hindustani Welfare and Reform Society in 1918. Led by Sikh, Muslim, and Hindu farmers, the organization mediated disagreements and offered mutual aid.⁶⁸²

Punjabi Muslims formed the Moslem Association of American in Sacramento in 1919-20 and a similar organization later in El Centro in the Imperial Valley. Both associations bought burial plots in local cemeteries.⁶⁸³ An area is dedicated to Punjabi Muslims in the National Register-listed Sacramento City Cemetery (1000 Broadway, extant), which served as a burial site for Muslims from throughout northern and central California.

A Hindustani Club was organized in 1946 by South Asians in the Imperial Valley. Centered in Holtville, the club served all ages until young people broke off to form their own association. The Young India Club, which often met at the El Centro Gurdwara, offered teenagers and young adults a way to socialize independently of parents while learning Punjabi.⁶⁸⁴ By 1950, Punjabis in both the Imperial Valley and Marysville area participated in annual international festivals and selected daughters to serve as queens alongside those anointed by the Japanese, Chinese, Filipina/o, Swiss, and other communities.⁶⁸⁵

Samoan

Very little information is available regarding the establishment of organizations within the Samoan communities in California. As is traditional, family networks, rather than organizations, provided social support and mutual aid. The *aiga*, or the extended family, is described as a viable unit that was essentially relatives related through blood, marriage, or adoption, though they often claim descent from a common ancestor. An *aiga*, headed by a *matai* or clan chief, can range from forty to one hundred members. This traces back to the Samoan Islands, where land and property are passed down within the *aiga*.⁶⁸⁶ The *aiga* adapted to the needs of those living in California and served as a mutual aid resource for the transition from the Samoan Islands to California. It provided lodging, assistance in seeking jobs, joining a church, finding medical care and childcare, and obtaining insurance, as well as support for the stay-at-home families during naval and merchant marine deployment.⁶⁸⁷ By 1970, almost every Samoan household was noted as having at least one member, and on average six to ten members, from the

⁶⁸² Leonard, *Making Ethnic Choices*, 82.

⁶⁸³ Leonard, *Making Ethnic Choices*, 255. Evergreen Cemetery in El Centro has Punjabi Muslim burial sites and a section dedicated to Japanese American burial plots. Noel Bravo, "Evergreen Cemetery: Solace for the Living and the Dead," *The Desert Review*, July 16, 2018, accessed December 27, 2018, https://www.thedesertreview.com/business/evergreen-cemetery-solace-for-the-living-and-the-dead/article_dca73026-890c-11e8-9df6-3b9e08b58d25.html.

⁶⁸⁴ Leonard, *Making Ethnic Choices*, 172.

⁶⁸⁵ Leonard, *Making Ethnic Choices*, 172.

⁶⁸⁶ Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, "From Polynesia to California," 150; Stephen R. Koletty, "The Samoan Archipelago in Urban America," in Kate A. Berry and Martha L. Henderson, eds. *Geographical Identities of Ethnic America: Race, Space, and Place* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2002), 136.

⁶⁸⁷ Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, "From Polynesia to California," 148; 151.

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extended family living with them.⁶⁸⁸ Through marriage, Samoans can claim membership in several *aiga* though most are active in only one.⁶⁸⁹

Outside of the family network, it appears that the Samoan church was the central institution in these communities. The important community organizations revolved around the church, such as Samoan choirs and the Samoan Catholic Benevolent Societies formed in 1959.⁶⁹⁰ Though specific information is not available, individuals that had settled into distinct Samoan communities by 1960—especially in urban areas such as San Francisco, Los Angeles, and San Diego—were noted as having “...organized themselves into active societies [with] meetings, dances, weddings, and other busy doing such as would go on in a village back in the islands.”⁶⁹¹ A Samoan community dance was noted in 1964, though it is unclear where the dance was held.⁶⁹² Samoan Americans also held *luaus* or *fiafias* with food and dancing.⁶⁹³

In 1959, the Samoan Civic Association was created in San Francisco by Governor Coleman of American Samoa. The mission of the organization was “to promote the unity and togetherness of the Samoan people in San Francisco.”⁶⁹⁴ The organization did not garner consistent interest or participation in the Samoan community. The group welcomed visiting dignitaries and provided ceremonial services for the 1960 Pacific Festival in San Francisco, and the event was not well received or attended. The association’s goal to provide a housing project for the Samoan community was also not achieved. The group’s membership eventually declined from an initial 200 members to about 100.⁶⁹⁵

Vietnamese American

As the Vietnamese American community settled in California, an abundance of organizations served various needs, rather than a few centralized groups. By the early 1980s, over 340 Vietnamese associations were nationwide, with over fifty-eight alone in the seven counties of the San Francisco Bay Area.⁶⁹⁶ The *1990 Vietnamese Business Directory* for Los Angeles and Orange Counties included ninety-eight “associations.” Among these were religious and political groups (discussed in other sections), as well as forty-two newspapers and magazines, some of which were tied to activist groups, and twenty-one language schools.⁶⁹⁷

⁶⁸⁸ Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, “From Polynesia to California,” 151.

⁶⁸⁹ Koletty, “The Samoan Archipelago in Urban America,” 137.

⁶⁹⁰ Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, “From Polynesia to California,” 149.

⁶⁹¹ Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, “From Polynesia to California,” 143.

⁶⁹² Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, “From Polynesia to California,” 150.

⁶⁹³ Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, “From Polynesia to California,” 154.

⁶⁹⁴ Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, “From Polynesia to California,” 149.

⁶⁹⁵ Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, “From Polynesia to California,” 149.

⁶⁹⁶ Gold, *Refugee Communities*, 200.

⁶⁹⁷ Gold, *Refugee Communities*, 200.

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The diversity of organizations reflected the multiple goals, interests, and backgrounds of the community. Among the first and second wave arrivals were well-educated people of status who previously held leadership positions in Vietnam and were well suited to starting and leading associations and organizations. Many had also known each other from Vietnam and been in the same social circles that then translated to forming mutual support or common cause organizations once they resettled.⁶⁹⁸ The multitude has been attributed to historical fragmentation among the Vietnamese population, such as self-identification and grouping among those with ethnic Chinese backgrounds, as well as a distrust of leaders after years of colonialism and war. As a result of large numbers of groups serving a growing but still limited constituency, no single organization represented a significant segment of the community.⁶⁹⁹

The pattern of organizational development and types also follows the migration and settlement pattern for the Vietnamese American community. Prior to 1975, student associations supporting the few Vietnamese exchange students studying in the United States had been started. The earliest groups associated with the Vietnamese community were those related to the initial resettlement efforts following the first wave of migration in 1975. These voluntary agencies (VOLAGs), tended to be existing religious or nonprofit organizations with an established history of aiding refugees or immigrants.⁷⁰⁰ Their focus was more on serving refugees of any origin, rather than the Vietnamese community specifically.

Not long after the first wave arrived, some mutual aid associations (MAAs) formed by members of the Vietnamese community also started to appear. The crucial roles such associations served was recognized during the period of the second wave migration, when a formal refugee support system was established by the federal government following the 1980 Refugee Act. The act provided grant funding for VOLAGs as well as new public and private non-profit organizations that collectively came to be referred to as resettlement agencies. Eventually, MMAs were also encouraged to apply for federal funding in recognition of their efforts and close ties to the community being served.⁷⁰¹

Vietnamese who arrived among the first wave in 1975 were becoming established by the time the second wave arrived in the late 1970s and into the 1980s. They formed associations and organizations as any community would to serve their needs as well as support the new arrivals. Beyond MAAs, religious groups, business organizations, veteran associations, alumni associations, and others started to appear. Additional types of organizations formed and dissolved at different times as needs changed. For example, the Vietnamese Political Detainees Mutual Association was organized in 1989 by former

⁶⁹⁸ Gold, *Refugee Communities*, 213-214.

⁶⁹⁹ Gold, *Refugee Communities*, 200.

⁷⁰⁰ Freeman, *Changing Identities*, 46.

⁷⁰¹ S. Forbes, T. Eckels, and D. Kogan, "Assessment of the MAA Incentive Grant Initiative," abstract, *Migration News* 1 (January-March 1987): 3-41, from National Library of Medicine, accessed August 23, 2023, <https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/12178939/>.

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political detainees to assist those arriving in the third wave as part of the Humanitarian Operation program, among which were former prisoners.⁷⁰²

Professional organizations for Vietnamese American physicians, attorneys, real estate professionals, and others formed later in the 1980s and 1990s as those who arrived with professional backgrounds re-established themselves, and the young adults and children who arrived in the first or second waves completed their education and entered professional fields. The Vietnamese Physicians Association of Northern California was founded in 1987 and incorporated as a nonprofit organization in 1989. Based in San Jose where the majority of its members practiced, it also represented members in the wider region from the Bay Area to Yuba City, Fresno, and Visalia.⁷⁰³ The Vietnamese American Bar Association of Northern California started in 1996 with a small group of attorneys meeting informally and became a formal organization in 1998.⁷⁰⁴

Generational shifts were also a factor in the formation and evolution of associations and organizations. Those who migrated as adults brought their experience and viewpoint from Vietnam, compared to those who arrived as youths or who were born in the United States and were more immersed in American culture. Organizations formed and led by Vietnamese Americans who were more comfortable moving between the two cultures tended to be more open to and connected with mainstream American society. They engaged with topics and issues differently than the first generation, and were less focused on an anti-Communist, Cold War mentality. They engaged in both English and Vietnamese, and used newer platforms like television, the Internet, and social media. Some were also more liberal or progressive and more willing to broach topics that had traditionally been taboo. As an example, the Vietnamese Parents and Friends of Lesbians and Gays (*Hoi Than Huu Viet Nam Dong Tinh*) was founded in 1992 by Hoang Dien Pham in Orange County after his gay brother committed suicide.⁷⁰⁵ The organization offered some visibility and support for the queer community, including their friends and family members, at a time when understanding and acceptance remained low. The organization initially held meetings at the Gay and Lesbian Community Service Center of Orange County. Around 2003, it had an office location at 12832 Garden Grove Boulevard in Garden Grove (extant), according to the *2003-2004 Vietnamese American Community Directory: Orange County*.⁷⁰⁶

The multitude of Vietnamese associations and organizations gathered for community-wide events like health fairs and celebrations such as the annual Lunar New Year, or Tet. The commemoration of the fall

⁷⁰² De Tran, "Helping Vietnamese Ex-Detainees Resettle," *Los Angeles Times*, April 26, 1993.

⁷⁰³ "About Us," Vietnamese Physician Association of Northern California, accessed August 20, 2023, <http://www.vpanc.com/>.

⁷⁰⁴ "Our History," Vietnamese American Bar Association of Northern California, accessed August 20, 2023, <https://vabanc.org/history/>.

⁷⁰⁵ Daniel C. Tsang, "Laguna Beach Beating Opens Closed Asian Door," *Los Angeles Times*, January 18, 1992.

⁷⁰⁶ *2003-2004 Vietnamese American Community Directory: Orange County*, first edition (Los Angeles: Occidental College Urban & Environmental Policy Institute, 2003-2004), 19-20.

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of Saigon on April 30 has also become a community event. A few organization types are discussed in greater detail below.

Student Associations

Student associations supporting Vietnamese students studying in the United States first started in the 1950s as programs made possible by the Fulbright Act of 1946 and the Educational Act (Smith Mundt Act) of 1948 encouraged academic exchange during the Cold War.⁷⁰⁷ Among these were the Vietnamese Catholic Student Association in America (founded in the early 1950s), General Association of Vietnamese in America (founded in 1953), and the American Alumni Association of Vietnam (founded in 1959). The Vietnamese Catholic Student Association published a national Vietnamese language newsletter, *Buong Viet (The Vietnamese Bell)* with reporting that engaged students and interested Americans in the larger political and cultural issues engulfing Vietnam.⁷⁰⁸

California colleges and universities saw the creation of Vietnamese student associations in the late 1960s and into the 1970s, with those at California State University, San Diego and California State University, Long Beach established in 1968.⁷⁰⁹ Additional organizations started at the University of Southern California (1976), California State University, Fullerton (1984), Stanford University (1988), and the University of California, Los Angeles (1977), Berkeley (1979), Irvine (1979), and Riverside (1981).⁷¹⁰ An umbrella organization, the Union of Vietnamese Student Associations of Southern California, was founded 1982 as a means for the Vietnamese diaspora community to organize socially and politically.⁷¹¹ The Union of Vietnamese Student Associations of Northern California formed around 1985, officially incorporated in 1991, and disbanded by 1995.⁷¹²

⁷⁰⁷ Keith, "The First Vietnamese in America,"67-68.

⁷⁰⁸ Keith, "The First Vietnamese in America,"68; Vu Pham, "Antedating and Anchoring Vietnamese America: Toward a Vietnamese American Historiography," *Amerasia Journal*, 29, No 1(2003): 137-152.

⁷⁰⁹ "About Us," SDSU Vietnamese Student Association, accessed August 22, 2023, <https://www.vsa-sdsu.org/about-1>; "CSULB VSA History," Cal State University Long Beach Vietnamese Student Association, accessed August 22, 2023, https://members.tripod.com/csulb_vsa/history.htm.

⁷¹⁰ "Our History," USC Vietnamese Student Association, accessed August 22, 2023, <https://usecvsa.weebly.com/about.html>; "Social Media," CSU Fullerton Vietnamese Student Association, accessed August 23, 2023, <https://csufvsa.weebly.com/>; "What is SVSA?" Stanford Vietnamese Student Association, accessed August 22, 2023, <https://stanfordvsa.herokuapp.com/#/about>; "History of VSU," Vietnamese Student Union UCLA, accessed August 22, 2023, <https://vsubruins.com/about>; "Foundings," Vietnamese Student Association UC Berkeley, accessed August 22, 2023, <https://vsa.berkeley.edu/about/constitution/>; "Guide to the University of California, Irvine, Vietnamese Student Association Records AS.135," Online Archive of California, accessed August 22, 2023, https://oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/kt5m3nd3rb/entire_text/; "About Us," UC Riverside Vietnamese Student Association, accessed August 22, 2023, <https://ucrvsa.wixsite.com/ucriverside-vsa/about>.

⁷¹¹ "We Build Leaders at UVSA SOCAL," United Vietnamese Student Associations of Southern California, accessed August 22, 2023, <https://uvsa.org/>.

⁷¹² "History of Vietnamese Youth Organizations in Northern California," United Vietnamese Student Association of Northern California, accessed August 22, 2023, <https://sites.google.com/a/norcaluvsa.org/central/about-uvsa/norcal-history>.

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Many of the student associations served as support networks for the students and as a way to share Vietnamese culture and heritage. With the first wave of refugees arriving in 1975 following the fall of Saigon, some also mobilized to assist the new arrivals. The Vietnamese Student Association (VSA) at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) created a Refugee Aid Project in 1978 to assist refugees with the transition to life in the United States, which eventually became its own independent organization called the Vietnamese Refugee Aid Committee (VRAC).⁷¹³

As the refugees and their children started to attend higher education schools, these student associations grew, evolved, and served their school communities and nearby Vietnamese communities in different ways. They were ways for Vietnamese youths to become engaged and an avenue to develop leadership among subsequent generations of the Vietnamese American community.

Resettlement Agencies and Organizations

Those assisting the first wave of arrivals in 1975 with resettlement from the four military camps were existing organizations with long traditions of resettling immigrants in the United States.⁷¹⁴ Unlike some previous refugee groups, the United States had few residents of Vietnamese descent in 1975 who could mobilize to assist. Nine VOLAGs spearheaded the efforts to arrange sponsorship, one of the four ways in which the refugees could leave the military camps. Among these organizations were faith-based groups such as the United States Catholic Conferences (USCC), Church World Service (CWS), and the Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service (LIRS). Organizations previously formed to serve refugee populations from other parts of the world, such as the American Fund for Czechoslovak Refugees (AFCR), United Hebrew Immigration and Assistance (United HIAS), and Tolstoy Foundation, also mobilized to assist the Vietnamese refugee community, as did more general groups like the International Rescue Committee, the American Council for Nationalities Services (ACNS), and Travelers' Aid-International Social Services (TAISS).

The role of VOLAGs was to find organizations or individuals to serve as sponsors. Many turned to their own networks. Church World Services had several denominations in its network, include Episcopal and Baptist churches.⁷¹⁵ The United States Catholic Conferences, which resettled the largest number of Vietnamese refugees, presumably relied on local dioceses and their connections to local parishes, seminaries, and other organizations. For example, the Los Angeles archdiocese worked through parish committees, where the sponsors could be the parishes themselves, or individuals and families within the parish.

In Southern California, the most active religious-related agencies that were seeking sponsors in 1979, as the second wave started to arrive, included the Southeast Asian Resettlement and Support Service

⁷¹³ "History of VSU," Vietnamese Student Union UCLA, accessed August 22, 2023, <https://vsubruins.com/about>. The VRAC merged back with the UCLA VSA at some point and became the UCLA Vietnamese Student Union (VSU).

⁷¹⁴ Kelly, *From Vietnam to America*, 135.

⁷¹⁵ Dart, "Churches Among Most Reliable Refugee Sponsors."

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Catholic Welfare Bureau, Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Services, and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations.⁷¹⁶ Two additional active agencies were under the Southern California Council of Churches and the Church World Service network: St. Anselm of Canterbury Episcopal Church in Garden Grove, Orange County and Hawthorne United Methodist Church, in Hawthorne, a suburban city in Los Angeles County. These two churches established centers to support the resettlement efforts and continued to provide services to refugees.

St. Anselm of Canterbury Episcopal Church opened the St. Anselm's Immigrant and Refugee Community Center in 1976 at its church's campus at 13091 Galway Street (extant) in Garden Grove, Orange County.⁷¹⁷ The center initially received financial support from Church World Service. A stand-alone nonprofit was established in 1980, and the center continued to serve refugees from Vietnam and other Southeast Asian countries during the second and third wave. It had programs for seniors, including Vietnamese and other Asian immigrants.⁷¹⁸ It had an Amerasian program that was one of sixty programs established by the 1987 American Homecoming Act. The name changed to St. Anselm's Cross-Cultural Community Center in 1993 as its services expanded beyond refugee support.⁷¹⁹

Hawthorne United Methodist Church supported sixty-two persons in the first wave and founded the All Culture Friendship Center at its church site (4754 West 120th Street, Hawthorne, appears extant) as a support service for sponsors in the area.⁷²⁰ Among those who were first assisted were Vietnamese employees of Flying Tigers Airlines, an air cargo carrier, as church members were local employees of the airline. The center was initially a referral service, and developed programs in job placement, housing, English as a second language, and other services to assist refugees over time. By 1979, the center had helped more than 300 Vietnamese refugees and was also assisting recent refugees arriving from Laos.⁷²¹

In Santa Clara County, the Social Planning Committee of Santa Clara County was one of the first agencies to assist with resettlement, though it lost its federal contract in 1980.⁷²² The Indochinese Resettlement and Cultural Center (IRCC), initially affiliated with the Social Planning Committee, and later its own organization, also handled resettlement in the San Jose and Santa Clara County area. They were associated with the American Council for Nationality Services, a VOLAG based in New York. The San Jose center placed about 450 refugees in jobs in 1978, mainly in the electronics industry.⁷²³ Also

⁷¹⁶ "Refugee Agencies Seek Groups to Share Cost," *Los Angeles Times*, July 28, 1979.

⁷¹⁷ "Refugee Center Dedication Rites Scheduled for Today," *Los Angeles Times*, April 2, 1976.

⁷¹⁸ Penelope Moffet, "Popular Center for Vietnamese Elders Faces Financial Struggle to Stay Open," *Los Angeles Times*, August 5, 1985.

⁷¹⁹ "Guide to the Saint Anselm's Cross-Cultural Community Center Records MS.SEA.027," Online Archive of California, accessed August 22, 2023, https://oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/kt596nd342/entire_text/.

⁷²⁰ Dart, "Churches Among Most Reliable Refugee Sponsors."

⁷²¹ Leo C. Wolinsky, "Friendship Center Shows American Way to Refugees," *Los Angeles Times*, January 28, 1979.

⁷²² Katherine Ellison, "Refugee Bill Going to State," *San Jose Mercury News*, September 29, 1980.

⁷²³ D'Emilio, "Indochina Refugee Quota Rises."

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active in the Bay Area were the Catholic Resettlement Office, Lutheran Social Services, International Rescue Committee, and Church World Service.⁷²⁴

In San Diego, the Union of Pan Asian Communities (UPAC) first attempted to assist with resettlement of the first wave, as Camp Pendleton was nearby. Concerns that their involvement would encourage a high concentration of resettlement in San Diego, in contrast to the stated goals to disburse the refugee population nationwide, limited UPAC’s role in 1975, when they sponsored only a few families.⁷²⁵ UPAC formed just a few years prior in the emergence of the Asian American movement and brought together representatives of single-ethnic organizations representing San Diego’s Asian American communities to cooperate under one umbrella—Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Filipina/o, Samoan, and Guamanian (Chamorro).⁷²⁶ With the 1975 Vietnamese refugee crisis, UPAC mobilized to assist and include Vietnamese among its pan-Asian group. Instead of sponsoring refugees, it established the Vietnamese Information and Referral Center in 1975 to provide services to those who were resettled in San Diego. The center evolved into the Indochinese Service Center (ISC) that began to receive state and local county funding to support its programs of providing social services to refugees.⁷²⁷

With the passage of the 1980 Refugee Act, additional federal funding became available to assist the second wave of Vietnamese refugees with resettlement. The 1980 Refugee Act was enacted to provide transitional assistance to refugees in the United States, to make employment training and job placement available to achieve economic self-sufficiency as quickly as possible, to offer English language training, and to ensure cash assistance is made available “as to not discourage their economic self-sufficiency.”⁷²⁸ As part of the act, the Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR) was established and funded private and public organizations to provide the stated services to refugees—job training, job placement, physical and mental health programs, instruction on cultural adjustment, English as a second language, and assistance in opening small businesses.⁷²⁹ Resettlement agencies had twin goals of assisting their charges with achieving economic self-sufficiency and cultural adjustment.⁷³⁰

Organizations that applied for and received ORR funds included a network of government, religious, nonprofit, and for-profit agencies and organizations. Among these were the VOLAGs who assisted with the resettlement of the first wave, along with a few others such as UPAC.⁷³¹ Many new resettlement agencies also formed. The new agencies resettling Vietnamese refugees were decentralized, often

⁷²⁴ “How You Can Sponsor a Refugee Family,” *San Jose Mercury News*, August 12, 1979.

⁷²⁵ Vo, *Mobilizing an Asian American Community*, 44-45.

⁷²⁶ Vo, *Mobilizing an Asian American Community*, 38-39.

⁷²⁷ “Union of Pan Asian Communities (UPAC) Records,” San Diego State University Library, Special Collections & University Archives Finding Aid Database, accessed August 23, 2023, <https://archives.sdsu.edu/repositories/2/resources/21>; Vo, *Mobilizing an Asian American Community*, 46.

⁷²⁸ Gold, *Refugee Communities*, 144.

⁷²⁹ Freeman, *Changing Identities*, 57; Gold, *Refugee Communities*, 144.

⁷³⁰ Gold, *Refugee Communities*, 143.

⁷³¹ Gold, *Refugee Communities*, 144.

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overlapped, and generally provided short-term aid. They lacked the organizational structure or experienced staff of the more established VOLAGs and other organizations that had previously and privately assisted refugees from other parts of the world, such those from Cuba since the 1960s or Jewish immigrants from the Soviet Union. As a comparison, San Francisco had over forty agencies resettling the second wave of Vietnamese refugees in 1983, with another fifteen or more in surrounding counties, while three agencies in San Francisco and another three in Alameda County were providing services to Soviet Jewish refugees at the same time.⁷³² The multiple agencies resulted in more inefficiencies, confusion, and inter-agency competition.

The agencies assisting Vietnamese refugees employed some refugee staff members, especially those with college educations or multiple language skills such as Chinese-Vietnamese members conversant in English, Vietnamese, and Chinese (Cantonese or other dialects).⁷³³ For the most part, the resettlement agencies were among the first interactions the refugee population had with American society. Part of the agencies' mandate was to assist with cultural adaptation, though unlike earlier eras, the goal was not assimilation or erasure of the refugees' native culture.⁷³⁴

Funding for resettlement agencies fluctuated depending on federal and state policies. In addition, those they served no longer needed the same services once they became settled, found jobs and housing, and became integrated into local communities.⁷³⁵ By the 1990s, federal funds to support Indochinese refugees waned. Some resettlement agencies continued to operate and serve refugees arriving from other parts of the world, while others ceased operation.

Mutual Assistance Associations

As VOLAGs and the organizations associated with them were helping the new arrivals navigate life in the United States, the refugees themselves organized mutual assistance associations to support each other almost from the beginning. Professor Paul Rutledge defined MAAs as private, nonprofit organizations that were managed and operated by refugees themselves.⁷³⁶ Generally, they promoted mutual understanding between the Vietnamese refugee community and the host American society, assisted with securing employment, provided English language classes, offered tutoring in skills such as learning to drive a car, served as a clearing house for community news, and encouraged preservation of Vietnamese culture. They also assisted with family reunification and counseling services.

Many MAAs were formed in 1975 or not long after. Often, they used names with "Vietnamese" in the title, along with the location it served, such as the Vietnamese American Association of Santa Clara County.⁷³⁷ They were independent organizations locally, linked together nationwide in a loose

⁷³² Gold, *Refugee Communities*, 145.

⁷³³ Gold, *Refugee Communities*, 158.

⁷³⁴ Gold, *Refugee Communities*, 152-153.

⁷³⁵ Rutledge, *The Vietnamese Experience in America*, 55.

⁷³⁶ Rutledge, *The Vietnamese Experience in America*, 56-57.

⁷³⁷ Dennis Rockstroh, "Viet Refugees – 3 Years Later," *San Jose Mercury News*, January 30, 1978.

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network.⁷³⁸ Southeast Asian communities organized over 500 MAAs between 1975 and 1980. Such efforts earned the attention of ORR, which began to provide grants to MAAs in 1980. In 1982, ORR launched the MAA Incentive Grant Initiative to encourage funding to such organizations as part of the general refugee social services programs.⁷³⁹ One example of a MAA that received ORR grants was the Refugee Center in San Francisco.⁷⁴⁰ Started in 1975 by leaders in the Southeast Asian and Chinese communities, the Center for Southeast Asian Refugee Resettlement initially had funding by the Zellerbach Family Fund and the Van Loben Sels Charitable Foundation.⁷⁴¹ It worked closely with ORR early on, including providing technical assistance and microloan programs for small businesses.⁷⁴² The Center acquired its permanent location at 875 O'Farrell Street in San Francisco's Tenderloin neighborhood in 1985.⁷⁴³ The building not only housed the organization's offices and activities, it also provided space for new businesses by refugee entrepreneurs. By this time, the organization had expanded to serve other refugee communities beyond those from Southeast Asia. The organization later became the Southeast Asian Community Center.

Over time, as they became more established, MAAs also became politically engaged. They lobbied congressional representatives on behalf of refugee issues, formed political action and advocacy groups, and raised money to support political candidates.⁷⁴⁴ Those that were able shifted their focus and services over time as well to meet the needs of their constituents. The Vietnamese Federation of San Deigo (VFSD) is an example. Founded in 1984 as a mutual assistance association for refugees providing social services, the federation evolved into an umbrella organization representing a variety of organizations serving the Vietnamese America community in San Diego.⁷⁴⁵ Among its members are elders, veterans, student, religious, youth, and professional associations as well as individual representatives of the Vietnamese American community. It also caters to the cultural and social needs of its community. Annual programs include the Tet (New Year) festival, the mid-autumn moon festival, and commemoration of the fall of Saigon, along with community health fairs, voter registration, and community forums.⁷⁴⁶

Another MAA was the Vietnamese Community of Orange County (VNCOC) founded in 1978 and incorporated as a nonprofit organization in 1979. Started by Mai Cong and Luyen Quang Dang, the

⁷³⁸ Rutledge, *The Vietnamese Experience in America*, 56.

⁷³⁹ S. Forbes et al., "Assessment of the MAA Incentive Grant Initiative."

⁷⁴⁰ Gold, *Refugee Communities*, 153-155.

⁷⁴¹ "What Readers are Thinking," *San Francisco Examiner*, November 9, 1975.

⁷⁴² "About Us," Southeast Asian Community Center, accessed August 23, 2023, <http://www.seaccusa.org/about>.

⁷⁴³ Dwight Chapin, "Resettling Down," *San Francisco Examiner*, April 12, 1985.

⁷⁴⁴ Rutledge, *The Vietnamese Experience in America*, 56-57.

⁷⁴⁵ Vo, *Mobilizing an Asian American Community*, 47; "Mission Statement," Vietnamese Foundation of San Deigo, <http://vietfederationsd.org/Mission.htm>, accessed August 20, 2023.

⁷⁴⁶ "Annual Programs," Vietnamese Federation of San Diego, <http://vietfederationsd.org/Annual/index.htm>, accessed August 20, 2023.

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organization formed to help arriving refugee families.⁷⁴⁷ It operated by volunteer labor at the beginning, and continued to depend on volunteers even as it received funding and hired staff. By 1985, it had grown to seven paid staff, including an executive director (Tuong Duy Nguyen), three job counselors, an accountant, a secretary, and a part-time program aid. Mai Cong continued to be involved as chair of the fifteen-member board of directors. In 1986, the organization received a grant from the federal Office of Refugee Resettlement to train social service professionals on how to assist Orange County’s refugee population.

By the mid-1980s, the organization provided counseling for children and early adolescents, employment training and placement for adults, social services with volunteers and staff-run English language and vocational training. It also operated a senior center next to its main office that was located at 3701 W. McFadden Avenue (extant) in Santa Ana at a retail plaza near Harbor Boulevard.⁷⁴⁸ In 1989, VNCOC started construction on a new building for their senior center that would also house their offices.⁷⁴⁹ The Asian Senior Acculturation Center opened at 1618 W. 1st Street, Santa Ana (extant) in 1991.⁷⁵⁰ The two-story building had Asian architectural motifs, including a pagoda-style entrance. VNCOC later became Southland Integrated Services.⁷⁵¹

RELIGION AND SPIRITUALITY

Religion played a central role in the daily lives of AAPI in their homelands, and thus typically carried over, becoming the anchor of many AAPI communities in California. These practices were often at the nexus of tangible and intangible heritage, which affected the way in which religion manifested itself in the built environment of various AAPI communities. Though AAPI practiced a range of religions, there were general commonalities and trends across all groups. With the early AAPI communities, there was often a distinct period of transient movement where space for religious practice was makeshift or shared with others. It was usually not until they had decided to permanently settle in California and begin a new life that exclusive spaces and buildings for religious use were established. Religious institutions were located in and adjacent to the communities they served. They evolved into multi-faceted spaces that served more than just religious needs. Institutions fostered social networking, mutual aid, and political activism, or hosted other organizations. In this way, these spaces served as the center of AAPI communities. Temples and churches represented each AAPI group’s history and provided a place to observe heritage practices in the diaspora, keeping them connected to their home countries. Religion served as a way to unite AAPI communities, becoming a part of their new identity in California.

⁷⁴⁷ “In Honor of Mrs. Mai Cong,” Vietnamese Heritage Museum, accessed August 20, 2023, <https://vietnamesemuseum.org/details/in-honor-of-mrs-mai-cong/>.

⁷⁴⁸ Moffet, “Popular Center for Vietnamese Elders.”

⁷⁴⁹ Kimberly L. Jackson, “Ground to Be Broken for Asian Senior Center,” *Los Angeles Times*, February 14, 1989.

⁷⁵⁰ Lily Dizon, “Asian Seniors to Have Place of Their Own,” *Los Angeles Times*, February 13, 1991; “Santa Ana: Asian Senior Center Receives a Blessing,” *Los Angeles Times*, February 16, 1989.

⁷⁵¹ “Collaborative Agencies,” Multi-Ethnic Collaborative of Community Agencies, <https://www.ocmecca.org/collaborative-agencies/>, accessed August 20, 2023.

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Religious faiths practiced by AAPI often reflected a mix of traditional religions, as well as faiths, particularly Christianity, introduced through colonization efforts in their home countries along with missionary outreach operations once in California. The initial Chinese and Japanese immigrants generally practiced the traditional religions they brought with them. As they settled in the U.S., more became members of a Christian denomination due to missionary efforts to convert them. As the communities settled and matured, Christianity was more common and a way to be part of the American culture. In contrast, most of the first Korean, Filipina/o, and Samoan migrants were already Christians prior to migration, reflecting colonization and missionary efforts in their respective countries. South Asians who migrated before World War II generally only practiced their native faiths—Sikhism, Hinduism, and Islam. For Native Hawaiians and Chamorros, more research is needed to ascertain what religious practices they carried over with them and continued or adopted upon migrating.

Native Hawaiian

Research did not uncover any scholarship or information regarding the religious practices of Native Hawaiian migrants in California during the period of significance. In addition, no information was found regarding the formation of Hawaiian religious institutions or religious-based organizations. More scholarship and research would be needed regarding the topic of religion and spirituality in California Native Hawaiian communities.

Chinese American

Traditional Religions

The early Chinese immigrants brought their traditional religions with them to the United States. Taoism, Buddhism, and Confucianism were the primary religions in China. The practice in America tended to mix the three religions.⁷⁵² Taoism was the primary base, not centered on regular services or sermons. The practices of the faith could be performed individually or with a family unit—burning incense, silent prayers, and food offerings to various deities as well as rituals performed to remember and honor deceased relatives. Individuals may have had small personal shrines at home or at their place of business; it is likely that the earliest shrines were in boarding houses and commercial businesses owned by Chinese immigrants.⁷⁵³

As communities became established in the 1850s through 1880s, Chinese residents built or renovated spaces into Taoist temples with some Buddhist and Confucianist elements.⁷⁵⁴ Called “joss houses” at the time by the English-speaking population, many temples appeared as nondescript, vernacular commercial

⁷⁵² Confucianism did not worship Confucius, and was more akin to a philosophy or way of life based on the teachings of Confucius. Chuimei Ho and Bennet Bronson, *Three Chinese Temples in California: Weaverville, Oroville, Maryville* (Bainbridge Island, WA: Chinese in Northwest America Research Committee, 2016), 1.

⁷⁵³ National Register of Historic Places, *Asian Americans in Los Angeles*, E-17.

⁷⁵⁴ Ho and Bronson, *Three Chinese Temples in California*, 1-2.

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buildings on the exterior, sometimes with banners or signage to indicate their use.⁷⁵⁵ The interiors had elaborate decorations, in the form of deity statues, carvings, wall hangings, incense holders, bells, drums, or gongs, and other furnishings, that distinguished the buildings as places of worship. The temple interiors typically had at least one large, open main room for altars. Depending on the size and diversity of the community, there could be multiple small temples to individual deities or one large temple.

Though spiritual practices were individualized, the temples still served as gathering spaces and community centers. Major holidays, such as Lunar New Year or *Quin Ming* (Tomb Sweeping) Day, brought much of the community to the temples. Funerals and other ritual practices were held at temples. Charities and mutual aid organizations could be connected to temples with certain deities, as could business or social organizations. The *tongs* or *huigans* sometimes had their own places of worship in their buildings or oversaw affiliated temples. The services of a priest could be hired, though, “often community members served as deacons and caretakers of temples because ordained priests were not usually available.”⁷⁵⁶ For the most part, the religious and ritual practices tended to be flexible to adapt to the pioneering life in a different land.⁷⁵⁷

Many of the earliest mid to late nineteenth century temples around the mining, forestry, and agricultural labor centers were constructed of wood, and were often lost to fire, demolition, or abandonment as the Chinese population was driven out by anti-Chinese efforts, or moved as local economic circumstances changed. Among the surviving examples is the joss house in Mendocino, part of the National Register-listed historic district that oral histories date to 1854. The Oroville Chinese Temple, constructed of locally manufactured brick and built by local Chinese labor in 1863 with funds provided by the Chinese emperor, also survives.⁷⁵⁸ Few nineteenth-century Chinese temples remain; Weaverville Joss House (1874, California Historical Landmark 709, Weaverville Joss House State Historic Park) and the National Register-listed Bok Kai Temple in Marysville (1880, California Historical Landmark 889) are the best known.

After the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, the Chinese population stopped growing as quickly. Where new temples were built, they were either to replace earlier ones destroyed by fire or in urban areas to where the Chinese population increasingly migrated. The later temples tended toward more permanent construction materials reflecting changes in building techniques. The National Register-listed Taoist temple in Hanford, was constructed in 1893 to replace the temple that burned in the late 1880s. The exterior resembles other commercial buildings in Hanford’s China Alley, the area where Chinese residents re-settled and constructed new buildings in the 1890s after Chinatown burned. A few exterior

⁷⁵⁵ Shah, “Establishing Communities, 1848-1941,” 117. The term “joss house” supposedly derives from a Pidgin English pronunciation of the Portuguese *dios*, or god. It was not a term used by the Chinese, and is no longer used. See Ho and Bronson, *Three Chinese Temples in California*, viii.

⁷⁵⁶ Shah, “Establishing Communities, 1848-1941,” 117.

⁷⁵⁷ Ho and Bronson, *Three Chinese Temples in California*, 9-10.

⁷⁵⁸ National Register of Historic Places, Mendocino and Headlands Historic District, Mendocino, Mendocino County, California, National Register #71000165, 7-2, 8-2.

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decorative details indicated its use by the Chinese community. Temple space is one main room, with a secondary room at the rear, at the second floor of the building. Hanford’s temple is one of the few remaining physical remnants of early Chinese immigrants in the San Joaquin Valley. The temple was established by the Sam Yup Kung Saw, likely one of the Six Company *huigans* or benevolent associations.⁷⁵⁹

Other Chinese temples were known to be in Chico, Mendocino, Nevada City, Auburn, Napa, Merced, Fresno, Hanford, Pacific Grove, Bakersfield, and Santa Barbara, among others, though the status of each is not known.⁷⁶⁰ In urban centers like San Francisco, Sacramento, San Jose, and Los Angeles, multiple temples of different sizes likely existed, with each having different deities or operated by various entities. They can be in purpose built buildings, or be within multi-use buildings along with retail, lodging, and meeting spaces of fraternal or benevolent associations.

Christianity

Christianity also played a role in the spiritual life of the Chinese community. Protestant denominations, primarily Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist churches, served the Chinese, Japanese, and Korean communities as an outgrowth of the foreign missionary operations in these Asian countries. They created ethnically segregated missions, churches, schools, and orphanages serving these communities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁷⁶¹

Initial missionary efforts were aimed at the Chinese community, as the first large-scale Asian population in California. The Presbyterians and Methodists made the first efforts not long after Chinese immigrants arrived in San Francisco in the 1850s. Initiated by former missionaries, the outreach reflected the dominant viewpoint of the Chinese people as heathens, inferior, and morally suspect. Converting Chinese residents to Christianity was seen as a way to civilize and Americanize them.⁷⁶² The approach established by the Presbyterians, and followed by the other denominations, was to offer English, math, and other skills classes, along with Bible study, as a way to assimilate the immigrants into American culture. Because some of the preachers spoke Cantonese and were knowledgeable about China, they also served as translators and advocates for their Chinese charges, including denouncing anti-Chinese legislation and viewpoints of others in their church. The Presbyterian and Methodist missions in San Francisco also started efforts in the 1870s to help Chinese women escape from prostitution and slavery.

Only a few hundred Chinese immigrants attended the schools or converted to Christianity in the early years of these efforts.⁷⁶³ Those who did helped their churches spread the word and traveled to other Chinese communities across the state to establish Sunday schools and start missions. It appears that over

⁷⁵⁹ National Register of Historic Places, Taoist Temple, Hanford, Kings County, California, National Register #72000226, 6.

⁷⁶⁰ Ho and Bronson, *Three Chinese Temples in California*, xiv.

⁷⁶¹ Shah, “Establishing Communities, 1848-1941,” 117.

⁷⁶² Wesley S. Woo, “Presbyterian Mission: Christianizing and Civilizing the Chinese in Nineteenth Century California,” *American Presbyterians* 68, no.3 (Fall 1990):168. (167-178)

⁷⁶³ Otis Gibson, *The Chinese in America* (Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden, 1877), 198.

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time, more Chinese converted to Christianity, or the congregations grew with subsequent generations less tied to the religious practices of the home country and more open to the youth and social welfare programs offered by the churches. Many of the Chinese communities in the twentieth century boasted one or more Christian churches that were often led by the Chinese themselves serving as clergy or lay leaders.⁷⁶⁴ They increasingly functioned as social and community centers as their congregations grew.

Following are some denominational histories, focused primarily on their origins in San Francisco.

Chinese Presbyterian Church

The first outreach efforts were made by the Presbyterians and started almost as soon as the Chinese laborers arrived in San Francisco for the Gold Rush. In 1852, the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States extended its China work by establishing a mission to the Chinese in California.⁷⁶⁵ Reverend William Speer, who spent four years as a missionary in China and spoke the Cantonese dialect, arrived with his wife in San Francisco in 1853 and established a mission house and chapel. Speer visited among the Chinese, including the sick in hospitals, and began preaching services in Cantonese. The few Chinese immigrants who were already Christian converts joined Speer in establishing the Presbyterian Church in Chinatown in 1853. By 1854, a mission building was constructed at 911 Stockton Street at the corner of Stockton and Sacramento Streets (not extant).⁷⁶⁶ In support of his Chinese parishioners, Speer also tried to explain Chinese culture and civilization to Westerners and served as an advocate for them by appearing in court to speak on their behalf or serving as an interpreter.⁷⁶⁷

The church was not immediately successful. It was costly, had few converts, and many of the Chinese immigrants were transitory as they returned to China or moved elsewhere. The mission closed in 1857 when Speer moved. In 1859, another missionary, Augustus Loomis, arrived in San Francisco to re-establish the mission. It continued steadily for the next twenty years.

Though relatively few Chinese residents were converted, the Presbyterian Church in Chinatown remained stable. The Chinese members themselves eventually held leadership roles as missionary assistants, teachers, and colporteurs who distributed Bibles. They also visited Chinese communities throughout California to recruit converts and start missions. At least ten Presbyterian missions were established in places including Sacramento (1863), San Jose (1871), Los Angeles (1876), Santa Rosa (1878), Napa (1878), Santa Buenaventura (1882, later Ventura), San Rafael (1882), Anaheim (1883 or 1885), Santa Barbara (1886), San Diego (1889), and Stockton (1890).⁷⁶⁸ Most of these missions

⁷⁶⁴ National Register of Historic Places, *Asian Americans in Los Angeles*, E-18.

⁷⁶⁵ Woo, "Presbyterian Mission," 168-169.

⁷⁶⁶ Woo, "Presbyterian Mission," 169; Gibson, *The Chinese in America*, 161; "Guide to the Presbyterian Church in Chinatown, San Francisco, Historical Documentation Project Records, 1848-2004," Bancroft Library, Online Archives of California, accessed February 8, 2019, <https://oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/hb3j49n90k/>.

⁷⁶⁷ Woo, "Presbyterian Mission," 170.

⁷⁶⁸ Woo, "Presbyterian Mission," 174.

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operated as part of the local Presbyterian church, served by paid Chinese workers under the supervision of the pastor or church volunteers, and offered Sunday school or evening school. In addition to San Francisco, Los Angeles and Oakland also established full Chinese Presbyterian churches in the late nineteenth century.

The anti-Chinese sentiments of the 1870s and 1880s made it increasingly difficult to serve the Chinese in the San Francisco Bay Area. It was difficult to recruit volunteers or rent property, such as for the missions in Oakland and San Jose. When they could rent space, the missions were subject to vandalism, such as the one in Santa Rosa that was set ablaze.⁷⁶⁹ By the late 1880s, the Board of Foreign Missions stopped supporting many of the smaller missions in the state, though it continued to fund the Chinese church in San Francisco.⁷⁷⁰ In 1922, all the Chinese work was finally transferred to the newly established Board of National Missions.⁷⁷¹

Some of the work of the Christian missions included rescuing Chinese women in prostitution and slavery. Presbyterian women undertook such efforts in 1873, following the efforts started by the Methodists.⁷⁷² Five Presbyterian women organized the Presbyterian Women’s Occidental Board of Foreign Missions, and founded a mission home the following year at 920 Sacramento Street in San Francisco, around the corner from the Chinese Presbyterian Church.⁷⁷³ They accompanied police on raids of gambling dens and prostitution houses to find girls and women.

In 1903, when the Presbyterian Chinese Mission in California celebrated its fiftieth anniversary, the San Francisco church had 230 members.⁷⁷⁴ The 1906 earthquake destroyed the church at 911 Stockton Street and the mission home for women and girls at 920 Sacramento Street. For a while, the chapel in Oakland served as a refuge for the San Francisco members. A new church was built at 925 Stockton Street in 1908 (extant), as well as a new mission home at its old site on Sacramento Street (extant, San Francisco Landmark #44) with expanded facilities so it could also serve as the local Presbyterian headquarters.⁷⁷⁵ The Occidental Mission Home was renamed the Donaldina Cameron House in 1942 after one of its former leaders. Cameron also established the Ming Quong Home in Los Gatos to provide separate space for younger girls.⁷⁷⁶

⁷⁶⁹ Woo, “Presbyterian Mission,” 172.

⁷⁷⁰ Woo, “Presbyterian Mission,” 175-176.

⁷⁷¹ Woo, “Presbyterian Mission,” 177.

⁷⁷² Woo, “Presbyterian Mission,” 172.

⁷⁷³ “Lo Mo: The Beloved Mother of Chinatown,” Presbyterian Historical Society, published March 16, 2016, accessed February 8, 2019, <https://www.history.pcusa.org/blog/2016/03/lo-mo-beloved-mother-chinatown>.

⁷⁷⁴ Woo, “Presbyterian Mission,” 176.

⁷⁷⁵ Woo, “Presbyterian Mission,” 177.

⁷⁷⁶ “Lo Mo: The Beloved Mother of Chinatown.”

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Chinese Methodist Church

The Methodists also made early outreach efforts to the Chinese community. A school was started in 1865 at the Powell Street Methodist Church in San Francisco and three women of Sacramento’s Sixth Street Methodist Episcopal Church organized a Chinese Sunday school in 1866.⁷⁷⁷ It was Reverend Otis Gibson, a former missionary in China, who led the concerted effort to establish Methodist Chinese missions along the West Coast. He was appointed as the missionary to the Chinese of the Pacific Coast in 1868, and undertook a study of existing efforts. Finding the Presbyterian missions under Speer and the Sacramento Methodist school, he sought to organize similar schools along the Pacific Coast. Gibson established the first Methodist mission in San Francisco in 1868.⁷⁷⁸ By 1869, Methodist Sunday schools had been established in Sacramento, Stockton, San Jose, Santa Clara, Grass Valley, Marysville, and Santa Cruz as well. The schools were supported by churches of different denominations, where Methodists could preach.⁷⁷⁹

By 1871, the Methodist Mission House was built at 916 Washington Street (not extant) in San Francisco. There was a chapel at 620 Jackson Street (not extant).⁷⁸⁰ The third floor of the Methodist Mission House was designed as the Female Department, as Gibson recognized that rescuing Chinese women and girls from prostitution and slavery was something the mission should do. The Women’s Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church on the Pacific Coast was organized in 1871 in San Francisco.⁷⁸¹

The Methodist Mission House in San Francisco was destroyed in the 1906 earthquake. In 1911, the church was rebuilt nearby at 920 Washington Street (corner of Washington and Stockton Streets, extant). As with the rebuilding of San Francisco’s Chinatown, the church incorporated Chinese architectural elements, such as a pagoda-like top to the corner tower element. A prominent building, the church became a community gathering space housing a Boy Scout troop, the Flying Eagle Club, and Hip Wo Chinese School.⁷⁸²

Other Denominations

According to Gibson, Baptists and Congregationalists established Chinese missions around the same time as the Presbyterians and Methodists. As early as 1854, a Chinese Baptist mission was started in Sacramento by Reverend J. L. Shuck, who was the pastor of Sacramento’s Baptist church and had previously been a missionary in Guangdong (Canton). He built a chapel and organized a church of Chinese converts; the church ceased when he moved east. In 1870, another Baptist mission started at

⁷⁷⁷ “Gibson, Otis,” Methodist Mission Bicentennial, accessed February 18, 2019, <http://methodistmission200.org/gibson-otis/>; Gibson, *The Chinese in America*, 176.

⁷⁷⁸ “150th Anniversary,” Chinese United Methodist Church San Francisco, accessed February 18, 2019., <https://cumcsf.org/150th-anniversary/>

⁷⁷⁹ Gibson, *The Chinese in America*, 178.

⁷⁸⁰ Gibson, *The Chinese in America*, 183 and 196.

⁷⁸¹ Gibson, *The Chinese in America*, 203.

⁷⁸² “150th Anniversary,” Chinese United Methodist Church San Francisco.

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829 Washington Street in San Francisco. By 1877, it had 125 Chinese members and average attendance at its school was about 100.⁷⁸³

For the Congregationalists, the California Chinese Mission was an auxiliary to the American Missionary Association. Its central mission house was at 5 Brenham Place (not extant) in San Francisco. It had schools on Mission Street near 12th Street and in Bethany Chapel, Bartlett Street near 25th Street. There were also Congregationalists schools in Los Angeles, Oakland, Oroville, Sacramento, Santa Barbara, and Stockton by 1877, with more than 1,800 Chinese attending the schools in 1875.⁷⁸⁴

Japanese American

More than three-quarters of Japanese Americans were Buddhist prior to World War II. Although several Buddhist traditions were imported by Japanese immigrants to California, the *Jodo Shinshu* (Pure Land) or *Shin* sect, under the San Francisco-based leadership of Buddhist Churches of America (BCA) was by far the most dominant. Therefore, most *Nikkei* communities housed only one Buddhist temple, and the number of Buddhist churches was smaller than Japanese Christian churches of varying denominations. A typical pre-war California Japantown featured two or three Christian churches representing various denominations, with one Buddhist church under the BCA umbrella, as well as traditional religions such as Konko and Shinto. Some Japanese American churches used buildings erected by others, such as the 1886 Victorian mansion repurposed in the 1910s by the Alameda Buddhist Temple.⁷⁸⁵ In many cases, Japanese Americans erected purpose built churches, whether of modest wood frame such as the Tenrikyo Church in Guadalupe or the Presbyterian Church in Wintersburg, or grander edifices such as the Buddhist temples in Fresno, Los Angeles, Oakland, San Jose, and San Francisco.⁷⁸⁶

Congregations maneuvered around Alien Land Law restrictions by placing property title with a shell corporation or sympathetic whites.

Japanese American Buddhist Churches

The United States' major Japanese Buddhist institution grew from the Young Men's Buddhist Association formed in San Francisco in 1898. Officially titled the Buddhist Church of San Francisco in 1905, the church served San Francisco's Japantown first from a building at 1617 Gough Street, and since 1914 from its location at 1881 Pine Street. Also in 1914, San Francisco became the location of the headquarters for the Buddhist Mission of North America, which administered all *Jodo Shinshu* Buddhist churches and temples, the predominant form of Buddhism practiced by Japanese in the U.S. In 1935, the San Francisco Church and Buddhist Mission decided to construct a new temple with funds raised from

⁷⁸³ Gibson, *The Chinese in America*, 166.

⁷⁸⁴ Gibson, *The Chinese in America*, 170-172.

⁷⁸⁵ Buddhist Temple of Alameda, accessed March 18, 2019, <http://www.btoa.org/history.html>.

⁷⁸⁶ Information on *Nikkei* churches and temples is from Preserving California's Japantowns website, accessed March 15, 2019, <https://www.californiajapantowns.org/survey/index.php>; *The Eighty-fifth Anniversary of Protestant Work Among Japanese in North America, 1877-1962* (Los Angeles, 1964); *Buddhist Churches of America: A Legacy of the First 100 Years* (San Francisco: Buddhist Churches of America, 1998).

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districts outside of San Francisco, as well as local members. The San Francisco Japanese Carpenters Association carried out a design by local architect, Gentoko Shimamoto, which included a large dome, or stupa, holding relics of the Buddha gifted by the King of Siam. San Francisco’s Japantown also included the Konko-kyo Church founded in 1930, and smaller Buddhist sects such as Tenrikyo, Nichiren, and Soto Zen Buddhist churches. In 1934, the Soto Zen *sangha* (congregation) bought the former Ohabai Shalom temple at 1881 Bush Street when dwindling membership and the neighborhood’s changing demographics caused the Jewish congregation to leave. For over forty years, the building housed the Japanese Zen community and was the place where Shunryu Suzuki introduced Zen Buddhism to many non-*Nikkei* in the 1960s and 1970s.⁷⁸⁷

Historian Roger Daniels writes that “Buddhism was regarded as an enemy religion, and Buddhist priests and language teachers were well represented on the Department of Justice’s lists of persons to be interned at the onset” of World War II.⁷⁸⁸ Despite this, a 1963 map of Jyodo Shinshu Buddhist churches in California numbered several dozen from Marysville to San Diego with concentrations in the Bay Area, the Central Valley, and the Los Angeles area.⁷⁸⁹ The vitality of the post-WWII Japanese Buddhist church is illustrated in a 1998 account of BCA-affiliated churches that notes the creation of a new *sangha* in Mill Valley and new church buildings for pre-war congregations erected in Penryn, Sacramento, Stockton, Monterey, Salinas, Watsonville, San Mateo, Mountain View, Union City, Parlier, San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara, Anaheim, Vista, Los Angeles, West Los Angeles, Culver City, Pacoima, and Pasadena. The history of post-WWII Japanese American Buddhism has received very little attention, as has the study of religions among all Asian American Pacific Islander groups.⁷⁹⁰ Additional research on this topic will aid in identifying associated historic resources.

Japanese American Protestant Churches

The Protestant church movement among Japanese Americans began in 1877 when eight young men who had been baptized in San Francisco formed a *fukuin kai* (gospel circle). According to *The Eighty-fifth Anniversary of Protestant Work Among Japanese in North America*, “When Kanichi Miyami was baptized by Dr. Gibson in San Francisco in 1877, he became the first Japanese Christian in America.”⁷⁹¹ Services for Japanese immigrants were first conducted by Protestant ministers who led missions among newly arrived immigrants and helped lay the foundation for new *Nikkei* congregations. The American Missionary Association helped organize these efforts through their “California Oriental Mission,” which received contributions from over half of the member churches to work with Chinese and Japanese

⁷⁸⁷ Graves and Page & Turnbull, San Francisco Japantown Historic Context Statement, 36-37; San Francisco Japantown Task Force, Data Sheet: 1881 Post Street (Kokoro Assisted Living), (2004.); David Chadwick, *Crooked Cucumber: The Life and Zen Teachings of Shunryu Suzuki* (New York: Broadway Books, 1999), 258-259, 178-179; Ruth Hendricks Willard, et al. *Sacred Places of San Francisco* (Novato, CA: Presidio Press, 1985), 163-165.

⁷⁸⁸ Duncan Ryuku Williams and Tomoe Moriya eds., *Issei Buddhism in the Americas* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2010), vii-viii.

⁷⁸⁹ *Buddhist Churches of America*, 375-377.

⁷⁹⁰ Williams and Moriya, *Issei Buddhism in the Americas*, vii.

⁷⁹¹ *Eighty-fifth Anniversary of Protestant Work*, 51.

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immigrant communities.⁷⁹² Methodist and Presbyterian denominations were the most common among Japanese American Christians, and Congregational, Episcopal, Holiness, and other Protestant sects were represented in cities and towns across California.

San Francisco is notable for the variety of Japanese American religious institutions and as the place where major *Nikkei* spiritual traditions were first established in the continental U.S. San Francisco's Japantown included an unusual example of a Catholic *Nikkei* Church. St. Francis Xavier Mission, a Catholic order named for the first Jesuit missionary in Japan, was founded by *Nikkei* in a small Buchanan Street building in 1912. By 1939, the church had moved to its location at Octavia and Pine Streets, housed in a new edifice designed by architect H. A. Minton to reflect the church's Eastern and Western connections. Just down the hill, the church administered Morning Star School, opened in 1929. By 1941, the *Japanese American News* directory listed over forty churches and religious organizations, and seventeen schools and kindergartens in San Francisco, nearly all of them in the Western Addition's Japantown.⁷⁹³

By 1910, metropolitan Los Angeles held sixteen Japanese Christian churches and mission, and federations of Japanese Christian churches were founded in Northern and Southern California. These organizations grew from congregations that were often initially founded by white Protestant groups that hired Japanese ministers to evangelize among new immigrant communities in places such as Riverside where "a few Japanese had settled... for work picking oranges."⁷⁹⁴ As they evolved, the Japanese church federations sponsored annual summer schools, young people's Christian conferences, and general conferences at sites such as Terminal Island in Southern California and Gilroy Hot Springs in the north.⁷⁹⁵ Japanese Christian churches outnumbered Buddhist temples in most pre-war Japantowns for several reasons, most prominent being that non-Asian Christian missionaries eagerly proselytized to new immigrants from Japan and established missions in many *Nihonmachi* that developed into full-fledged churches. Various Christian sects each developed their own institutional bases and the buildings to house them.

After World War II, Japanese Americans revived their churches and continued their commitment to religious institutions that served the *Nikkei* community. A 1964 report on *The Eighty-fifth Anniversary of Protestant Work Among Japanese in North America* stated that Japanese American churches were reestablished "partly due to the security and social acceptance that the Japanese in America felt among their own as well as the unreadiness of the American Christians to receive them on a personal level."⁷⁹⁶ Of the ninety-nine Japanese American Protestant churches in the U.S. in the early 1960s, California held

⁷⁹² American Missionary Association, *The Sixty-Fourth Annual Report of the American Missionary Association* (Boston, 1910), 93, 100-101.

⁷⁹³ Japanese American News, *Directory* (San Francisco: Japanese American News, Inc., 1941), 2-3.

⁷⁹⁴ *Eighty-Fifth Anniversary of Protestant Work*, 36.

⁷⁹⁵ *Eighty-Fifth Anniversary of Protestant Work*, 9-10, 37.

⁷⁹⁶ *Eighty-Fifth Anniversary of Protestant Work*, 70.

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sixty-eight with over 10,000 members.⁷⁹⁷ A 1969 article in the *Pacific Citizen* described a research study conducted to understand future needs of “Japanese ethnic churches.” The study, sponsored by Claremont College School of Theology, concluded that *Nikkei* in the greater Los Angeles area wanted to maintain the ethnic and cultural focus on their churches. The researchers also noted that most congregants did not live near their home church and that new buildings were needed.⁷⁹⁸

Korean American

Koreans who immigrated to the United States in the early twentieth century were primarily Christians. American missionaries arrived shortly after diplomatic relationships were established between the U.S. and Korea in 1882. Korean Christians were familiar with the United States through these missionaries, and those who first arrived as laborers to Hawai‘i sugar plantations came through the connection with Presbyterian missionary, Dr. Horace Allen.⁷⁹⁹

In California, the main Protestant denominations for the early Korean immigrants were Presbyterian and Methodist. The typical pattern involved forming a mission when there were enough Korean parishioners to sustain regular services. Often former missionaries who had spent time in Korea or those who took an interest from the local or regional church assisted with establishing the mission. Mary Elizabeth Steward helped Koreans in Upland and Claremont establish the Claremont Korean Presbyterian Church; she also taught English and the Bible at the church.⁸⁰⁰ The pastors who led the local churches, either trained or lay ministers, were typically influential in the Korean community, though they moved frequently to other posts or back to Korea.

The first services were typically in available buildings that could be secured for mission use, such as residential buildings. As the mission grew, the congregation could apply for full church status. In some cases, they held services in existing churches of their dominations or shared church space with other faiths. Eventually, they constructed new church buildings or moved to larger spaces to accommodate growing memberships. As of 1920, fifteen Korean Presbyterian and Methodist churches were in California.⁸⁰¹ Other Christian denominations, such as Catholic and Baptists, also existed though fewer in number than Presbyterian and Methodist churches.

The churches were often the center of social and cultural life for the local Korean community. Not only did they offer Sunday services and Bible study, they also offered first English classes to Korean immigrants and later Korean language classes to the American-born children. The churches were meeting and gathering places, and hosted guest speakers, celebratory events, and holidays.

⁷⁹⁷ *Eighty-Fifth Anniversary of Protestant Work*, 82.

⁷⁹⁸ “Future of Japanese Ethnic Churches in L.A. Studied,” *Pacific Citizen*, September 26, 1969. P1.

⁷⁹⁹ Choy, *Koreans in America*, 92-94 and Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 190.

⁸⁰⁰ Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 191.

⁸⁰¹ Reverend George W. Hinman, “Report on Oriental Mission Work,” in *Oriental Mission Work on the Pacific Coast of the United States of America: Addresses and Findings of Conferences in Los Angeles and San Francisco, California, October 13, 14, 15, 1920* (New York: Home Missions Council and Council of Women for Home Missions, 1920), 6.

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The longevity of the churches depended on the local Korean community. In some rural areas, the church disappeared as the Korean population aged or moved away. In urban areas, particularly in Los Angeles, churches grew and adapted to serve the first immigrant generation, later second generation, and immigrants who arrived after the Korean War and after the 1965 change in immigration laws. The influx after 1965 diversified the Christian denominations beyond Presbyterian and Methodist. Other traditional religions, such as Buddhism, also started to appear more in the Korean communities.

Korean Methodist Church

In San Francisco, a group of Korean immigrants—including Ahn Chang-Ho, who started the Friendship Association in 1903—also started prayer meetings that evolved into the San Francisco Korean Methodist Church (SFKMC).⁸⁰² The first Korean Mission Home opened in 1905 at 521 Page Street as a mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church (North).⁸⁰³ In 1906, the San Francisco Korean Methodist Episcopal Church South was established with the help of Dr. C. F. Rei, who had spent time in Korea and China as a missionary. The Oriental Mission helped the church find a house at 2350 California Street (extant) to hold regular services. Services were held on the second floor, with a restaurant on the first floor and lodging for Korean immigrants on the third floor.⁸⁰⁴

The church moved several times in the years after the 1906 earthquake. In 1914, it moved to 1053 Oak Street (extant), owned by and shared with the Korean National Association (KNA). The Oak Street location functioned as a sanctuary, parsonage, and lodging for Korean immigrants.⁸⁰⁵

Joo-Sam Ryang served as the first preacher for the church from 1905 to 1909, and published a monthly magazine from the mission, the *Dae-Do*, with news from Korea and about Koreans in the United States. The second preacher was Peoung-Koo Yoon, who served in San Francisco from 1909 to 1911; he later led the church in Reedley from 1923 to 1925.⁸⁰⁶ The third preacher was David Lee (Lee Dae Wei), who served from 1911 to 1928. He graduated from UC Berkeley in 1913 and from the San Francisco Theological Seminary in 1918.⁸⁰⁷ He was later the president of the KNA, an important figure in the Korean independence efforts. He also invented a Korean language typewriter used in publications for the KNA.⁸⁰⁸

In 1927, the Mission Board approved funds for the construction of a new church. The church sanctuary was completed in 1930 at 1123 Powell Street (extant, National Register-listed) in Chinatown. Reverend

⁸⁰² Kim, Lee, and Byun, *Rainbow over the Pacific*, 455.

⁸⁰³ Baek Guel Sung, *A History of San Francisco Korean United Methodist Church* (Seoul, Korea: Handle Publishing House, 2003), 693.

⁸⁰⁴ Sung, *A History of San Francisco Korean United Methodist Church*, 694.

⁸⁰⁵ Sung, *A History of San Francisco Korean United Methodist Church*, 696.

⁸⁰⁶ Sung, *A History of San Francisco Korean United Methodist Church*, 695.

⁸⁰⁷ Sung, *A History of San Francisco Korean United Methodist Church*, 696.

⁸⁰⁸ Sung, *A History of San Francisco Korean United Methodist Church*, 695-6.

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William A. Davis, district superintendent of the Oriental Mission, was listed on the building permit while ownership was held by the Board of the Home Mission of the Methodist Church South in Nashville, Tennessee.⁸⁰⁹ In 1939, the SFKMC became part of the California Oriental Mission Conference, which also included the Chinese and Filipina/o churches.⁸¹⁰ Ownership of the church property was transferred from the Board of the Home Mission to the San Francisco Korean Methodist Church in 1960.⁸¹¹

In Los Angeles, missionary Florence Sherman founded the Korean Methodist Episcopal Mission at 1519 Hill Street (not extant) in 1904 upon her return to the city after missionary service in Korea.⁸¹² Led by Pastor Hugh Cynn, the mission provided the congregation of twenty-five, mostly students and laborers, with room and board, employment assistance, and English lessons, along with church services and Sunday school lessons. Cynn had known Florence Sherman and her husband in Korea, and their connection helped Cynn immigrate to Los Angeles, where he studied at the University of Southern California (USC) before he returned to Korea in 1911.⁸¹³

The mission closed by 1912 after financial woes and the loss of its leadership.⁸¹⁴ The Methodist and Presbyterian congregations essentially merged at that point as the Korean Presbyterian Church.⁸¹⁵ Disagreements between the Methodists and Presbyterians, fueled by tensions within the congregation along political lines, led to a splinter group known as the Korean Free Church in the 1920s. The Korean Free Church re-joined the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1930, and became the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.⁸¹⁶

The congregation rented church spaces at several locations throughout the 1930s and early 1940s. All were west of USC and in the general neighborhood around Jefferson Boulevard where the Korean community had moved. By 1940, the Korean Methodist Church, as it was known, was holding its services at the nearby Berean Seventh Day Adventist church at 1446 West 36th Place (extant), which catered to the African American community; the Seventh Day Adventists held their services on Saturdays, which allowed the Methodists to use the church on Sundays.⁸¹⁷ By this time, the church served a congregation of approximately 125 people.⁸¹⁸

⁸⁰⁹ Sung, *A History of San Francisco Korean United Methodist Church*, 697-698.

⁸¹⁰ Sung, *A History of San Francisco Korean United Methodist Church*, 698.

⁸¹¹ Sung, *A History of San Francisco Korean United Methodist Church*, 700.

⁸¹² Kim, *Los Angeles's Koreatown*, 15; David Yoo, *Contentious Spirits: Religion in Korean American History, 1903-1945* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010), Chapter 4.

⁸¹³ David Yoo and Hyung-ju Ahn, *Faithful Witness: A Centennial History of the Los Angeles Korean United Methodist Church (1904-2004)* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles Korean United Methodist Church, 2004), 37, 49.

⁸¹⁴ Yoo and Ahn, *Faithful Witness*, 49-51.

⁸¹⁵ Yoo and Ahn, *Faithful Witness*, 51.

⁸¹⁶ Yoo and Ahn, *Faithful Witness*, 62-69.

⁸¹⁷ Kim, *Los Angeles's Koreatown*, 42-43 and "Sunday Sermons," *Los Angeles Times*, October 26, 1940.

⁸¹⁸ Givens, "The Korean Community in Los Angeles County," 38-39.

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The Korean Methodist Church finally purchased a permanent home, the former Swedish Lutheran Church at 1276 West 29th Street at Orchard Street, in 1945 (extant, altered).⁸¹⁹ The permanent location marked an important milestone for the nomadic church and was a point of pride that reflected the congregation’s improved circumstances.⁸²⁰ After only fifteen years on Orchard Street, the congregation outgrew the space and constructed a church at 4394 Washington Boulevard at Virginia Road in 1960, where it shifted to cater more to the immigrants arriving after the Korean War.⁸²¹

Korean Presbyterian Church

With the Korean settlement at Riverside’s Pachappa camp starting in 1904, the Korean community established a mission at 1532 Pachappa Avenue in 1906; the property also served as a community center. Riverside’s Calvary Presbyterian Church assisted with establishing the mission. Calvary church members operated a night school teaching English to the fifty to sixty Korean members, many of whom converted previously to Christianity in Korea. Included among the members were women and children. The mission served the needs of the Korean community, hosting baptisms, weddings, and lectures.⁸²² It appears the Riverside Korean Mission ended in 1918, once the Pachappa camp’s Korean workers relocated elsewhere. Calvary Presbyterian Church no longer listed the Korean mission in its November 1918 bulletin. Although the Korean mission building is no longer extant, the Riverside Calvary Presbyterian Church kept records of the Korean members of the congregation.⁸²³

Also in 1906, a group established a Presbyterian mission in Los Angeles with the help of the Presbyterian Missionary Extension Board.⁸²⁴ By 1909, a Korean Mission, with W. Kondo Flower as superintendent, was listed in the Los Angeles city directory at the corner of Court and Bunker Hill Avenue (not extant) on Bunker Hill where the Music Center stands. In the 1910s, the Korean Presbyterian Church, relocated at 2 Olive Court on Bunker Hill, was the main congregation for Koreans in Los Angeles, with forty out of the hundred adult Korean residents of Los Angeles as members.⁸²⁵

Around 1930, the church moved from downtown Los Angeles to the area west of USC where the Korean community had migrated. Between 1932 and 1938, the Korean Presbyterian Church was listed in the city directory at 1545 West 35th Place, where they likely rented or shared the facilities with the Westminster Presbyterian Church, a long-standing African American church.

In 1937, the congregation secured a lot on Jefferson, immediately next door to the KNA headquarters under construction. The Korean Presbyterian Church constructed a permanent, brick church in 1938 at

⁸¹⁹ Yoo and Ahn, *Faithful Witness*, 112.

⁸²⁰ Yoo and Ahn, *Faithful Witness*, 132-33.

⁸²¹ Yoo and Ahn, *Faithful Witness*, 132-133; 138-139.

⁸²² Chang and Brown, “Pachappa Camp,” 50-51.

⁸²³ Dr. Edward Chang, email correspondence to the California Office of Historic Preservation, May 2, 2019.

⁸²⁴ Kim and Patterson, *The Koreans in America*, 10.

⁸²⁵ Yoo and Ahn, *Faithful Witness*, 63-64.

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1374 West Jefferson Boulevard, where it remains.⁸²⁶ The church building featured a larger auditorium where services were held, and a smaller auditorium, classrooms, offices, and choir rooms. Stained glass windows were installed, as was a full kitchen. With services provided in both Korean and English, the church also offered a Korean language school.⁸²⁷ The larger Korean United Presbyterian Church building was constructed next door to its 1938 brick church in 1983.⁸²⁸

In central California, there were enough Koreans to support a church in Dinuba by 1912. They petitioned the San Joaquin Presbyter to establish a Korean mission and raised funds to build a church. With help from the First Presbyterian Church of Dinuba, a two-room cottage was built at 204 N. O Street to serve as the first church (not extant). Outgrowing that space, the congregation raised funds to construct a new church building in 1915 at the same location (not extant). It was at the northwest corner of N. O Street and W. Fresno Street, south of the area marked as “Jap Town” on 1920s Sanborn maps. In 1917, a parsonage was added. The mission gained church status in 1920 and became the Dinuba Korean Presbyterian Church. It offered Sunday services, Bible studies, and a Korean language school.⁸²⁹

The Dinuba Korean Presbyterian Church was the center of social life for the Korean residents in Dinuba as well as the surrounding Central Valley communities.

[C]hurch-sponsored picnics drew at least 100 Koreans. Young people danced in the church’s social hall. The March 1st Independence Day celebration, the Korean Thanksgiving, “*Chu-seok*,” and Christmas parties took place in the church, as did weddings and funerals. Koreans also relied on the church for their children’s early socialization. American-born youngsters attended Sunday schools, and they were taught the Korean language at Korean Language School sponsored by the church.⁸³⁰

The church was also involved with the greater Dinuba community, and participated in local parades and other civic events. One of the most prominent pastors at the church was Reverend Sareum Lee, who was a supporter of Korean independence movement leader Syngman Rhee and headed the Korean Labor Socialist Progressive Party.⁸³¹ The Dinuba Korean Presbyterian Church remained at its location until 1958, when the church closed.⁸³² It appears the church has been demolished.

In Reedley, the first church services were Methodist, with a Methodist mission granted by the Southern Methodist Synod in 1922. The affiliation came to an end in 1936. The Reedley congregation then joined the Dinuba Korean Presbyterian Church. As Kim Brothers, Inc. gained greater success with their

⁸²⁶ Kim, *Los Angeles’s Koreatown*, 46.

⁸²⁷ Givens, “The Korean Community in Los Angeles County,” 38.

⁸²⁸ Kim, *Los Angeles’s Koreatown*, 46.

⁸²⁹ Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 42-43.

⁸³⁰ Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 64.

⁸³¹ Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 65.

⁸³² Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 43.

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patented nectarines and the company grew in the 1930s, it employed more workers, resulting in the increase of the Korean population to nearly fifty permanent residents. The Reedley congregation then sought to establish their own church. Kim Brothers, Inc. donated land for a church, and the members raised the funds to construct the building, completed in 1938 and dedicated in 1939. Located at 1408 J Street (extant) in Reedley, the church added a parsonage at the back in 1952. The church served Reedley’s Korean community until 1972 when it closed as the congregation dwindled.⁸³³

Filipina/o American

With the long history of Spanish colonialism in the Philippines, almost all early Filipina/o migrants were Christians and brought their faiths with them upon arrival to California. Most were Catholics, though there were some Protestants as well.⁸³⁴

As Filipina/os settled in California, they joined existing Catholic and Protestant congregations, with some eventually establishing their own churches. Regardless of the denomination, these religious spaces served as sites of social interaction and hosted certain events and gatherings. Filipina/o American churches also generally served as a hub for traditional heritage practices and shaped the collective Filipina/o American identity.⁸³⁵

Catholicism

Filipina/os had long been in contact through Western culture via the presence of the Roman Catholic Church during Spanish colonial rule. Catholicism was the main denomination practiced by Filipina/o migrants, who joined existing Catholic churches, especially in the San Francisco area.⁸³⁶ The Catholic churches had predominantly Irish and other European members during the early twentieth century. By the mid-twentieth century, they were joined by Mexican Americans and Filipina/o Americans. As a result, three Catholic churches had a significant Filipina/o American congregation by the 1930s, including Saint Joseph’s Church located at 1401 Howard Street, Saint Patrick’s Church at 756 Mission Street, and Saint Boniface Church at 133 Golden Gate Avenue. Among the three, Saint Joseph was the oldest church in the South of Market Street (SoMa) neighborhood with its history intertwined with the Filipina/o community.⁸³⁷ In Stockton’s Little Manila, Filipina/o Americans were part of the congregation at St. Mary’s Church on Washington Street.⁸³⁸

To practice their faith, Filipina/o Americans organized several religious-based groups during the 1930s in urban areas with significant Filipina/o concentrations. These groups included bible studies, prayer meetings, discussion groups, and included social and recreational activities. Several San Francisco

⁸³³ Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 84-85.

⁸³⁴ Joaquin Jay Gonzales III, *Filipino American Faith in Action: Immigration, Religion, and Civic Engagement* (New York: New York University Press), 41; Page & Turnbull, *San Francisco Filipino Heritage Addendum*, 47.

⁸³⁵ Page & Turnbull, *San Francisco Filipino Heritage Addendum*, 16; 47.

⁸³⁶ Ronald Takaki, *In the Heart of Filipino America* (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1994), 19.

⁸³⁷ Page & Turnbull, *San Francisco Filipino Heritage Addendum*, 4; 16; 53.

⁸³⁸ Mabalon, *Little Manila Is in the Heart*, 193.

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organizations were established in the SoMa neighborhood including the Filipino Christian Fellowship at 683 Hayes Street in 1931 and the Catholic Filipino Club in 1935 at 1421 Sutter Street.⁸³⁹ Filipina/o Americans in Los Angeles similarly founded religious organizations prior to developing their own churches or services. These organizations included the Christian Fellowship at 720 N. Kenmore Avenue (not extant) in 1928 and the Filipino Catholic Club in 1928 (original location unknown).⁸⁴⁰

In Los Angeles, it seems the Filipina/o religious organizations with large followings were reorganized into official churches once they had established a sizable population base. In Little Manila, the growing religious and spiritual needs of the Filipina/o American community led the Filipino Catholic Club, founded in 1928, to lease a building at 1035 S. Fedora Street by 1945 to hold Sunday masses.⁸⁴¹ As these religious spaces gradually gained a stronger Filipina/o American membership, the Catholic churches often evolved into multi-faceted spaces that went beyond a religious purpose. Filipina/o Americans began using these institutions as a space to socialize, organize, and connect with other members of their community. Fraternal groups and other social organizations began meeting at churches. In San Francisco, the social halls at both Saint Joseph and Saint Patrick were used to host a variety of social groups and hold cultural events.⁸⁴² Among the groups that met at these churches were the Pilipino American Collegiate Endeavor (PACE), which focused on educational opportunities for Filipina/os, and the Cebu Association of California. PACE periodically held youth arts programs at these churches and the Cebu Association of California hosted the annual Feast of Santo Nino de Cebu.⁸⁴³

As existing Filipina/o American concentrations were displaced due to urban renewal and redevelopment efforts throughout the state in the post-World War II years, those that moved to other neighborhoods often relocated their religious institutions to new buildings. In Los Angeles, redevelopment efforts in the downtown Los Angeles area during the 1950s resulted in the relocation of the Filipina/o American population to the Temple-Beverly neighborhood and their churches as well.⁸⁴⁴ St. Joseph’s Church in San Francisco, among the oldest churches utilized by Filipina/os, was closed in the 1990s following the 1989 earthquake, a significant loss for the Filipina/o community.⁸⁴⁵

⁸³⁹ “The Catholic Filipino Club at 1421 Sutter Street,” 1933, San Francisco Public Library Historical Photograph Collection, AAK-1094 as cited in Page & Turnbull, *San Francisco Filipino Heritage Addendum*, 10.

⁸⁴⁰ National Register of Historic Places, *Asian Americans in Los Angeles*, E-125.

⁸⁴¹ National Register of Historic Places, *Asian Americans in Los Angeles*, E-137.

⁸⁴² West Bay Pilipino Multi-Services Center, *SOMA Youth Feasibility Study Task One Report: Operational and Functional Elements*, (San Francisco, West Bay Pilipino Multi Services Center, April 2022), 11-12 as cited in Page & Turnbull, *San Francisco Filipino Heritage Addendum*, 22.

⁸⁴³ Rodolfo I. Necesito, *The Filipino Guide to San Francisco*, (San Francisco, Technomedia, 1977), 9 as cited in Page & Turnbull, *San Francisco Filipino Heritage Addendum*, 25.

⁸⁴⁴ Maram, *Creating Masculinity in Los Angeles’s Little Manila*, 166.

⁸⁴⁵ Page & Turnbull, *San Francisco Filipino Heritage Addendum*, 4; 53.

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Protestantism

Although a large fraction of Filipina/o Americans were Catholic, a number of Filipina/o Americans followed the Protestant faith instead. Many were recruited through missionary campaigns. It was not uncommon for those that practiced Catholicism to also attend and join Protestant churches in the U.S. This trend is best documented in Stockton and more research is needed to determine if a similar pattern occurred in urban areas with significant Filipina/o American settlement such as San Francisco, Los Angeles, and San Diego.⁸⁴⁶

Filipina/o Americans that became Protestant, as seen in Stockton, were converted through missionary efforts. It was not uncommon for other members of the family to retain their Catholic faith. A typical Filipina/o American family in Stockton often had both Catholic and Protestant family members who worshipped at two different central churches. In general, religion was viewed as a fluid concept in Stockton.⁸⁴⁷ Furthermore, though missionary efforts in California was the primary method by which Filipina/o Americans were exposed to the Protestant faith, Dawn Bohulano Mabalon states:

Filipinas/os were not victims of Protestant Americanization campaigns... Filipina/o American Protestant churches were spaces of spiritual sustenance from which Filipinas/os drew a wealth of emotional support, and sites within which they and religious leaders could organize other Filipinas/os to become politicized around issues of labor, unionization, and racial and social justice.⁸⁴⁸

Filipina/o Americans in Stockton were introduced to the Protestant faiths through both white and Filipina/o missionaries that worked for four primary Protestant institutions: The Lighthouse Mission, supported by Methodists and Presbyterians; the House of Friendship, supported by Methodists; the Filipino Christian Fellowship, supported by Presbyterians; and the Filipino Assemblies of the First Born, a Pentecostal evangelical congregation. These missionaries engaged with the Filipina/o American community through social and mutual aid avenues such as social welfare work, developing programs for families and children, food, clothing, and shelter.⁸⁴⁹ The Lighthouse Mission was the first to be established in 1920 at 111 East Lafayette Street.

These missions contributed to the fluidity in religious identity seen in Stockton with interdenominational religious services. These spaces became a resource for the Filipina/o American community as well, with food and shelter offered in the basement, as was the case with the Lighthouse Mission.⁸⁵⁰ With the development of Protestant churches and organizations in Stockton during the 1930s it became a common

⁸⁴⁶ Mabalon, *Little Manila Is in the Heart*, 193.
⁸⁴⁷ Mabalon, *Little Manila Is in the Heart*, 193-194.
⁸⁴⁸ Mabalon, *Little Manila Is in the Heart*, 193.
⁸⁴⁹ Mabalon, *Little Manila Is in the Heart*, 192-193; 196.
⁸⁵⁰ Mabalon, *Little Manila Is in the Heart*, 197.

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part of their daily lives to attend Sunday mass at the Catholic Church and then partake in religious services at a Protestant Church in Little Manila.⁸⁵¹

The Christian Fellowship in Los Angeles evolved into the Filipino Christian Church in 1933. Over the next two decades, the church was housed in several different places from Little Manila to Bunker Hill to Temple-Figueroa. They were frequently forced to move due to city redevelopment projects that affected various neighborhoods in and around downtown Los Angeles. By 1950, the Filipino Christian Church acquired their permanent home at the former Union Avenue M.E. church in the Temple-Beverly corridor (extant, National Register-listed). This drew in additional Filipina/o organizations to the area and led to the development of Historic Filipinotown.⁸⁵²

Chamorro

As with the Philippines, the history of Spanish colonialism in the Mariana Islands resulted in Catholicism as the dominant religion, though traditional and ancient religious practices remained. Following the shift to American rule in 1898, after the Spanish-American War, Protestantism was introduced to Guam.⁸⁵³

Research did not uncover any scholarship or information regarding the religious practices of Chamorro migrants in California during the period of significance. In addition, no information was found regarding the formation of Chamorro religious institutions or religious-based organizations. More scholarship and research is needed on the topic of religion and spirituality in Chamorro communities in California.

South Asian American

Sikhism

Before World War II, Punjabi Sikhs comprised the majority of South Asians in California. Founded in the Punjab during the fifteenth century, Sikhism is a monotheistic religion that stresses equality among all people. Teachings of the Sikh religion are compiled in the *Guru Granth Sahib*, the sacred scripture of the faith that is installed in all *gurdwaras* (Sikh houses of worship).⁸⁵⁴ The Gurdwara Sahib Stockton was the first *gurdwara* in the U.S., which helped make that city a hub for South Asian immigrants throughout California. Services for the Gurdwara Sahib Stockton began in 1912 at a small house (not extant) at 1930 Grant Street (later South Sikh Temple Street) and continued there until a Craftsman-style building (extant) was constructed in 1915 at the same property. According to the Pioneering Punjabis website, a digital archive created by the Punjabi American Heritage Society and University of California, Davis:

⁸⁵¹ Mabalon, *Little Manila Is in the Heart*, 192-193.

⁸⁵² National Register of Historic Places, Filipino Christian Church, Los Angeles, Los Angeles County, California, National Register # MP100003291, 12.

⁸⁵³ Tanya M. Champaco Mendiola, "Americans Bring Upheaval in Religious Practices," Guampedia, accessed April 15, 2019, <https://www.guampedia.com/americans-bring-upheaval-in-religious-practices/>.

⁸⁵⁴ Deeppeaka Dhaliwal, "Yuba-Sutter: A Case Study for Heritage Conservation in Punjabi-American Communities," (master's thesis, University of Southern California, 2018), 40.

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The two founders of the [Stockton] Gurdwara were Jawala Singh and Wasakha Singh. Known as the “Potato King” due to his success farming this crop, Jawala Singh served as the first *granthi* [priest] of the gurdwara, the first Vice President of the Gadar Party, and the president of a peasant union in the Punjab. Settling in the San Joaquin Valley, Jawala Singh and another Punjabi pioneer, Wasakha Singh, leased a 500-acre ranch in Holtville [*sic*] near Stockton. The Holtville farm included one room reserved for the *Sri Guru Granth Sahib* (Holy Book), and other Punjabi farmers would participate in prayers at this and other farms.⁸⁵⁵

These pioneers also founded the Pacific Coast Khalsa Diwan Society in Stockton in 1912 to promote the welfare and education of South Asian immigrants. The organization was a central force in construction of the Stockton temple, which featured a meeting hall, rooms for a resident *granthi*, a prayer hall, and a Langar Hall, a traditional communal kitchen open to all. The much smaller populations of Hindus and Muslims from India were welcomed at the Gurdwara Sahib Stockton, which hosted their leaders on speaking tours and communitywide celebrations such as Baisakhi (also spelled Vaisakhi), a traditional harvest festival for Sikhs and Hindus in Punjab. Baisakhi is also the commemoration of the creation of the Khalsa Panth, the first group of baptized Sikhs, in 1699 by Guru Gobind Singh, the tenth Sikh *Guru*.⁸⁵⁶ The many speakers who presented at the Gurdwara Sahib Stockton over the decades included the Hindu teacher of meditation and yoga, Swami Yogananda; the Indian independence activist and poet, Sarojini Naidu, who gave a lecture at the temple in September 1929; and Indian ambassador Madame Pandit who solicited funds to support the soon to be independent nation in 1946.⁸⁵⁷

In addition to worship and spiritual practice, the Gurdwara Sahib Stockton was a center for early organizing of the Ghadar Party in the U.S.⁸⁵⁸ Formed in 1913 in San Francisco as the Pacific Coast Hindustan Association, the Ghadar Party sought to overthrow British colonial rule in India. It became one of the main organizations in the South Asian diaspora community as it gained members and worked toward Indian independence. The Gurdwara Sahib Stockton also organized traditional annual gatherings, hosted lectures, and held political and social events. The temple raised support for immigrants detained at Angel Island and funds to pay for their medical treatment. A one-story annex at the Gurdwara Sahib Stockton served as a hostel for migrant laborers and those newly arrived to the U.S., some of whom had

⁸⁵⁵ “Stockton Gurdwara,” Pioneering Punjabis Digital Archive, UC Davis, accessed March 1, 2019, <http://pioneeringpunjabis.ucdavis.edu/contributions/religion/stockton-temple/>. According to historian Jane Singh, the town outside of Stockton was Holt, not Holtville. Jane Singh, email to Office of Historic Preservation, May 13, 2019.

⁸⁵⁶ Murali Balaji, “Model of Interfaith: The History of Stockton Gurdwara,” accessed September 26, 2018, <https://www.sikhnet.com/news/model-interfaith-history-stockton-gurdwara/>; “Vaisakhi and the Khalsa,” BBC, accessed December 7, 2018, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/religion/religions/sikhism/holydays/vaisakhi.shtml>.

⁸⁵⁷ Balaji, “Model of Interfaith: The History of Stockton Gurdwara;” “Handbill announcing Sarojini Naidu’s lecture at Stockton Sikh Temple,” accessed May 20, 2019, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Handbill_announcing_Sarojini_Naidu%27s_lecture_at_Stockton_Sikh_Temple.jpg; Leonard, *Making Ethnic Choices*, 167.

⁸⁵⁸ Seema Sohi, “Sites of ‘Sedition’, Sites of Liberation: Gurdwaras, the Ghadar Party, and Anticolonial Mobilization,” *Sikh Formations: Religion, Culture, Theory* 10, no.1 (2014): 5-22.

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arrived via the underground route that moved Sikhs from Mexico to Northern California when legal immigration ended in 1924.⁸⁵⁹ In 1929, a brick building was constructed on site to serve as the *gurdwara* and the 1915 wood-framed building continued to serve a variety of purposes throughout the years, including housing for migrant workers, interfaith building, multipurpose hall, and library/museum (1930 S. Grant Street, California Historical Landmark No. 1039).

The second *gurdwara* in California was not established until the 1940s in the Imperial Valley, which had been a center for Punjabi immigrants since the 1910s. Sikhs purchased a Japanese Buddhist temple in El Centro that had been left vacant after World War II-era forced relocation and incarceration, and converted it to a *gurdwara* in 1948 (453 W. Commercial Ave, extant). The opening of California’s third *gurdwara* in 1969 in the Yuba City area (2468 Tierra Buena Road, extant) marked an important milestone for South Asian history in California. The Gurdwara Sahib Yuba City reflected the continued growth of the Punjabi population in the area, which dates back to the early twentieth century, and the family base for the community that evolved from the early male-dominated immigrant pioneers. It also comes after immigration restrictions eased with the 1965 Immigration Act. Community members met on *Sangrand*, the first day of the month in the Sikh calendar, as a religious observance. This secondarily served as a way to gather funds to build the new temple.⁸⁶⁰ The temple complex has grown and evolved as a spiritual, cultural and social center since the first building was dedicated, expanding to include a wing with offices, living quarters, and classrooms for Punjabi language school; a large secondary meeting hall (Dashmesh Hall); a garden; and basketball courts.⁸⁶¹

Hinduism

Hindus and Muslims represented small fractions of Indian immigrants to California pre-World War II, and they did not appear to create their own houses of worship. Instead, they were integrated into the broader Sikh-majority South Asian community. “It is striking that almost all of the relationships developed across religious lines,” noted scholar Karen Leonard in her study of Punjabi immigrants in California. Leonard describes these “Punjabi pioneers” as being more firmly tied as “villagemates, shipmates, partners (in farming in the U.S.)... in-laws through their wives here, members of the Ghadar Party.”⁸⁶²

Hindu spirituality was introduced to the United States in the late nineteenth century by Swami Vivekananda, who brought Hinduism to a broad audience at the 1893 World Parliament of Religion held

⁸⁵⁹ Bruce LaBrack, *The Sikhs of Northern California, 1904-1975* (New York: AMS Press, 1988), 127, 133; Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 161; “Echoes of Freedom;” “Stockton Gurdwara.” Most accounts number these immigrants at approximately 3,000.

⁸⁶⁰ Dhaliwal, “Yuba-Sutter: A Case Study for Heritage Conservation in Punjabi-American Communities,” 58.

⁸⁶¹ Dhaliwal, “Yuba-Sutter: A Case Study for Heritage Conservation in Punjabi-American Communities,” 20-21, 51-55.

⁸⁶² Karen Leonard, “Pioneer Voices from California: Reflections on Race, Religion, and Ethnicity,” in N. Gerald Barrier and Verne Dusenbery eds., *The Sikh Diaspora: Migration and Experience Beyond Punjab* (Delhi: Manohar and South Asia Publications, 1989), 124.

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in Chicago.⁸⁶³ By 1900, he had founded Vedanta Society chapters in cities across the nation including San Francisco, where he had given public lectures at Golden Gate Hall (625 Sutter Street, not extant) and Washington Hall (320 Post Street, not extant), and across the Bay at Oakland’s Wendte Hall at the First Unitarian Church (698 14th Street, extant).⁸⁶⁴ The Vedanta Society did not draw adherents from among South Asian immigrants. It did attract many liberal (mostly white) Christians and unaffiliated religious seekers. Swami Vivekananda incorporated the practice of yoga into his teachings and “laid the groundwork for a much wider and more popular knowledge of yoga.”⁸⁶⁵

The Vedanta Society dedicated a new building at 2963 Webster Street in January 1906, the first Hindu temple in the U.S. The first floor held a chapel and auditorium, as well as the swami’s office; the second floor featured monastery rooms. Two years later, the building was expanded with an additional residential floor that featured elaborate towers and decorative elements.⁸⁶⁶ A second temple (2323 Vallejo Street, extant), dedicated in 1959, houses most of the monastic and religious activities while the original building accommodates a guesthouse and the Sunday school.⁸⁶⁷ Other Vedanta Society temples in California are located in Hollywood, Santa Barbara, Berkeley, and Sacramento.⁸⁶⁸ An 1877 house in South Pasadena where Swami Vivekananda stayed in 1900 is maintained as a historic site by the Vedanta Society of Southern California.⁸⁶⁹

Islam

By the mid-twentieth century, houses of worship reflected the differentiation and changing nature of South Asian populations in the state. Sacramento’s Muslim community had formed a Mosque Association in 1917 to provide a place of internment and assist with burial expenses. In 1947, they built a mosque at 411 V Street (extant) that became a center for Muslims in Northern California, and is reportedly the first Muslim mosque in the Western U.S. Over time the facility expanded with a minaret, and a separate Sunday school building.⁸⁷⁰ Attendance at the Sacramento mosque affected that of the

⁸⁶³ LaBrack, *The Sikhs of Northern California*, 58.

⁸⁶⁴ Arijit Sen, “Architecture and world-making: production of sacred space in San Francisco’s Vedanta temple,” *South Asian History and Culture* 2, no.1 (2010): 77; “The Swami Vivekananda,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 3, 1900, 14; “Lecture on Mind Culture,” *San Francisco Call*, March 16, 1900, 9; “The Swami Will Lecture in Oakland,” *San Francisco Call*, March 16, 1900, 11.

⁸⁶⁵ “The Vedanta Society.” The Pluralism Project: Harvard University, accessed December 26, 2018, <http://pluralism.org/religions/hinduism/hinduism-in-america/the-vedanta-society/>.

⁸⁶⁶ Sen, “Architecture and world-making,” 87-88.

⁸⁶⁷ Vedanta Society of Northern California, accessed December 26, 2018, <https://sfvedanta.org/the-society/new-temple/>; Sen, “Architecture and world-making,” 96-97.

⁸⁶⁸ “North American Centers,” Vedanta Society of Southern California, accessed December 26, 2018, <http://vedanta.org/north-america-centers/>.

⁸⁶⁹ “Vivekananda House,” Vedanta Society of Southern California, accessed December 26, 2018, <http://vedanta.org/vivekananda-house/>.

⁸⁷⁰ “Salim Khan (1923-2017),” *Sacramento Bee*, November 26, 2017, accessed May 20, 2019, <https://www.legacy.com/obituaries/sacbee/obituary.aspx?n=salim-khan&pid=187346845>.

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Gurdwara Sahib Stockton, which had drawn all members of the South Asian diaspora together for decades.⁸⁷¹

In the Imperial Valley, local Muslims created a Pakistan House in El Centro near the *gurdwara*. They then purchased a building to serve as an Islamic Center in 1952.⁸⁷² These institutions served as spiritual as well as community centers that welcomed and integrated new immigrants, who began to shift the cultural orientation of the temples and mosques and the communities they served.

Other Spiritual Faiths

Other Indian spiritual teachers who came to the U.S. in the early twentieth century were associated with the Theosophical Society. Founded in 1875 in New York City by advocates of the philosophy of Russian émigré Madame Blavatsky, the Society moved its international headquarters to Adyar India (outside Mumbai) shortly afterwards.⁸⁷³ Among the most famous early leaders of the Society was the philosopher, writer, and speaker Jidda Kirshnamutri (1895-1986) who broke with the Theosophical Society in 1929 and spent the following decades speaking and writing for an international audience. Beginning in 1922, Krishnamurti began his association with the Ojai Valley in Southern California. His early twentieth century ranch house there (1130 McAndrew Road, extant) became part of the Krishnamurti Foundation of America, a school and retreat center.⁸⁷⁴

Speakers also brought South Asian Buddhism to the U.S. lecture circuit. Sri Lankan scholar Angarika Dharmapala came to the Bay Area after participating in the 1893 World Congress of Religions. He gave lectures at San Francisco's Second Unitarian Church (3134 22nd Street, not extant), the city's Scottish Hall (111 Larkin Street, not extant) and Oakland First Unitarian Church.⁸⁷⁵ In 1911, the *San Francisco Call* reported that one hundred "Hindoo" students at UC Berkeley celebrated the 2,500th anniversary of the Buddha's teachings at the campus' Hearst Memorial Mining Building (extant).⁸⁷⁶

Samoan

During the early nineteenth century, the Samoan Islands were Christianized through European colonization. In American Samoa, religious life was not limited to one particular denomination. About three-fourths of the American Samoa population were members of the Congregational Christian Church

⁸⁷¹ LaBrack, *The Sikhs of Northern California*, 219-221; Leonard, *Making Ethnic Choices*, 168.

⁸⁷² Leonard, *Making Ethnic Choices*, 169, 278. According to Leonard, the activity level at the Center slowed down and the property was sold, with proceeds divided among other California mosques.

⁸⁷³ "Brief History of the Theosophical Society," Theosophical Society in America, accessed December 26, 2019, <https://www.theosophical.org/the-society/history-of-the-society>.

⁸⁷⁴ Ellen Sklarz, "Krishnamurti and the Ojai Valley," Ojai History, accessed December 26, 2018, <http://ojaihistory.com/krishnamurti-and-the-ojai-valley/>; "Pepper Tree Retreat," Krishnamurti Foundation of America, accessed December 26, 2018, <https://peppertreeretreat.com>.

⁸⁷⁵ "The Buddhist Delegate." *San Francisco Call*, October 8, 1893, 8.

⁸⁷⁶ "Hindoo Students Hold Buddhist Celebration," *San Francisco Call*, October 19, 1911, 4.

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of Samoa, created by teachers of the London Missionary Society (LMS). In the diaspora, Samoans tend to be devoted members of varied Christian denominations.⁸⁷⁷

In general, religious practice is a central part of the daily lives of Samoan migrant communities in California.⁸⁷⁸ Mormonism, Catholicism, Methodism, Seventh Day Adventism, and Pentecostalism are among the denominations followed by Samoan migrants. Regardless of the denomination, the Samoan Christian church has become the most prominent marker of Samoan communities, and serves as a social space as well.⁸⁷⁹ The Samoan church fostered solidarity among the Samoan community. As Joan Ablon stated, "...the churches quickly became the center of Samoan life... the perpetuators of *fa'a Samoa*."⁸⁸⁰ The Samoan church brought migrants together upon settling in California, in addition to helping them retain a connection with the churches in the homeland.⁸⁸¹

In particular, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, also known as the Mormon Church, has played a central role in the religious and spiritual life of the initial Samoan migrants in California.⁸⁸² Upon settlement in California before 1956, Samoans that were members of the Mormon Church joined existing churches attended by other Polynesians in California. After 1956, the Samoan Ward (the larger type of Mormon congregation) was formed in Southern California (no specific city or address listed). The establishment of the Samoan Ward in Southern California led to additional branches opening in other Samoan communities in California. In 1957, a Samoan Ward was created in San Francisco (address not listed).⁸⁸³

Shortly after, the First Samoan Congregational Church was founded in San Francisco by former members of the LMS, followed by the establishment of two additional Congregational churches in 1960 (address not listed).⁸⁸⁴ These initial Samoan Congregational churches often shared buildings with existing Anglo American Congregational, Lutheran, and Methodist churches while the congregations raised funds to purchase their own church buildings.⁸⁸⁵ Upon acquiring their own buildings, the churches evolved into multi-functional spaces for activities beyond religious services. Sunday schools and social activities were held at the Samoan churches.⁸⁸⁶

⁸⁷⁷ Stephen R. Koletty, "The Samoan Archipelago in Urban America," in Kate A. Berry and Martha L. Henderson, eds. *Geographical Identities of Ethnic America: Race, Space, and Place* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2002), 140.

⁸⁷⁸ Koletty, "The Samoan Archipelago in Urban America," 141.

⁸⁷⁹ Koletty, "The Samoan Archipelago in Urban America," 141; Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, "From Polynesia to California," 133.

⁸⁸⁰ Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, "From Polynesia to California," 148.

⁸⁸¹ Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, "From Polynesia to California," 148.

⁸⁸² Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, "From Polynesia to California," 133.

⁸⁸³ Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, "From Polynesia to California," 133.

⁸⁸⁴ Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, "From Polynesia to California," 141, 148.

⁸⁸⁵ Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, "From Polynesia to California," 141.

⁸⁸⁶ Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, "From Polynesia to California," 149.

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It was not uncommon for divisions to occur in these churches based on religious affiliation, which led to the formation of separate churches. In San Francisco, the Church of Christ in Samoa and the Congregational Church of Jesus Christ in Samoa formed after members resisted affiliation with the United Churches of Christ in California and wanted the more traditional services of the LMS.⁸⁸⁷

Samoan Methodists, Seventh Day Adventists, and Catholics were fewer in number in comparison to members of the Mormon Church and Congregationalist congregations. Samoan Methodists tended to share facilities with *papalagi* (Anglo American) churches, and operated their own separate services. Like the Mormons, Samoan Methodists tended to retain ties with the Methodist churches in the Samoan Islands. Samoan Seventh Day Adventists also ran separate services in existing churches. Those that were Catholic were dispersed through different parish churches, and were often brought together with other Samoan Catholics through Samoan choirs.⁸⁸⁸

By 1973, several Samoan churches were noted throughout Southern California in areas with concentrations of Samoan settlement including Los Angeles, Compton, Santa Ana, Torrance, Long Beach, Vista, San Diego, and National City.⁸⁸⁹ Multiple Samoan churches were seen in Samoan communities throughout California. By 1973, the Samoan community in Los Angeles County had two Mormon churches, six Congregational (LMS) churches, six Methodist churches, and two Seventh Day Adventist churches. Pacific City in Huntington Beach had about 5,000 Samoan migrants and a proliferation of churches as well, with one Mormon Church, four Congregational churches, three Methodist churches, and one Seventh Day Adventist church.⁸⁹⁰

Vietnamese American

In the early 1970s, Buddhism and Catholicism were the two largest religions in Vietnam, estimated to make up approximately sixty percent and eight percent of the population, respectively.⁸⁹¹ The majority of those who arrived in the United States from Vietnam between 1975 and 1995 came from these two faiths. The diaspora also brought members of other religious groups. Two smaller religions with large followings in Vietnam, Cao Dai and Hoa Hao, emerged in the twentieth century.⁸⁹² Indigenous folk religions, most practicing forms of spiritism, were also present. Christian denominations in addition to Catholicism, as well as other religions, were also practiced by Vietnamese Americans who settled in California, in part through relationships with organizations that assisted with refugee resettlement.

Culturally, Vietnamese spiritual life is also shaped by Confucianism and Taoism, systems of social ethics rather than practiced religions. They are exercised through personal behavior rather than

⁸⁸⁷ Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, "From Polynesia to California," 149.

⁸⁸⁸ Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, "From Polynesia to California," 149.

⁸⁸⁹ Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, "From Polynesia to California," 141, 148.

⁸⁹⁰ Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, "From Polynesia to California," 153.

⁸⁹¹ "Vietnam: Major World Religions (1900-2050) (World Religion Database, 2020)," The Association of Religion Data Archives (ARDA), accessed October 3, 2023, <https://www.thearda.com/world-religion/national-profiles?u=239c>.

⁸⁹² Do, *The Vietnamese Americans*, 6.

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ceremony, appropriate conduct in daily life, and worship and veneration of ancestors.⁸⁹³ Practiced individually and privately through altars to family ancestors at homes and businesses, public places of worship for Confucianism or Taoism are not common.⁸⁹⁴ Scholars refer to the mix of Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism as the Three Religion System (*Tam Giao*). The Three Religion System infuses Vietnamese customs, manners, and social structure with a shared code of ethical values and behavioral norms. These blend the concepts of Buddhist reincarnation, Confucian principles for the orderly activity of family and government, and Taoist metaphysical harmony. The system encourages respect for life, tolerance of other viewpoints, and harmonious living. While individuals may belong to and practice one of the major religions, the attitudes, customs, and guidelines of *Tam Giao* dominate the society regardless of the practiced faith.⁸⁹⁵

With few pre-existing Vietnamese congregations to join when the first arrivals came in 1975 after the fall of Saigon, many worshipped and continued their traditions at home-based shrines and altars. Within several years, practitioners of Buddhism, Cao Dai, and Hoa Hao converted houses, garages, storefronts, or empty buildings into spaces for gathering, worship, and assistance to fellow refugees. As concentrations of Vietnamese American communities grew with the subsequent arrival of additional refugees in the late 1970s through the 1980s, temples with traditional architecture and iconography were built or remodeled into from existing buildings. Stores and shopping malls incorporated altars for prayer and statues of deities, renewing the traditional overlay of spiritual and religious life on the public sphere.

Vietnamese Roman Catholics priests and worshipers, who already shared aspects of that Western and Christian faith, joined local parishes, some of which were part of the Catholic network that sponsored and supported refugee resettlement. Many parishes with larger Vietnamese members subsequently evolved to meet specific ethnic needs, such as Vietnamese language services. Over time, Vietnamese-specific Catholic groups became more independent, and some became distinct parishes.

Vietnamese Buddhism

Buddhism was introduced to Vietnam from China as early as the first or second century CE and from India as early as the second or third century CE. In Vietnam, the Chinese Mahayana tradition, emphasizing the enlightenment and salvation of all sentient beings, came to dominate over the Indian Theravada tradition, which emphasized a personal quest for enlightenment. Theravada Buddhism is practiced in some of the southern Mekong Delta regions.⁸⁹⁶

In Vietnam, Buddhism was an organized religion with national oversight, temples, and a clergy of monks and nuns. Temples offered daily services at dawn, noon, and dusk that could include daily

⁸⁹³ Louis Jacques Dorais, "Faith Hope and Identity: Religion and the Vietnamese Refugees," *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 26, no. 2 (2007): 59-60; Rutledge, *The Vietnamese Experience*, 48-49; Do, *The Vietnamese Americans*, 6-8.

⁸⁹⁴ Dorais, "Faith Hope and Identity," 58.

⁸⁹⁵ Rutledge, *The Vietnamese Experience in America*, 47; Gold, *Refugee Communities*, 52-54.

⁸⁹⁶ Rutledge, *The Vietnamese Experience*, 47-48; Do, *The Vietnamese Americans*, 7.

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readings and walking meditation. Services of confession and repentance were provided on the full moon and new moon in each month. Temples also provided death rituals and funerals and were the centers for observation of larger holidays such as *Vesak* commemorating Buddha’s life and enlightenment; *Uposatha*, during which practitioners could renew their commitment to Buddha’s teachings following each quarter of the moon; and lunar new year Tet festivities.⁸⁹⁷ Attendance at services is voluntary. Buddhism does not aspire to develop congregations nor are practitioners required to come to temples for service or prayers.

Vietnamese Buddhism was first introduced to the United States by two monks in the 1960s, prior to the first wave of Vietnamese refugees in 1975. Thich Nhat Hanh brought mindfulness meditation of the Vietnamese Zen tradition in 1961 when he arrived as a Fulbright fellow to study Comparative Religion at Princeton Theological Seminary and to teach Buddhism as a lecturer at Columbia and Cornell University. Thich Thien An introduced Mahayana inward Buddhist meditation, also part of the Zen tradition, when he came to the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) as a visiting languages and philosophy professor in 1966.⁸⁹⁸ He founded the International Buddhist Meditation Center in Los Angeles in 1970 in an existing house at 928 South New Hampshire Avenue (extant).⁸⁹⁹ In 1973, he purchased another house two doors away and founded the College of Oriental Studies (920 South New Hampshire Avenue, extant) to offer Western-style seminary training to Buddhist monastics from around the world.⁹⁰⁰

The mass migration from Vietnam beginning in 1975 and continuing into the 1980s and 1990s brought the range of other Mahayana and Theravada Buddhist practices, including Samatha, Vipassana, and Vietnamese meditation; Pure Land, Yogacara, and Esoteric practices; as well as ritual and folk traditions.⁹⁰¹ Initially, Thien An opened the International Buddhist Meditation Center to arriving refugees in 1975, housing as many as possible and networking to place others. He advised the U.S. government on the Southeast Asian resettlement program and the Meditation Center provided Buddhist chaplains for the refugee resettlement camps across the country. In 1976, Thien An established the first Vietnamese Buddhist Temple in the U.S., Chau Vietnam (Vietnam Temple) at 857-871 South Berendo Street, Los Angeles (extant) in an existing apartment building, about a block away from the Meditation Center.⁹⁰²

⁸⁹⁷ Dorais, “Faith Hope and Identity,” 59-60.

⁸⁹⁸ Quang Minh Thich, “Vietnamese Buddhism in America,” (PhD diss., Florida State University, 2007), 3.

⁸⁹⁹ Thich, “Vietnamese Buddhism in America,” 202. Address confirmed in *Los Angeles Street Address Telephone Directory July 1973*.

⁹⁰⁰ Thich, “Vietnamese Buddhism in America,” 202, 236. The address was confirmed based on the photograph included in the Thich dissertation. The College of Oriental Studies closed in 1980 and reorganized as the College of Buddhist Studies-Los Angeles. “History on the Evolution of the College,” Buddha Dharma University, accessed October 3, 2023, <https://buddhadharmauniversity.org/our-founders/>.

⁹⁰¹ Thich, “Vietnamese Buddhism in America,” 3.

⁹⁰² Kathleen Hendrix, “Vietnam Buddhists Dedicate L.A. Temple,” *Los Angeles Times*, January 13, 1976; Thich, “Vietnamese Buddhism in America,” 201-206.

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As the new arrivals settled, they established various new Buddhist groups and organizations in the 1970s and 1980s. With few financial resources and existing Buddhist organizations to assist, many repurposed existing buildings for religious uses. By 1983, at least five homes had been converted to use by Buddhists groups in Orange County, with only one that had the appearance of a temple, the Truc Lam Yen Tu Temple.⁹⁰³ The property at 1924 W. Second Street in Santa Ana was purchased in 1978, the house remodeled, and an entry gate typical of Vietnamese Buddhist temples (extant) was constructed. Over time and with more resources, existing and new groups often modified the buildings’ appearance with religious decorative schemes or purchased properties on which to construct a purpose-built facility.

The diverse sects, local traditions, and teachers within Vietnamese Buddhism tended to build individual temples and monasteries to serve their members, resulting in a wide range of religious facilities in areas with growing Vietnamese populations. Monastic Buddhists established centers to provide monastic training and provide guidance to laity; Buddhist laity formed community-based centers and affiliated with other centers or monasteries for mutual support and shared leadership. These centers tended to serve social and cultural as well as religious purposes. An example is an offshoot of Thien An’s College of Oriental Studies. The International Buddhist Monastic Institute was founded originally at the 920 South New Hampshire Avenue, Los Angeles and relocated to a house in 1982 at 9250 Columbus Avenue in the North Hills neighborhood of the City of Los Angeles in the San Fernando Valley, after a dispute by Thien An’s successors. The Institute purchased adjacent properties in the 1980s and 1990s, and substantially renovated the buildings in the late 1990s (extant).⁹⁰⁴

Nationwide, by 1980, approximately twenty Vietnamese Buddhist centers existed in the U.S. That number increased to around 100 in 1990 and as many as 270 in 2000. More than eighty of those centers were in California in 2000.⁹⁰⁵ The *1990 Vietnamese Business Directory* for Los Angeles and Orange Counties included thirty-nine Buddhist locations.⁹⁰⁶

The first Vietnamese Buddhist temple in Northern California emerged out of a brief partnership with the Japanese Mountain View Buddhist Temple (575 Stierlin Road, Mountain View, extant). The Mountain View temple hosted the first Vietnamese Buddhist religious service in Santa Clara County on January 18, 1976, and continued to share its facility with the growing community for several years. Leading the Vietnamese community was Thich Thanh Cat, one of Vietnamese Buddhism’s highest-ranking leaders. A monk since age 11, he had been responsible for all North Vietnamese Buddhists living in South Vietnam before he came to the U.S. in 1975 to perform a funeral for a Buddhist professor who had been

⁹⁰³ David Holley, “Vietnamese Buddhists Struggle to Sink Roots in New Land,” *Los Angeles Times*, September 4, 1983.

⁹⁰⁴ Thich, “Vietnamese Buddhism in America,” 236-237; 252-255.

⁹⁰⁵ “Vietnamese Buddhists Come to the United States – Timeline Event,” The Association of Religion Data Archives (ARDA), accessed October 3, 2023, <https://www.thearda.com/us-religion/history/timelines/entry?eid=357%7C1>; Thich, “Vietnamese Buddhism in America,” 224-226.

⁹⁰⁶ Gold, *Refugee Communities*, 200.

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teaching at Sanford University.⁹⁰⁷ With the fall of Saigon in 1975, and at the behest of the local Buddhists, Thanh Cat remained in the United States. In 1976, he purchased land at 763 Donohoe Street in East Palo Alto where volunteers began building a small independent temple using donations and profits from his acupuncture clinic. The existing house on the site (likely not extant) was immediately used as a gathering place for worship and celebration and noted as the first Vietnamese Buddhist temple in Northern California. In 1984, the congregation began construction on the Giac Minh Buddhist Temple building (extant), which opened by 1990.⁹⁰⁸

The Duc Vien Buddhist Temple (also known as the Temple of Perfect Virtue) in San Jose was the first Vietnamese nunnery in the U.S, founded in 1983 by the nun Dam Luu (also known as Thich Nu Dam Luu). Thich Thanh Cat of the Giac Minh Buddhist Temple was her sponsor from a refugee camp in Malaysia to the United States in 1979. In 1980, she purchased a house at 2003 Evelyn Avenue in San Jose (extant), in which she established Duc Vien Buddhist Temple. Dam Luu acquired the two parcels comprising the temple’s property at 2420 McLaughlin Avenue in San Jose in 1985 and 1986. The design for the temple began in 1991 and the center opened in 1995 (extant). Thirty percent of the \$400,000 construction cost came from a decade-long recycling drive that saw Dam Luu, her nuns, and Buddhist families including children collecting newspapers, cardboard, and bottles from dumpsters citywide to raise funds. Later construction efforts added a nuns’ quarters, guest building, kitchen, and dining hall.⁹⁰⁹

Vietnamese Catholicism

Roman Catholicism entered Vietnamese society in the early sixteenth century, first through contact with Portuguese sailors and then through missionary outreach. By 1615, Dominican, Franciscan, and Jesuit missionaries were present in the country. Over the next 250 years, factions within the ruling Vietnamese dynasties variously supported, tolerated, and reviled the faith in proportion to their acceptance of European influence. Ongoing political divisions fueled persecutions of the growing number of converts and Catholic leaders, including imprisonment, exile, and execution. In 1833, Vietnamese emperor Minh Mang outlawed Catholicism, leading to a violent escalation of oppression.⁹¹⁰

The French conquest of Vietnam in the second half of the nineteenth century quelled these persecutions and provided protection for the region’s Catholics. This further limited contact between Catholicism and other faiths, setting up communities in which whole villages tended to be Catholic, Buddhist, or later Caodaist. Catholicism in Vietnam developed its own cultural characteristics apart from European religious strands, infused with the social values of Buddhism, Taoism, and Confucianism and with native folk traditions. The long history of persecution elevated those who had died for the faith into

⁹⁰⁷ David Hoye, “Buddhists Celebrate, Remember,” *The Peninsula Times Tribune*, August 24, 1986.

⁹⁰⁸ Hoye, “Buddhists Celebrate, Remember;” Arthur Hodges, “Temple in East Palo Alto a Labor of Faith,” *The Peninsula Times Tribunes*, April 25, 1988.

⁹⁰⁹ Thich, “Vietnamese Buddhism in America,” 271-275; Jim Dickey, “A Special Buddhist Temple: A Spiritual Haven on a Busy S.J. Street.”

⁹¹⁰ Carl L. Bankston, III, “Vietnamese-American Catholicism: Transplanted and Flourishing,” *U.S. Catholic Historian* 18, No. 1 (Winter 2000): 37-39.

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revered martyrs, who were collectively canonized as the Vietnamese Martyrs in 1988. A reported apparition of the Virgin Mary to Catholics taking refuge from oppression in the rainforest at La Vang near Hue in 1798 inspired a Vietnamese-specific devotion to Our Lady of La Vang. Vietnamese Catholicism incorporates many aspects of the society’s Buddhist culture including the use of incense and chanted prayer and the celebration of the lunar new year, Tet, and shrines and alters to the Vietnamese Martyrs and Our Lady of La Vang are common.⁹¹¹

Inevitably, the heritage of Catholic association with the French aligned them with a foreign power, an identity that put Catholics at odds with both nationalist and communist forces in the twentieth century. In 1954, as Vietnam split into a communist north and republic south at the conclusion of the First Indochina War, approximately one million northerners fled to the south, with as many as seventy-five percent of that number being Catholic. Through the next two decades, Catholics overwhelmingly supported the South Vietnamese government because of its opposition to communism and, in turn, received government endorsement. At the fall of Saigon in 1975, up to fifty percent of the first wave of refugees fleeing to the United States professed Catholicism; approximately 200 Catholic priests and 250 nuns were part of this group.⁹¹² The United States Catholic Conference, one of the volunteer agencies or VOLAGs charged with refugee resettlement, assisted around fifty percent of the 130,000 first wave arrivals in settling into the United States, further bolstering a cultural connection to the faith.⁹¹³ Subsequent waves continued to feature large numbers of Catholics. By 2000, about thirty percent of the Vietnamese American population in the United States identified as Catholic.⁹¹⁴

Once in the United States, Vietnamese Catholic refugees merged into an established Catholic Church structure accustomed to accommodating immigrant groups and a shared worship tradition. Initially, under national and regional Church direction, existing English-speaking congregations near refugee populations added Vietnamese-language worship and social programs. Parishes, such as Saint Mary Magdalen Catholic Church in Camarillo (25 North Las Posas Road, extant), Saint Joseph Cathedral in San Diego (1535 Third Avenue, extant), and Saint Francis de Sales Church in Riverside (4268 Lime Street, extant) were typical of many statewide where Vietnamese masses were added to the regular schedule and supplemented with language classes, social gatherings, and celebrations for events such as the feast of the Vietnamese Martyrs and Tet.⁹¹⁵ Such parishes may be multi-ethnic and similarly serve more than one ethnic group.⁹¹⁶

⁹¹¹ Bankston, “Vietnamese-American Catholicism,” 38-40.

⁹¹² Bankston, “Vietnamese-American Catholicism,” 40-43. Other sources listed the percentage of Catholics among the first wave at over forty percent. Kelly, *From Vietnam to America*, 47.

⁹¹³ Freeman, *Changing Identities*, 46.

⁹¹⁴ Peter C. Phan, “Vietnamese Catholics in the United States: Christian Identity Between the Old and the New,” *U.S. Catholic Historian* 18, No. 1 (Winter 2000): 20.

⁹¹⁵ “What’s Happening: Sunday,” *Camarillo Star*, September 3, 1976; “Vietnamese Mass,” *Victorville Daily Press*, August 26, 1977; “Bulletin Board: New Year Events,” *San Bernardino County Sun*, January 24, 1979.

⁹¹⁶ Bankston, “Vietnamese-American Catholicism,” 43-44.

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In Orange County, with the largest Vietnamese population through initial resettlement and secondary migration, nine Catholic churches offered Vietnamese-language masses by 1983. The most well attended was Saint Barbara’s Catholic Church in Santa Ana (730 South Euclid Street, extant) where its Saturday evening mass was noted as “the biggest regular event in Orange County’s 50,000-strong Vietnamese refugee community.”⁹¹⁷

Within the Catholic Church organization, dioceses are the governing body for a wide geographic region with several parishes within each diocese. Parishes authorized by the diocese are typically geographically defined and known as territorial parishes. Parishioners usually live in the neighborhoods around the parish. Parishes are likely to have physical facilities like a church, for which the congregation is responsible, though ownership and other support may come through the regional diocese. Canon law allows for the creation of personal parishes, which are not geographically bound, when worshippers have special requirements dictated by rite, language, or nationality.⁹¹⁸

In some communities, the Vietnamese Catholic congregations grew to have sufficient members and financial resources to become more independent. This may take the form of acquiring dedicated spaces for the congregation to gather and worship, becoming a personal parish, or both.⁹¹⁹ By 1985, fourteen Vietnamese parishes, likely mostly personal parishes, were in the United States.⁹²⁰ Research has not uncovered the number of Vietnamese personal parishes or territorial parishes in California.

In Sacramento, a refugee priest, Reverend Nguyen Van Vi, began to offer Vietnamese masses at cooperating parishes in 1976.⁹²¹ With initially forty to fifty people regularly attending mass, the numbers grew to about a hundred people by 1979, when the reverend received permission from the local diocese to hold services at larger nearby churches.⁹²² In 1984, under his leadership, the Sacramento Vietnamese Catholic community and an American benefactor purchased and converted a modest ranch home at 10371 Jackson Road in Sacramento County to use as their place of worship. The group became known as the Congregation of Vietnamese Martyrs soon after. One year later, the church was staffed by the first Vietnamese priest to be ordained in the Sacramento diocese.⁹²³ By 1986, the community had built a small church on the site (appears extant), which, by 1988, served a membership of 2,000.⁹²⁴ In 1998, the congregation purchased a parcel at 8181 Florin Road, just outside the City of Sacramento, and used the two existing houses at the ten-acre site and the Jackson Road property while planning for a new

⁹¹⁷ David Holley, “Vietnamese Catholics Flock to Churches,” *Los Angeles Times*, July 18, 1983.

⁹¹⁸ Bankston, “Vietnamese-American Catholicism,” 43-44.

⁹¹⁹ Bankston, “Vietnamese-American Catholicism,” 43-44.

⁹²⁰ Joanne Grant, “Mission Accomplished: Vietnamese Roman Catholics Get Own Home,” *San Jose Mercury News*, November 9, 1985.

⁹²¹ Mark Larson, “Vietnamese Call Church Another Home,” *Sacramento Bee*, July 12, 1984.

⁹²² “History of the Establishment of Our Parish,” Vietnamese Martyrs Parish Sacramento (translated), accessed October 3, 2023, <https://cttd.org/history#>.

⁹²³ Diane E. Richards, “From Fall of Saigon to the Priesthood,” *Sacramento Bee*, October 10, 1985.

⁹²⁴ Sue Mote, “Bishop in Reeboks Stays Close to Flock,” *Escondido Times-Advocate*, December 30, 1988.

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church building that was completed in 2009 (extant). At the time of the new church’s dedication, the bishop of the Diocese of Sacramento conveyed personal parish status and it became the Vietnamese Martyrs Parish.⁹²⁵

Some of the Vietnamese Catholic communities faced a more challenging path to independence, and with complicated internal divisions. In San Jose, the Saint Maria Goretti parish (2980 Senter Road, San Jose, extant) initially served the Vietnamese Catholic as well as the local Latino, Filipina/o, and white Catholic communities.⁹²⁶ The Vietnamese Catholic community acquired a property at 685 Singleton Road (extant) in San Jose in 1982 with the financial assistance of the Diocese of San Jose.⁹²⁷ It served as the Vietnamese Pastoral Center, which also provided religious instruction. When the congregation requested official status as a personal parish, the Diocese instead conveyed the quasi-parish status of mission to the center. It was dedicated as the Vietnamese Catholic Mission of Our Lady, Queen of Martyrs in 1985 and mass was held at the facility.⁹²⁸ The continued refusal of San Jose’s bishop to elevate the Mission to personal parish status, citing concerns about its financial capabilities among other reasons, resulted in several years of escalating conflict between a dissident group of Vietnamese Catholics and the Diocese. The conflicts involved property take overs, protests, police altercations, evictions, excommunications, denial of the sacraments, and a 100-person Vietnamese delegation that traveled to Rome to plead the community’s case.⁹²⁹ In a 1988 court settlement, the dissident group agreed to purchase the Singleton Road facility and convert it to a cultural center unaffiliated with the Diocese.⁹³⁰ Services provided there were with priests from outside the Diocese of San Jose.⁹³¹

Five years later, in 1993, the bishop designated Saint Patrick Parish at Eighth and East Santa Clara Streets (not extant) in downtown San Jose as the new administrative and pastoral center of Our Lady, Queen of Martyrs Vietnamese Mission. Saint Patrick’s also continued to serve English- and Spanish-speaking parishioners in its surrounding community.⁹³² For Vietnamese Catholics who were not part of the dissident group, Vietnamese-language services were available at the Mission and various parishes within the diocese.⁹³³

⁹²⁵ “History of the Establishment of Our Parish,” Vietnamese Martyrs Parish Sacramento.

⁹²⁶ Bankston, “Vietnamese-American Catholicism,” 44.

⁹²⁷ Tracey Kaplan, “Dispute Among Catholics Carries a Vietnamese Flavor in San Jose,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 22, 1986.

⁹²⁸ Grant, “Mission Accomplished: Vietnamese Roman Catholics Get Own Home.”

⁹²⁹ Steve Wilstein, “San Jose’s Vietnamese Catholics Seek Truce in Feud with Bishop,” *San Francisco Examiner*, December 25, 1986; “Rift Widens Between Church, Vietnamese,” *Simi Valley Star*, March 18, 1987; “Vietnamese Group to Ask Pope to End Problem in Parish,” *Ventura County Star*, Jun 19, 1988.

⁹³⁰ “Vietnamese Settle Suit Against Diocese,” *Peninsula Times Tribune* (Palo Alto, CA), August 3, 1988.

⁹³¹ De Tran, “Détente in the Diocese: Vietnamese Catholics Struggling to Reconcile,” *San Jose Mercury News*, July 19, 1997.

⁹³² Richard Scheinin and Ken McLaughlin, “Vietnamese Catholics Closer to a Real Parish,” *San Jose Mercury News*, November 28, 1993.

⁹³³ Tran, “Détente in the Diocese.”

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In 1997, the dissident group closed the Singleton Road location, and their members returned to the Diocese of San Jose parishes.⁹³⁴ Many of its members attended nearby Saint Maria Goretti church, which had continued to serve Vietnamese parishioners who remained with the parish throughout the dispute. The dissident group donated the Singleton Road location to Saint Maria Goretti parish in 2002.⁹³⁵

With the reconciliation, and a change in the diocese’s leadership, the Diocese of San Jose finally established a Vietnamese personal parish in 1999. Its home was at Saint Patrick’s, which remained a territorial parish for the Spanish and English-speaking communities around it.⁹³⁶ The Saint Patrick church building was destroyed by fire in 2012 and a new church for the Vietnamese parish, renamed Our Lady of La Vang, opened on its site at 389 East Santa Clara Street in 2023.⁹³⁷

In addition to parishes and their churches, the Vietnamese Catholic community also established various organizations and centers. Nationally, these included the Vietnamese Catholic Federation in the United States of America, and the Vietnamese Pastoral Center, the Community of Vietnamese Clergy and Religious in the United States.⁹³⁸ Locally, pastoral centers, lay Vietnamese Catholic Councils, and others supported the communities.

In 1984, Orange County’s Vietnamese Catholic community purchased a four-building complex (not extant) at 1538 North Century Boulevard in Santa Ana to serve as a central facility and home for the Vietnamese Catholic Center. The facility provided living quarters for three priests, classrooms, meeting rooms, a library, a chapel, and a social center for senior citizens.⁹³⁹ Over the next decade, the Vietnamese community raised funds and developed the Center, in conjunction with the Diocese of Orange, to add a large auditorium and conference rooms, a library and office, and a 200-seat chapel. The new facilities (extant), replacing the previous buildings, were designed in a traditional Vietnamese architectural style, with the upgraded facility opening in 1996.⁹⁴⁰

⁹³⁴ Tran, “Détente in the Diocese.”

⁹³⁵ Richard Scheinin, “Three Cultures Define Community,” *San Jose Mercury News*, June 10, 2002.

⁹³⁶ Ken McLaughlin, “Veit Catholics Get Own Parish after 13 Years, S.J. Diocese Selects St. Patrick’s,” *San Jose Mercury News*, April 22, 1999; “40 Years of History,” Diocese of San Jose, accessed October 9, 2023, <https://www.dsj.org/40th-anniversary/40-years-of-history/>. The parish was known by this time as Saint Patrick Proto-Cathedral Parish.

⁹³⁷ Dustin Dorsey, “San Jose Vietnamese Catholic Church Burned Down in 2021 Finally Set to Reopen,” ABC7 News, May 12, 2023, accessed October 3, 2023, <https://abc7news.com/our-lady-la-vang-san-jose-vietnamese-catholic-church-saint-patricks-cathedral-sj-mothers-day-service/13239776/>.

⁹³⁸ Phan, “Vietnamese Catholics,” 21; Bankston, “Vietnamese-American Catholicism,” 42-43.

⁹³⁹ Julie Stutts, “Orange County Religion Notes,” *Los Angeles Times*, June 9, 1984.

⁹⁴⁰ “\$5-Million Vietnamese Catholic Center Opens,” *Los Angeles Times*, September 17, 1996.

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Cao Dai

Caodaism emerged in Vietnam in the 1920s. Also known as The Great Way of the Third Universal Salvation, it was founded by Ngo Van Chieu, a civil servant in the French administration and, after 1930, became the third largest religion in Vietnam after Buddhism and Catholicism.⁹⁴¹

Caodaism synthesizes the symbols, beliefs, and practices of religions prevalent in Vietnam in the early twentieth century including Buddhism (reincarnation), Taoism (Yin-Yang), and Confucianism (ethics and duties), along with aspects of spiritism and animism. The monotheistic faith aspires to unite world religions through the common vision of an individual creator. The translation of Cao Dai means “the high place where the one God Duc Cao Dai reigns. This spiritual presence is symbolized by the iconography of the Divine Eye, an eye framed within rays of light. Caodaism is structured by a Catholic-like hierarchy and priesthood and honors a five-level pantheon of prophets and messengers or Divine Beings. These include Buddha and others who have achieved Buddhahood; Great Immortals including Confucious, poet Li Po, and the Mother Goddess; Saints including William Shakespeare, Victor Hugo, Muhammad, Moses, Joan of Arc, Louis Pasteur, Sun Yat-sen, Vladimir Lenin, and the prophet Trang Trinh; Venerated Sprits including ancestors and those who gave their lives for the country; and Humanity.

The religion’s main temple, at Tay Ninh northwest of Ho Chi Minh City (Saigon), was built between 1933 and 1955. Its design, which combines the nave and apse of a Catholic cathedral with the nine ascending towers of Buddhist pagodas, is the model for new Caodaist temples. Most congregations outside of Vietnam worship in modest settings such as converted homes, garages, or former churches. The tri-color flag of Caodaism and priestly robes combine the saffron yellow of Buddhism, the turquoise of Taoism, and the red of Confucianism. The religion offers an array of daily, monthly, and annual ceremonies that require regular attendance. There are four daily ceremonies, monthly ceremonies at noon and midnight on the first and fifteenth day of the lunar month, and thirty-one ceremonies throughout the year honoring the Divine Beings.⁹⁴²

Caodaism was staunchly nationalist and anti-communist. The religion maintained its own army from 1945 to 1975, fighting first against the French, the Communists, and eventually against the corruption in the South Vietnamese government. As many as 20,000 Caodaists fought with United States and South Vietnamese forces in the Second Indochina War before being absorbed into the South Vietnamese

⁹⁴¹ Information on Caodaism except where noted, relies on the following sources: Kit Gillet, “Where the Faithful Worship Among the Tourists,” *New York Times*, May 1, 2012; “Set with Eclectic Theology Clings to Life in Vietnam,” *Los Angeles Times*, June 16, 1990; Patricia Ward Biederman, “Cao Dai Fuses Great Faiths of the World,” *Los Angeles Times*, January 7, 2006; Do, *The Vietnamese Americans*, 9; Janet Alison Hoskins, “A Spirit Medium as Architect: Caodaism’s Visual Theology,” in *The Spirit of Things: Materiality in the Age of Religious Diversity in Southeast Asia*, ed. Julius Bautista (Ithaca: Cornell University Southeast Asian Publications, 2012), 43-60.

⁹⁴² “Rituals,” Center for the Study of the Cao Dai Religion, accessed September 25, 2023, <https://www.caodaicenter.org/rituals>.

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military.⁹⁴³ Caodaism was banned by the incoming Communist government in 1975 and reinstated in 1997.⁹⁴⁴

Caodaists among in the early waves of Vietnamese migration between 1975 and 1995 established initial congregations in Los Angeles, Orange, and Riverside Counties (locations unknown).⁹⁴⁵ In 1997, it was estimated that about four million Cao Dai practitioners existed in Vietnam with approximately 1,500 residing in California.⁹⁴⁶ In 2000, Garden Grove approved construction of the state's first Cao Dai church (8791 Orangewood Avenue, extant) in an otherwise residential neighborhood. The proposed design resembled the Cao Dai headquarters in Tay Ninh province in a French-colonial style with a red tile roof and columns wrapped by dragons.⁹⁴⁷

Hoa Hao

Hoa Hao emerged in Vietnam in 1939. It was founded by Huynh Phu So, a peasant with healing and mystical powers from the village of Hoa Hao in the Mekong Delta. The tradition derives from the Indian practice of Theravada Buddhism, a branch followed by a minority of Vietnamese in a country dominated by the Chinese-derived Mahayana Buddhism.⁹⁴⁸ Hoa Hao, meaning humanity and harmony in Vietnamese, is the fourth largest religion in Vietnam, practiced primarily in the southern Mekong Delta.⁹⁴⁹

Hoa Hao eschews temples, formal rituals and liturgy, clergy, and religious icons. Instead, it emphasizes a highly disciplined regimen of personal prayer and meditation; virtue in daily conduct; adherence to the Buddhist tenets of nonviolence, moderation, and vegetarianism; and belief in reincarnation and the worship of ancestors and national heroes. Members worship at home at a simple altar without statues or depictions, decorated with only offerings of flowers, incense, and water. Followers worship Buddha two times each day, in the morning and evening. On the first and fifteenth of each lunar month and on Buddha's birthday, practitioners may go to simple "preaching halls" to listen to sermons and to pray with restraint, the worship unadorned by imagery, bells, or gongs. In Vietnam, entire villages practiced

⁹⁴³ H. G. Reza, "Losing Faith," *Los Angeles Times*, September 7, 1997.

⁹⁴⁴ "Cao Dai FAQ: Brief Outline of History and Philosophy of Caodaism," The Sacerdotal Council of Caodaism, last modified August 21, 2012, accessed September 26, 2023, <https://caodai.com.vn/en/news-detail/brief-outline-of-history-and-philosophy-of-caodaism-1.html>.

⁹⁴⁵ "God's Left Eye Closes in Vietnam and Re-opens in California," Southeast Asia: Text, Ritual, and Performance, University of California Riverside, accessed September 21, 2003, <https://seatrip.ucr.edu/gods-left-eye-closes-in-vietnam-and-re-opens-in-california/>.

⁹⁴⁶ Reza, "Losing Faith."

⁹⁴⁷ Mai Tran, "Garden Grove Oks Cao Dai Church," *Los Angeles Times*, June 16, 2000.

⁹⁴⁸ Information on Hoa Hao relies on the following sources: Rutledge, *The Vietnamese Experience*, 50; Paul Rutledge, *The Role of Religion in Ethnic Self-Identity: A Vietnamese Community* (Lanham, MD University Press of America, 1985), 39, 41; Do, *The Vietnamese Americans*, 9; Reza, "Losing Faith,"; Elaine Gale, "Buddhists to Honor Hoa Hao Founder," *Los Angeles Times*, April 1, 2000; Thuy Vo Dang, et al., *Vietnamese in Orange County*, 90.

⁹⁴⁹ "Huntington Beach: Vietnamese Buddhists to Mark Anniversary," *Los Angeles Times*, June 9, 1987.

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the faith, their households identified by altars in the front yard, a tradition that, in the United States, places the altar in the backyard.

Cao Dai and Hoa Hao were political and military allies from 1945 to 1975, united in fighting against the Japanese, French, communists, and the corrupt South Vietnamese government. The Hoa Hao army of approximately 12,000 men was absorbed into the South Vietnamese military as the war progressed.⁹⁵⁰

The Hoa Hao Buddhist Church in America was headquartered in Santa Fe Springs as early as 1987 (address unknown).⁹⁵¹ By 1997, a Hoa Hao meeting hall (2113 W. McFadden Avenue, Santa Ana, extant), a tract home converted to a community building, served all Hoa Hao Buddhists in Southern California.⁹⁵² Occasional newspaper articles between 1987 and 2000 reported on gatherings elsewhere to mark anniversaries of the religion’s founding or founder, most held at secular civic or community settings rather than religious facilities. In 2000, the *Los Angeles Times* estimated that more than two million adherents practiced Hoa Hao worldwide, the majority in the Mekong Delta, with approximately 1,500 adherents living in Orange County.⁹⁵³

BUSINESS, INDUSTRY, AND LABOR

A significant aspect for many in California’s AAPI communities was the means by which they supported themselves. Work could dominate their lives—in how they spent the majority of their time; as the deciding factor in where they lived or settled; and in how they interacted with the broader social, political, and economic movements occurring around them. For some communities, specific industries dominated for certain periods, often due to the economic and political trends of the state at the time when the group experienced its primary waves of migrations. As an example, mining and supporting the miners dominated the work for the first wave of Chinese immigrants arriving for the Gold Rush in the 1850s. As that dissipated in the 1860s and 1870s, the needs for large number of workers in what proved to be transformative, labor-intensive infrastructure projects drew Chinese laborers to railroad construction as well as land reclamation and irrigation projects that paved the way for California to become an agricultural powerhouse.

For the first generations of Japanese, Korean, Filipina/o, and South Asian immigrants that followed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, wage labor in agriculture or agriculture-adjacent industries dominated until World War II. Another employment avenue available to them was in service jobs—as domestic servants or in hospitality. In both fields, they often joined other racial, ethnic, or immigrant groups. Advancement to supervisors, or as intermediaries with those in positions of power was also available, up to a certain level.

⁹⁵⁰ Reza, “Losing Faith.”

⁹⁵¹ “Huntington Beach: Vietnamese Buddhists to Mark Anniversary.”

⁹⁵² Reza, “Losing Faith.”

⁹⁵³ “Orange County File: Buddhists to Honor Hoa Hao Founder,” *Los Angeles Times*, April 1, 2000; Reza, “Losing Faith.”

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Rarely were professional fields available to members of these communities until well into the twentieth century. The children and grandchildren of the immigrant generation who were fluent in English still faced discrimination and systemic barriers in higher education, training, and certification. When they did secure the needed credentials, getting hired remained challenging as race-based discrimination was common and not illegal. Those barriers and attitudes started to fall slowly during and after World War II.

Entrepreneurship was one of the few avenues to advancement, greater security, and autonomy. Owner-operated businesses ran the gamut from small farms to retail and service businesses, including professional services that catered to their communities as well as the broader society. A commonality among AAPI communities is the friends and family networks they developed to support each other and provide capital or business expertise when the mainstream institutions were closed to them. Some of the networks developed into formal organizations for businesses, as well as on the labor side as organized labor unions.

World War II, and the changes it brought to American society in its aftermath, was also a major turning point for many AAPI communities. In part, the war marked a coming of age for the American-born and raised children. Not only did they have the benefit of birthright citizenship, they often followed the pattern of other immigrants to the United States—educated in American schools, assimilated into American mainstream culture, and with expectations and belief in the promise of opportunities in the United States. As legal barriers and discriminatory practices started to fall in the postwar years and through the civil rights movements, many more avenues of employment became available to Asian American communities.

The military, particularly the U.S. Navy, played an outsized role in employment and migration to California for the Pacific Islander communities impacted by American colonialism—Native Hawaiian, Chamorro, and Samoan—as well as those from the Philippines, especially in the post-World War II years. The military could be a place for advancement and skill building, and remained hierarchical with its own discriminatory practices. Lower rank jobs and services initially were the opportunities available to those from the three Pacific Islander communities and from the Filipina/o communities until the military itself changed its practices later in the twentieth century.

Industries and themes common to multiple AAPI communities are discussed first, followed by contexts for each community.

Agriculture

The broad field of agriculture encompasses cultivating the soil, growing crops, and raising livestock. It surpassed mining as California’s leading industry by 1879 and remained so into the twentieth century.⁹⁵⁴ The completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869 and improvements in refrigeration opened the

⁹⁵⁴ Kevin Starr, *California: A History* (New York: Modern Library, 2005), 110.

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East Coast markets to perishable fruits and vegetables from California. The demand spurred the development of growing high-value specialty crops. Land reclamation and the building of irrigation systems made growing crops feasible for the region’s arid landscapes. Crop farming replaced cattle ranching in the central and southern parts of the state. Forestry and timber harvesting dominated the northern and eastern mountain ranges, while fishing along the coast and waterways developed further in certain regions. By 1900, California led the West in agricultural production.⁹⁵⁵

The Agricultural Farming Ladder

Asian and Pacific Islander immigrants to California in the late nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries entered an agricultural farming employment ladder of ascending rungs beginning with contract labor, and rising through forms of independent farming (sharecropping, tenant farming, leasing, etc.) and ultimately landowning status for a small percentage. While their ability to climb this ladder varied among and within the communities represented by this study, the pattern appears across many of these groups as well as other groups of agricultural laborers.

Many immigrants began farmwork as seasonal, and often migratory, laborers who were paid by the day or at a piece rate. Their work was usually arranged by English-speaking, bilingual labor bosses who served as intermediaries with the landholders. These labor bosses often included provisions for housing and meals as part of their negotiations, for which they took a percentage.⁹⁵⁶

The next step up the agricultural ladder was to farm independently. How that was done varied. One method was contract farming, where landowners supplied tools, seeds, fertilizer, and other materials needed for the crop. The contract set a fixed price per acre and usually ran for two years. Depending on the market, weather, soil, and other factors, contract farmers ran the risk of barely breaking even. Still, most found it more lucrative than employment as field labor. Immigrants who sharecropped, rather than farmed by contract, agreed to grow a crop on existing farmland and shared the sale price with the landowner or negotiated the sale of their own portion. Sharecroppers had the potential to earn greater profits than contract farmers, and assumed greater risks.⁹⁵⁷ Similarly, tenant farming—where in exchange for use of the land, equipment, and marketing of the crops, the farmer would divide the profits with the landowner based on signed agreement—offered another path to more independence.⁹⁵⁸

Leasing land was the next step up the ladder. It involved individuals or groups of immigrants pooling funds to gain charge over all aspects of farming land owned by others. In addition to removing control from landowners, who were predominately white, leasing had the potential to bring far greater return than the previous rungs on the ladder. It was the goal for many immigrant farmers.⁹⁵⁹ Ownership was

⁹⁵⁵ Lawrence J. Jelinek, *Harvest Empire: A History of California Agriculture* (San Francisco, 1979), 1-6; 49-51.

⁹⁵⁶ Richard Steven Street, *Beasts of the Field: A Narrative History of California Farmworkers, 1769-1913* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2004), 515.

⁹⁵⁷ Street, *Beasts of the Field*, 515.

⁹⁵⁸ Street, *Beasts of the Field*, 247-249; Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 90.

⁹⁵⁹ Street, *Beasts of the Field*, 515.

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the last, golden rung on the agricultural ladder and was achieved by a much smaller portion of Asian and Pacific Islander immigrants.

All these communities faced challenges of access to capital, loans, and banking, which limited their abilities to secure land leases and ownership. The 1913 California Alien Land Law, passed primarily to target Japanese immigrant farmers, then the leading Asian community gaining traction in agriculture, prohibited land ownership and leases longer than three years on agricultural land by “aliens ineligible for citizenship.” The law allowed landowners to push some farmers back into sharecropping by banning long-term leases and applying “cropping contracts,” which removed any rights over the land and placed the farmers in an employment agreement.⁹⁶⁰

Enterprising immigrant farmers barred by the Alien Land Law found ways around the restrictions by placing property deeds in the name of white allies, specially organized corporations, or American-born relatives (usually children) who had U.S. citizenship status. The 1920 Alien Land Law eliminated even these opportunities and remained in effect until after World War II when two Supreme Court cases, *Oyama v. California* in 1946 and *Sei Fuji v. California* in 1952, found the state’s Alien Land Laws violated the Fourteenth Amendment’s equal protection under the law clause and invalidated them.

Canning

Aside from field work, members of the AAPI communities engaged in other agriculture-related work in the mid-nineteenth and into the twentieth century, such as food processing in produce packing and canning of fruits, vegetables, and seafood. Cutting Fruit Packing Company established the first cannery in San Francisco in 1857.⁹⁶¹ The industry initially consisted of small, individually owned companies. After 1870, the canning industry expanded rapidly and spread throughout the state with factories in San Jose and Santa Clara Valley, the San Joaquin Valley, Sacramento, Marysville, and Los Angeles.⁹⁶² With canning production initially done by hand, the division of labor was along gender lines. Men unloaded produce and delivered it to the tables for processing, then were responsible for the “floor work” that involved cooking the fruits and vegetables, and finally carting the finished cans to warehouse. Women’s work was preparing the produce for canning, such as sorting, peeling, cutting, and pitting. With the scarcity of women in California in the post-Gold Rush days, Chinese male laborers were again hired to do what was considered women’s work, and which white men would not do. They were also trained to do some of the skilled work involved, such as making the cans and soldering them closed.⁹⁶³

By 1909, few Chinese workers were left in canneries in the San Francisco Bay Area. Many had moved to canneries located in the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta. The same ethnic and gender-based division of

⁹⁶⁰ Azuma, *Between Two Empires*, 65.

⁹⁶¹ Sucheng Chan, *This Bittersweet Soil: The Chinese in California Agriculture, 1860-1910* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 335.

⁹⁶² Patricia Zavella, *Women’s Work and Chicano Families: Cannery Workers of the Santa Clara Valley* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987), 31.

⁹⁶³ Zavella, *Women’s Work and Chicano Families*, 31; Chan, *This Bittersweet Soil*, 335.

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labor did not occur there as much.⁹⁶⁴ Mechanization in cannery production gradually standardized aspects of the process and eliminated some positions, such as those for making and closing the cans. Before and after World War I was a growth in demand for canned products and by 1920, two firms, Cal Pak and Libby, McNeill and Libby, produced most of California’s output, with Santa Clara Valley responsible for ninety percent of the state’s pack of fruits and vegetables.⁹⁶⁵ AAPI workers joined other immigrants from Europe and Mexico in the canning factories in these years.

Canning of seafood was also an industry in which members of the AAPI community participated. Monterey’s early fishing and canning industries were established in the 1890s. It was not until 1902 when the Monterey Fishing and Canning Company, a salmon and abalone packing facility, was successful enough for the local industry to flourish and establish the foundation of Cannery Row. Japanese fishermen were largely responsible for this movement. Of the approximately 185 salmon boats that fished Monterey Bay during this period, 145 were Japanese owned. In 1903, the newly founded Monterey Packing Company invented the one-pound oval tins for sardines, which became industry standard, and a machine solderer was specifically designed to manufacture these tins. During World War I, Monterey’s fishermen pivoted their hauls from salmon to become the “sardine capital of the world.” Associated businesses grew rapidly, requiring large seasonal workforces predominantly comprised of Japanese, Italian, and Spanish immigrants.⁹⁶⁶

Canning of tuna became an industry in the United States in 1903 as a result of a sardine shortage. California Fish Company in San Pedro was one of the first to develop tuna canning in California.⁹⁶⁷ The industry grew quickly with the success of canned albacore tuna, particularly in Southern California around the ports of Los Angeles, Long Beach, and San Diego. The demand for canned goods during World War I also fueled the growth. Japanese immigrants were particularly active in this industry, from being the fishermen who caught tuna offshore, to working at the canneries.⁹⁶⁸

Distribution Channels

A related agri-business was the wholesale distribution of agricultural goods. Members of the AAPI community served all along the distribution channels that carried goods from farmers to consumers. The channels included agents, brokers, and commission merchants who negotiated the buying and selling between farmers and wholesale distributors, as well as the distributors themselves, who in turn served retail grocery stores, restaurants, and other end user clients. The Japanese American community established formal cooperatives in the 1910s that aided members in marketing, purchasing, and having

⁹⁶⁴ Chan, *This Bittersweet Soil*, 336.

⁹⁶⁵ Zavella, *Women’s Work and Chicano Families*, 33-34.

⁹⁶⁶ Architectural Resources Group, *National Historic Landmark District and Downtown Area Context Statement and Reconnaissance Survey*, Monterey, California, prepared for the City of Monterey, February 2012, 63-64.

⁹⁶⁷ August Felando and Harold Medina, “The Origins of California’s High-Seas Tuna Fleet,” *Journal of San Diego History* 58, no.1 (Spring/Winter 2012): 1.

⁹⁶⁸ Felando and Medina, “The Origins of California’s High-Seas Tuna Fleet,” 5-6.

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stalls at wholesale markets.⁹⁶⁹ Chinese American, Korean American, and likely other AAPI communities had similar, though less formalized channels with fellow compatriots who shared a language or connections through friends and family networks.⁹⁷⁰

Owner-Operated Businesses

With discrimination preventing access to professional jobs and higher-paying skilled trades, self-employment was one of the few options available to the AAPI communities to improve an individual’s or family’s economic circumstances. This could be seen even in agriculture, with labor brokers and independent farmers further up the agricultural ladder having more independence and opportunities than laborers.

Operating a business typically required fewer language and technical skills than the professional fields, though often more than a wage earner needed. Starting a business required capital, which was not usually or easily accessible to AAPI communities from conventional bankers and lenders in the nineteenth century. Entrepreneurial AAPI individuals had to save enough or borrow from friends and families to start a business. Some communities with sizable numbers started mutual aid programs to pool their resources. A few immigrants arrived as merchants with the resources and experience to start and operate businesses.

Typically, the businesses were small, with the owner and their family providing the bulk of the labor. They could also employ some workers, often members of their own community. A few individuals, through hard work, connections, and plain luck were able to access more capital or credit and were able to grow their businesses into substantial companies.

The types of businesses varied, though in the pre-World War II years, they were typically ones that required minimal skills, start-up capital, or significant workforces. Some of the businesses addressed unmet needs, whether serving their own communities excluded from access to mainstream services or for the broader society unwilling or unable to perform the services. For example, Chinese workers provided cooking and laundry services, considered women’s work, for Gold Rush miners and through that, started restaurant and laundry businesses. Restaurants and groceries were also common for other AAPI communities, serving cuisines and goods both for homesick compatriots and for other communities curious to try something different.

As Professor Lane Ryo Hirabayashi details in “Asian American Businesses, 1848 to 2015: Accommodation and Eclectic Innovation,” in *Finding a Path Forward: Asian American Pacific Islander*

⁹⁶⁹ Noritaka Yagasaki, “Ethnic Agricultural Cooperatives as Adaptive Strategies in Japanese Overseas Communities: Diffusion, Development and adaptation in Contextual Perspective,” *Geographic Review of Japan* 68, no. 2 (1995): 198; Masakazu Iwata, “The Japanese Immigrants in California Agriculture,” *Agricultural History* 36, no.1 (January 1962): 33-34.
⁹⁷⁰ Chan, *This Bittersweet Soil*, 357.

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National Historic Landmarks Theme Study, the following four concepts helps to frame owner-operated businesses and innovations in the AAPI communities:

- Ethnic enclaves and communities
- Regional economic complexes
- Sets of specialized economic niches
- Preeminent individuals who were innovators or magnates

Ethnic Enclaves and Communities

Asian and Pacific Islander immigrant groups that were large enough formed ethnic enclaves and communities. They could become insular, often due to discriminatory practices, and were more common among the Chinese and Japanese communities before World War II. Korean and Filipina/o businesses and residents formed smaller clusters within or adjacent to enclaves, which were often close to each other and to other marginalized communities.⁹⁷¹ Even smaller in population numbers were the South Asian and the Pacific Islander communities in the pre-World War II years, where occasional enclaves or business clusters may have developed.

Ethnic enclaves first developed around the ports of entry, which for California in the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries was San Francisco. As Chinese, then Japanese immigrants migrated across California following work opportunities, they established ethnic enclaves in areas where concentrations settled. The enclaves ranged in size from a few businesses to several blocks. They grew and shrank with the size of the population they served. As the Chinese Exclusion Act curtailed immigration of Chinese laborers, smaller Chinatowns in areas that once depended on Chinese workers faded along with the workforce.

The larger enclaves consolidated and grew, especially as urban migration increased in the early twentieth century for some groups. The larger enclaves supported the full gamut of businesses, including professional services like medical, financial, and media that were denied to these communities by the broader society. World War II marked a shift, primarily for Japanese communities when they were forcibly removed. Their return after the war rarely resulted in their enclaves rebuilding to the same vigor as before the war. For Chinatowns, the changing attitude of World War II, when another Asian community was considered the enemy and they suddenly became allies, offered more opportunities to assimilate into the prevailing American society and lessened the insular nature that had created the Chinatowns by default.

⁹⁷¹ Hirabayashi, "Asian American Businesses," 144-147. Marginalize communities differed at various points in time and localities. They may include Indigenous, Mexican American, African American or people of African descent, as well as Irish, Italian, Eastern European, Middle Eastern, South American, and other immigrant groups, and Catholic, Jewish, or other religious affiliations.

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After the 1964 immigrant law changes, new ethnic enclaves formed with additional waves of migration. New Chinatowns, with ethnic Chinese immigrants from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and other areas outside of Communist mainland China, appeared in suburban communities such as Monterey Park and others in the San Gabriel Valley east of downtown Los Angeles starting in the late 1960s. Professor Wei Li referred to the new urban geographic phenomenon as ethnoburbs that emerged on a larger spatial scale and in different locations than the older Chinatown form.⁹⁷²

The emergence of late twentieth century ethnoburbs reshaped the postwar suburban landscape, with more multi-family dwellings such as apartment buildings and condominiums in what had been predominately single-family neighborhoods; ethnic-owned and operated businesses in existing, and later new, strip mall shopping centers dotted along the suburban community’s commercial boulevards; and new, purpose-built institutions, such as the Hsi Lai Temple (3456 Glenmark Drive, extant) built in Hacienda Heights in 1988 in traditional Chinese architectural design. In the San Gabriel Valley, the first strip mall dominated by Chinese-operated businesses was called Deer Field (extant) at the corner of Atlantic and Garvey Avenues in Monterey Park. While businesses with Chinese-language signs served the surrounding Chinese-speaking residents in such ethnoburbs, these communities were multi-ethnic, multi-lingual, and multi-cultural. They featured mixes of Asian and non-Asian communities and were less exclusionary or as insular as the older ethnic enclaves of the past.⁹⁷³

Similar multi-layered ethnoburbs developed in Southern California centered around various Asian American communities in the late twentieth and into the early twenty-first century. Little India started as post-1965 immigrants from India opened businesses along Pioneer Boulevard in Orange County’s Artesia in the 1970s to serve a growing Indian residential population in nearby Cerritos in bordering Los Angeles County.⁹⁷⁴ Little Saigon, stretching across Westminster, Garden Grove, and Santa Ana in central Orange County, developed in the late 1970s following the waves of Vietnamese and Southeast Asian migration after the Vietnam War. Ethnoburbs also developed in other metropolitan areas of California, with some as pan-Asian communities where no single Asian American community dominated, such as in San Diego and some of the Silicon Valley cities in Santa Clara County.

Unlike ethnoburbs, Koreatown in Los Angeles remained urban, starting in the 1970s in the established neighborhoods north of an early, smaller Korean enclave. It shared some similarities with the ethnoburbs, including ethnic businesses in strip mall-type shopping centers, and also saw re-use of existing and historic buildings by a new immigrant group that added another layer of history and significance.

⁹⁷² Wei Li, *Ethnoburb: The New Ethnic Community in Urban America* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2009), 73.

⁹⁷³ Li, *Ethnoburb*, 75-78.

⁹⁷⁴ Andrew J. Campa, “Little India, Already Struggling before the Pandemic, is at a Crossroads,” *Los Angeles Times*, January 2, 2022.

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The older ethnic enclaves also shifted, as different immigrant groups arrived in the post-1965 years. For example, many Southeast Asian refugees, especially those with ethnic Chinese backgrounds who fled Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos in the late 1970s through the 1980s, settled in existing urban Chinatowns. Attracted to the relatively inexpensive housing due to their locations usually in older downtown areas, with a somewhat familiar or sympathetic community of other Asian immigrants, and sharing some cultural commonalities with local residents, the newer immigrants added another layer to Chinatowns that shifted them into more multi-lingual, multi-generational, neighborhoods.⁹⁷⁵

Regional Economic Complexes

Some AAPI communities leveraged connections among their members to develop vertically linked economic complexes within certain regions. The early Chinese community in the Monterey Bay region in the mid to late nineteenth century capitalized on the abundance of ocean-based resources—abalone, sea urchin, and seaweed, among others—familiar to them from home and sold them to Chinese communities in the Bay Area and elsewhere.⁹⁷⁶

An example is the Japanese American community in Southern California with Los Angeles' Little Tokyo at its regional center. Farmers in agricultural regions surrounding Los Angeles could get credit advances as well as seeds, tools, and other goods to grow their crops. Once grown and harvested, farmers could bring their produce to Los Angeles' central produce market where Japanese wholesalers could purchase them and broker their sale to Japanese-owned grocery stores, restaurants, and other businesses.⁹⁷⁷ Korean American produce farmers had a similar system between the Central Valley farmers in Reedley and Delano and the Los Angeles market, though on a smaller scale than the Japanese American community.

Sets of Specialized Economic Niches

Another commonality among some AAPI communities is the niches in which they worked. Some businesses became associated with certain communities, whether it was laundries for Chinese entrepreneurs, flowers for Japanese growers, motels and small hotels for South Asian families, or nail salons for Vietnamese American women. Like the vertical links of the regional economic complexes, the horizontal connections of economic niches resulted in part from community members helping each other learn the trade and opening new businesses.

“Magnate” Phenomenon

At times, some AAPI individuals became well-known “rags-to-riches” stories for their ability to develop their businesses into larger enterprises. Their names became known within their communities, often men who became “king of” a certain product. They also tended to become leaders within their communities and helped to support community organizations or activities. Though commendable as success stories

⁹⁷⁵ Li, *Ethnoburb*, 72.

⁹⁷⁶ Hirabayashi, “Asian American Businesses,” 147-148.

⁹⁷⁷ Hirabayashi, “Asian American Businesses,” 148-149.

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given the challenges encountered by AAPI communities, individual magnates may have had complicated legacies.

Labor Organizations and Worker Organizing

AAPI communities are relatively invisible in the history of U.S. labor union organizing, yet their experiences and actions are intertwined with many aspects of labor history, especially on the West Coast. Labor organizations in California were among the most prominent actors in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century anti-Asian movement. The Workingmen’s Party in California, founded in 1877 during a depression by out of work white laborers, was at the forefront of the anti-Chinese movement that ultimately resulted in the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act.⁹⁷⁸ In 1891, the San Francisco Cooks and Waiters Union attacked a Japanese restaurant whose low prices, they argued, were a threat.⁹⁷⁹ The Japanese and Korean Exclusion League, formed in San Francisco in May 1905 by sixty-seven organizations, framed its objections to Japanese immigrants on economic grounds for the competition they offered white workers. By 1908, the organization was renamed the Asiatic Exclusion League and was listed in the 1910 Crocker-Polk City Directory in the Metropolis Bank Building at Market and New Montgomery Streets, the heart of the city’s financial district.⁹⁸⁰ A spin-off organization, the Anti-Jap Laundry League, was formed in 1908 and operated out of the Anglo Building at 16th and Mission Streets.⁹⁸¹ Employees of white laundries formed such associations in several other cities.⁹⁸²

The largest union organization in the first half of the twentieth century, the American Federation of Labor (AFL), concentrated on organizing skilled workers who were almost uniformly white men. When workers of color were finally able to be represented by AFL-affiliated unions, they were enrolled in segregated local councils with no power or influence. Asian immigrants were a frequent target of AFL ire. Long-serving AFL President, Samuel Gompers, actively campaigned for reauthorization of the Chinese Exclusion Act and authored tracts such as the 1902 pamphlet titled “Meat vs. Rice: American Manhood against Asiatic Coolieism, Which Shall Survive?” that was reprinted and distributed by the Asiatic Exclusion League (ASL).⁹⁸³

⁹⁷⁸ Ira B. Cross, *A History of the Labor Movement in California* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1935), 85-88.
⁹⁷⁹ Edna Bonacich and John Modell, *The Economic Basis of Ethnic Solidarity: Small Business in the Japanese American Community* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 72.
⁹⁸⁰ Niiya Japanese American History, 110; Crocker-Polk City Directory (1910), 207.
⁹⁸¹ Address found in Anti-Jap Laundry League, *Report for 1911*, in the archives of Department of Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles, accessed June 10, 2023, <https://oac.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/hb7r29p4v3/?order=2&brand=oac4>.
⁹⁸² Bonacich and Modell, *The Economic Basis of Ethnic Solidarity*, 73.
⁹⁸³ Samuel Gompers and Herman Gutstadt, “Meat vs. Rice: American Manhood against Asiatic Coolieism, Which Shall Survive?,” published by American Federation of Labor and printed as Senate Document 137 in 1902, reprinted with introduction and appendices by Asiatic Exclusion League, San Francisco, 1908, accessed June 10, 2023, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.32106007093054&view=1up&seq=7>.

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Continuous racist discrimination and lack of standing as citizens made AAPI immigrants especially vulnerable as workers. Overtly protesting labor conditions and organizing workers was an especially risky undertaking for most of these immigrants, who could anticipate loss of livelihood, physical violence, and even deportation in response. As historian Dorothy Fujita-Rony writes, apart from formal strikes, many workers resisted unjust conditions in a variety of ways “from slowing down one’s pace of work on the job, to disobeying the boss’s orders, to extended absenteeism, to deciding to move to another job.”⁹⁸⁴

Labor organizing was most significant for Japanese American and Filipina/o communities during the period of significance and is discussed in detail in this section. It was less significant for Chinese American and South Asian American communities, though research uncovered some sources about the topic to include. Research found little information about organized labor related to Native Hawaiian, Korean American, Chamorro, and Samoan communities in California from 1850 to 1970. As such, separate subsections for these communities are not included here.

Japanese American Labor Organizing

According to historian Richard Steven Street’s exhaustive study of California farmworkers before 1913:

Japanese field hands were the first to initiate and secure collective bargaining agreements systematically on a widespread basis, the first to establish functioning ethnic labor unions and the first to be condemned by growers. Assertive, ambitious, and upwardly mobile, they capitalized on their solidarity, demanded, and broke contracts, altered and improved working conditions, boycotted and confronted growers, engaged in organized slowdowns, withheld labor at key planting times, walked out during harvest, participated in interracial strikes, set minimum wages, and initiated the first efforts at large-scale farm labor organization.⁹⁸⁵

Much of this action was coordinated by *Issei* labor contractors who worked to maximize workers’ employment, often by underbidding competition. Subsequently, contractors would support workers in actions that pressured growers into increasing pay, for which the contractors often received a percentage. One early example was Sakuko Kimura, who engaged workers out of a house he owned in Watsonville in the 1890s. Kimura forged a deal to supply workers to sugar beet growers at \$0.75 a ton, undercutting the rate of \$1.20 earned by Chinese workers. He quickly raised workers’ rates to \$1.00 per ton.⁹⁸⁶ By 1900, labor bosses across the state met just before the sugar beet harvest and agreed to set wages at one rate and then raise it when contracts were finalized, threatening to boycott any growers who refused. Although not a formal union contract, Street describes the strategy as creating what trade unions called “a ‘closed shop,’ meaning a place where no one could work without their approval.” Contractors also

⁹⁸⁴ Dorothy Fujita-Rony, “Reframe, Recognize, and Retell: Asian Americans and National Historic Sites,” in Odo, *Finding a Path Forward: Asian American Pacific Islander National Historic Landmarks Theme Study*, 133-34.

⁹⁸⁵ Street, *Beasts of the Field*, 409-410.

⁹⁸⁶ Street, *Beasts of the Field*, 413-414.

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pressured growers, whose product was perishable, by reducing the number of workers at critical harvest times and demanding higher rates.⁹⁸⁷

Sugar beets were the crop that sparked the U.S.'s first agricultural worker union with the emergence of the short-lived Japanese-Mexican Labor Association (JMLA) in 1903. Formed to counter the grower-controlled Western Agricultural Contracting Company (WACC), 500 Japanese and 200 Mexican American workers organized the union to protest low pay and the WACC requirement that they shop at a company store. Within a month, ninety percent of the Oxnard area's sugar beet workers were out on strike.⁹⁸⁸ City residents sympathized with the strikers in part because they had been patrons of local merchants who resented the company store's monopoly. A parade through Oxnard and a mass meeting with growers at Pioneer Hall did not resolve the impasse. Despite intimidation that included arrests of union leaders, placing armed guards around workers camps, and a shooting incident that killed a striker, the JMLA held fast. A meeting at their Cottage Hotel (not extant) headquarters was called and an agreement was devised by March 30 that broke the WACC's monopoly. After their victory, the JMLA applied for affiliation with the AFL, who responded that they would only offer a charter to the Mexican American workers. In a show of solidarity, the Mexican leadership refused and wrote to AFL president Samuel Gompers,

We beg to say in reply that our Japanese brothers here were the first to recognize the importance of cooperating and uniting and demanding a fair wage scale. They were not only just with us, but they were generous when one of our men was murdered by hired assassins of the oppressor of Labor... In the past we have counseled, fought and lived on very short rations with our Japanese brothers, and toiled with us [them] in the fields, and they have been uniformly kind and considerate. We would be false to them and to ourselves and to the cause of unionism if we accepted privileges for ourselves which are not accorded to them...⁹⁸⁹

Although the JMLA dissolved the following year, their example inspired strikes by workers in raisin vineyards around Fresno, and orchards in Alameda and Sutter Counties.⁹⁹⁰

The Fresno Labor League (*Rodo Domei Kai*) was formed in 1908 as one of the first *Issei* labor unions. Founder Takeuchi Tetsoguro had been a member of the Social Revolutionary Party and active in labor and anti-war movements in the Bay Area before founding an organization designed to counter both growers and labor contractors by serving the interests of farmworkers. Like the JMLA, the Fresno Labor League found another barrier in the challenges of trying to organize a migratory workforce. Approximately 2,000 of the Central Valley's 5,000 grape pickers joined the union, which organized a labor convention in Fresno on August 25, 1909, and a joint rally in Fresno's Japantown with the local

⁹⁸⁷ Street, *Beasts of the Field*, 432, 434.

⁹⁸⁸ "1903 Oxnard Strike," in Niiya, *Japanese American History*, 258.

⁹⁸⁹ Street, *Beasts of the Field*, 463.

⁹⁹⁰ Street, *Beasts of the Field*, 472.

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branch of International Workers of the World the following month. The union’s official publication, *Rodo* (Labor), was issued on a weekly basis from November 1908 to September 1909 with articles critiquing capitalism, militarism, and Japan’s royal system. In part because of these associations, the Japanese American press and local Japanese Association opposed its activities and the organization ended in 1910.⁹⁹¹

These opposing forces continued and even increased in the 1920s and 1930s as organizing by Communist Party-inspired groups sought to gain labor rights for racial minorities. The Japanese language press continued to criticize labor organizing and became a target themselves. By the early 1930s, staff at the *Rodo Shimbun* (the newspaper of the Communist Party’s Japanese section) were supporting workers from the *Nichibei Shimbun* and *Shin Sekai* newspapers, major Japanese publications in San Francisco. According to Nisei Karl Yoneda, who edited the *Rodo Shimbun*, owner Kyutaro Abiko fired striking *Nichibei Shimbun* workers and called the police to attack picketers.

Intracommunity struggles over workers’ rights were a continuous issue. In 1937, the San Francisco Japanese community matched funds from Japan for a new Japanese Salvation Army building (1450 Lagune Street, extant). When the lack of Japanese workers at the construction site was brought to the attention of long-time Salvation Army leader Masuoke Kobayashi, he passed responsibility off to the contractors, who in turn stated that the union “prohibited Orientals.”⁹⁹²

Rebuffed by the racist AFL, organizers such as Karl Yoneda and Ohkaneku Tokujiro worked across California to support workers’ rights as part of their work toward a more just future. Historian Scott Kurashige describes the belief of these *Nisei* radicals “that labor unions were the primary vehicle for Japanese Americans to integrate themselves into American society.”⁹⁹³ Tokujiro, an *Issei* who used the alias George Higashi, organized Southern California Japanese produce stand workers in the early 1930s with a bilingual publication that included step-by-step instructions for organizing other workers and included in key demands higher pay, an eight-hour-day, and six-day workweek.⁹⁹⁴

Yoneda was active in the CPUSA-created International Labor Defense, the Trade Union Unity League (TUUL, a labor federation created to rival the AFL) and the Agricultural Workers Industrial League, as well as the Los Angeles-based Japanese Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (JAWOC) of Southern California.⁹⁹⁵ Among JAWOC’s efforts were 1928 campaigns to organize for farmworkers

⁹⁹¹ Ichioka, *The Issei*, 110-113.

⁹⁹² Karl G. Yoneda, *Ganbatte: Sixty-Year Struggle of a Kibei Worker* (Los Angeles: Asian American Studies Center, UCLA, 1984), 82.

⁹⁹³ Scott Kurashige, *The Shifting Grounds of Race: Black and Japanese American in the Making of Multiethnic Los Angeles* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008), 85.

⁹⁹⁴ Scott Kurashige, “Organizing from the Margins: Japanese American Communists in Los Angeles During the Great Depression,” in *Race Struggles*, eds. Theodore Koditschek, Sundiata Keita Cha-Jua, Helen A. Neville (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2009), 219.

⁹⁹⁵ Yoneda. *Ganbatte*, xiv; 15.

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rights on Japanese-operated strawberry farms in Stanton, and in vineyards in the Fresno and Lodi areas. In his autobiography, Yoneda notes that Japanese workers were often used as strike breakers in these campaigns, and acknowledges that JAWOC organizing had not recognized the “plight of the small renter farmers who were suffering from exploitation by land and produce market owners” who reaped most of the product from their crops.⁹⁹⁶ Campaigns such as these included the 1936 Venice celery strike where Japanese radicals were among the leaders demanding collective bargaining and an hourly raise for more than one thousand Japanese, Mexican, and Filipina/o workers.⁹⁹⁷

During the Depression, restaurant workers became a focus for radical Japanese labor organizers who sought to build a larger urban base while addressing the exploitation of workers as owners underpriced their competition by keeping wages low. When the Los Angeles-based U.S. Café chain dropped their meal price to ten cents to increase business, it was on the backs of poorly paid workers. Most Japanese, Filipina/o, and white workers at the four cafés went on strike for a six-day week, an eight-hour-day, and a \$15.00 weekly minimum. Owner Fred Tayama, a leader of the Los Angeles Japanese American Citizens League, was criticized by leaders of the newly formed Japanese Restaurant Employment Union, such as Kentaro Abe, for treating his employees so harshly while promising to “better the welfare and status of Japanese-Americans.” The union received an AFL charter in 1935, remained segregated, and disbanded three years later.⁹⁹⁸ Although the strike’s initial results were weak, the campaign inspired a successful effort in 1937 to organize two hundred workers as the Los Angeles Oriental Restaurant and Hotel Employees Union Local 646 of the AFL. Although a step forward in terms of AFL membership, the segregated local kept Asian American workers in a subordinate position within the federation.⁹⁹⁹

The Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), founded in 1935 and established on the West Coast in 1937, was more open to including workers of color. Joining the CIO in 1937, the Alaska Cannery Workers Union (ACWU) organized Japanese, Chinese, and Filipina/o workers in Northern California to work summers in Alaska fish canneries. The same year, the powerful International Longshoremen and Warehouse Union became a member of the CIO. Yoneda was the first Japanese American member of the ILWU and leader of the ACWU, representing it as a delegate in 1936 to the San Francisco Labor Council, which had previously upheld a ban on locals that represented Asian workers.¹⁰⁰⁰

Japanese immigrants sometimes worked against labor organizing by other groups. When the Los Angeles Retail Food Clerks local sought to organize Japanese produce stand workers in 1937, some Japanese workers formed their own “union,” arguing that ethnic solidarity was more critical than class interests and that mistrust of white unions was warranted based on past experiences such as those with the AFL.¹⁰⁰¹ Many AFL-affiliated economic interest groups, such as the Associated Produce Dealers

⁹⁹⁶ Yoneda. *Ganbatte*, 25-26.

⁹⁹⁷ Kurashige, “Organizing from the Margins,” 217.

⁹⁹⁸ Niiya, *Japanese American Historic*, 95

⁹⁹⁹ Kurashige, “Organizing from the Margins,” 221-222.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Robert Cherny, *Harry Bridges: Labor Radical, Labor Legend* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2023), 6.

¹⁰⁰¹ Bonacich and Modell, *The Economic Basis of Ethnic Solidarity*, 74-75.

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and Brokers of Los Angeles, the Grower-Shipper Vegetable Association, and the California Farm Bureau, were vocally anti-Japanese during this period.¹⁰⁰²

Historian Eiichiro Azuma documented *Issei* commitment to a racial hierarchy that placed them between white landowners and Filipina/o workers, a position held by most Japanese farmers and laborers in the San Joaquin Delta in the 1930s. Azuma recounts the short-lived alliance some Japanese workers made to support a series of labor actions in the late 1930s that were ultimately overwhelmed by anti-union sentiment of Japanese elite and an ethnic nationalism that sought stronger alliance and identification with whites and distance from Filipina/o workers. As numbers of Filipina/o workers grew in the region, and they began to organize boycotts and strikes to assert their rights, Japanese community leaders recruited hundreds of Japanese strikebreakers and worked with law enforcement to control Filipina/o laborers who protested.¹⁰⁰³

Even while incarcerated in War Relocation Centers during World War II, some *Nikkei* protested labor conditions and wages. Workers at the camp in Poston, Arizona, which drew inmates from rural Central and Southern California, quickly began protesting the classification of their jobs, as well as their pay and hours. Adobe workers at the camp went on strike in August 1942.¹⁰⁰⁴ Tule Lake packing shed and mess hall workers began striking beginning in September 1942. In October 1943, a farm accident that led to injuries and one death caused inmates at the camp to go on a work stoppage. Camp management fired the workers and brought in strikebreakers from Topaz and Poston camps. The strikebreakers earned \$1.00 per hour for their “loyalty,” which allowed them to gain what Tule Lake workers made in a month in just two days. Subsequent efforts of *Nikkei* camp leaders to negotiate with the War Relocation Authority (WRA) were supported by 6,000 Tule Lake inmates and met with violent suppression by military forces called in by the WRA. As the camp came under martial law, inmates were beaten and tear gassed. Over 200 inmates were placed in a primitive, over-crowded stockade.¹⁰⁰⁵

Nikkei Industry Associations

Rather than affiliation with large labor unions, which rejected Japanese immigrants as members and leaders, some *Nikkei* formed industry-based associations that worked to preserve their rights and economic opportunities. In addition to the aforementioned flower markets in San Francisco and Los Angeles, another example is the Southern California Japanese Gardeners Federation, founded in 1937 by three gardeners’ associations. Consolidation was seen as a way to counter the influx of workers caused by the Great Depression, and the threatened movement for racial exclusion in Beverly Hills, a main

¹⁰⁰² Bonacich and Modell, *The Economic Basis of Ethnic Solidarity*, 80.

¹⁰⁰³ Azuma, *Between Two Empires*, 188-199. Japanese publications and associations also campaigned against intermarriage between *Nisei* women and Filipino men.

¹⁰⁰⁴ “Poston: Tensions and Resistance,” *Densho Encyclopedia*, accessed February 11, 2022, [https://encyclopedia.densho.org/Poston_\(Colorado_River\)/#cite_note-ftnt_ref9-9](https://encyclopedia.densho.org/Poston_(Colorado_River)/#cite_note-ftnt_ref9-9).

¹⁰⁰⁵ “Tule Lake,” *Densho Encyclopedia*, accessed February 11, 2022, <https://encyclopedia.densho.org/Tule%20Lake>.

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location for gardening jobs.¹⁰⁰⁶ Although it did not function as a traditional union, the federation supported strikes by other labor unions, such as the 1935 strike by celery workers in the California Farm Laborers Association in Venice.

Among the Gardeners Federation’s most important roles was mediating disputes about “route grabbing” (stealing customers from another member) and collecting overdue fees from delinquent clients. Individual Japanese gardeners had few weapons against exploitation by those who hired them, and the federation could help recover unpaid fees by sometimes leading clients to believe they were part of the CIO. By 1940, federation leaders had engaged a white lawyer to represent individual gardeners in collecting back pay. Although few gardeners used the lawyer’s services due to their limited English and the relatively small amounts of money at stake, the federation urged victims to pursue remedy in part to establish a precedent that Japanese gardeners would not accept such treatment.¹⁰⁰⁷ In 1941, the federation joined a white gardeners’ association at their monthly meeting in a North Hollywood Park clubhouse to address common problems, with the goal of creating a mixed union. That aim was thwarted by Executive Order 9066.¹⁰⁰⁸

Post-World War II Organizing

Anti-Japanese sentiment on the West Coast continued in unions like the Teamsters, which controlled the Los Angeles wholesale produce sector and banned Japanese workers from downtown markets. The World War II and postwar years represented the high point of union membership in the U.S. and some Japanese American members reaped those benefits. Taro Tsukahara was a member of the ILWU San Francisco local and a trusted associate of the union’s leader, Louis Goldblatt. When the union led development for a large cooperative apartment complex, St. Francis Square, in the Japantown/Western Addition neighborhood that was being drastically changed by redevelopment, Tsukahara was able to shift the formula for tenant selection to reflect the burdens placed on Japanese Americans and African Americans by destruction of existing residential blocks. This experiment in a racially integrated housing cooperative, the first in the Western U.S., was guided by Tsukahara, who served as the coop’s first president.¹⁰⁰⁹

Research for this study found few instances of *Nikkei* leadership in labor organizing during the postwar years. A notable exception, Karl Yoneda, continued to be active in the ILWU and other labor activities. Yoneda described being asked by the National Farmworkers Association to travel to Delano in August 1966 to reach *Issei* and recent Japanese immigrants who were serving as scab labor at a farm where the union was organizing.¹⁰¹⁰

¹⁰⁰⁶ Nobuya Tsuchida, “Japanese Gardeners in Southern California, 1900-1941,” in *Labor Immigration Under Capitalism: Asian Workers in the United States Before World War II*, eds. Lucie Cheng and Edna Bonacich (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 461.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Tsuchida, “Japanese Gardeners in Southern California, 1900-1941,” 452-454.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Tsuchida, “Japanese Gardeners in Southern California, 1900-1941,” 456-457.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Graves and Page & Turnbull, *Historic Context Statement: Japantown, San Francisco*, 57.

¹⁰¹⁰ Yoneda, *Ganbatte*, 190.

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Filipina/o American Labor Organizing

Labor unions were not a new concept to Filipina/o workers in California in the 1920s and 1930s. As early as 1910, Manila was seeing many labor unions formed by workers pressing for better wages and working conditions.¹⁰¹¹ Efforts to acknowledge the inequitable practices and treatment of Filipina/o immigrants in the workplace eventually led to the formation of unions and organizations. They helped to push for equal pay, better treatment, and better living and working conditions for Filipina/o workers in agriculture as well as other sectors.

The prominence of Filipina/o workers in California agriculture in the 1920s and 1930s resulted in a reputation that they were “indispensable... not because of their supposed racial disposition for stoop labor, but because of their speed, skill, efficiency, and willingness to work in large crews.”¹⁰¹² Farmers and local growers who hired immigrant laborers often pitted them against one another by providing inequitable wages and living and working conditions based on racial identity. In this period, Filipina/o laborers were seen as the lowest ranking group in the hierarchy of labor groups. As more Filipina/o laborers entered the agricultural labor force, they were seen as the more productive laborers who would not complain about low wages or sub-par living and working conditions. By the 1920s, Filipina/o workers—and even more of the respected labor contractors—were becoming frustrated with the low wages they were being paid in comparison to Mexican and Japanese immigrant and poorer white counterparts and the conditions in which they were being forced to work, live, and raise their families.

The increasing frustrations among Filipina/o workers and contractors eventually manifested into a series of organized strikes in the Delta region of the Central Valley. As early as 1924, grape workers near Lodi held an authorized strike, much to the surprise of the farmers. In 1927, Filipina/o workers at the Stockton Box Factory learned they were being paid five cents under the standard rate for most other workers and staged a walk off from the job. This strike proved unsuccessful as they did not have the support from a union or labor group. The result was that the Filipina/o workers were excluded from engaging in collective bargaining with the company.¹⁰¹³

Frustrations and outrage grew among Filipina/o workers by the mid- to late-1920s and the development of small groups and unions began. As Dawn Mabalon describes in *Little Manila is in the Heart*, “groups of workers throughout San Joaquin County were organizing into small ‘gang strikes’ in which workers all refused to work at crucial points in the harvest—usually right before or at the peak of the harvest, when a strike would hurt the grower the most.”¹⁰¹⁴ The worker contractors were often blamed for the organizing and strikes, with local growers focusing on the contractors’ responsibility to oversee and handle the workers according to farmers’ standards. The late 1920s and through the 1930s, with the

¹⁰¹¹ Mabalon, *Little Manila is in the Heart*, 89.

¹⁰¹² Mabalon, *Little Manila is in the Heart*, 73.

¹⁰¹³ Mabalon, *Little Manila is in the Heart*, 88.

¹⁰¹⁴ Mabalon, *Little Manila is in the Heart*, 88.

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onset of the Great Depression, saw a significant effort in Filipina/o workers organizing in groups large and small to strike or otherwise act out against the discriminatory and unfair treatment and wages being forced upon them. In California, unions and groups began to form across the many agricultural areas in the state with Filipina/o workers sharing the same unfair experiences typically under the leadership of an individual or multiple individuals who vocalized the concerns of their fellow workers.

One such individual was Pablo Manlapit, who worked in Hawai‘i in the 1910s as a laborer and was eventually blacklisted from most plantations on the islands for participating in labor unions. Manlapit was a self-educated lawyer and left Hawai‘i for Los Angeles in 1927 with the intention of helping his fellow Filipina/o workers organize in the United States to fight for better wages and living and working conditions. Manlapit traveled to Stockton in 1928 and worked to organize a group of two hundred asparagus workers to strike, which proved unsuccessful. Upon his return to Los Angeles, Manlapit was accused of being a member of the Communist Party and was detained for questioning by the FBI.¹⁰¹⁵ Manlapit was eventually released and continued to pursue his mission of speaking to Filipina/o workers throughout California about the importance of unions and organizing to pursue better treatment and fairer wages.

In 1928, a group of local contractors in Stockton formed the Filipino Workers Delegation. The organization’s intent was to advocate for the needs and fair treatment of Filipina/o workers through encouraging farmers and growers to meet with them to discuss wages at the beginning of the season.¹⁰¹⁶ The organization involved a local paper, *Philippine Advertiser*, and issued a proclamation to local asparagus growers asking for a friendly conversation to discuss fair wages. While there is not much further documentation to determine how the growers processed this proclamation, wages continued to drop well into the 1930s, due to the Great Depression.

The first formal Filipina/o American labor organization was started by journalists Luis Agudo and D.L. Marcuelo in Stockton in 1928. Named *Anak ng Bukid*, meaning “Children of the Farm,” the group’s focus was to “obtain labor contracts, broker work for farm laborers, and ‘promote the moral, social, and economic condition of Filipinos’ in the United States.”¹⁰¹⁷ Although based in Stockton, *Anak ng Bukid* collaborated with major Filipina/o fraternal organizations and groups throughout the larger Stockton, Delta, and San Francisco Bay areas to advocate for better wages for workers.

In 1933, Marcuelo formed a new organization, the Filipino Labor Union (FLU), with Rufo Cantete and Luis Agudo to help lettuce cutters in Salinas demand higher wages and the right to collectively bargain. Unsuccessful in 1933 when growers brought in Mexican, South Asian, and other Asian laborers as strike breakers, the Filipina/o lettuce workers tried again in 1934 in alliance with white laborers. Though they tried to hold their ground after the white laborers agreed to negotiate, violent attacks on strikers and their

¹⁰¹⁵ Mabalon, *Little Manila is in the Heart*, 88.

¹⁰¹⁶ Mabalon, *Little Manila is in the Heart*, 90-91.

¹⁰¹⁷ Mabalon, *Little Manila is in the Heart*, 90.

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headquarters depleted the effort and led to the strike ending with limited wins.¹⁰¹⁸ The strike brought attention to FLU and the Filipina/o workers as labor activists. FLU, along with the Cannery and Agricultural Workers Industrial Union (CAWIU)—a Communist labor union that was one of the few willing to defend and support Filipina/o labor rights in the early 1930s—assisted in organizing Filipina/o and Mexican workers in ten major strikes across California between 1930 and 1934, including in Santa Maria Valley, Orange County, Imperial Valley, and San Diego.¹⁰¹⁹

By the mid-1930s, more independent Filipina/o labor unions not affiliated with the Communist Party or the leading American Federation of Labor (AFL) emerged, such as the Filipino Labor Association, and the Filipino Labor Supply Association. Filipina/o workers did organize at least one AFL-affiliated union, Local 20221 of the Agricultural Workers Union in Stockton in 1936. As the Filipina/o labor movement grew and matured, no consensus emerged about whether they would align themselves with the AFL, the more progression Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), or remain independent, ethnically focused unions.¹⁰²⁰

The organization of the Filipino Agricultural Laborers Association (FALA) in April 1939, at the Japanese Hall in Stockton, marked an important turning point.¹⁰²¹ The all-Filipina/o union organized around the asparagus workers in the Delta and included different regional groups (Ilocanos, Visayans, and Tagalogs) in a united stance. They called for an immediate strike during the season, and facing the potential loss of the season’s crops, the mostly Japanese and white growers agreed to the FALA’s demands. The success fueled the formation of FALA branches throughout California’s agricultural regions in 1940, including in Concord, Sacramento, Pescadero, San Jose, San Juan Bautista, and Delano.¹⁰²²

The FALA’s independence did not last long. Several strikes held in the Delta region between 1939 and 1941 increased the animosity with the Japanese *Issei and Nisei* farmers, who by the 1930s had ascended the agricultural ladder, and owned or leased much of the farmland on which Filipina/o laborers worked. Although some *Issei* farmers had themselves organized in previous years, they were now on the other side of the labor strikes. Working in alliance with white growers and the anti-union Filipino Federation of America (FFA), one of the more prominent Filipina/o organizations, Japanese farmers worked to break the FALA strikes. In response, Filipina/o laborers supporting the strikes boycotted Japanese businesses in Stockton’s Oriental Quarter, which increased the animosity. The union-busting tactics weakened the FALA, which also faced factionalism and infighting by 1940, and led to the decision to ally with the AFL as the Federated Agricultural Laborer’s Association. Several local FALA branches

¹⁰¹⁸ Mabalon, *Little Manila is in the Heart*, 97-98; Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 182.

¹⁰¹⁹ Mabalon, *Little Manila is in the Heart*, 98; Judy Patacsil, Rudy Guevarra Jr., Felix Tuyay, Filipino American National Historical Society San Diego Chapter, *Filipinos in San Diego*, Images of America (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2010), 22.

¹⁰²⁰ Mabalon, *Little Manila is in the Heart*, 98-99.

¹⁰²¹ Mabalon, *Little Manila is in the Heart*, 220.

¹⁰²² Mabalon, *Little Manila is in the Heart*, 220-221, 223; Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 182.

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broke off rather than become part of the AFL, which had a legacy of racist and anti-Filipina/o positions. The Sacramento FALA branch organized itself into the Filipino Labor Supply Association of Sacramento and Superior California instead.¹⁰²³

Post-World War II Organizing

After World War II, Filipina/o workers and others who remained or returned to the fields continued to face low wages and poor conditions. This time, the unionizing of Stockton’s Filipina/o workers was led by Local 7 of the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America (UCAPAWA). The Seattle-based union was affiliated with the CIO, though the local leaders were veterans of the 1930s organizing efforts, including Chris Mensalvas, Ernesto Mangaoang, Larry Itliong, and Cipriano “Rudy” Delvo. Local 7 called for a strike of the asparagus workers at the height of the season in 1948. It was the largest strike in the area since the 1939 FALA strike. The police made mass arrests and the growers evicted strikers. The strike-breaking efforts brought the Filipina/o community together, with even the FFA voting to support the strike. The strike failed when the growers called an end to the season.¹⁰²⁴

Later in 1948, Chris Mensalvas and Filipino writer and activist Carlos Bulosan returned to Stockton to organize again. With their headquarters in the heart of Stockton’s Little Manila at 130-132 East Lafayette Street (later known as the Mariposa Hotel, extant), they held a mass meeting of Stockton’s Filipina/o fraternal and community organizations at the Filipino Recreation Center next door at Hunter and Lafayette Streets. The unified front of the Filipina/o community helped Local 7 negotiate a successful agreement with the asparagus growers in 1949 that set a minimum wage, improved housing, instituted changes in the wage system, and restored pay lost from the previous year’s strike. Growing anti-Communist sentiments led to suspicion and FBI investigations into labor unions and suppressed organizing activities in the 1950s.¹⁰²⁵

Filipina/o labor unions continued their work during the decade, and by the late 1950s, efforts to organize farmworkers started again. Father Thomas McCullough, a Catholic priest at Stockton’s St. Mary Church with Filipina/o and Mexican parishioners, and one of his parishioners, teacher and emerging community organizer Dolores Huerta, formed the Agricultural Workers Association in 1958 to advocate for better social and working conditions for farmworkers. The group’s popularity attracted non-Catholics like Rudy Delvo to join. McCullough, Huerta, and Delvo, along with academic and labor organizer Ernesto Galarza, started to urge the AFL-CIO (which had merged in 1955) to organize farmworkers. The result was the establishment of the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC) in 1959 based in Stockton.¹⁰²⁶ Delvo reached out to Larry Itliong, who was involved in the 1948-1949 asparagus strike with him, to become an organizer with AWOC. As it grew, more Filipina/o laborers joined AWOC and at leadership levels, including Ben Gines of Salinas, and Philip Veracruz and Pete Velasco of Delano.

¹⁰²³ Mabalon, Little Manila is in the Heart, 221-226.
¹⁰²⁴ Mabalon, Little Manila is in the Heart, 254-256.
¹⁰²⁵ Mabalon, Little Manila is in the Heart, 257.
¹⁰²⁶ Mabalon, Little Manila is in the Heart, 209-214, 259.

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AWOC also attracted white, black, Mexican, and West Asian (Middle Eastern)/North African membership.¹⁰²⁷

The organizing by Itliong, Veracruz, and Velasco through AWOC led to the Delano Grape Strike in 1965. By this time, Itliong was the southern regional director of AWOC and had moved his family to Delano (north of Bakersfield) in order for him to organize workers in the San Joaquin Valley. In the summer of 1965, Itliong and his associates were focused on organizing Filipina/o grape workers in Delano and on September 7, 1965, Filipina/o workers who became actively involved with AWOC agreed to go on strike the next day when growers refused to provide a fair wage. Despite Itliong’s hesitations that the outcome of the strike might not prove to be successful, the workers proceeded. Within the first few days of the strike, Itliong approached Huerta and Cesar Chávez—founders of the National Farm Workers Association (NFWA)—and convinced them and their predominately Mexican membership to join the AWOC strike in solidarity.¹⁰²⁸

The strike led to a national boycott on grapes that brought widespread attention to the struggles and everyday issues of farmworkers across the country. The AWOC merged with the National United Farm Workers Union in 1967, with Chávez acting as director of the new organization, the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (UFW), and Itliong as the assistant director. The Delano Grape Strike ended in the 1970s and led to the formation of numerous workers’ rights organizations and subsequent boycotts and strikes around California.¹⁰²⁹

Agricultural and farmwork-related unions and organizations were not the only organizations advocating for Filipina/o immigrant worker rights. In the 1970s, several organizations and unions developed in response to the hardships and discrimination Filipina/o nurses were facing in the workplace in the United States. The early 1970s saw the establishment of three organizations working to assist Filipina/o nurses gain access to equitable treatment in the workplace: the National Federation of Philippine Nurses Associations in the United States, the National Alliance for Fair Licensure of Foreign Nurse Graduates, and the Foreign Nurse Defense Fund.¹⁰³⁰ These organizations recognized the obstacles immigrant nurses faced in the United States in the 1960s and 1970s related to their inability to obtain appropriate visa statuses and licensing requirements to be able to practice nursing in the country due to discriminatory policies and practices.¹⁰³¹

South Asians Labor Organizing

South Asian immigrants suffered from the same types of discrimination as other AAPI immigrants. Violent episodes against “Hindu” workers in Canada, Washington State, Alaska, and near Marysville in

¹⁰²⁷ Mabalon, *Little Manila is in the Heart*, 259-260.
¹⁰²⁸ Mabalon, *Little Manila is in the Heart*, 261.
¹⁰²⁹ Mabalon, *Little Manila is in the Heart*, 262.
¹⁰³⁰ Choy, *Empire of Care*, 166-167.
¹⁰³¹ Choy, *Empire of Care*, 166-167.

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Northern California were widely publicized and, without protection from U.S. courts or the British government, left South Asian immigrants vulnerable.¹⁰³²

In her autobiographical essay “The Parrot’s Beak,” Kartar Dhillon states that her father Bakhshish Singh, who immigrated to the U.S. in 1897, was active in the Ghadar Party and in the IWW’s labor campaigns in the Pacific Northwest.¹⁰³³

R.K. Das’s 1924 study *Hindustani Workers on the Pacific Coast* stated flatly that “Hindustani farm laborers do not belong to any trade or labor union.” Das attributes this to the difficulties of organizing seasonal farm labor and racism of local labor unions, many of which opposed immigration from Asian countries. He also points to the fact that “most of the Hindustanees having been born on farms, [held] the desire to become independent farm owners... Consequently, they feel little interest in labor organizing.”

Yet Das describes the commitment to solidarity underlying these workers, who fought for better wages and working hours, and decent treatment. “If any of their fellow-workers is mistreated in any way, they will go to any limits to defend him. Thus, it may be seen that there exists a feeling of solidarity among Hindustani farm workers and they never do anything which is prejudicial to the interests of labor.”¹⁰³⁴

Native Hawaiian

Native Hawaiian Employment, pre-1850 to World War II

Native Hawaiians first came to California as part of the trade routes during the Spanish era. They labored in a range of jobs predominately oriented around the maritime industry, such as working on ships, hunting for sea otter furs, harvesting sealskins, and conducting trade for these goods in local villages and towns. During the Mexican rule of California starting in 1821, Native Hawaiians became part of the larger labor force across the state, including in the cattle hide and tallow industry that was one the main trades in San Diego, Santa Barbara, and other parts of Southern California in the pre-Gold Rush days.¹⁰³⁵

When gold was found in Northern California in 1849, Native Hawaiians, already part of the workforce for John Sutter, were among the first laborers in the mines.¹⁰³⁶ With the Gold Rush underway, other Native Hawaiians arriving on trade ships stayed to try their luck. They were also arriving to work as domestic servants and as fishermen. The 1850 census recorded at last 230 Native Hawaiians living in California with nearly half in Sutter County. Of these, about sixty were living at two encampments at

¹⁰³² Huping Ling and Allan Austin, eds. *Asian American History and Culture: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Routledge, 2009-2011), 337.

¹⁰³³ Kartar Dillon, “The Parrot’s Beak” and “Bud Dillon,” South Asian American Digital Archive, accessed March 7, 2022, <https://www.saada.org/tides/article/the-parrots-beak> and <https://www.saada.org/tides/article/bud-dillon>.

¹⁰³⁴ Rajani Kanta Das, *Hindustani Workers on the Pacific Coast* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co. 1923), 32-33.

¹⁰³⁵ Rosenthal, *Beyond Hawai’i*, 133-136.

¹⁰³⁶ Smith, *Freedom’s Frontier*, 32; Rosenthal, *Beyond Hawai’i*, 140.

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Lacy Bar and Manhattan Bar on the North Fork of the American River. Given the frequent movement between San Francisco and the mountain camps in the mining districts, additional Native Hawaiians may not have been counted.¹⁰³⁷

As the gold mines were playing out by the late 1850s, Native Hawaiians, like other prospectors, left for opportunities elsewhere. The 1860 census recorded seventy-one Native Hawaiians in California, among whom were more women than in 1850.¹⁰³⁸ Some moved to the cities, like San Francisco or Sacramento, and others shifted to agriculture. By the 1870s, a Native Hawaiian settlement was in the town of Vernon in Sutter County. Residents worked in the fishing industry as well as in agriculture, including farming alfalfa, raising hogs, and contributing to the dairy industry.¹⁰³⁹ Throughout the rest of the nineteenth century, Native Hawaiians engaged in available employment along with the rest of California society. Some were landowners, some farmed or fished, and others were wage laborers.¹⁰⁴⁰

Native Hawaiian Employment, World War II and Postwar Years

During World War II, many Native Hawaiians and locals joined the armed services, primarily the Navy. An opportunity to leave the islands, they were deployed to military installations such as those in California in the San Francisco Bay Area, Long Beach, and San Diego, among others.

After the war, many stayed in the communities around naval bases where new Native Hawaiian and local communities started. This included the South Bay area in Southern California—San Pedro, Torrance, Carson, Gardena, and Hawthorne—not far from Long Beach and where the booming aerospace and defense industry offered employment opportunities. Native Hawaiian families were among those who benefited from the postwar suburban boom and rooted themselves in these South Bay communities through purchasing homes.¹⁰⁴¹ As the community grew, it attracted Native Hawaiians from other parts of the state as well as from Hawai‘i through extended family connections (*ohana*). The greater educational and employment opportunities on the mainland and in California helped the Native Hawaiian community gain financial stability and movement up the economic ladder.¹⁰⁴²

While the military, aerospace, and defense industries remained areas of opportunity, the growing community also found employment in all facets of society, including construction, design, municipal government, finance, and entertainment, among others.¹⁰⁴³

Polynesian-themed restaurants, nightclubs, and (tiki) bars were a popular trend in the mid-twentieth century, following the return of servicemen stationed in the Pacific theater during World War II and

¹⁰³⁷ Rosenthal, *Beyond Hawai‘i*, 146-147.

¹⁰³⁸ Rosenthal, *Beyond Hawai‘i*, 150.

¹⁰³⁹ “Hawai‘i in California,” *San Francisco Call*, March 26, 1911.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Rosenthal, *Beyond Hawai‘i*, 165.

¹⁰⁴¹ Brightwell, “No Enclave—Explore Hawaiian Los Angeles;” Nihipail, et.al, *Hawaiians in Los Angeles*, 30.

¹⁰⁴² Nihipail, et.al, *Hawaiians in Los Angeles*, 32-34.

¹⁰⁴³ Nihipail, et.al, *Hawaiians in Los Angeles*, 18-25; 4-78.

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increased tourism prompted for places like Hawai‘i. Often a legacy of colonialism and cultural appropriation, few of these businesses were owned or operated by Native Hawaiians or other Pacific Islanders, nor did they cater to their communities. One apparent exception was Little Hawaii, a nightclub owned by Gary and Peggy Spears (3101-3 West 8th Street, Los Angeles, in present-day Koreatown, extant). In the 1970s, the club featured Hawaiian entertainers and was gathering place for those who missed Hawai‘i and Hawaiian community.¹⁰⁴⁴ Other similar businesses mentioned as associated with the Hawaiian community included Baby Lion Supper Club (1828 South Vermont Avenue, Los Angeles, extant), Joe Keawe’s Restaurant in Wilmington (address and status unknown), and Hop Louie’s Latitude 20 in Torrance (not extant), along with Kono Hawaii in Santa Ana (not extant).¹⁰⁴⁵ While some of these may have been owned or operated by Asian Americans or locals, the extent to which they were considered Native Hawaiian businesses or reflected Native Hawaiian culture would require individual study and inquiry with the Native Hawaiian community.

The California Native Hawaiian community had sufficient numbers to support a Native Hawaiian monthly newspaper in the 1970s during the Hawaiian Renaissance when Native Hawaiians mobilized to reclaim their language and culture. Called *Voice of Hawaii*, the paper shared information useful for the Hawaiian diaspora, including gatherings like local luaus (celebrations), clubs, and beauty contests, such as the one the newspaper sponsored, Miss Voice of Hawaii. The paper had a worldwide circulation of 20,000 in 1973, with the most in Torrance, Gardena, San Fernando Valley, and Orange County, where Native Hawaiians communities existed by this time. Bobby and Mary (Marian) Chun started the newspaper, with Bobby serving as its editor and publisher. The newspaper’s office was in North Hollywood (address and status unknown).¹⁰⁴⁶

**Chinese American
*Chinese American Employment, 1850 to 1900***

In the nineteenth century, Chinese laborers could be found in the main sectors of the U.S economy—agriculture, mining, manufacturing, and transportation. They did not dominate any of these industries but were employed in all of them.¹⁰⁴⁷ Chinese workers also engaged in other industries and sectors of the period, including fishing, logging, and domestic service.

Scholar Alexander Saxton makes a case that the vertically integrated system of the Six Companies was not dissimilar to organized labor. Labor contractors working for the Six Companies negotiated wages and supplied Chinese laborers for railroad construction, land reclamation, agriculture, and manufacturing, while housing, feeding, and paying the workers. The system was self-enforcing, with

¹⁰⁴⁴ Nihipail, et.al, *Hawaiians in Los Angeles*, 46; *1977 Korean Business Directory*, 28.
¹⁰⁴⁵ Alan Cartnal, “A Portrait of Three Families: Aloha in the Melting Pot,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 17, 1972; “At Latitude 20: Li’l Albert Right off Island Boat,” *Los Angeles Times*, June 11, 1976.
¹⁰⁴⁶ Nihipail, et.al, *Hawaiians in Los Angeles*, 35; 46; 62; Cartnal, “A Portrait of Three Families,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 17, 1972.
¹⁰⁴⁷ Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 239-240.

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only rare cases where the workers rebelled and engaged in strikes against employers, such as they did in 1867 protesting the conditions and pay of building the transcontinental railroad.¹⁰⁴⁸

For those in various trades and manufacturing, Chinese wage workers were excluded from white trade unions. Those in San Francisco in the late nineteenth century established their own organizations that resembled Chinese guilds.¹⁰⁴⁹ The organizations bargained over wages, arbitrated disputes, and initiated strikes against both Chinese and non-Chinese employers.

Also available to this first generation of Chinese immigrants was owning and operating small businesses serving the Chinese community or the broader population in general. The small business owners generally were too few in numbers to organize. Some did organize into guilds to support each other, especially against discriminatory ordinances and laws in the years leading up to the Chinese Exclusion Act. Chinese laundry owners in San Francisco formed a laundry guild in the 1880s, *Tung Hing Tong*. In addition to defending members against local laws favoring white laundries, it also established rules to regulate competition—pricing and location—among the Chinese laundries, fixed prices against non-members, and settled disputes among members.¹⁰⁵⁰

Gold Mining

The first influx of Chinese immigrants headed directly to the gold fields along with other migrants seeking their fortunes. Mining was the primary occupation in the early years of the 1850s, as about eighty-five percent of the Chinese population in California were engaged in placer mining.¹⁰⁵¹ The Chinese miners, predominately men, generally stayed together, worked as a group, and shared the proceeds found. They worked mainly placer claims, where they shoveled sand from the stream into a pan or rocker and washed away the sand and dirt to find any of the heavier gold particles at the bottom. They became a common sight in the Sierra foothills especially along the Yuba River.¹⁰⁵² The Chinese miners earned a reputation for hard work and being resourceful, such as introducing the water wheel to placer mining. They also garnered unwanted attention, as the target of scorn, assaults, and discrimination.

Some miners traded the uncertainty of gold mining for the more stable and lucrative opportunities to supply miners with their basic needs. They became farmers or vegetable peddlers to provide familiar

¹⁰⁴⁸ Alexander Saxton, *The Indispensable Enemy: Labor and the Anti-Chinese Movement in California* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995), 8-10; Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 86; Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 61-62.

¹⁰⁴⁹ June Mei, "Socioeconomic Developments among the Chinese in San Francisco, 1848-1906," in *Labor Immigration Under Capitalism: Asian Workers in the United States Before World War II*, eds. Lucie Cheng and Edna Bonacich (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 385-386.

¹⁰⁵⁰ John Jung, *Chinese Laundries: Tickets to Survival on Gold Mountain* (place of publication not identified: Yin & Yang Press, 2007), 76.

¹⁰⁵¹ Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 38.

¹⁰⁵² Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 80-83.

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Chinese vegetables to Chinese miners, parlayed their roles as cooks to miners into opening Chinese restaurants in nearby towns, and similarly offered laundry services, then considered women’s work, to miners and in cities.¹⁰⁵³

Businesses and Manufacturing in Urban Areas

Some remained close to the gold fields while others moved to surrounding towns, including San Francisco and Sacramento, the two growing cities that were along the path of new Chinese arrivals from ship to mining. Entrepreneurs opened shops to cater to fellow Chinese immigrants, such as ethnic grocery stores and herbalist or Chinese medicine shops, and boarding houses. Other businesses, like restaurants, curio or bazaar stores, and laundries, also attracted non-Chinese clientele. With the growing numbers in San Francisco and Sacramento, the concentrations of Chinese residents and businesses developed into Chinatowns with a wide range of services, everything from Chinese-language newspapers to gambling halls and brothels—providing one of the occupations, along with domestic service, available to the few Chinese women in California.¹⁰⁵⁴

By the mid-1860s, the gold mines were playing out, and Chinese miners began to leave the mining districts. The percentage of the Chinese population that remained in mining dwindled to about one-third by 1870. As they moved out of mining, some became wage earners in manufacturing, including woolen mills, paper mills, cigar factories, garment industry, shoe factories, and tanneries.¹⁰⁵⁵ Manufacturing in California had begun in San Francisco during the Gold Rush to supply mining camps and flourished during the Civil War (1861-1865) when goods from the East were in short supply and transportation remained costly and long. After the war, and with the completion of the transcontinental railroad, goods manufactured in the industrial cities of the East became readily available. In order to compete, California’s manufacturers, generally located in more urban areas, remained competitive, and continued the state’s industrialization trend in the 1870s, in part by hiring Chinese workers at lower wages. Chinese workers dominated in some industries, such as cigar making, and were kept out of others, like construction in San Francisco where white workingmen used violence to deter Chinese laborers.¹⁰⁵⁶

Other Chinese workers entered domestic service, took up fishing and shrimping, or opened businesses in the 1860s and 1870s. A small portion entered agriculture, working as field hands in Sacramento, San Mateo, Alameda, Solano, and Tehama Counties, among others.¹⁰⁵⁷ Some workers were able to climb the agricultural ladder and become truck farmers, tenant farmers, and vegetable peddlers, sometimes directly supplying Chinese-operated businesses in town.¹⁰⁵⁸

¹⁰⁵³ Street, *Beasts of the Field*, 247; Todd J. Braje, *Shellfish for the Celestial Empire: The Rise and Fall of Commercial Abalone Fishing in California* (Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 2016), 92.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 38-50.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 84, 88; Street, *Beasts of the Field*, 242-243.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Saxton, *The Indispensable Enemy*, 5-6.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Street, *Beasts of the Field*, 243.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Street, *Beasts of the Field*, 247.

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Railroad Construction

Railroad construction became the next industry where Chinese workers made an impact. The Central Pacific Railroad first hired Chinese workers in 1865 for the leg of the transcontinental railroad heading east from Sacramento. Chinese workers were again praised for their work ethic, and many new immigrants arrived to go directly into railroad construction. Again, they were scorned by white workers as unfair competition as the railroad companies paid Chinese workers less or could avoid paying board and lodging. The cost savings led to Chinese laborers dominating in railroad construction.¹⁰⁵⁹ At the peak, the Central Pacific employed more than 10,000 Chinese men. As with gold mining, the Chinese workers stayed together and supported the community they created. They had their own cooks and lodging separated from the other groups who worked on building the railroads.¹⁰⁶⁰

Land Reclamation and Agriculture

With the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869, thousands of Chinese laborers found themselves without employment. Some remained in transportation as railroad construction continued throughout the state. Others moved to San Francisco and joined the industries seen in the previous decade, such as manufacturing or domestic service, or as business owners. The next main industry that the majority of Chinese workers shifted to was agriculture.

In 1870, only ten percent of farm workers in California were Chinese. That grew to fifty percent by 1884 and ninety percent by 1886.¹⁰⁶¹ The involvement of Chinese laborers in agriculture marked a turning point for California and turned agriculture into a major industry for the state. Part of that story is the reclamation of land in the Sacramento-San Joaquin River Delta (Delta). In 1850, the federal government passed the Swamp Land Act, which allowed federally owned swamp land to revert to state ownership. In California, the state began to sell the swampland in the Delta to private individuals to drain and reclaim into viable agricultural land. Significant human labor was needed to drain, dike, clear, and level the land. Although an attempt was made in the 1850s to import Chinese labor to supplement the state’s existing field workers—mostly indigenous, white, and Mexican laborers at the time—opposition by the mining districts to more Chinese immigrants ended the attempt.¹⁰⁶²

Around the time the transcontinental railroad construction was ending, county supervisors in the Delta were organizing reclamation districts and major projects. The state also lifted the acreage limits for ownership of swamp land, which attracted larger investors and corporations.¹⁰⁶³ Chinese laborers fulfilled the need for a large workforce to turn swamp land into farmable land. As with the structure of railroad construction, a Chinese boss facilitated the employment of large numbers of Chinese laborers. They organized work crews, provided transportation to work, supplied food and board, advanced wages,

¹⁰⁵⁹ Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 84-86.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 54-60.

¹⁰⁶¹ Braje, *Shellfish for the Celestial Empire*, 157.

¹⁰⁶² Street, *Beasts of the Field*, 238-239.

¹⁰⁶³ George Chu, “Chinatowns in the Delta: The Chinese in the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta, 1870-1960,” *California Historical Society Quarterly* 49, no. 1 (March 1970): 23 (of 21-37)

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negotiated pay rates, set working conditions, and supervised the terms of employment. For the corporations or landowners, they only had to deal with the Chinese boss, who was often bilingual.¹⁰⁶⁴

Similar to their experiences in gold mining and railroad construction, the Chinese workers proved to be industrious and resourceful. They became the preferred labor force for the land reclamation and the cultivation of the land once it was cleared. With the fertile land recaptured, California agriculture started to become a major industry. It helped that with the transcontinental railroad system in place, fresh produce could be delivered to markets in other parts of the country without spoiling. By the end of the 1870s, growers in California were sending fruit eastward at the rate of more than 10,000 boxcars a year.¹⁰⁶⁵

The efforts at land reclamation also provided some entrepreneurial workers the incentive to become farmers themselves. Some became tenant farmers, at times in exchange for the land they reclaimed.¹⁰⁶⁶ Chinese farmers formed partnerships or small collectives to share the work and the risks, and often also employed additional Chinese field hands. Most were small-scale farmers, though Chin Lung, who began by working in the reclamation of tule lands in the Sacramento-San Joaquin delta, saved enough money to lease land across the delta and became known as the “Chinese Potato King.”¹⁰⁶⁷

While a large percentage of the Chinese workforce was engaged in agriculture starting around 1870, they did not dominate the industry. Agriculture employed many other farmworkers, including European and South American immigrants; local indigenous populations; Mexican residents, some of whom had long-standing ties dating to before California was part of the United States; and many other groups. Chinese agricultural laborers were found throughout the state. They were never a majority and controlled only one or two farming districts.¹⁰⁶⁸ They did become scapegoats for white workers unable to secure farm work, especially as a national economic recession set in during the mid-1870s. The rise of the anti-Chinese movement that ultimately led to the 1888 Chinese Exclusion Act, which limited the immigration of additional Chinese agricultural laborers, stems from Chinese workers in agriculture.

Other Industries

Fishing

Between 1850 and 1900, Chinese workers were also involved in other industries of the period, though to lesser degrees than mining, transportation, manufacturing, and agriculture. Chinese immigrants are credited with founding California’s saltwater fishing industry.¹⁰⁶⁹ The origins are not clear, with some attributing it to former gold miners who left after the 1852 Foreign Miner Tax, and others to Chinese fishermen who came with the intention of building a fishing business or who saw greater opportunity

¹⁰⁶⁴ Street, *Beasts of the Field*, 268.
¹⁰⁶⁵ Street, *Beasts of the Field*, 267.
¹⁰⁶⁶ Chu, “Chinatowns in the Delta,” 25-26.
¹⁰⁶⁷ Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 162.
¹⁰⁶⁸ Street, *Beasts of the Field*, 235-237.
¹⁰⁶⁹ Braje, *Shellfish for the Celestial Empire*, 93.

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along the California coast than in gold mining. Most of those arriving from China came from Guangdong Province with a long coastline and industries in fishing and shipbuilding, along with agricultural production.

The first Chinese fishing operations started sometime between 1849 and 1853, and the earliest documented fishing camp was at Monterey in 1853.¹⁰⁷⁰ The San Francisco Bay, Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers, the Monterey area, and the San Diego Bay became important commercial fishing centers, with small Chinese settlements that grew into permanent fishing villages. They fished shrimp, shark, redfish, rockfish, sturgeon, smelt, sole, barracuda, squid, clams, crabs, lobsters, abalone, and others. The seafood was sold fresh to local markets and shipped to Chinese communities along the West Coast. Dried fish could be provided to gold miners inland, as well as exported to China, which was a major market. The fishermen constructed their own vessels from native California redwood using traditional Chinese construction techniques.¹⁰⁷¹

Chinese were not the only ones in the California fishing industry. Immigrants from other parts of the world with fishing traditions were also in the industry, including Italians, Portuguese, and British.¹⁰⁷² Chinese fishermen faced similar discrimination and attempts at excluding them from the industry once they proved successful when a license fee was imposed in 1860 for every Chinese fisherman. As the anti-Chinese sentiment increased in the 1870s recession, Chinese fishermen were blamed for some of the overfishing that was becoming a concern.¹⁰⁷³ With the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, Chinese fishermen were among the laborers excluded from entering the country. By 1898, Japanese immigrants started to fill the void in the fishing industry left by the Chinese after the immigration law changed.¹⁰⁷⁴

Laundries

Chinese laundries did not invent the laundry business. They expanded the acceptance of this service. Chinese entrepreneurs first provided laundering services during the Gold Rush to fill a need with so few women in San Francisco or the gold mines to perform the domestic tasks seen as women’s work. The first Chinese laundry in California is attributed to failed gold miner Wah Lee at the corner of Grant Avenue and Washington Street (not extant) in downtown San Francisco in 1851.¹⁰⁷⁵

It continued to be an opportunity for the Chinese community, along with other services considered domestic work, including cooking that led to them opening restaurants and employment as domestic servants.¹⁰⁷⁶ The demand for paid laundry service started to increase in the industrial states of the East

¹⁰⁷⁰ Braje, *Shellfish for the Celestial Empire*, 94.
¹⁰⁷¹ Braje, *Shellfish for the Celestial Empire*, 96.
¹⁰⁷² Braje, *Shellfish for the Celestial Empire*, 163.
¹⁰⁷³ Braje, *Shellfish for the Celestial Empire*, 163-165.
¹⁰⁷⁴ Braje, *Shellfish for the Celestial Empire*, 177.
¹⁰⁷⁵ Braje, *Shellfish for the Celestial Empire*, 92.
¹⁰⁷⁶ Jung, *Chinese Laundries*, 40-41.

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from 1870 to 1920, with women were doing less domestic work as middle-class lifestyles changed.¹⁰⁷⁷ By 1870, San Francisco had 2,000 Chinese laundries.¹⁰⁷⁸ Only about eight percent of Chinese residents in all occupations (3,653 of 46,274) as of 1870 were laundry workers.¹⁰⁷⁹ In areas where few Chinese immigrants lived, laundry work was often the primary occupation; in areas with a large Chinese population, laundries was one of many employment options.¹⁰⁸⁰ By 1880, census records indicated Chinese operators accounted for over three-fourth of all laundries in California.¹⁰⁸¹ The barriers to entry were low—no special equipment or skills were needed. To start a business required little capital, though it did require long hours and hard work. To compete, many charged much less than white-owned laundries. Business owners worked as much as their employees, who often lived on the premises and worked long days. The owners and workers sent remittances back to China, though often hid the difficult working conditions in trying to show how successful they were.¹⁰⁸²

Between 1890 and the 1920s, the number of Chinese laundries began to decline noticeably. Commercial laundries became more feasible with the invention of the mechanical washing machine, and steam laundries operated by white owners had the advantage of greater capacity. As with any new technology, some early adopters preferred the novelty, marketed as improving hygiene with the hot water in machines able to kill germs and disparaging the Chinese hand laundries as mysterious and unhygienic.¹⁰⁸³ Still others preferred the traditional hand washing offered by Chinese laundries, distrusting the new technology.

Chinese laundries continued to be competitive against the steam laundries during the early 1900s. The white-owned steam laundries employed women, and often had costly labor disputes.¹⁰⁸⁴ The competition from powered laundries, aided by discriminatory regulations, forced some Chinese laundries to close.¹⁰⁸⁵

By the 1920s, Chinese hand laundries started to be competitive again, likely as washable fabrics became more available. Also, in large cities, Chinese hand laundries started to send the dirty laundry to wet wash power laundry plants that centralized the labor-intensive washing before returning the cleaned clothes overnight to the small neighborhood laundries where ironing and other hand finishing were completed. Almost four decades removed from the Chinese Exclusion Act and the steady influx of Chinese laborers, it was not until the early twentieth century that the laundry business became a primary industry for the

¹⁰⁷⁷ Jung, *Chinese Laundries*, 203-204.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Braje, *Shellfish for the Celestial Empire*, 92.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 240.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Jung, *Chinese Laundries*, 45-47.

¹⁰⁸¹ Jung, *Chinese Laundries*, 42.

¹⁰⁸² Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 168-170.

¹⁰⁸³ Jung, *Chinese Laundries*, 86-91.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Jung, *Chinese Laundries*, 91.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Jung, *Chinese Laundries*, 203-204.

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Chinese American population. The 1920 census recorded almost thirty percent of all employed Chinese residents in the United States worked in laundries (12,560 out of 45,614).¹⁰⁸⁶

The belt-tightening during the Depression led to price wars between Chinese laundries and white-owned plants, and by the 1940s, Chinese laundries had adapted by adding on-site steam and electric power equipment. They enjoyed success in the 1940s, especially those near military bases and camps. They also adapted by adding dry cleaning. As the 1950s brought prosperity and new technology, homeowners could buy home washing and drying machines while self-service laundromats became an alternative to Chinese laundries.¹⁰⁸⁷

Prostitution

During the years when the Chinese population in California was primarily male laborers, industries within the Chinese community developed to cater to their needs, such as laundries, restaurants, rooming houses, and illicit leisure activities such as prostitution, narcotics, and gambling. Prostitution at the beginning of the Gold Rush from circa 1849 to 1854 was one of the few industries available to women and the reason for them to be in mining towns and the rapidly growing San Francisco. In these first years, small entrepreneurs and independent, self-employed women controlled the trade. Some were able to take advantage of demand for their services given the gender imbalance, and accumulated enough money to return to China, or stay in the United States and become brothel owners or invest in other businesses. The lucrative sex trade drew others who organized the business into near monopolies. By 1854 and through about 1925, the Chinese prostitution business was under the control of the Chinese secret societies.¹⁰⁸⁸ Whereas the Six Companies oversaw the legitimate businesses at which laborers spent their paychecks, secret societies (typically *tongs*) controlled the illicit industries—brothels, opium dens, and gambling halls—sometimes offering all three in one location.¹⁰⁸⁹

The secret societies were involved with the procurement and importation of girls and women to the United States, as well as the brothels once they arrived. Hip Yee Tong was the predominate prostitute importer for the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Once arrived, the girls and women were put up for bidding first, to become concubines or mistresses for men with means. Those remaining would either go to higher-class brothels reserved only for Chinese clients, or to less desirable, lower-class brothels with mixed-raced clientele. Mostly only worked in prostitution for a short period, approximately four to five years. During that time, brothel owners would also arrange for them to do semi-skilled work during the slow daytime hours, like piecemeal sewing. Brothel owners commonly operated other vice businesses,

¹⁰⁸⁶ Change, *The Chinese in America*, 168-170.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Jung, *Chinese Laundries*, 204-208.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Cheng, "Free, Indentured, Enslaved," 406-407.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Lucie Cheng, "Free, Indentured, Enslaved: Chinese Prostitution in Nineteenth-Century America," in *Labor Immigration Under Capitalism: Asian Workers in the United States Before World War II*, eds. Lucie Cheng and Edna Bonacich (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 423.

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like opium dens or gambling halls, where some women became addicted, increasing their debts to the brothel owners.¹⁰⁹⁰

The height of the Chinese prostitution business in San Francisco was in the 1870s. Increasing discriminatory regulation of Chinese immigration increased the cost of sex trafficking. Laws, such as the Page Act of 1875 that on the surface were to prevent the arrival of “immoral” women, were really part of the growing anti-Chinese sentiments that culminated in the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. With more barriers to entry, the secret societies involved with trafficking had to spend more money on bribing officials and preparing women to answer elaborate questions to prove they had legitimate reasons and family relationships to immigrate.¹⁰⁹¹

Other changes in the 1880s also led to the decline of Chinese prostitution. The secret societies fought internally to control the illicit trades, while also battling the Six Companies and other business owners who did not want Chinatown to be known for such vices. The arrival of more women, generally middle-class white women, as wives to a maturing San Francisco turned the once frontier town into a stable city with families and children where prostitution became less acceptable. With the Chinese Exclusion Act ending the easy travel back and forth, more Chinese men also married, including to former prostitutes, and settled in the United States.¹⁰⁹²

Women who worked as prostitutes had few options. Some stayed at the brothels working as cooks or laundry women once their active period ended. Others escaped by marrying clients, if those men could afford to buy out their contracts or ran away with the women. Others escaped to missions, whose activities included the “rescue” of women from prostitution. The most well-known was the Presbyterian Church’s Occidental Mission House at 920 Sacramento Street, San Francisco (extant, San Francisco Landmark, known as the Donaldina Cameron House) operated by the Women’s Occidental Board starting in 1873 first under Margaret Culbertson and then later Donaldina Cameron. Functioning under the morality of the Victorian era, the mission house had strict rules for the women they helped. Not all decided to stay there, or wanted their help, given the moral superiority.¹⁰⁹³

Chinese American Employment, 1900 to World War II

With the Chinese Exclusion Act in place, Chinese laborers were no longer being replenished. Other immigrant groups, such as Japanese, Filipina/o, and Mexican laborers, became more prominent in the fields. Those who were here continued in agriculture for many more decades, especially around the Sacramento-San Joaquin River area. The 1913 Alien Land Act, targeting Japanese farmers, also prohibited Chinese immigrant farmers, those who were aliens ineligible for citizenship, from owning

¹⁰⁹⁰ Cheng, “Free, Indentured, Enslaved,” 408-416.

¹⁰⁹¹ Cheng, “Free, Indentured, Enslaved,” 408-410.

¹⁰⁹² Cheng, “Free, Indentured, Enslaved,” 422-423.

¹⁰⁹³ Cheng, “Free, Indentured, Enslaved,” 424.

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land. Some were forced to become migrant farm laborers or were able to lease land without the benefit of ownership.¹⁰⁹⁴

For Chinese workers and the much smaller numbers of non-laborers immigrating as merchants and “paper sons,” more opportunities could be found in small towns and cities than in rural areas in the twentieth century.¹⁰⁹⁵ The first two decades of the twentieth century witnessed this shift of Chinese residents from rural areas to urban centers. The 1913 *International Chinese Business Directory of the World* had listings for 130 towns and cities across California with Chinese businesses.¹⁰⁹⁶ About seventy percent or approximately ninety towns had fewer than ten listings. They included towns as far north as Yreka (seven) at the Oregon border, east along the Nevada border in Bodie (five) and Benton (three) and a few along the northern coast at Fort Bragg (nine), Mendocino (three), and Point Arena (one). Only about twenty communities had large enough Chinese populations to support more than twenty listings, with San Francisco (about 500), Los Angeles (265), Oakland (148), and Sacramento (115) as the top four. The others were in primarily agricultural areas, such as Fresno (ninety-eight), Bakersfield (fifty-nine), and Hanford (twenty-three) in the Central Valley; Stockton (thirty-nine) and Walnut Grove (thirty-four) in the Sacramento-San Joaquin Valley; Marysville (forty-nine), Chico (twenty-five), Holt Station (twenty-two), and Oroville (twenty) north of Sacramento; and Watsonville (thirty-seven), Salinas (thirty), and Monterey (twenty-nine) around Monterey Bay. Also notable are the numbers in San Jose (forty-one), Santa Barbara (forty-eight), and San Diego (thirty-four) as growing urban areas.

By 1920, fifty-six percent of the Chinese population in the United States were living in cities of 100,000 or more, and that rose to seventy percent by 1940. Likely many of these small towns with fewer than ten Chinese businesses in 1913 dwindled considerably as the Chinese population migrated to urbanized areas. Once there, they still faced discrimination and segregation into distinct Chinatowns.¹⁰⁹⁷ By this time, the Chinatowns were no longer way stations for laborers on their way to the gold fields, farms, and railroads. They became residential communities for families, Chinese economic enclaves, and tourist centers, while still serving as a refuge of the aging bachelor laborer society.¹⁰⁹⁸

Chinese-Operated Businesses

From the 1913 directory, the main Chinese-operated business in the smaller, rural communities was the general merchandise store; in some cases, all listings were for general merchandise. Laundries, groceries, and restaurants were the other common businesses. In towns with up to twenty listings, other types of businesses included dry goods, Chinese and Japanese bazaars, and occasionally bakeries or produce or vegetable sellers. These larger concentrations also had fraternal associations (tongs, branches

¹⁰⁹⁴ Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 161-162.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 162-163.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Wong Kin, ed., *International Chinese Business Directory of the World* (San Francisco: International Chinese Business Directory Co., Inc., 1913), 1395-1475.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 239.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 245.

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of the Six Companies, etc.) or Christian missions. They also often had multiple general merchandise stores.

In those with more than twenty listings, the businesses varied beyond the general merchandise, groceries, restaurants, laundries, and drug or herbalist shops more common in smaller towns. The businesses served the Chinese communities with physicians and dentists, barbers, tailors, shoemakers and shoe repair, tofu shops, and clothing stores, with many listings for ladies’ underwear (though the Chinese characters read as “new clothing” or “western clothing”). Other businesses such as butchers, poultry/fish shops, cigar/tobacco factories and shops, furniture stores, and tea shops may have served a broader community. Only a few listed lodging houses or hotels.

Restaurants

As with laundries, cooking as a domestic service was offered by Chinese entrepreneurs—to both Chinese and non-Chinese miners—during the Gold Rush that morphed into owning and operating restaurants. During late 1860s and 1870s, San Francisco had well over a dozen Chinese restaurants, including three or four that were elaborate, multi-story establishments with banquet facilities. Their customers were from the Chinese community and were not drawing regular customers from the non-Chinese population.¹⁰⁹⁹ The small family-run Chinese restaurants provided a service that was in short supply in the late 1800s, particularly to the still mostly bachelor Chinese community. Like laundries, the work was hard and profits slim. They were often family-run, with the proprietors living on-site and all family members, including children, helping.¹¹⁰⁰

Before 1900, most Americans had no interest in Chinese food, and viewed Chinese restaurants with suspicion, in part because of rumors that Chinese people ate rats or dogs. Eventually, the inexpensive meals attracted the non-Chinese working class, and by the 1920s, many towns had at least one Chinese restaurant.¹¹⁰¹ During this time, the craze for chop suey helped to spread Chinese restaurants throughout the United States between 1900 and 1920 and peaked in the 1950s. The origins of chop suey as a dish are not clear. One common account holds that hungry white laborers went to a Chinese restaurant late one evening in the 1880s. With no food left, the cook improvised by stir-frying some kitchen scraps and called the dish chop suey—a Chinese term for “odds and ends.”¹¹⁰² The dish popularized Chinese food among the non-Chinese population, and Chinese restaurants—owned and operated by Chinese Americans and attracting mostly non-Chinese customers with added ingredients and dishes tailored to

¹⁰⁹⁹ Andrew Coe, *Chop Suey: A Cultural History of Chinese Food in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 124-125.

¹¹⁰⁰ Jung, *Chinese Laundries*, 212-215.

¹¹⁰¹ Jung, *Chinese Laundries*, 211-212.

¹¹⁰² Jung, *Chinese Laundries*, 212.

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Americanized, white tastes—were thriving in various American cities outside of large cities’ Chinatowns by the 1920s.¹¹⁰³

Restaurants replaced laundries as the primary source of self-employment for Chinese shopkeepers, a trend that continued throughout the twentieth century.¹¹⁰⁴ By 1920, roughly a quarter (about 11,500 of 45,600) of all Chinese workers in the United States worked in restaurants.¹¹⁰⁵ Many were owner-operated enterprises, though a few were larger-scale operations that hired chefs, waiters, and hostesses. When attitudes toward Chinese changed during World War II with China an ally against Japan, Chinese food and restaurants gained increased popularity and acceptance in the mainstream.¹¹⁰⁶ The 1950s saw a rise in larger, more lavish, and stylized Chinese restaurants with “Oriental décor” and exotic names to attract tourists, gourmets, and adventuresome diners searching for different culinary experiences. Dining places in Chinatowns opened to serve this clientele. These higher end restaurants, with tablecloths and linen napkins, offered a sophisticated ambiance that as part of the experience. Chinese food was no longer just available at small, family-run restaurants or cafes.¹¹⁰⁷

Chinese Medicine/Herbalist Shops

An industry exclusive to the Chinese, herbalist shops served both the Chinese community and curious or desperate Caucasians in an era when California lacked well-trained Western doctors.¹¹⁰⁸ Some businesses advertised in mainstream English newspapers. By the late nineteenth century, most Chinatowns in California had at least one herbalist. The 1913 *International Chinese Business Directory of the World* listed twenty-eight Chinese herb doctors in Los Angeles, even though the Chinese population then was around 2,000. Seen as competition, there were some attempts by the American medical establishment to drive herbalists out of business by having them fined or imprisoned for practicing without a license.¹¹⁰⁹

Cannery

A notable Chinese-owned cannery was Bayside Canning Company in Alviso. A Chinese man, Sai Yen Chew, opened it after his previous cannery in San Francisco was destroyed in the 1906 earthquake. The business remained small, canning only tomatoes, until Chew’s son, Thomas Foon Chew, took over. Thomas arrived in California with his mother in 1897, brought over as the wife and son of Chew, who was likely considered a merchant and not subject to the Chinese Exclusion Act. Once Thomas joined the business, he expanded to canning apricots, peaches, plums, and others. The company was the first

¹¹⁰³ Andrée Lafontaine, “‘As American as Chop Suey’: The Chop Suey Joint in Classical Hollywood Film,” in *Chop Suey and Sushi from Sea to Shining Sea: Chinese and Japanese Restaurants in the United States*, eds. Bruce Makoto Arnold, Tanfer Emin Tunç, and Raymond Douglas Chong (Fayetteville, AR: University of Arkansas Press, 2018), 236.

¹¹⁰⁴ Jung, *Chinese Laundries*, 211-212.

¹¹⁰⁵ Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 163.

¹¹⁰⁶ Jung, *Chinese Laundries*, 212-215.

¹¹⁰⁷ Jung, *Chinese Laundries*, 215-217.

¹¹⁰⁸ Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 164.

¹¹⁰⁹ Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 164-166.

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cannery to preserve green asparagus and resulted in Thomas becoming known as “Asparagus King” of San Francisco. He also added plants in Mayfield (later Palo Alto) and along the Delta. By the 1920s, the company grew into the third largest cannery in the country after Del Monte and Libby. Thomas died in 1931 at the age of 42 from pneumonia, and the company survived only a few years without his leadership.¹¹¹⁰

Garment Factories

After World War I, Chinese immigrant women dominated the garment industry.¹¹¹¹ Chinese businessmen would obtain contracts from white manufacturers and open sweatshops with female Chinese workers. One example is Joe Shoong, a former immigrant laborer who opened a small store, the China Toggery, a dry-goods store in Vallejo in 1903. He moved his store to San Francisco after the 1906 earthquake. He did so well, he added branch stores in other California cities as well as in Oregon and Washington. His first branch was in Sacramento (address and status unknown).¹¹¹²

In 1928, Shoong had sixteen stores and renamed the enterprise National Dollar Stores, as in the early years, goods were sold for under a dollar.¹¹¹³ It was recognized at the time as the largest Chinese business in the United States. The customer base and most employees were white, though the managers and stockholders were Chinese. Within a few decades, the chain had more than fifty stores in the western states.¹¹¹⁴

To afford the low prices, Shoong controlled some of the supply chain. He owned the factory in which the dresses sold at the National Dollar Stores were made, and where low-paid, unorganized Chinese garment workers from San Francisco’s Chinatown were hired. The workers organized themselves in 1937 into the Chinese Ladies Garment Workers, an affiliate of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU). Their strike was unsuccessful, as Shoong closed the factory and owned another one elsewhere.¹¹¹⁵ *Time* magazine reported about the strike in an article in 1938, noting Shoong lived in a large stucco house in Oakland (address and status unknown) and was a Shriner and a 32nd degree Mason.¹¹¹⁶

¹¹¹⁰ Robin Chapman, “Santa Clara Valley Lives: Thomas Foon Chew: The Man who Made a Difference,” *Los Altos Town Crier*, October 10, 2018, accessed February 18, 2022, https://www.losaltosonline.com/community/santa-clara-valley-lives-thomas-foon-chew-the-man-who-made-a-difference/article_a67597bd-4929-5afc-99e1-e259c2264e56.html; Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 162.

¹¹¹¹ Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 190.

¹¹¹² “Business: Toggery Trouble,” *Time* (March 28, 1938), accessed February 21, 2022, <http://content.time.com/time/subscriber/article/0,33009,759404,00.html>.

¹¹¹³ Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 251.

¹¹¹⁴ Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 166.

¹¹¹⁵ Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 252.

¹¹¹⁶ “Business: Toggery Trouble.”

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Urban Chinatowns

The handful of much larger urban Chinatowns were full-service communities with Chinese newspapers, temples, theaters, language schools for the second generation, and centers for family associations. Some stores served as post offices.¹¹¹⁷ Excluded from the broader, white-dominated society into ethnic enclaves, Chinese communities established their own informal credit systems, as they did not have access to and were distrustful of white-owned banks. Chinese entrepreneurs borrowed from family to start businesses or partnered with others to pool capital with regular payments out of which loans would be made.¹¹¹⁸

As with other ethnic minorities, the Chinese were not seen, prevalent, or necessarily welcomed in the mainstream white neighborhoods. In the Chinatowns and other ethnic enclaves in which they lived, worked, and socialized, they could be themselves. In San Francisco and Los Angeles, the Chinatowns were considered slums, with overcrowding and dilapidated building stock, and a high rate of contagious diseases as a result. Chinatowns were also considered exotic tourist attractions, a place of intrigue and potential danger that adventurous white, mainstream residents could visit for a thrill.¹¹¹⁹

In the 1930s, tourism became a new industry for Chinatowns, particularly in San Francisco, where post-1906 earthquake rebuilding by the Chinese community was completed with a distinctively Chinese appearance using Chinese architectural elements. Promoting Chinatown as a tourist destination during the Depression helped keep businesses active, though not all residents liked being tourist attractions.¹¹²⁰ Tour guides spun elaborate stories and myths banking on the criminal or unsavory reputation of Chinatowns from the late nineteenth century, which was changing. The tongs were going legitimate as business organizations. Prostitution also declined due to efforts of missionaries and middle-class Chinese activists.¹¹²¹ Nightclubs like the Forbidden City in San Francisco thrived through exoticizing Chinese women to a largely Caucasian clientele.¹¹²²

The 1930s was also a period of movie making, and a few Chinese actors, like Anna May Wong, started to make a name for themselves in Hollywood. Most could not land leading or even speaking roles, with yellowface—white actors in Asian roles with make-up—a common practice. Chinese actors interested in the entertainment industry assumed middleman roles, like actress Bessie Loo starting her own talent agency in Los Angeles. Others became agents or operated costume and prop companies.¹¹²³

¹¹¹⁷ Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 253.

¹¹¹⁸ Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 201.

¹¹¹⁹ Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 246-247.

¹¹²⁰ Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 204-206.

¹¹²¹ Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 205.

¹¹²² Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 205.

¹¹²³ Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 210.

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Second Generation Chinese Americans

Born in the United States, and conferred citizenship by birth, second generation Chinese Americans had some more opportunities than their parents, and still faced prejudice and discrimination in employment. Many were the children of the merchant class, who were more likely than laborers to be able to bring wives to the United States. These children were raised on American culture and by the first few decades of the twentieth century, were enrolling at California colleges and universities.¹¹²⁴ They received degrees in engineering, architecture, law, education, the sciences, and other professions. They faced difficulties getting hired as firms had policies against hiring Asians.¹¹²⁵

Some second generation Chinese Americans found or created opportunities for themselves. The first Chinese lawyer to practice law in California was Chan Chung Wing. Born in Napa, California, he spent part of his childhood in China, before returning to California to live in San Francisco. He studied engineering at the University of California, Berkeley, then went to Saint Ignatius School of Law and graduated in 1918. He became a defender of the Chinese community’s civil rights using his law degree.¹¹²⁶ Architects like Gilbert L. Leong (second generation) and Eugene Choy (immigrated as a child) graduated from the University of Southern California’s architecture school in the mid-1930s and worked in the field after World War II; both designed mid-twentieth century buildings in Los Angeles’ New Chinatown.¹¹²⁷

Fewer avenues were open to second generation Chinese women. One was as operators for Chinatown Telephone Exchange in San Francisco where they were required to speak fluent English along with several Chinese dialects.¹¹²⁸ A few women found employment in pink-collar positions, as secretaries, clerks, or stock girls in businesses outside of Chinatowns. Slowly in the first few decades of the twentieth century, they moved into teaching, nursing, and library sciences.¹¹²⁹ Notable are Faith So Leung, believed to have been the first Chinese American female dentist in 1905, and Dolly Gee, the first Chinese American bank manager in 1929. An early female physician was Bessie Jong in California.¹¹³⁰

The second generation constituted a small percent of the Chinese population in California in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries owing to the predominately male laborers who arrived before the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act and the limitations on Chinese women immigrating. With immigration

¹¹²⁴ Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 185.

¹¹²⁵ Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 185; Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 265.

¹¹²⁶ Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 188.

¹¹²⁷ Chinese American Museum, *Breaking Ground: Chinese American Architects in Los Angeles (1945-1980)* (Los Angeles: Chinese American Museum, 2012). Published in conjunction with an exhibition of the same time, organized by and presented at the Chinese American Museum, January 19 to June 3, 2012.

¹¹²⁸ Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 190.

¹¹²⁹ Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 191.

¹¹³⁰ Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 191

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so curtailed and the existing Chinese population aging, the percentage of US-born Chinese Americans surpassed that of foreign-born immigrant Chinese for the first time in 1940.¹¹³¹

Chinese American Employment, Post-World War II

The 1940 census showed sixty-one percent of the Chinese in the labor force were manual laborers, with almost all working in laundries, garment factories, and restaurants. Around twenty percent were managers and owners of small businesses, illustrating a split in the Chinese community between the merchants and the laborers.¹¹³² For Chinese women workers, the 1940 census documented twenty-nine percent in domestic service, twenty-six percent in clerical and sales, and twenty-six percent in manufacturing.¹¹³³

World War II changed many things for the Chinese community. Once stigmatized, they were considered allies against the new enemy, Japan and the Japanese. The war took them out of Chinatown and facilitated their acceptance by mainstream America. Chinese Americans joined the military where they could contribute to China’s battle and American military success. Some worked for the government as interpreters, codebreakers, and intelligence analysts. They went to the front lines. An estimated 15,000 to 20,000 Chinese Americans served in the military, representing about twenty percent of the Chinese American population in the continental United States.¹¹³⁴ Unlike African Americans and Japanese Americans who were segregated from whites in all branches of the military, Chinese American soldiers were partially integrated in the military service.¹¹³⁵ There was an all-Chinese American unit, the 14th Air Service Group (part of the “Flying Tigers”) with approximately 1,300 members. Their experience forged a new Chinese American identity for its members, in contrast to the Chinese they saw in China.¹¹³⁶ Chinese American women were recruited to the Army Air Force as Air WACs (Women’s Army Corps), with duties such as air traffic control and photograph interpretation. They also joined the U.S. Army Nurse Corps.¹¹³⁷

Outside of military service, the wartime economy also provided opportunities in non-service sector work for Chinese American residents. Facing labor shortages as the defense industry boomed in the state, California in 1944 repealed a nineteenth century law that forbade the state or public corporation from employing any Chinese.¹¹³⁸ Those with college degrees finally landed professional positions such as engineers, scientists, and technicians. Those without college degrees found jobs in shipyards and aircraft factories with union wages. Women found jobs as secretaries, clerks, and assistants for government contractors. While these new opportunities benefited many of the second and later generations, they also

¹¹³¹ Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 221.
¹¹³² Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 252.
¹¹³³ Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 252.
¹¹³⁴ Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 227-228.
¹¹³⁵ Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 229.
¹¹³⁶ Chang, *The Chinese in America*, , 229-232.
¹¹³⁷ Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 233.
¹¹³⁸ Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 233.

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represented an exodus from Chinatowns and from the small, family-run businesses in Chinatown left without the workforce that traditionally supported them.¹¹³⁹

In the 1950s, with the postwar suburban boom underway, Chinatowns as the center of Chinese American life receded. The second generation of American-born were moving away, able to take advantage of GI Bills and new opportunities for housing outside of the central city. Chinese Americans still faced obstacles from informally enforced racial covenants and other methods of real estate agents to steer people of color away from certain white neighborhoods, and other forms of discrimination.¹¹⁴⁰ They were also part of the baby boom, starting a third generation of Chinese Americans even further disconnected from China and more firmly assimilated as Americans. In San Francisco, Cameron House, once a rescue mission for Chinese prostitutes, shifted to become a community center.¹¹⁴¹

Government attention on Chinatowns in anti-Communist efforts also made Chinatowns less desirable to the next generation. The raids reduced the businesses in Chinatowns. Chinatowns, in center cities that were also facing declines in the suburbanization, shrank and some disappeared.¹¹⁴² Others were targeted by urban renewal.

Despite the suspicions, increasingly, college-educated Chinese Americans could access jobs in the professions after the war and started to move into white-collar jobs and into the middle class.¹¹⁴³

Japanese American
Japanese American Employment, 1890s to World War II

Although a sizable number of Japanese immigrated as *Dekasegi-shosei* (student laborers) who served as live-in domestic workers while studying English, most Issei who arrived on the West Coast before 1907 worked as laborers in railroad and general construction work, logging camps and lumber mills, canneries, and agriculture.¹¹⁴⁴ Often hired to replace Chinese workers who came before them, they continued a pattern of creating an all-male workforce and social system until Japanese women were allowed to immigrate after 1907.

The dramatic gender imbalance in early Japanese immigrant communities meant some Japanese women worked as prostitutes. Japanese wives often lived and worked in isolation in rural or urban settings surrounded by men, and often had to deal with harassment and even rape. When they fled their situation, Japanese newspapers frequently ran *kakeochi* (husband desertion) advertisements containing

¹¹³⁹ Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 232-233.

¹¹⁴⁰ In 1948, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that restrictive racial covenants were not enforceable, though many remained on deeds. Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 259.

¹¹⁴¹ Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 256.

¹¹⁴² Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 260.

¹¹⁴³ Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 258.

¹¹⁴⁴ Masakazu Iwata, *Planted in Good Soil: The History of the Issei in United States Agriculture* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc, 1992), 111.

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descriptions of runaway wives and their villainous lovers. Women looking to extricate themselves from unhappy marriages found their status as women in an overwhelmingly male society meant new possibilities were plentiful in California’s early Japanese settlements. Cecilia Tsu’s study of rural gender relations in the Santa Clara Valley indicate that some Japanese women in the early twentieth century utilized their circumstances to make their own choices about marriage, work, and where they would settle.¹¹⁴⁵

Fishing

Some *Issei* immigrants looked to the ocean for harvest opportunities. Following Chinese immigrants who had briefly harvested abalone in Monterey Bay, Gennosuke Kodano re-started California’s abalone industry in 1897 in the thriving abalone beds in the Monterey Bay. Although the mollusks were ignored by most Americans, they were a great delicacy in Japan and supported the Point Lobos Canning Company for thirty years at Whaler’s Cove in what became Point Lobos State Natural Reserve.¹¹⁴⁶ Other early Japanese immigrants began fishing in Southern California; by 1906, about sixteen groups of *Issei* fishermen employed about sixty fellow countrymen who fished out of the Port of Los Angeles, inspiring more to begin fishing off San Pedro, San Diego, and Oxnard.¹¹⁴⁷ Terminal Island became a center for fishing and canning at about the same time, and supported an important Japanese American residential enclave known as East San Pedro.¹¹⁴⁸ In 1916, *Issei* formed the 250-member Southern California Japanese Fishermen’s Association, which settled disputes between Japanese and white businessmen, and represented them in dealings with the state and any legislation that affected their industry.¹¹⁴⁹

Agriculture

Japanese immigrants found ready employment in California’s fields because few white workers sought the hand work required by intensive farm labor. Numbers of the previous field workers, immigrants from China, had been reduced following the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act. The fruit orchards of Vacaville, in Solano County between San Francisco and Sacramento, is considered the birthplace of Japanese contributions to California agriculture. By 1890, the city and surrounding area housed thousands of permanent residents and migrant Japanese laborers who worked seasonally in local orchards picking stone fruit.¹¹⁵⁰ By 1908, Japanese immigrants made up the largest portion of California’s agricultural workforce, though most worked as temporary farm laborers who migrated to

¹¹⁴⁵ Cecilia Tsu, “Sex, Lies and Agriculture: Reconstructing Japanese Immigrant Gender Relations in Rural California, 1900-1913,” *Pacific Historical Review* 78, no. 2 (2009): 206–207.

¹¹⁴⁶ Kodano and his American investor, Alexander Allan, opened a second operation in Cayucos in 1903 that lasted until 1916. The Point Lobos facility dominated the California abalone market for many years. Naomi Hirahara, *Distinguished Asian American Business Leaders* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2003), 104-106.

¹¹⁴⁷ Iwata, *Planted in Good Soil*, 136-137.

¹¹⁴⁸ Niiya, *Japanese American History*, 327.

¹¹⁴⁹ Iwata, *Planted in Good Soil*, 138.

¹¹⁵⁰ Tsujita and Nolan, *Omo I de: Memories of Vacaville*, passim.

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follow crops.¹¹⁵¹ Soon they accounted for over forty percent of the farm labor force particularly on farms over 360 acres and monopolized labor in certain key crops, including asparagus, sugar beet, berries, and grapes. Their productivity, work ethic, and low wages prompted some early employers such as Frank Smith, Secretary of the Sun Maid Raisin Growers Association, to consider them “a necessity.”¹¹⁵²

Initially, many of these workers imagined they would return to Japan with newfound riches. Most found reason to put down roots in California. San Francisco-based community leader and publisher, Kyotaru Abiko, was a leading voice arguing that *Issei* should work toward permanent settlement in the U.S. Abiko used his business acumen and contacts as a labor contractor to purchase land in the San Joaquin Valley in 1907 for a Japanese Christian farming colony. The Yamato Colony was the first of three that promised Japanese immigrants and their families a good life through land ownership and agriculture. The Cressey (1918) and Cortez (1919) Colonies were formed nearby and operated for many decades.¹¹⁵³

Japanese immigrants worked in agriculture across the state and comprised sizable portions of farm labor in the Imperial Valley, the Central Valley, and the Central Coast. They cultivated and harvested on sugar beet farms in Ventura County, picked the Fresno area raisin harvest, and tended fruit orchards in the Santa Clara Valley. Japanese laborers were numerous in the citrus groves in Southern California, concentrated around Riverside and Ventura, where they cared for and harvested orange and lemon trees and worked in citrus packing houses. Laborers resided in rough camps or nearby rooming houses, while a few stayed in worker camps provided by owners. Some of the Riverside area fruit growers maintained separate bunkhouses for Japanese and Chinese workers.¹¹⁵⁴ As citrus work moved from seasonal to year-round, some growers built special camps for workers. The Limoneira Company near Santa Paula hoped to keep a stable workforce by providing permanent higher-quality housing. Dormitories with kitchens and bathing facilities were offered to single men, and small homes were constructed for Japanese families. Housing never reached the standards offered to white workers.¹¹⁵⁵

Truck Farming

Truck farming and floriculture were among the agricultural niches where Japanese immigrants found great success in the first half of the twentieth century.¹¹⁵⁶ Farming is usually thought of as a dimension of rural life, yet California’s historical patterns of urban development were intricately tied to the success of Japanese immigrants who worked small plots in less dense metropolitan areas and in unincorporated areas at the urban edge.

¹¹⁵¹ Okihiro, *American History Unbound*, 164.

¹¹⁵² Street, *Beasts of the Field*, 408.

¹¹⁵³ Niiya, *Japanese American History*, 96-97.

¹¹⁵⁴ Arthur G. Paul, *Riverside Community Book* (Riverside, CA: Arthur H. Crawston, 1954), 83.

¹¹⁵⁵ Street, *Beasts of the Field*, 501.

¹¹⁵⁶ This section draws from Donna Graves, “Transforming a Hostile Environment: Japanese Immigrant Farmers in Metropolitan California,” in Dorothee Imbert ed., *Food and the City: Histories of Culture and Cultivation* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2015), 197-221.

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Issei found that the dynamic urban landscape of a place like Los Angeles offered profitable opportunities in agriculture with none more prominent than truck farming.¹¹⁵⁷ Truck farming, growing one or more crops for shipment to local and regional markets, became a major economic specialization for Japanese immigrants. By the mid-1910s, over 2,200 Japanese farm households tilled more than 80,000 acres of land in Southern California.¹¹⁵⁸ Over the next two decades, *Issei* established agricultural settlements throughout the larger region including the San Gabriel and San Fernando Valleys to the north of Los Angeles, Venice to the west, Gardena Valley, Moneta, and Palos Verdes in the South Bay, and Orange County to the east and south.¹¹⁵⁹ During this period, Japanese truck farmers produced approximately three-quarters of the fresh vegetables consumed in Los Angeles.¹¹⁶⁰ They also formed a critical economic basis for the growth of Los Angeles' largest Japantown centered on First Street just east of City Hall. *Issei* traveled from their farms on the outskirts of town to Little Tokyo on a regular basis to purchase farm supplies, to shop, and to find entertainment and fellowship with other *Nikkei*.¹¹⁶¹ As historian Scott Kurashige noted "the development of Little Tokyo as a business hub was a product of the symbiotic relationship between town and country in the immigrant economy."¹¹⁶²

Issei began negotiating leases in the area later known as Gardena, which became a center for Japanese strawberry production, as early as 1901. Up to that time strawberry cultivation was relatively unsophisticated and provided a low-yield crop. By seeking out new varieties, developing more effective methods of growing, and taking advantage of nearby rail lines to ship their crops, Japanese immigrants created an industry that, by 1910, produced a value per acre higher than all other Los Angeles area crops.¹¹⁶³ Local strawberry growers in Gardena formed an association in 1906 to share labor, equipment, and new farming techniques.¹¹⁶⁴ The San Pedro Vegetable Growers Association organized truck farmers along the coast, establishing guidelines to coordinate production, changing conditions, and marketing to downtown Los Angeles and beyond.¹¹⁶⁵

¹¹⁵⁷ Lane Ryo Hirabayashi, and George Tanaka, "The Issei Community in Moneta and the Gardena Valley, 1900-1920," *Southern California Quarterly* 70, no. 2 (1998): 132-33.

¹¹⁵⁸ Noritaka Yagasaki, "Ethnic Cooperativism and Immigrant Agriculture: A Study of Japanese Floriculture and Truck Farming in California," (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1982), 170.

¹¹⁵⁹ Iwata, *Planted in Good Soil*, passim.

¹¹⁶⁰ William Mason and John A. McKinstry, *The Japanese of Los Angeles* (Los Angeles, Los Angeles Museum of Natural History, 1969), 31.

¹¹⁶¹ Mason and McKinstry, *The Japanese of Los Angeles*, 21-22: "The farmer was the biggest producer in the Japanese community: many other Japanese businesses in one way or another depended on his [sic] income for their livelihood."

¹¹⁶² Scott Kurashige, "Transforming Los Angeles: Black and Japanese American Struggles for Racial Equality in the Twentieth Century," (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2000), 97.

¹¹⁶³ Growers often combined vegetable production with strawberry cultivation to reduce risks caused by fluctuating prices according to Hirabayashi and Tanaka, "The Issei Community," 143.

¹¹⁶⁴ Hirabayashi and Tanaka, "The Issei Community," 145.

¹¹⁶⁵ Information about Japanese American growers on the Palos Verdes Peninsula can be found at the *Japanese American Historical Mapping Project*, which documents the experiences of several families' arrival and settlement, wartime removal and incarceration, and postwar migrations, <http://jahmp.org/>.

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The need to share information, pool purchases of farm materials, and collaboratively market their produce became apparent as *Issei* farmers across California found that they were at a disadvantage with produce dealers and merchants.¹¹⁶⁶ Truck farming was difficult to organize because it was geographically dispersed and complicated to market with a large volume and variety of production and number of people involved. By the 1910s, more than twenty agricultural marketing associations and farmer cooperatives were active in Los Angeles County.¹¹⁶⁷

Japanese farmers and middlemen sold their produce at two downtown markets that served a multi-ethnic group of retailers and merchants who worked on commission. The City Market, also known as the Ninth Street Market (not extant), was formed through a multi-ethnic alliance; the Market’s initial executive board included Italian, Chinese, Japanese, and Russian members. *Nikkei* agriculturalists provided nearly twenty percent of the Market’s original capital and Japanese marketed produce in 120 out of 180 of the market’s stalls.¹¹⁶⁸ Among the buyers were fellow countrymen who ran small fruit and vegetable stands and grocery stores creating a complete vertical chain from production to wholesaling and retailing. In 1933, thirty-six Japanese agricultural associations met in Los Angeles and agreed to form a new Central Agricultural Association of Southern California, which would allow *Nikkei* to coordinate production, purchasing, farm leases, labor negotiations, and relations with other agricultural organizations.¹¹⁶⁹

Flower Growing

Japanese immigrant presence in the flower industry began with the Domoto brothers who started growing large-petaled Japanese chrysanthemums in the 1880s. Their 1890 purchase of acreage in Oakland is described in at least one account as the first land acquisition by Japanese Americans in the United States.¹¹⁷⁰ By 1904, the Domoto enterprise, which distributed flowers nationally and internationally, was the West Coast’s largest flower-growing business.¹¹⁷¹ The Domoto nursery trained many *Issei* who began staking their claim to leadership in Northern California floriculture, particularly in production of carnations, roses, and chrysanthemums.¹¹⁷²

Unlike European American nurserymen who specialized in ornamental and fruit trees, shrubs, and vines, Japanese nursery owners focused their efforts on plants that yielded blossoms on small plots of land and within a shorter timeframe given uncertainty of their land tenure. As a small segment of California’s

¹¹⁶⁶ Organizations focused on social and cultural aspects of community life preceded those devoted to economic consideration according to Yagasaki, “Ethnic Cooperativism,” 177.

¹¹⁶⁷ Yagasaki, “Ethnic Cooperativism,” 168, 180.

¹¹⁶⁸ Niiya, *Japanese American History*, 260.

¹¹⁶⁹ Yagasaki, “Ethnic Cooperativism,” 193-194.

¹¹⁷⁰ Gary Kawaguchi, “Race, Ethnicity, Resistance and Cooperation: An Historical Analysis of Cooperation in the California Flower Market,” (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1995), 47.

¹¹⁷¹ Kenji Murase, “Nikkei in Northern California’s Flower Industry,” *Nikkei Heritage* 13, no. 3 (Summer 2001): 5.

¹¹⁷² Gordon Van Laan, *A Penny a Tree: The History of the Nursery Industry in California, 1850-1976* (Sacramento, CA: California Association of Nurserymen, 1982), 6-9.

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agricultural arena, flower growing was not a major target for anti-Japanese agricultural interests, like farming and fishing.¹¹⁷³ A higher proportion of *Nikkei* nursery operators were able to own their land, in contrast to truck farmers in the Los Angeles area, who were primarily renters.

Under the Domotos' leadership, forty-two Japanese nurserymen formed the California Flower Growers Association in 1906 (incorporated as the California Flower Market in 1912), which opened a wholesale Flower Market in San Francisco in partnership with Chinese and Italian flower grower associations.¹¹⁷⁴ Six years later, a similar enterprise was launched in Los Angeles with the opening of the Southern California Flower Market, which represented fifty-four *Issei* flower growers.¹¹⁷⁵ Control of wholesale business was doubly important for Japanese flower growers, as the retail business was already well established and most whites would not have bought from them in any case.¹¹⁷⁶

The California Flower Markets represented dozens of Japanese-owned businesses from around the San Francisco Bay Area and in Southern California. They were emblematic of *Issei*-initiated enterprises in the produce and flower industries throughout California. Vertically organized, these enterprises were based on a system in which all operations were owned and run by Japanese, from raising plants to wholesale distribution and retail sales. Organizations developed along similar lines included Lucky Produce in Sacramento and the City Market in Los Angeles. Cooperatives like Central California Berry Growers Association in Monterey County, which sold under the Naturipe label, were similarly organized to improve the growing, packing, and marketing of crops produced by Japanese farmers.¹¹⁷⁷

Japanese-Operated Businesses

Faced with harsh employment discrimination in industrial and trade labor settings, and increasing animus from white labor unions, most Japanese immigrants not engaged in agricultural work found their livelihood in self-employment or entrepreneurial opportunities within the boundaries of their immigrant community. As Harry L. Kitano noted, "by 1924, next to agriculture, the major occupation of the Japanese was in small shops and businesses."¹¹⁷⁸ For the Japanese in California, these self-generated entrepreneurial activities revolved around small businesses that granted greater autonomy and higher income than wage labor.

Nikkei businesses varied by location and clientele. Some of these businesses were scattered in rural or urban settings, while many were established in Japantowns or *Nihonmachi*. Early businesses catered to

¹¹⁷³ Kawaguchi, "Race, Ethnicity, Resistance and Cooperation," 2–3.

¹¹⁷⁴ Murase, "Nikkei in Northern California's Flower Industry," 7.

¹¹⁷⁵ "Southern California Flower Market Papers: Biography/Administrative History," Japanese American National Museum, Online Archive of California, accessed January 20, 2022, https://oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/c89s1vfs/entire_text.

¹¹⁷⁶ Kawaguchi, "Race, Ethnicity, Resistance and Cooperation," 9.

¹¹⁷⁷ Waugh, et al., "A History of Japanese in California," *Five Views: An Ethnic Historic Site Survey for California*, accessed January 30, 2022, https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/5views/5views4b.htm.

¹¹⁷⁸ Harry H.L. Kitano, *Japanese Americans: The Evolution of a Subculture* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc, 1969), 21.

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the predominantly immigrant workforce with lodging houses, bathhouses, restaurants, barbershops, gambling halls, and pool halls. As numbers of *Nikkei* grew and families were formed, numbers and types of Japanese-owned businesses expanded. Some businesses offered goods and services that were culturally important such as fish markets and tofu factories. Others such as laundries, served a largely non-Japanese clientele, and relied on labor from family members and others of their ethnic community who were often given room and board. Long hours and lower-wage or unpaid family labor meant that Japanese laundries had lower costs than the white and French laundries that were popular in the early twentieth century.¹¹⁷⁹

Rural Communities

Agricultural areas throughout the state held clusters of Japanese businesses serving nearby residents and migrant workers. Oxnard’s Asahi Market is an early example of this type of business. It was organized in 1907 with corporate officers headed by H. Shima to serve the area’s growing population of Japanese workers, making it one of the area’s first Japanese businesses and first grocery stores. The building at 660 S. Oxnard Street included a grocery store, a labor contracting agency, and a boarding house. Replaced by a new building in 1956, the Asahi market is still in operation.¹¹⁸⁰

The Miyajima Hotel (6 Main Street, extant) in Lodi in San Joaquin County is an example of a boarding house that catered to some of the thousands of seasonal grape pickers who passed through town.¹¹⁸¹ By 1940, Lodi’s two-block *Nihonmachi* featured four general stores, a fish market, a drug store, six restaurants, a pool hall, a tofu maker, a laundry, and five hotels.¹¹⁸² Further north, Penryn’s smaller Japantown was frequented by Japanese farmers who worked the area’s peach, plum and pear orchards; it held four markets/dry goods stores, two boarding houses, two bars, a dentist office, barbershop, garage, and pool hall. The services were augmented by a handful of businesses in Placer County’s other *Nikkei* communities of Auburn, Newcastle, and Loomis.¹¹⁸³ Tsuda’s Grocery in Auburn was among several general stores that managed regular routes to the surrounding countryside, taking orders and making deliveries for food and other supplies.¹¹⁸⁴ The Kamikawa Brothers store in Fresno also provided this service to outlying communities. Established in 1901 by four highly entrepreneurial brothers, the building at 1540 (later 1528) Kern Street also hosted a hotel, and later a branch of the short-lived

¹¹⁷⁹ Bonacich and Modell, *The Economic Basis of Ethnic Solidarity*, 52.
¹¹⁸⁰ “Asahi Market: Historic Resources Inventory,” 660 S. Oxnard Street, Oxnard, California, California Department of Parks and Recreation, 1980.
¹¹⁸¹ Suga Moriwaki, “Lodi’s Japantown: An Introduction,” *San Joaquin Historian* (Fall 2008-Winter 2009), 5.
¹¹⁸² “Lodi,” Preserving California’s Japantowns, California’s Japantowns, accessed January 30, 2022, <https://www.californiajapantowns.org/loDI.html>.
¹¹⁸³ “Placer County,” Preserving California’s Japantowns, California’s Japantowns, accessed January 30, 2022, <https://www.californiajapantowns.org/placer.html>.
¹¹⁸⁴ Waugh, et al., “A History of Japanese in California.”

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Japanese American Bank the brothers established in San Francisco, where the siblings operated a grocery store and an export-import business.¹¹⁸⁵

Urban Nihonmachi

Import/export companies in larger *Nihonmachi* supplied Japanese goods to other businesses across the region, providing an important link to their homeland. More populous Japantowns were able to develop more extensive commercial sectors that catered to local residents, other *Nikkei* in the region, and depending on the service, those from outside the Japanese American community. San Francisco had one of the first sizable *Nihonmachi* and the development of its commercial sector is like those of California's other large Japantowns such as San Jose and Los Angeles. By 1910, just four years after San Francisco's *Nikkei* population relocated to the Western Addition following the Great Earthquake and Fire, the neighborhood was home to over fifty commercial establishments. The still largely male population were served by twenty boarding houses and several employment agencies that served the transient workers who passed through the port city. Pool halls, bath houses, and barbershops also catered to these men. Two Japanese newspapers, the *New World* on Geary Street, and *Japanese American News* on Laguna Street, connected San Francisco's Japantown with *Nikkei* communities across Northern California.¹¹⁸⁶ The growing number of families was reflected in a Japanese kindergarten, a dressmaker, and several midwives. Japantown businesses such as restaurants, shoe stores, laundries, and art goods stores from that time presumably drew their clientele from the non-*Nikkei* communities as well as fellow immigrants.¹¹⁸⁷ By 1940, San Francisco's *Nihonmachi* held more than 200 businesses that served a *Nikkei* population of over 5,000.¹¹⁸⁸

Not all Japanese-owned businesses were located within *Nihonmachi*. The California Flower Market was in the South of Market area, and a number of Japanese art goods stores were located in Chinatown. Businesses like these relied on networks of shipping goods to and from San Francisco, and some had branch operations in other California *Nikkei* communities such as Mizuhara Bros., which sold and repaired antiques and arts from a shop at 1823 Sutter Street in San Francisco (not extant) and operated a second establishment in Berkeley at 1538 Parker Street (extant).¹¹⁸⁹

Issei in Berkeley established a more spatially diffuse Japantown with residences located in the southwest area of the city, where other people of color and working-class immigrants lived, and businesses that were scattered more widely.¹¹⁹⁰ The short-lived Sake Brewing Company was established in 1900,

¹¹⁸⁵ "Komoto's Department Store/Kamikawa Brothers: Historic Resources Inventory," 1540 (later 1528) Kern Street, Fresno, California, California Department of Parks and Recreation, 1980.

¹¹⁸⁶ Michel Laguerre, *Rethinking the Global Ethnopolis: Chinatown, Japantown and Manilatown in American Society* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 64-65.

¹¹⁸⁷ Ben Pease, 1910: San Francisco's Japantown Relocates after the Earthquake and Fire (map) (San Francisco: Pease Press, 2006.)

¹¹⁸⁸ Graves and Page & Turnbull, *Historic Context Statement: Japantown, San Francisco*, 29.

¹¹⁸⁹ Graves and Page & Turnbull, *Historic Context Statement: Japantown, San Francisco*, 33.

¹¹⁹⁰ "Northern California, Berkeley," *Japantown Atlas*, accessed April 3, 2022, <http://japantownatlas.com/map-berkeley.html>.

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around the same time that members of the Akagi family opened one of the few *Issei*-run factories with their California Mission Furniture plant at Dwight Way and Fourth Street, which lasted until World War II.¹¹⁹¹ *Issei* who ran five small family-operated laundries joined in 1914 to found the University Laundry as a partnership. They took over a two-story building at Shattuck Avenue and Blake Streets (2526-2532 Shattuck Avenue, extant) that had previously been a French laundry. Family members who resided above the laundry shared a kitchen, dining room, and living room.¹¹⁹² The University Laundry thrived, even during the Depression when they had enough work to contract out some jobs to a smaller Chinese-owned laundry nearby.¹¹⁹³

Los Angeles' Little Tokyo became the largest *Nihonmachi* soon after San Francisco's 1906 earthquake and fire as many *Nikkei* moved south from San Francisco, and as the Los Angeles area grew rapidly. Like San Francisco, Los Angeles' Japanese residents supported a large number and wide variety of businesses. The Fukui Mortuary, originally known as the Japanese Undertaking Company, was founded in Little Tokyo in 1917 and remains one of the oldest Japanese businesses still in operation. When Soji and Hitoshi Fukui opened the mortuary, they operated the business from the first floor and lived with their family on the floor above, a typical arrangement for many businesses of the time. *Nikkei* clientele from throughout Los Angeles and from areas further away such as San Bernardino and Orange Counties patronized the business, which led the business to remodel and expand several times. The building was replaced in 1968, and the mortuary is still in operation.¹¹⁹⁴

As residents of a port city, Los Angeles *Issei* could become successful in import-export endeavors. After graduating from the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) in 1932, Kay Sugahara and two partners established the University Foreign Service Company, which served as freight forwarders and customs brokers. The business made Sugahara enormously wealthy and a major supporter of Japantown cultural events such as Little Tokyo's Nisei Week Festival.¹¹⁹⁵

Larger *Nihonmachi* supported offices for *Nikkei* professionals whose credentials and expertise were generally not recognized by white Californians. These included insurance agents, architects, photographers, lawyers, and most especially medical professionals. Japanese doctors treated patients in their private offices and had difficulty getting them admitted to hospitals for more complex procedures. White hospitals wouldn't hire doctors and nurses of color, no matter their training.

¹¹⁹¹ Yamada, *The Japanese American Experience*, 6.

¹¹⁹² "Berkeley," Preserving California's Japantowns, California's Japantowns, accessed January 3, 2022, <https://www.californiajapantowns.org/berkeley.html>.

¹¹⁹³ John Noaki Fujii, *The Fujii Family* (Berkeley: no publisher, 1985), 6-8, 23.

¹¹⁹⁴ "Fukui Mortuary: Historic Resources Inventory," 707 E. Temple Street, Los Angeles, California, California Department of Parks and Recreation, 1980.

¹¹⁹⁵ Hirahara, *Distinguished Asian American Business Leaders*, 185-186. Sugahara moved his shipping business to New York after World War II.

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Although Los Angeles' General Hospital was founded to serve the city's poor and low-income residents, race strongly shaped public health policies and limited full access for residents of color. In 1913, five *Issei* doctors established the Japanese Hospital to fill the need for Japanese immigrant health care in Little Tokyo and Boyle Heights. The growing population and experiences from the 1918 flu epidemic led them to envision a facility that could better serve the region's Japanese population. The doctors' 1926 application to incorporate and construct a larger facility was rejected by the California Secretary of State as conflicting with the Alien Land Law. After a three-year battle that ended with victory in the U.S. Supreme Court, the doctors were able to erect a sixty-nine-room building designed by *Issei* architect Yos Hirose that opened in 1929 at 101 S. Fickett Street (extant) in Boyle Heights.¹¹⁹⁶ The Japanese Hospital was determined eligible for the National Register (over owner opposition) in 2019.

In addition to in Los Angeles, Japanese hospitals staffed by *Nikkei* doctors, nurses, and others served Japanese American clients in San Francisco, Stockton, and San Jose. Other towns and cities held smaller medical offices and midwiferies. Clients at places such as Stockton's Nippon Hospital (25 S. Commerce Street, not extant), and San Jose's Kuwabara Hospital (565 N. 5th Street, extant) found providers who could serve them in their own language and who understood their cultural background.¹¹⁹⁷

As restrictions on female arrival were loosened, Japanese immigrants increasingly formed families leading to the need for childbirth care. Although midwives' earnings were half of doctors' income, they were relatively high and comparable to the wages of working-class men in the 1920s and 1930s.¹¹⁹⁸ Some practiced from Japanese hospitals. Most babies were delivered by midwives at home, where familiar surroundings could calm anxious mothers and "midwives and their clients retained authority over the childbirth process."¹¹⁹⁹

Among the more unique pre-World War II *Nikkei* businesses were two resorts that catered to the Japanese community. White Point Hot Springs (or White Point Health Resort) operated on the coast in San Pedro from the late 1910s to 1933. The facility boasted a hotel, cabins, and restaurant, as well as an Olympic size pool, a children's pool for swimming, and a sulphur pool for bathing.¹²⁰⁰ Gilroy Hot Springs was originally built in the hills of southern Santa Clara County for elite white visitors and was purchased in 1938 by Japanese lettuce grower H.K. Sakata as a refuge for *Issei* to rejuvenate in culturally familiar communal baths. Shuttered during World War II, the facility briefly served as a hostel

¹¹⁹⁶ Kristen Hayashi and Michael Okamura, "Japanese Hospital," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Los Angeles: Little Tokyo Historical Society, 2019), accessed March 8, 2022, <http://file.lacounty.gov/SDSInter/bos/supdocs/138016.pdf>.

¹¹⁹⁷ Carey & Co., San Jose Japantown Historic Context, 14-15.

¹¹⁹⁸ Susan L. Smith, *Japanese American Midwives: Culture, Community, and Health Politics, 1880-1950* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2005), 76.

¹¹⁹⁹ Smith, *Japanese American Midwives*, 80.

¹²⁰⁰ "White Point," Historic Sites, in *Five Views: An Ethnic Historic Site Survey for California* (Sacramento, CA: Office of Historic Preservation, California Department of Parks and Recreation, 1998), last modified 2004, accessed January 30, 2022, https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/5views/5views4h101.htm.

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for *Nikkei* returning after the war, and then again as a resort into the late 1960s. Gilroy Yamato Hot Springs was listed on the National Register in 1995.¹²⁰¹

¹²⁰¹ National Register of Historic Places, Gilroy Yamato Hot Springs, Gilroy, Santa Clara County, California, National Register #95000996, 29-30.

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An exception to the predominance of small business work for *Issei* is the role of domestic servant, which provided an entry into the urban labor market for many immigrants, especially women. Early male immigrants forged this path by providing domestic service as “schoolboys” and sometimes as gardeners, usually temporary posts. *Nikkei* women’s presence in this field was larger and more sustained. Day work offered flexibility for women who also had family responsibilities and increased as more middle-class families could afford to hire them. Since much of the labor women performed on farms and in family businesses was unpaid, being a domestic servant was one of the few ways *Issei* and *Nisei* women living in cities earned income before World War II.¹²⁰² The percentage of women engaged as domestic servants diminished as Japanese communities became more established. By one analysis, in 1910 nearly sixty percent of *Issei* women worked in domestic service (which included waitressing); by 1940 the figure was just over ten percent.¹²⁰³ As Japanese men founded enterprises, more women entered paid and unpaid employment in small businesses as clerks, sales, and service workers.¹²⁰⁴

Japanese American Employment, World War II and PostwarEmployment During Incarceration

War Relocation Centers were both prison and job site for many adults incarcerated during the war. Camp operations depended on *Nikkei* labor in a wide range of roles from teaching to cooking to growing food to construction. Topaz War Relocation Center, which incarcerated most *Nikkei* from the San Francisco Bay Area, had factories that produced furniture, bean sprouts, and tofu for use at the facility.¹²⁰⁵ Some camps held work sites that directly contributed to the war effort. Like a few others, the camp at Manzanar produced camouflage nets, and also had a unique effort that partnered incarcerated scientists, outside academics, and commercial industry with the government. Manzanar’s Guayule Project was an unusual scientific research project led by “Japanese American chemists, geneticists, engineers, horticulturalists, and other scientists” in partnership with academics from California Institute of Technology.¹²⁰⁶ The experimental project also employed *Nikkei* nurserymen who grew guayule, a desert shrub, for production into latex, a form of rubber useful for the military. The project operated “not just as a factory for the production of guayule rubber, but for developing new techniques for pollination, harvesting, and extraction of rubber.” The project served a larger political purpose, demonstrating incarcerated Japanese American “patriotism,” and was presented as an example during the 1942 Tolan

¹²⁰² Evelyn Nakano Glenn, “The Dialectics of Work: Japanese-American Women and Domestic Service, 1904-1940,” in *Labor Immigration Under Capitalism: Asian Workers in the United States Before World War II*, eds. Lucie Cheng and Edna Bonacich (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 481. Glenn’s research showed that domestic service was more prevalent among *Nikkei* women in the Bay Area versus Southern California.

¹²⁰³ Glenn, “The Dialectics of Work,” 478.

¹²⁰⁴ Glenn, “The Dialectics of Work,” 480.

¹²⁰⁵ “Topaz: Industry,” Densho Encyclopedia, accessed February 11, 2022, <https://encyclopedia.densho.org/Topaz/#Industry>.

¹²⁰⁶ Jonathan van Harmelen, “The Scientists and the Shrub: Manzanar’s Guayule Project and Incarcerated Japanese American Scientists,” *Southern California Quarterly* 103, no.1 (2021): 66.

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Committee hearings on subversion. For their labor, scientists were paid camp wages of \$19 per month, while the skilled nurserymen earned \$16 per month.¹²⁰⁷

Postwar

World War II’s forced relocation drastically shifted the Japanese American presence in California agriculture. While some *Nikkei* were able to return to land they had farmed, others lost their holdings if they were not owned by American citizens, usually *Nisei*. When the U.S. entered the war, over 5,000 farms were operated by Japanese Americans in the Golden State; seventy percent were tenant farmers, ten percent sharecropped, and only twenty percent fully owned their property.¹²⁰⁸ *Nikkei* who did not own their farmland lost the value of any improvements they had made and equipment that had to be sold at great loss in the frantic weeks before forced removal. Even those who had retained access to their land found that stored farm equipment had been stolen, burned, or made unusable by rust, and that purchasing new equipment was beyond reach. Some *Issei* who managed to hold onto land owned before the war were challenged under the old Alien Land Laws, which were used in some areas against those who tried to reclaim their agricultural operations.¹²⁰⁹

Keisaburo Koda was among the growers able to continue their pre-World War II success in agriculture. Known as the “Rice King,” Koda began farming rice in the San Joaquin Valley in the early 1920s building on a decade of rice growing undertaken there by other *Issei*. After initially losing his investment in 3,000 acres of leased and sharecropped land, he secured backing of a non-Japanese friend in 1924 and began his successful career as an innovative rice grower. Koda grew more than 10,000 acres of rice by the early 1930s and was a multimillionaire on the eve of the war. After incarceration in Granada War Relocation Center, Koda found that all his equipment and two-thirds of his land had been sold. Koda and his two adult sons rebuilt their enterprise, in part through the success of a new strain of sweet rice, the Kokuho Rose grain, that Koda farms introduced in 1963.¹²¹⁰

Major hurdles in returning to agriculture after the war, especially for truck farmers in Southern California, were soaring land prices and diminishing availability of farmland in the urban fringes that were once home to thousands of Japanese farmers. Much of the land farmed by Japanese immigrants was consolidated by corporations during and after the war. In communities like Gardena, industrial development by aerospace corporations and mass production of single family-home subdivisions made

¹²⁰⁷ Van Harmelen, “The Scientists and the Shrub,” 76-77.
¹²⁰⁸ Yagasaki, “Ethnic Cooperativism,” 295.
¹²⁰⁹ Yagasaki, “Ethnic Cooperativism,” 295, 323–324.
¹²¹⁰ Ling and Austin, *Asian American History and Culture*, 429-430.

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farming impossible for most returning Japanese Americans.¹²¹¹ The establishment of chain supermarkets and scattered boycotts by whites kept Japanese Americans from reopening produce stands.¹²¹²

Many *Issei* turned to work in contract gardening, which had a low barrier to entry—only a vehicle and some tools were required. Even prior to World War II, maintenance gardening had been a popular enough field that ten percent of Japanese men living in Los Angeles earned their living as gardeners. By 1937, increasingly numerous gardeners inspired formation of the League of Southern California Japanese Gardeners.¹²¹³ A postwar survey of Japanese American occupations in the Los Angeles area determined that farm operators decreased by more than eighty per cent, while contract gardeners almost quadrupled. *Nikkei* became widely known as meticulous gardeners who satisfied the unprecedented demand for landscaping in Southern California as middle-class households learned to enjoy services previously restricted to wealthy estates.¹²¹⁴ By 1970, gardeners were still the breadwinners for nearly one-quarter of Japanese American families in Southern California.¹²¹⁵ Other former farmers found work in small businesses related to their former occupation in nurseries and hardware and gardening supply stores.¹²¹⁶

Postwar return to former employment was difficult for most Japanese Americans. The destruction of their ethnic economy meant that *Nikkei* in Los Angeles moved into domestic work along with gardening, while others found jobs as busboys and dishwashers. The percentage of *Nikkei* who worked for whites increased from twenty percent before the war to seventy percent in 1948. Some men and women found new opportunities in light industrial work in Los Angeles area factories and the garment industry.¹²¹⁷

Despite owning their Los Angeles wholesale flower market, *Nikkei* had trouble reclaiming their sales stalls from white flower growers they had leased to when they were forcibly relocated.¹²¹⁸ Returning *Nikkei* flower growers in Northern California faced similar resistance at their California Flower Market

¹²¹¹ Hillary Jenks, "Seasoned Long Enough in Concentration: Suburbanization and Transnational Citizenship in Southern California's South Bay," *Journal of Urban History* 40, no. 1 (January 2014): 17-18.

¹²¹² During the same years, produce marketing went through equally dramatic changes, as chain stores negotiated directly with growers, which reduced the role of wholesale produce markets, and replaced Japanese operated produce stands and grocery markets. Yagasaki, "Ethnic Cooperativism," 325, 329–30; Brooks, *Alien Neighbors, Foreign Friends*, 168.

¹²¹³ Hirahara, *Distinguished Asian American Business Leaders*, 140-141.

¹²¹⁴ Leonard Broom and Ruth Riemer, *Removal and Return: The Socio-Economic Effects of the War on Japanese Americans* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949), 109, 106, 44.

¹²¹⁵ Tsuchida, "Japanese Gardeners in Southern California, 1900-1941," 436.

¹²¹⁶ Hirabayashi, "Community Destroyed? Assessing the Impact of Loss of Community on Japanese Americans During World War II," in *Re/Collecting Early Asian America: Essays in Cultural History*, eds. Josephine Lee, Imogene Lim, and Yuko Matsukawa (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2002), 171.

¹²¹⁷ Kurashige, *The Shifting Grounds of Race*, 197.

¹²¹⁸ Kurashige, *The Shifting Grounds of Race*, 195-196.

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in San Francisco.¹²¹⁹ By the 1950s, Japanese American growers were thriving and constructed new buildings to support their northern and southern California markets.¹²²⁰

As *Nisei* became adults, many Japanese Americans entered a broader variety of employment settings, including office work to professional services. Postwar economic expansion and the wartime dissolution of family businesses and neighborhoods pushed many Japanese Americans out of an economy that was based on family and ethnic community. Before and after World War II, many college-educated *Nisei* found that they were unable to secure employment in their fields and resentfully entered the ethnic economy created by their parents. Discrimination continued to curtail opportunities in many fields. By the 1960s, some *Nisei* were able to use their college degrees and found far more employment prospects than their parents. *Nisei* women in particular were about to find employment in clerical and civil service jobs.¹²²¹

A study by sociologist Edna Bonacich and historian John Modell found that by the mid-1960s, higher levels of education and decreasing pull of an ethnic economy reshaped the employment landscape for Japanese Americans, especially the *Nisei*. The data used by Bonacich and Modell, drawn from the Japanese American Research Project survey, found that only four percent of the self-employed described their businesses as primarily serving the Japanese American community, underscoring the assimilation of Japanese Americans economic enterprises into the broader economy.¹²²² Between 1950 and 1960, the largest increase was in professional employment (up 347 percent for men and 195 percent for women) and clerical and sales work (up 103 percent for men, 133 percent for women). The movement away from farming and into service work/labor and the professions increased even more from 1960 to 1970.¹²²³

Researchers found considerable concentration of *Nikkei* in certain job categories at all levels. Professional *Nisei* men were concentrated in engineering and accounting at higher rates than the general population, while over three quarters of *Nikkei* in the service industries were gardeners, pointing to the association of some jobs with certain ethnic groups leading to "*Nisei* careers."¹²²⁴ By the late 1960s, *Nisei* were reportedly half as likely to state incomes below \$10,000 as all American families.¹²²⁵

¹²¹⁹ Gary Kawaguchi, *Living with Flowers: The California Flower Market History* (San Francisco: California Flower Market, 1993), 62.

¹²²⁰ The Southern California Flower Market purchased new properties on Maple and Wall Streets and the Northern California growers built a new market in the San Francisco Flower Terminal in 1956. "Finding Aid for the Southern California Flower Market Papers," accessed March 8, 2022, https://oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/c89s1vfs/entire_text/; Kawaguchi, *Living with Flowers*, 70.

¹²²¹ Espiritu, *Asian American Women and Men*, 130.

¹²²² Bonacich and Modell, *The Economic Basis of Ethnic Solidarity*, 110. The Japanese American Research Project, based at UCLA conducted a nationwide study of postwar Japanese American community and economic development.

¹²²³ Bonacich and Modell, *The Economic Basis of Ethnic Solidarity*, 108-109, 112.

¹²²⁴ Bonacich and Modell, *The Economic Basis of Ethnic Solidarity*, 122-123.

¹²²⁵ Bonacich and Modell, *The Economic Basis of Ethnic Solidarity*, 127.

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As many *Nisei* squarely entered the middle class, a few entrepreneurs forged notable paths and found opportunities to create extensive businesses in the postwar decades. Togo Tanaka returned to his native Los Angeles in 1955 and developed a business leasing retail storefronts to newly expanding fast food restaurants such as the Carl’s Jr. hamburger chain.¹²²⁶ George Aratani, whose childhood was spent on the family farm near Guadalupe and who served in the Military Intelligence Service during World War II, became one of the first businesspeople to travel to Japan after the war ended. In 1946, Aratani founded an international trade business that brought goods to war-ravaged Japan and Japanese goods to the U.S. The company, American Commercial, grew as it imported popular Japanese chinaware under the brand name Mikasa, and manufactured audio equipment as Kenwood. Both companies moved their West Coast headquarters to Gardena in 1969.¹²²⁷

Korean American

Korean American Employment, 1882 to World War II

For Korean immigrants in California, their involvement with business, labor, and industry initially followed the pattern of the Chinese and Japanese communities before them. The earliest immigrants were a handful of students and ginseng merchants until 1903, when the first wave of Korean laborers arrived by way of Hawai‘i. They were primarily farmworkers, who along with Japanese workers, were replacing the Chinese laborers barred from entry to the United States under the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act. They worked in the citrus areas of Riverside and Redlands in Southern California, in the produce regions of the Central Valley, in sugar beet farming around Stockton, and in rice farming in and around Willows and Maxwell.¹²²⁸ Some also worked in railroad, construction, mining, canning, and fishing as well. In the cities, they found jobs in the service industries as waiters, kitchen helpers, janitors, and housecleaners.¹²²⁹

With Japan’s annexation of Korea in 1910, Korean immigration ceased. With Koreans considered Japanese citizens and subject to the limitations of the Gentleman’s Agreement, they had the lowest priority for immigration and this first wave of Korean migration effectively ended around 1911. For those who were already in California, the small pioneering community had few capital resources to share among themselves or to support each other. Some Korean immigrants managed to start small, owner-operated businesses like barbershops, grocery stores, laundry shops, inns or boarding houses, and vegetable shops.¹²³⁰ A few farmworkers were able to pool money and move up the agricultural ladder by renting farmland.

The Business Promotion Corporation (*Hungop Jusik Hoesa*) was started by Ahn Sok-jung and other Korean residents in Redlands in 1910. The purpose of the business was to buy or lease farmland to

¹²²⁶ Kurashige, *The Shifting Grounds of Race*, 197-198.

¹²²⁷ Hirahara, *Distinguished Asian American Business Leaders*, 11-12.

¹²²⁸ Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 40-44; 157-164; Kim and Patterson, *The Koreans in America*, 24-26.

¹²²⁹ Choy, *Koreans in America*, 125.

¹²³⁰ Choy, *Koreans in America*, 125.

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produce rice. It is not known how long it was in business. The same year, Choi Young-man established the Korean Trading Company in San Francisco, though it was forced to dissolve after Japan annexed Korea that year, as the Japanese did not allow Koreans to engage in import and export trade.¹²³¹ Also in 1910, the Great Eastern Business Corporation (*T'aedong Silop Jusik Hoesa*) began with the goal of creating an economic base for the Korean independence army under the Korean National Association. In 1911, Hun Seung-won and Yi Soon-ki established a variety department store in Stockton. The store sold agricultural supplies to Korean farmers in the area.¹²³²

Some successes could not be maintained. The Korean settlement in Riverside, Pachappa Camp, disbanded after the orange crop in the area failed in 1913. By 1918, the Korean workers had moved to other agricultural areas or to urban areas in search of work.¹²³³ During World War I, demand for rice boomed, which attracted Asian immigrants, including Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and South Asian farmers, to enter the rice farming business through tenant farming or sharecropping. A group of thirty-one Korean farmers were in Colusa County, Glenn County, and Yuba County north of Sacramento. They were mostly small-scale farms, though Kim Chong-Lim was the exception. In 1914, Kim relocated to Willows (Glenn County) from San Francisco, where he had opened and operated a twenty-room hotel, to take advantage of the demand in rice. Starting with 150 acres, Kim grew his operation into over 10,000 acres of rice, hay, wheat, and barley.¹²³⁴ Kim had both Korean and white partners, and secured loans that helped him expand. His success earned him the nickname "Rice King" in the Korean community. Heavy rains and flooding destroyed his rice fields in late 1920, along with those of the other Korean rice farmers. Kim and many of the other rice farmers never recovered and eventually left the area.¹²³⁵

One who survived the 1920 flood and remained in the area growing rice was Lee Jai-soo. Lee is credited with developing a method that enabled short grain rice to grow in Northern California. He farmed 3,000 or more acres before finally acquiring land with the help of his U.S.-born children after World War II. His first purchase was one hundred acres in Maxwell. Lee farmed in Maxwell until his death there in 1956 and his grandson continued to farm in Maxwell into the late twentieth century.¹²³⁶

In the San Joaquin Valley, some Korean farmers were able to become tenant farmers and began cultivating their own orchards, vineyards, nurseries, and fruit-packing plants. The most successful was Kim Brothers, Inc. Charles Ho Kim (Kim Jeong-jin) and Harry S. Kim (Kim Hyung-soon) formed a partnership as early as 1921 in Reedley in the Central Valley. The initial business was as a trucking wholesaler of fruit. The business grew into orchards, fruit-packing sheds, and nurseries and became Kim

¹²³¹ Choy, *Koreans in America*, 129.
¹²³² Choy, *Koreans in America*, 129.
¹²³³ Chang and Brown, "Pachappa Camp," 52-53.
¹²³⁴ Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 161-164.
¹²³⁵ Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 170.
¹²³⁶ Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 171-173.

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Brothers Inc., though the two Kims were not related.¹²³⁷ The company tried to develop new varieties of fruit trees, working mainly with peaches and nectarines. It had exclusive rights to grow and sell a patented series of nectarines in the 1930s, which popularized the fruit. The fuzzless peach Le Grand nectarine released by Kim Brothers in 1942 became a popular variety and saplings from the orchards were shipped throughout the country.¹²³⁸ They also developed more than a dozen other hybrid fruits for which they received patents. By the time the two founders retired in 1965, the company owned six farms with 500 acres along with packing plants and nursery facilities. It grew into one of the largest Korean-owned businesses in California by the 1960s.

By then, the company employed on average 200 workers, including Koreans, Mexicans, and Anglos. The numbers could double during harvest season. Many Korean students worked there during the summers. The company provided living quarters for its employees.¹²³⁹ Charles and Harry both retired and moved to Los Angeles in the 1960s.¹²⁴⁰

The success of Kim Brothers Inc. resulted in the establishment of another Korean-owned business. In 1925, Kim Yong-jeung and Song Chull (Leo Song) started a business as wholesale agents for Kim Brothers in Los Angeles. The company became K & S Company, which grew into one of the most successful wholesaling operations in Los Angeles' Korean community. Most of the Los Angeles Asian Americans who had retail vegetable stores became customers of K & S Company, who were located at City Market in Los Angeles, a cooperative of white, Japanese, and Chinese farmers.¹²⁴¹

Another notable Korean-owned business was the Hanka Enterprise Company, founded by Han Si-dae and his family in Delano in the 1920s. Han and his family immigrated to Hawai'i in 1904 when he was sixteen to work in the sugar plantations. The family then moved to California, first to San Francisco then to Dinuba to sharecrop, where they helped to establish the Dinuba Korean Presbyterian Church by 1912. Han moved to Delano, about sixty miles south, in the 1920s, where he was able to lease land for his own farm. Within twenty years, Han had a 250-acre operation that attracted other Korean workers, who moved to Delano and expanded the Korean population. Like Kim Brothers, Korean students also found work with Hanka Enterprise during their summer vacations. Han retired from farming in 1948 and moved to Inglewood near Los Angeles, where he establish a housing construction firm building apartments. He also started a foundation to provide scholarships to Korean students. Han was active in the Young Korean Academy (*Heung Sa Dahn*) and the Korean National Association and involved with

¹²³⁷ Choy, *Koreans in America*, 120; Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 77-84.

¹²³⁸ Choy, *Koreans in America*, 130; Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 79.

¹²³⁹ Choy, *Koreans in America*, 130.

¹²⁴⁰ "Kim Brothers," Charles H. Kim, *An Introduction to His Life*, accessed March 11, 2022, <https://charleskim.wordpress.com/kim-brothers/2/>.

¹²⁴¹ Choy, *Koreans in America*, 131; GPA Consulting, "City Market," 64.

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forming a Korean delegation to the United Nations Conference in San Francisco in 1945. After Korea was liberated from Japan following World War II, Han eventually retired and returned to Korea.¹²⁴²

In 1926, Peter Hyun established the Oriental Food Product Corporation (*Dongyang Sikmul Jusik Hoesa*) in Los Angeles. The company was a food wholesaler that specialized in providing food products used in East Asian cooking to restaurants. This included bean sprouts, soy sauce, and canned mushrooms, chop suey, and chow mien. It also produced a consumer line of soy sauces, canned foods, and other pan-Asian food products under the brand name Jan-U-Wine (“genuine”) that was sold in mainstream grocery stores.¹²⁴³ Oriental Food Product Corporation was located at 4100 South Broadway (altered) in Los Angeles until the 1950s, when the company constructed a new plant at Slauson Avenue and the Santa Ana Freeway in Bell Gardens; that plant has since been demolished.¹²⁴⁴

Korean political and social organizations also started businesses, though few found long-term success. Members of the Young Korean Academy established the North American Commercial Corporation (*Puk-mi Silrop Jusik Hoesa*) in 1917 to invest in rice cultivation. Shares of the company were sold, with most members of the Young Korean Academy purchasing shares and investing in the company. When rice prices tumbled and the harvest was poor in the 1920s, the corporation was forced out of business in 1927.¹²⁴⁵

Members of the Young Korean Academy established another business in 1938 called the Great Eastern Commercial Corporation (*Dae-dong Sirop Jusik Hoesa*) in Los Angeles. It started as a chop suey wholesale business and dissolved after only a few years.¹²⁴⁶

A 1939 master’s thesis documenting Koreans in Los Angeles includes a chapter on Koreans in business and professions in the 1930s. The thesis reported a limited choice of business types in which Koreans were involved due to discrimination that prevented those even with higher education access to the professional world. The accounting of businesses for Koreans in Los Angeles County included thirty-three fruit and vegetable stands, nine grocery stores, eight pressing and laundry shops, six trucking companies, five wholesale companies, five restaurants, three herb stores, two hat shops, one employment agency, and one rooming house.¹²⁴⁷

Most of these were small, independent businesses with few employees. The largest Korean-operated business in Los Angeles County was Oriental Food Product Corporation, Peter Hyun’s business with the Jan-U-Wine brand, which had eighteen Korean employees. At this time, the business also provided

¹²⁴² Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 158-161; Choy, *Koreans in America*, 130-131. Choy used the spelling Hahn Shi-dae in his book.

¹²⁴³ Choy, *Koreans in America*, 133; Givens, “The Korean Community in Los Angeles County,” 48.

¹²⁴⁴ “New Bell Gardens Food Plant to Cost \$500,000,” *Los Angeles Times*, February 21, 1954.

¹²⁴⁵ Choy, *Koreans in America*, 132.

¹²⁴⁶ Choy, *Koreans in America*, 132.

¹²⁴⁷ Givens, “The Korean Community in Los Angeles County,” 50-51.

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freshly prepared foods to restaurants and maintained a delivery service to private residents.¹²⁴⁸ The employment agency, managed by a Korean man, had other Asian American as clients as well. The Korean residents constituted a small part of his business, with placements for Koreans mostly as domestic help, dishwashers, and cooks.¹²⁴⁹

For professionals, Givens notes that because Korean immigrants could not obtain citizenship, they were barred from professions where citizenship was required, including practicing law and teaching in public schools.¹²⁵⁰ At that time, in 1939, Given reported no Koreans in Los Angeles County engaged in professions such as law, engineering, dentistry, education, or social work. There were two Korean doctors, whose patients also included Chinese, Filipina/o, and Caucasian, as well as Korean residents. Even second-generation Korean Americans with birthright citizenship faced discrimination and barriers to the professional world, despite their educational achievements.¹²⁵¹

Korean American Employment: World War II and Postwar Years

Wartime helped to increase wages, and some Koreans went into business or started new ventures. Farmers increased production and made a profit as farm prices went up. From 1943 to 1954, the boom period produced some wealthy families. According to a 1954 report by the Korean National Association, Koreans were homeowners and farm owners, reflecting an increase in affluence.¹²⁵²

By 1945, Korean residents owned more than fifty small and medium-sized businesses in the United States mainland. Of the approximately 10,000 Korean residents, fewer than five percent were engaged in business.¹²⁵³ Of those that owned businesses, the most common were family-operated small stores, such as produce stores, groceries, laundries, rooming houses, hotels, and restaurants.

In Los Angeles, which had about 500 Korean residents, there were two Korean-owned produce markets owned by Chung Jung-yup and Paul Lim, a second generation Korean American. The medium-sized businesses also had retail stores. They employed five or six people.¹²⁵⁴

The second generation was coming of age and gaining more prominence. The actor Philip Ahn (son of Ahn Chang Ho) and his sister, Soorah, started Phil Ahn’s Moongate restaurant in the Panorama City neighborhood of Los Angeles in 1955.¹²⁵⁵ The area was in the San Fernando Valley and part of the postwar suburban expansion, which reflected the growing availability of movement for Asian Americans from previous inner city ethnic enclaves. Many Ahn family members had moved to the San

¹²⁴⁸ Givens, “The Korean Community in Los Angeles County,” 48-49.

¹²⁴⁹ Givens, “The Korean Community in Los Angeles County,” 49.

¹²⁵⁰ Givens, “The Korean Community in Los Angeles County,” 50.

¹²⁵¹ Givens, “The Korean Community in Los Angeles County,” 50-51.

¹²⁵² Choy, Koreans in America, 128.

¹²⁵³ Choy, Koreans in America, 128.

¹²⁵⁴ Choy, Koreans in America, 128.

¹²⁵⁵ Kim, Los Angele’s Koreatown, 74.

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Fernando Valley in the postwar years, and the restaurant was a family business that involved most of Ahn Chang-Ho’s children and grandchildren. As with earlier restaurants, the Korean-owned business served Chinese (Cantonese) food rather than Korean food, especially as it was located in a neighborhood with few Korean residents. Philip had gained enough recognition in Hollywood that including his name was an asset to the restaurant.

The *Korean Community of Southern California Year Book 1964* featured a four-page, sixty-five listing business directory along with a directory of Korean residents in the greater Southern California area. The area included Los Angeles and surrounding cities such as Pasadena, Gardena, and Westminster, as well as the Central Valley, particularly the Korean communities in Reedley and Dinuba. According to the yearbook, the directory section was compiled from replies to about 3,000 questionnaires mailed or passed on to all members of the Korean community in Southern California and Central California.¹²⁵⁶ The listing is likely an undercount as those who did not respond were not included.

The business directory offers a glimpse into the types of Korean-operated businesses in Southern and Central California before the 1965 changes in immigration law. With still a fairly small Korean community, the directory shows a mix of business types that served the Korean community, other Asian American communities, and the wider, mainstream population. These included professional and semi-professional fields, which marked a change from the 1939 thesis. Among those listed were one architect (David Hyun of Hyun & Whitney Architects), three attorneys (including Alfred Song, who was later an elected official), eight dentists (including Dr. Yin Kim who had challenged the racial covenants at his Arlington Height home), three optometrists, two medical clinics with associated Korean doctors, two insurance agents, four real estate brokers, and one employment agency.

The businesses associated with the agricultural sector and related industries (in the Central Valley and in Los Angeles) listed eight farms and ranches including Kim Brothers and K&S Ranch producing peaches in Reedley, two ranches in Orange Cove, two in Dinuba, and one each in Selma and Banning. The one nursery was that of Kim Brothers in Reedley. Their packing company was also listed along with three others in the Pack & Trucking category. The two entries under Motel and Rooming Houses were one in Fresno and one in Hanford in more rural communities. The three Fruit & Vegetable Brokers were all in Los Angeles.

For restaurants, the directory listed four, including the Korea Café on Vermont Avenue and the Korea House on Jefferson Boulevard, the first restaurant in Los Angeles that specifically served Korean cuisine.¹²⁵⁷ Korea Café likely also served Korean food, or was at least associating itself with Korea through its name after the Korean War brought more awareness of Korea as a distinct ethnicity. The two

¹²⁵⁶ Pak, *The Korean Community of Southern California Year Book 1964*, 36.
¹²⁵⁷ Kim, *Los Angeles’s Koreatown*, 79.

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other listed restaurants—the Ahn family’s Moongate in Panorama and Yue’ Helen Restaurant in Gardena—served Chinese cuisine.¹²⁵⁸

Other food businesses listed included Great Eastern Food Products, Co. under “Oriental Food Dealer.” An ad for the business at 4716 S. Normandie Avenue in Los Angeles (not extant), at the end of the directory, said the brand Cathay Maid was produced by the company, and that it made “kim chee, ko chi chang, mandu, and many other Korean food products.”¹²⁵⁹ It appears similar to the Oriental Food Product Corporation that produced the Jan-U-Wine brand. By this time, Jan-U-Wine Foods was listed under Manufacturers.

The other businesses show a cross section of types and industries, including an auto shop in Dinuba; a barbershop in Los Angeles; a jeweler who also provided television and radio service and repair of watches, clocks, and home appliances; two laundries; a photo studio; two gift shops; two trading companies; four newspapers; and two printers, including East-West Press whose ad noted that they printed in all languages, including Korean, Chinese, and Japanese.¹²⁶⁰

In 1961, the Korean Chamber of Commerce of California was organized and established in Los Angeles at 1205 West Jefferson Boulevard (not extant). It was headed by Frank Ahn, who oversaw the efforts to promote Korean American commercial interests.¹²⁶¹

Korean American Employment, Post-1965

The change in immigration laws in 1965 opened the doors to more Korean immigrants. The post-1965 group were generally better educated and more skilled than those of the pioneering generation. Many were professionals, such as medical doctors, scientists, and teachers. They also settled directly in urbanized areas, rather than in rural or farming communities.¹²⁶²

By the mid-1970s, Koreatown was emerging along Olympic Boulevard in Los Angeles and with scattered Korean-operated businesses extending to south to Washington Boulevard, north to Beverly Boulevard, east to Hoover Street, and west to Crenshaw Boulevard.¹²⁶³ This represents a northward shift from Jefferson Boulevard, where the pioneering generation had settled since the 1920s. The opening of the Interstate 10 Freeway by 1970 precipitated a decline for businesses along Olympic Boulevard, a major east-west corridor. With high vacancies and low rents, Korean immigrants with the capital to start storefront businesses took advantage of the opportunity.

¹²⁵⁸ Kim, Los Angeles’s Koreatown, 74; Pak, The Korean Community of Southern California Year Book 1964, 108.

¹²⁵⁹ Pak, The Korean Community of Southern California Year Book 1964, 106-108.

¹²⁶⁰ Pak, The Korean Community of Southern California Year Book 1964, 86-89, 108.

¹²⁶¹ Kim and Patterson, *The Koreans in America*, 58.

¹²⁶² Choy, *Koreans in America*, 133.

¹²⁶³ Choy, *Koreans in America*, 137.

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Following the foothold established by Hi-Duk Lee and his Olympic Market in 1969, more than 250 Korean businesses were in this area by the mid-1970s. Most of the business, about seventy percent, were small-scale service businesses.¹²⁶⁴ Over ninety percent had ten or fewer employees. Many of the businesses started with capital from the owners, either brought from Korea or saved in the United States, with many also receiving small business loans.¹²⁶⁵

The *1977 Korean Business Directory*, published by the *Korean Times L.A.*, had over 150 pages and about 1,000 listings. The largest category was trading companies, at 124 listings. These included companies specializing in textile and clothing, iron and steel, and food. Trading businesses were encouraged by the South Korean government, which likely accounts for the high numbers.¹²⁶⁶

The next largest categories, at about fifty listings each, were grocery markets, restaurants, insurance agents, and real estate agents. Some insurance and real estate agents were part of larger agencies, such as Cal Western Life or Prudential, or Century 21 or Red Carpet, respectively with individual Korean-speaking agents listed. The 1964 Year Book had only two insurance agents and four real estate brokers listed.

These numbers reflected the growth of the professional and semi-professional services for Korean residents. Dental clinics, medical clinics, doctor’s offices, pharmacies, and chiropractors together numbered about sixty listings, with dentists as the largest group. The 1977 directory had at least four architects, up from the one listed in 1964; twelve lawyers, up from three; and almost thirty accountants and certified public accountants where none were listed in the 1964 Year Book.

Another new listing with significant numbers was the martial art studio, with twenty-seven listings for tae kwon do, judo, and karate. Gas stations had about twenty listings, and laundries and cleaners only four. There were three barbershops, sixteen beauty salons, fourteen men’s clothing stores or tailors, and thirty-eight women’s clothing shops to meet the personal grooming needs of the community.

Some, like sporting goods, photography studios, office supply, interior design, investments, and construction, had only a handful of listings. Others were businesses to support the immigrant community, such as immigration consultant and interpreter (six listings), language schools (at least three among twenty-five listings for schools and institutions), driving schools (seven listings), and travel agencies (twenty-three listings) from the days when a travel agent was helpful to arrange international flights.

The businesses were primarily in the City of Los Angeles, in the emerging Koreatown area and in neighborhoods like Hollywood and Van Nuys in the San Fernando Valley. Surrounding cities like

¹²⁶⁴ Choy, *Koreans in America*, 137.
¹²⁶⁵ Choy, *Koreans in America*, 139.
¹²⁶⁶ Choy, *Koreans in America*, 135.

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Beverly Hills, Culver City, Glendale, and Pasadena also had occasional listings. Greater concentrations were seen in the South Bay in Torrance and Gardena, as well as in Orange County, in Westminster, Garden Grove, and Santa Ana, areas that did not seem to have a similar concentration before 1965.

The *1977 Business Directory* did not list many agricultural-related businesses that had been common previously, like fruit and vegetables stands and wholesalers. According to another source, wig shops were a main industry for Korean-operated businesses by the mid-1970s, though not reflected in the *1977 Business Directory*.¹²⁶⁷

The directory points to trends that continued into the 1980s and 1990s, with a growing, Korean immigrant community in Los Angeles that had the resources to open a wide range of businesses serving the Korean community as well as the broader region. A study published in 1982 noted the prevalence of business proprietors in the Korean American community of Los Angeles. About thirty-six percent of the working heads of Korean households in the sample indicated they ran a business and were often working with their spouse. About twenty-five percent of working heads of households were in professional work. Most businesses were small, with the family working alongside a few employees.¹²⁶⁸ For women, sewing jobs was the most prevalent at twenty-two percent of working wives, with work in the family business also common, indicating that garment manufacturing was also a field in which Korean workers were involved.¹²⁶⁹

Filipina/o American
Filipina/o American Employment, 1903 to World War II

Early Filipina/o labor in California is traced back to *pensionados*, or students sponsored by the U.S. colonial government to study at colleges and universities in the United States. With the passing of the Pensionado Act in 1903, eligible students from the Philippines—mostly men under thirty years of age—were offered an opportunity to further their education. The intent was for them to return to the Philippines post-education and become leaders or professionals in local government or private companies.¹²⁷⁰ *Pensionados* arrived in San Francisco starting in 1903, with many more following through 1934. They sought educational opportunities locally and outside of California. While many *pensionados* received financial support from family and friends and government scholarships, they also held part-time jobs to maximize financial status and independence.

Non-sponsored students were also an early source of labor in California. Filipina/o students who were not able to secure spots within the *pensionado* program often were willing to migrate to the United

¹²⁶⁷ Choy, *Koreans in America*, 135-136.

¹²⁶⁸ Eui-Young Yu, "Occupation and Work Patterns of Korean Immigrants," in *Koreans in Los Angeles: Prospects and Promises*, ed. Eui-Young Yu, Earl H. Phillips, and Eun Sik Yang (Los Angeles: Koryo Research Institute, Center for Korean-American and Korean Studies, California State University, Los Angeles, 1982), 54.

¹²⁶⁹ Yu, "Occupation and Work Patterns," 54-55.

¹²⁷⁰ Veltizezar B. Bautista, *The Filipino Americans: From 1763 to the Present: Their History, Culture, and Traditions* (New York: New York University Press, 2011), 108-109.

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States on their own accord and typically with little financial assistance. Many sold personal property to be able to afford the transportation fare from the Philippines.¹²⁷¹ Once in California, students were quick to find work that would allow them to make enough money to attend school. Common fields included the hospitality and domestic service industries, as well as agriculture. General labor occupations such as electricians, painters, handymen, construction workers, and railroad workers—porters and attendants—were also widely occupied by Filipina/o workers in California. In larger, growing cities such as San Francisco and Los Angeles, general labor opportunities were plentiful.¹²⁷²

Hospitality and Service Industry

Filipina/o students (mostly men) arriving in the United States in search of part-time or full-time work outside of agriculture found jobs working in hospitality and domestic services. Many were proficient in English prior to coming to the United States, which allowed them an easier time in finding employment without restrictions due to language barriers. In hotels, restaurants, schools and hospitals, Filipina/o students would occupy positions such as busboys, cooks, elevator boys, janitors, and the like. In private residences, they would take on roles under the label of “schoolboys” or “houseboys” and would clean, cook, garden, and assist with other household duties.¹²⁷³

In these domestic and hospitality roles, Filipina/o workers often faced much hostility and racism as they were thought to be competition for white American women. Filipina/o workers often accepted work for lower wages than those sought by white American women and men, causing employers to look more favorably upon Filipina/o immigrants. In addition to their acceptance of lower wages, Filipina/o workers also were “steadier, more tractable and more willing to put up with longer hours, poorer board, and worse lodging facilities.”¹²⁷⁴ Employers saved time and money by finding workers quickly who would not openly protest about mediocre or sub-par living and working conditions.

Domestic and hospitality work was fulfilled through established employment agencies that partnered with employers specifically searching for non-white workers or employees. Employment agencies operated by others, including other AAPI communities, were commonly found in urban or city-centers. According to the California Department of Industrial Relations in 1930,

...for hotel and domestic jobs they (Filipinos) are largely dependent upon private fee-charging employment agencies. The employment agencies which specialize in furnishing white help to hotels, restaurants, and homes do not encourage Filipino applicants for employment. Usually when patrons of these agencies call for Filipino help, in lieu of white help, these agencies get in

¹²⁷¹ Bautista, *The Filipino Americans*, 108-109.

¹²⁷² Bautista, *The Filipino Americans*, 128.

¹²⁷³ Bautista, *The Filipino Americans*, 125-126.

¹²⁷⁴ Louis Bloch, *Facts about Filipino Immigration into California*, (San Francisco: California Department of Industrial Relations, 1930), 12.

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touch with fee-charging employment agencies which specialize in furnishing Oriental labor, and with whom they split the fees which the Filipino workers pay for their jobs.¹²⁷⁵

Employment agencies became a direct line for newly arriving Filipina/o immigrants to connect with local employers in the hospitality and domestic businesses. As the number of Filipina/o immigrants grew, the opportunities to fulfill hospitality and domestic positions became more widely available given the willingness of Filipina/o workers to accept lower wages, low quality living and working conditions, and the stereotypical categorization that they would not complain.

Agriculture

Possibly the largest role Filipina/o immigrants played in early Californian labor relates to agriculture and farming. Those arriving in the United States who were not able to secure jobs in the hospitality or domestic fields resorted to working on farms or ranches. With the Gentleman’s Agreement, negotiated between the United States and Japan in 1907 and 1908 to restrict Japanese immigrant labor, Filipina/o laborers became the next group of Asian migrants recruited to work the Hawaiian sugar plantations. The national origins quotas put into place with the Immigration Act of 1924 did not apply to Filipina/os, who were U.S. nationals—residents of a U.S. territory though not full U.S. citizens. Between 1909 and 1946, more than 120,000 Filipina/o immigrants arrived in Hawai‘i; about sixteen percent of them eventually found their way to the West Coast, including California.¹²⁷⁶

The early wave of Filipina/o immigrant agricultural workers to arrive in the United States often referred to themselves as *sakadas*, which in Tagalog means “contract workers.” *Sakadas* filled open labor positions throughout the United States and in California specifically. They sought work in the rural areas such as the Central Valley, Imperial Valley, San Joaquin Valley, the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta region (Delta), and the Salinas Valley. Agricultural cities like Watsonville, Fresno, Stockton, and Sacramento saw an influx of Filipina/o immigrants arriving to work in fields and on farms.

Growers in these areas often used local employment agencies to recruit and hire Filipina/o workers, although word of mouth was also an effective way to locate labor sources.¹²⁷⁷ Filipina/o laborers often organized as groups referred to as “gangs” by growers and would hire themselves out in this group fashion. Within each group or gang there was a simple hierarchy that included a boss who negotiated wages and housing for the group and was in charge of feeding and transporting workers to and from job sites.¹²⁷⁸ Typically, Filipino men worked in the fields, with a limited number of women working beside them. The women who worked in the fields usually dressed in men’s clothes and received the same compensation as men. Filipina women also worked as bookkeepers, contractors, and cooks on farms.¹²⁷⁹

¹²⁷⁵ Bloch, Facts about Filipino Immigration into California, 48.

¹²⁷⁶ Mabalon, Little Manila is in the Heart, 40.

¹²⁷⁷ Camille Guerin-Gonzales, Mexican Workers and American Dreams: Immigration, Repatriation, and California Farm Labor, 1900-1939 (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1994), 40.

¹²⁷⁸ Guerin-Gonzales, Mexican Workers and American Dreams, 40.

¹²⁷⁹ Guerin-Gonzales, Mexican Workers and American Dreams, 69.

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Filipina/o agricultural laborers often took on migratory patterns of living and working, following seasonal work throughout the year. The large farms throughout California were mostly found in the San Joaquin, Imperial, and Salinas Valleys and in the Delta. Laborers traveled as far north as Alaska in the summer for salmon canning and as far south as the Imperial Valley in the fall. Cities that lie in between, such as Stockton and Salinas, would become regular stops as laborers traveled from north to south.

The Delta and San Joaquin regions, including cities such as Stockton, Sacramento, and Lodi, offered work for ten months out of the year. A typical migratory pattern in these regions was driven by the crops:

- January and February: Lettuce and citrus picking in Southern California.
- Late February: Asparagus planting in the Delta.
- April and May: Harvesting peas primarily in San Luis Obispo and Alameda Counties.
- May: Harvesting stone fruits, asparagus, and peas in the Central Valley and Central Coast.
- Late June: End of asparagus season. Migration north to Alaska to work in the salmon canneries. Though salmon canning season began as early as April, many laborers would migrate for a “short season” that began in June and ended in August.
- August to October: Fall harvest in the Imperial Valley, moving north as vegetables, fruits, nuts, cotton, and grain reached maturity. By October, grape and cotton picking in the San Joaquin Valley.
- October to January: “Slack season”—stretches of unemployment with the exception of sugar beets in Southern California, grape pruning in the wine country regions, and celery harvest in November.¹²⁸⁰

The migrant workers lived in labor camps, with dwellings supervised by a crew chief. Labor camps were different in each location.¹²⁸¹ The housing could be converted barns, simple bunkhouses, or cabins. They were often without electricity, running hot water, or proper ventilation, and were often overcrowded as workers gathered for the short period when large numbers of laborers were needed. The workers traveled light, with what they could carry in their suitcase. Instead of individual bedrooms or private space, the labor camps typically provided bunkbeds or stalls with closets to store workers’ belongings for the duration of their stay.¹²⁸²

¹²⁸⁰ Mabalon, *Little Manila is in the Heart*, 70-71; Espiritu, *Filipino American Lives*, 9; Helzer, “Building Communities,” 33-34; “Crop Seasons,” Routes and Roots: Cultivating Filipino American History on the Central Coast, accessed April 17, 2022, <https://sites.google.com/site/centralcoastroutesandroots/following-the-crops-1/crop-seasons>.

¹²⁸¹ “Labor Camps,” Routes and Roots: Cultivating Filipino American History on the Central Coast, accessed April 17, 2022, <https://sites.google.com/site/centralcoastroutesandroots/following-the-crops-1/labor-camps>.

¹²⁸² “The Laborer’s Closet,” Routes and Roots: Cultivating Filipino American History on the Central Coast, accessed April 17, 2022, <https://sites.google.com/site/centralcoastroutesandroots/following-the-crops-1/labor-camps/the-laborer-s-closet>.

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By the 1930s, Filipina/o workers made up close to fifty percent of the non-European laborers in California.¹²⁸³ Despite their prominence in the agricultural labor force, Filipina/o workers were often seen as the competition to other immigrant groups working in the fields, spurring discrimination and racial tensions. Tensions grew and evolved into hostility toward Filipina/o laborers as unwelcomed and unwanted. By the time the Great Depression was underway, numerous incidents and racially motivated instances had taken place. As described by Camille Guerin-Gonzales in *Mexican Workers and American Dreams: Immigration, Repatriation, and California Farm Labor*,

Anti-Filipino growers manipulated government repatriation programs to return troublesome employees to their home country.... At the same time that California farmers tried to promote and protect an image of California as a place where farming was a family affair, where neighbors contributed their labor during harvest season as part of a communal project, and where the American Dream held out the promise of landownership and economic independence, they created an agricultural society in which farming was a business, labor was constituted by an army of migrant and impoverished workers, and access to the American Dream was determined by race. Racial discrimination prevented most Asian immigrants from acquiring land and economic security.... Racism also resulted, however, in the loss of a source of cheap labor for growers.¹²⁸⁴

The years encompassing the Great Depression and leading up to World War II continued to spark anti-Filipina/o sentiments and limited Filipina/o workers in California to roles as laborers on farms in rural areas or in restaurants, hotels, and private homes in more urban city centers. While the *pensionados* were able to secure scholarship and opportunity to further their studies in the United States, professional opportunities were often not offered to or filled by Filipina/os. The passage of the Tydings-McDuffe Act of 1934 that established the process for the Philippines to become an independent nation over a ten-year transition period, also re-classified Filipina/o immigrants as subject to the national origins quota system codified in the Immigration Act of 1924. Immigration of laborers from the Philippines slowed with both the Great Depression and the new quota limitations.

Filipina/o-Operated Businesses

As growing anti-Filipina/o sentiments and discrimination took hold, Filipina/o residents were prohibited from living in most white American established neighborhoods. As a result, they turned to establishing their own communities, which came to be known as “Little Manilas.”¹²⁸⁵ These communities were typically established near city centers such as Stockton, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago, New York, Seattle, and Washington, D.C. Filipina/o-owned restaurants, markets, newspapers, barbershops, billiards, employment agencies, photography studios, and churches were among some of the many types of establishments that collectively formed the Little Manilas in each city. These communities became

¹²⁸³ Estella Habal, “Radical Violence in the Fields: Anti-Filipino Riot in Watsonville,” *Journal of History* 2 (1992): 1.

¹²⁸⁴ Guerin-Gonzales, *Mexican Workers and American Dreams*, 23.

¹²⁸⁵ Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 183.

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centers for Filipina/o laborers to gather, socialize, and recuperate after spending months traveling for agricultural work within and outside of California. Possibly the largest and most well-known Little Manila community was in Stockton. It was the largest Filipina/o community outside of the Philippines from the 1920s through the 1970s and supported the highest number of Filipina/o-owned and operated businesses.

Little Manilas or concentrations of Filipina/o businesses were often in or near existing Asian American enclaves. In part, established Chinatowns and Japantowns existed when the first waves of Filipina/o immigrants arrived and were already allowable areas for ethnic and immigrant communities. These Asian American commercial areas also could provide for some of their daily needs and could add Filipino goods to serve the more migratory community that moved with the agricultural seasons. This may explain the relatively small number of Filipina/o-owned businesses in comparison to other Asian American groups. Academics have also pointed the legacy of Spanish colonial rule that did not encourage the Philippines to develop a local capitalist economy as a reason for less retail and merchant expertise and aspirations as compared to Chinese and Japanese immigrants.¹²⁸⁶

The Filipina/o business owners focused on services that catered to the preferences of the Filipina/o community such as restaurants, barbershops, and newspapers. In Stockton's Little Manila neighborhood in the 1920s, city directories recorded six barbers, three shoe shiners, five pool halls, and six restaurants all owned and run by Filipina/o immigrants. In the Filipinotown neighborhood of Los Angeles in 1938, public records indicated that there were sixteen Filipina/o-owned and operated restaurants and twelve Filipina/o-owned and operated barbershops.¹²⁸⁷ Vallejo's Manilatown saw the establishment of Filipina/o-owned businesses such as barbershops to ensure access to goods and services to Filipina/o immigrants that were not otherwise already established.¹²⁸⁸ Even cities and towns without a defined Little Manila, like San Diego, Oxnard, and San Pedro, had a few Filipina/o-owned or operated restaurants, barbershops, and other businesses that served as community gathering places.¹²⁸⁹

One notable Filipina/o business was the Philippine Islands Market or P.I. Market.¹²⁹⁰ Jorge "George" Tejada, along with Arsenio DeCasa and Ralph Cespon opened the first P.I. Market in Pismo Beach at the corner of Cypress Street and Ocean View Avenue (not extant). Tejada had immigrated to the United States in 1926 and worked first as an agricultural laborer in Stockton, then as a bellboy at various hotels in Los Angeles. He and his business partners saved and raised enough capital to open the

¹²⁸⁶ Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 336.

¹²⁸⁷ Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 336.

¹²⁸⁸ Mel Orpilla, *Filipinos in Vallejo*, Images of America (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2005), 39,42.

¹²⁸⁹ Patacsil, et al., *Filipinos in San Diego*, 20-21; Elnora Kelly Tayag, *Filipinos in Ventura County*, Images of America (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2011), 34-35; Florante Peter Ibanez and Roselyn Estepa Ibanez, *Filipinos in Carson and the South Bay*, Images of America (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2009), 10

¹²⁹⁰ Hirabayashi, *Asian American Businesses*, 145; history summarized from "P.I. Market: History," Routes and Roots: Cultivating Filipino American History on the Central Coast, accessed April 17, 2022, <https://sites.google.com/site/centralcoastroutesandroots/roots/pi-market/history>.

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business. They selected Pismo Beach from a list of three potential locations as the one with the least animosity toward the Filipina/o community.

The market stocked Filipina/o goods like rice and canned goods, though not fresh vegetables, according to Milagros Tejada, Jorge’s wife, as their Filipina/o customers planted their own. The Pismo Beach market became a hub for the Filipina/o community on the Central Coast and for the migrant workers and travelers between northern and southern California. It served as a social meeting place, where news and information could be shared, and where local Filipina/o farmers and fishermen could sell excess products. As Bing Arandanas recalled, the market’s employees, mostly Filipinos bachelors, were uncles and godfather figures to the younger generation.¹²⁹¹

P.I. Market incorporated in 1941, after Filipina/o residents were able to legally own land after the Nationality Act of 1940 extended naturalization rights to some and they were no longer considered aliens ineligible for citizenship under the Alien Land Laws. It grew into a small chain, with branches in Los Angeles (1939-1941), Salinas Beach (1939-1944), and Montalvo (1955-1972), which was located at 2531 S. Grand Avenue (extant) in the south Ventura County town.¹²⁹² The Pismo Beach market remained the main location and expanded in 1951 for more storage and a larger butcher shop. It closed in 1972 in the wake of competition from larger supermarkets. The building was demolished in the 2000s, though the local Filipina/o American community advocated for a re-creation of the storefront to be constructed.¹²⁹³

In Ventura County, home to Filipina/o residents who worked on farms throughout out the county and to some who settled in La Conchita del Mar, Oxnard, Ventura, Santa Paula, and Camarillo, at least two Filipinos entrepreneur owned multiple businesses.¹²⁹⁴ George Omo Sr. opened ten businesses in his lifetime, including two pool halls, two markets, two restaurants, two motels, a rental property, and a motorcycle shop. In 1941, Omo purchased his first business, a former Japanese fish market that he turned into a restaurant and pool hall. Omo’s Market opened at 436 Seaboard Avenue (later Colonia Road, likely altered) in Oxnard in 1943. In 1945, Omo’s Pool Hall and Omo’s Café opened next door to each other at 166-169 North Hayes Avenue (extant). The second Omo’s Market opened in 1949 at 508 East Date Street (extant) also in Oxnard, and soon thereafter, Omo’s Motel opened next door at 512 East Date Street (not extant). A second motel was located in California City in Kern County (address and status unknown).¹²⁹⁵

¹²⁹¹ Bing Arandanas, “The Philippine Islands Market in Pismo Beach, California,” *South County Historical Society Heritage Press* 14, no. 25 (February 2010): 8-9.

¹²⁹² Tayag, *Filipinos in Ventura County*, 46.

¹²⁹³ “PI Market,” *Routes and Roots: Cultivating Filipino American History on the Central Coast*, accessed April 17, 2022, <https://sites.google.com/site/centralcoastroutesandroots/roots/pi-market>.

¹²⁹⁴ Tayag, *Filipinos in Ventura County*, 8.

¹²⁹⁵ Tayag, *Filipinos in Ventura County*, 34-35.

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Domingo Dela Rosa was a farm laborer and entrepreneur also in Oxnard. Among the dozen businesses he owned in his lifetime were the Plaza Restaurant at 301 South C Street (not extant) in Oxnard, Shiplside Café at the east end of Dock 1 in Port Hueneme (address and status unknown), a pool hall, a hamburger stand, a bar, a barbershop, rental properties, and gift shops (addresses and statuses unknown). The barbershop was Dela Rosa’s first business, which he purchased in Oxnard in 1929.¹²⁹⁶ He also owned the three city lots with five buildings at 127-131 Enterprise Street in Oxnard (not extant). The buildings included a storefront at 127 Enterprise in which he had multiple businesses, a “big house” with rooms for rent, and three buildings with apartment rentals often rented to Filipina/o laborers, barbers, and chauffeurs.¹²⁹⁷

Filipina/o American Employment: World War II and Postwar Years

U.S. Military and Armed Forces

The United States’ acquisition of the Philippines from Spain in 1898 spurred an effort to enlist Filipino men in the U.S. military to support bases in the Philippines. Those in the Navy serving on ships also had opportunities to come to California’s naval bases, such as San Diego, San Francisco, and San Pedro/Los Angeles. Some stayed and settled around the bases. Positions set aside for recruits included petty officers, seamen, firemen, stewards, musicians, mess attendants, and others.¹²⁹⁸ Off ship, positions occupied by Filipinos workers often included merchant marines and working as laborers in Navy yards.¹²⁹⁹

World War II brought about a different sentiment toward those seeking to volunteer or enlist in the armed forces. With the onset of the U.S. involvement as a result of the attack on Pearl Harbor, President Roosevelt issued a proclamation allowing Filipinos to enlist, which ultimately modified the national draft law to include Filipino residents. Those serving in the armed forces under this proclamation were granted naturalization before beginning their deployments.

Philippine Independence in 1946 revoked the U.S. nationals’ status of Filipina/o residents, resulting in the limitation of Filipina/o recruitment to the U.S. military. The 1947 Military Bases Agreement with the Philippines included a provision that permitted the U.S. to continue enlisting and recruiting Filipina/o citizens through the 1970s.¹³⁰⁰ Despite the new restrictions with this agreement, those who enlisted were offered eligibility for U.S. citizenship after serving a specified period of time, which sparked interest in those seeking to immigrate.¹³⁰¹

¹²⁹⁶ Tayag, Filipinos in Ventura County, 11, 46.

¹²⁹⁷ Tayag, Filipinos in Ventura County, 11, 41.

¹²⁹⁸ Bautista, The Filipino Americans, 110.

¹²⁹⁹ Merchant marines were positions set aside for civilian mariners to assist with the transportation of cargo and passengers during peacetime. In times of war, merchant marines served as auxiliary resources to the U.S. Navy and were often placed in charge of transporting military personnel and materials.

¹³⁰⁰ Bautista, The Filipino Americans, 111.

¹³⁰¹ Bautista, The Filipino Americans, 111.

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In the post-World War II years, many Filipina/o-based organizations were established to provide support and benefits to those who served in the armed forces. In San Diego, the Filipino Americans Veterans Association was established as a local support organization for Filipina/o veterans and their families and communities.¹³⁰² In Ventura, the Personnel for Improvement in the Naval Organization and Yeoman’s Services (PINOYS) was formed in the 1970s by local Filipina/o community members to establish a sense of community and support services for active and retired Filipino service members.¹³⁰³ The Filipino-American Retired U.S. Armed Forces Association (FARUSAFA) in Vallejo provided services and events to those veterans from Mare Island and other nearby areas.¹³⁰⁴

Professional Fields

World War II brought about expanded opportunities for Filipina/o immigrants to obtain jobs in industrial factories, in some trades, and as salesmen.¹³⁰⁵ By the 1950s, Filipina/o laborers began securing jobs as craftsmen and factory workers, and by the late 1960s, many had begun pursuing opportunities in more professional fields. The 1965 Immigration Act abolished the national origins quota system and gave preferences to those seeking immigration for family reunification and to those with professional skills. As a result, professionals who obtained education and experience in the Philippines and in the United States were allowed to immigrate to or remain in the United States to further their education and work. By this time, there was still a high number of Filipina/o immigrants working in agriculture. An increasing number of those in California and those who arrived from the Philippines were seeking better professional opportunities.

By the 1970s, the number of Filipina/o immigrants arriving in the United States, and in California specifically, grew exponentially. A large number came in search of better working conditions, higher salaries, and more professional opportunities, which were not widely reachable in the Philippines without strong connections to people or institutions.¹³⁰⁶ New immigrants to the United States often preferred California as the place to settle because of the warm weather and prominence of Filipina/o communities in and around urban centers. Working professionals arriving in California included doctors, engineers, accountants, schoolteachers, surgeons, pharmacists, dentists, and dieticians.¹³⁰⁷

Possibly the largest population of Filipina/o workers in the United States in the post-World War II period can be found in the healthcare profession, specifically in nursing. The 1960s brought about a transformation of the nursing labor force in the United States that led to an influx of Filipina nurses. The field of nursing and its prominence in the Philippines can be traced back to U.S. colonialism in the Philippines, which pushed an agenda to “prepare Filipinos for self-rule through the introduction of

¹³⁰² Patacsil, et al., *Filipinos in San Diego*, 82.

¹³⁰³ Tayag, *Filipinos in Ventura County*, 86.

¹³⁰⁴ Orpilla, *Filipinos in Vallejo*, 68.

¹³⁰⁵ Brett Melendy, “Filipinos in the United States,” *Pacific Historical Review* 43, no. 4 (November 1974): 530.

¹³⁰⁶ James P. Allen, “Recent Immigration from the Philippines and Filipino Communities in the United States,” *Geographic Review* 67, no. 2 (April 1977): 198.

¹³⁰⁷ Allen, “Recent Immigration from the Philippines,” 198.

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American medical practices.”¹³⁰⁸ This belief led to a healthcare system similar to that of the U.S., and Filipina/o medical personnel trained in U.S. practices. Interest in and promotion of the nursing field lasted well after the end of U.S. rule over the Philippines. The new occupational preferences under the 1965 immigration law, combined with the need for more nursing professionals in the United States, led to mass immigration of Filipina/o nurses to the United States in search of higher pay and more opportunities.¹³⁰⁹

Chamorro

In the years after the 1898 Treaty of Paris negotiations at the end of the Spanish-American War ceded Guam to the United States, along with the Philippines and Puerto Rico, young Chamorro men joined whaling ships that stopped at Guam en route to Hawai‘i and California. Known as *balloneros*, they were among the first Chamorro immigrants to the state in the early decades of the 1900s. A worldwide census compiled by a German researcher in 1926 documented only about 300 Chamorros living abroad, and of that, forty in the United States. They may have been descendants of whalers or individuals who joined the U.S. Navy during World War I.¹³¹⁰

Starting in 1937, the U.S. Navy, the agency with authority over Guam, permitted young Chamorro males to enlist as mess attendants. By the start of World War II, 625 young men had left Guam for the U.S. mainland serving as mess attendants in the Navy. Similar to Filipino men who enlisted, the Chamorro in the Navy served on board ships that traveled to U.S. bases or were stationed at bases around the world. Once there, they likely lived near the bases, and may have remained after leaving the military.

During that period from 1937 to 1941, thirty-two other Guam natives relocated to the United States, compared to thirty-four between 1931 and 1936.¹³¹¹ Among this group may have been students seeking higher education. In the forty years of U.S. rule before World War II, it is estimated that about eighty Chamorros attended mainland colleges, and only twenty-five returned.¹³¹²

The years after World War II saw an increase in migration of Chamorro to the United States, and particularly California. Military service and pursuit of more education continued to drive the migration, along with the search for better opportunities. Young men enlisted in the U.S. Navy in greater numbers. Some settled in the communities around U.S. naval bases, such as Vallejo, Alamanda, Long Beach, and San Diego in California, and eventually started or brought their families there.¹³¹³

¹³⁰⁸ Choy, *Empire of Care*, 20.

¹³⁰⁹ Choy, *Empire of Care*, 94.

¹³¹⁰ Robert A. Underwood, “Excursions into Inauthenticity: The Chamorros of Guam,” *Pacific Viewpoint* 26, issue 1 (April 1985): 162. The data from the German researcher, Hornbostel, also noted 100 “half-caste” in Redwood City in 1926, though the information included in the Underwood article does not elaborate on the definition.

¹³¹¹ Underwood, “Excursions into Inauthenticity,” 16, 166.

¹³¹² Underwood, “Excursions into Inauthenticity,” 169.

¹³¹³ Untalan, “Chamorro Migration to the U.S.”

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Following passage of the Guam Organic Act in 1950, enlistment in the armed services also increased dramatically. The Organic Act shifted governance of Guam from the U.S. Navy to a civilian government and granted full U.S. citizenship to residents of Guam and their descendants.¹³¹⁴ With the Korean War underway, the opportunities for enlisted Chamorro extended beyond mess attendants in the Navy, and women also saw new opportunities in military service.¹³¹⁵ Chamorro also joined the Army and Air Force, where when their military service brought some to California, they settled around Army and Air Force bases, such as Travis Air Force Base near Fairfield in Solano County and March Air Force Base in Riverside County in Southern California.¹³¹⁶

Once in California, some remained in the military for their careers, while others left and found employment elsewhere. As veterans, those interested in higher education could take advantage of the GI Bill’s educational benefits.¹³¹⁷ Reportedly, a U.S. fruit company recruited Chamorros from Guam as farm laborers in California in 1960s.¹³¹⁸

The best data about Chamorro employment in California comes from the 1980 census, which was the first to record Chamorros as an ethnic group (under the term of “Guamanian” that more generally refers to inhabitants of the island, rather than the indigenous group). The census recorded 30,695 Chamorros in the U.S. mainland, compared to 47,690 in Guam and 6,667 in the North Marianas. California had the largest Chamorro population within the fifty states, with 17,009 individuals, while the next largest state, Washington, counted 1,739 Chamorro residents.¹³¹⁹

Dr. Faye Untalan compiled data from the 1980 census to provide an overview of the social-economic characteristics of the Chamorro community. For California, her data showed that the largest percentage of Chamorro residents, 36.6 percent, worked in technical-sales occupations. About 17 percent worked in services and about the same were operatives-laborers. Craftsman accounted for 14.8 percent, whereas 13 percent were in professional-managerial jobs. The smallest percent was in farm-fishing with just 1.3 percent. For women, most (55 percent) were in the technical-sales jobs, while 18.3 percent were in services, 12 percent in professional-managerial jobs, and 9.5 percent worked as operatives-laborers.¹³²⁰ Advertisements in Chamorro club newsletters and directories in California highlight professions such as accounting, bookkeeping, skilled trades, and other middle-level occupations.¹³²¹

¹³¹⁴ Viernes, “Organic Act of Guam.”

¹³¹⁵ Untalan, “Chamorro Migration to the U.S.,” Underwood, “Excursions into Inauthenticity,” 167.

¹³¹⁶ Underwood, “Excursions into Inauthenticity,” 167; Mario Borja, Director, Sakman Chamorro Project, video conference interview with Flora Chou, February 4, 2022.

¹³¹⁷ Underwood, “Excursions into Inauthenticity,” 169.

¹³¹⁸ Untalan, “Chamorro Migration to the U.S.”

¹³¹⁹ Untalan, “Chamorro Migration to the U.S.”

¹³²⁰ Dr. Faye Untalan, “Socio-Economic Characteristics of Chamorro in Selected States (1980),” charts A and B, compiled from US and Territorial Census Data, CNMI, accessed March 19, 2022,

<https://www.flickr.com/photos/guampedia/sets/72157650642163185>.

¹³²¹ Underwood, “Excursions into Inauthenticity,” 175.

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Not much data has been compiled about Chamorro-operated businesses, though it seems likely some exist that cater to the community. One example is the modern Bank of Guam. Started in 1972 by Jesus Sablan Leon Guerrero, a former Bank of America Vice President, and Jose L.G. Untalan, also a former Bank of America employee. Unlike the previous colonial-era Bank of Guam, which was a U.S. government entity under the management of the Navy, this new Bank of Guam was a locally chartered full-service bank. The bank grew to open several branches, including one in San Francisco to facilitate financing between California and Guam.¹³²² The San Francisco branch opened in 1983, with a street level presence at 404 Montgomery Street in the Financial District, where it remains.¹³²³

South Asian American

South Asian American Employment, 1899 to World War II

Agriculture

Like immigrants from China and Japan, many South Asian immigrants, who were overwhelmingly from Punjab, initially found work in lumber mills, railroad yards, and on farms and orchards. Early Punjabi farm laborers moved between the Sacramento Valley where they worked in vineyards, orchards, and sugar beet fields, to the citrus groves of the San Joaquin Valley, to the cantaloupe and cotton fields of the Imperial Valley.¹³²⁴

In the early twentieth century, Punjabi farm laborers were initially among the lowest paid in California agriculture; according to one historian, only Mexican farm workers earned less than Punjabis.¹³²⁵ Richard Steven Street posits that the very first Punjabi farm laborers found employment in 1907 on the George W. Pierce almond farm in the Sacramento Valley.¹³²⁶ Like other Asian immigrant groups, Punjabi farm workers were often employed in groups through an English-speaking labor contractor from their own community. Shaam Singh brought a group of thirty men to work on Pierce’s farm for \$1.25 per day, less expenses for food and boarding in new bunkhouses. Pierce was so pleased with the arrangement, he and other local growers relied on Singh’s services for nearly a decade.¹³²⁷

Punjabi labor contractors, like those from Chinese, Japanese, Filipina/o and other immigrant communities, took on hiring, transportation, supervision, housing, and feeding laborers, which allowed farm owners to bypass these responsibilities. In addition to English, successful labor contractors needed knowledge of local growers, pay rates, seasonal crop transitions, and working conditions. According to

¹³²² Jillette Leon-Guerrero, “Banking,” Guampedia, accessed March 18, 2022, <https://www.guampedia.com/banking/>. Previously, the Guam Savings and Loan was established on the island in 1954.

¹³²³ “History of the People’s Bank,” Bank of Guam, accessed March 19, 2022, https://bankofguam.com/uploads/files/BOG17037_p8.pdf.

¹³²⁴ “Chapter 3: From Laborers to Landowners,” Echoes of Freedom: South Asian Pioneers in California, 1899-1965, accessed March 7, 2022, <https://guides.lib.berkeley.edu/echoes-of-freedom/laborers-to-landowners>.

¹³²⁵ La Brack, *The Sikhs of Northern California*, 118.

¹³²⁶ Street, *Beasts of the Field*, 482.

¹³²⁷ Street, *Beasts of the Field*, 486.

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Nayan Shah, some Punjabi labor contractors became so successful they organized and managed crews that included white and Mexican workers, as well as their fellow countrymen.¹³²⁸

Punjabi farm workers' labor was often intertwined with Japanese immigrant enterprises, whether as workers on Japanese-run farms, or lodgers in Japanese-run boarding houses located in migratory stops such as Fresno and Stockton.¹³²⁹ At times, Punjabi farmworkers gained work by undercutting wages of Japanese workers. Many Punjabi laborers climbed quickly up the agricultural ladder; some historians attribute this to familiarity with the English language as well as British bureaucracies and legal arrangements.¹³³⁰ By 1920, Punjabi immigrants owned over 2,000 acres and leased more than 86,000 acres of farmland, primarily in the Sacramento and Imperial Valleys.

Unlike Japanese immigrants, who grew high intensity crops requiring a great deal of hand labor and smaller acreage, many Punjabi farmers concentrated in large volume cash crops such as rice and cotton. Substantial capital was required to lease large acreage and men combined their resources to finance these enterprises, adding their labor on weekends and nights when they had time off from their regular jobs.¹³³¹ These enterprises, such as the Punjab Cattle Company and the Atlantic Cattle Company northeast of Manteca in San Joaquin County, were often initiated by collectives of men who knew one another through shared labor, and often had village and/or kinship ties. Members of these groups shared the costs and profits for these farms, which they often supervised on off hours when they were not otherwise employed.¹³³²

Punjabis who were not engaged in large volume cash crops such as rice and cotton, intensively farmed peaches and pears, almonds, beans, celery, asparagus, and lettuce.¹³³³ They worked in orchards of Newcastle, Loomis, Orangeville, and Folsom; rice growing areas of Marysville, Colusa, Chico, and Willows; and grew cotton and melons around Holtville and El Centro.¹³³⁴ By 1920, Punjabi immigrants leased over 86,000 acres of agricultural land and owned nearly 3,000 acres outright as farms.¹³³⁵

South Asian Operated Businesses and Professional Fields

Because South Asian immigrants arrived in such small numbers and were overwhelmingly male, they did not develop complex economic networks in the United States. In contrast to Chinese Americans and

¹³²⁸ Shah, *Stranger Intimacy*, 106-107.

¹³²⁹ Sucheta Mazumdar, "Punjabi Agricultural Workers in California, 1905-1945," in *Labor Immigration Under Capitalism: Asian Workers in the United States Before World War II*, eds. Lucie Cheng and Edna Bonacich (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 567.

¹³³⁰ Karen Leonard, "Punjabi Pioneers in California: Political Skills on a New Frontier," *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 12, no. 2 (1989): passim.

¹³³¹ La Brack, *The Sikhs of Northern California*, 160.

¹³³² Howard Shideler, "Manteca: City in Transition," *The San Joaquin Historian* 2, no.1 (Spring 1988), 7; Jensen, *Passage from India*, 39.

¹³³³ "Chapter 3: From Laborers to Landowners."

¹³³⁴ La Brack. *The Sikhs of Northern California*, 106, 113; Leonard, *Making Ethnic Choices*, 51.

¹³³⁵ "Chapter 3: From Laborers to Landowners."

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Japanese Americans, the first generation of South Asian immigrants established a relatively small number of businesses outside of their work in agriculture. Their numbers were “almost insignificant” according to one scholar; their location in urban centers and proficiency in English meant that they, as well as university students, were spokesmen for the Punjabi community.¹³³⁶ Among the handful of early professionals was attorney Sakharam Ganesh Pandit, a lawyer whose successful case to remain a naturalized citizen reached the Supreme Court in 1927. Pandit was admitted to the California bar three years after immigrating. His arguments for retaining citizenship included ten years of law practice, ownership of a home in Los Angeles, and marriage to a white American woman who would lose her own citizenship under the 1922 Cable Act.¹³³⁷

One accounting of South Asian occupations in California from 1910 lists just twenty percent of immigrants as occupying professional, business, or skilled worker status.¹³³⁸ Vaishno and Kala Bagai, who arrived at Angel Island Immigration Station with their three children in September 1915, are an example. The Bagais were unusual in arriving as a family, and for bringing enough wealth to enter the commercial sector through opening Bagai’s Bazaar, an import business and general store at 3159 Fillmore Street in San Francisco (altered), which also served for a time as the family residence.¹³³⁹ Newspaper accounts describe a second shop, Bagai’s India Arts and Curios, that opened in 1916 at 2139 Center Street in Berkeley (not extant). An account of the shop opening in the *Berkeley Daily Gazette* of July 22, 1916, reinforces the fact that the targeted clientele would be outsiders inclined to view South Asian culture as “exotic,”

The India Art and Curio Store... handles all kinds of silk and gold embroideries, furs, woolen blankets, and curios which are India’s own specialties. The silk embroideries are made by village women of different parts of India... who are cooped up in their little huts during heavy snowy winter months. The gold embroideries have been made by the descendant of those who spent their lives in making dresses for the royal families of India several centuries ago. The hereditary professions are followed with a passion by these handicraftsmen and are never pursued with any calculation of the market value of these products. With great difficulty these art products and curios have been collected and brought over to this country. Everything in the store has a history of its own which is told to visitors whenever asked.¹³⁴⁰

¹³³⁶ Mazumdar, “Punjabi Agricultural Workers in California, 1905-1945,” 557.

¹³³⁷ Ling and Austin, *Asian American History and Culture*, 346-347.

¹³³⁸ Mazumdar, “Punjabi Agricultural Workers in California, 1905-1945,” 556.

¹³³⁹ “Bridges Burnt Behind: The Story of Vaisho Das.” The Fillmore Street address appears on Bagai’s business card, which is reproduced on the South Asian American Digital Archive (SAADA), accessed February 1, 2022, <https://www.saada.org/item/20130515-2782>. The building’s use as the family residence is noted in a letter from the Bagai’s son also reproduced on SAADA, accessed February 1, 2022, <https://www.saada.org/item/20130513-2743>.

¹³⁴⁰ “South Asian Businesses,” Berkeley South Asian History Archive, accessed February 1, 2022, <http://archive.berkeleysouthasian.org/business.html>.

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South Asian American Employment, Post-World War II

The majority of South Asians (1,476) lived in California in 1940; that year’s U.S. Census showed that most were engaged in agricultural work, with only twenty percent worked in non-farm labor and four percent held professional status.¹³⁴¹ In 1950, at the time of a study conducted by Allen Miller, he counted only four South Asian owned businesses in Marysville: a barbershop and rooming house, a liquor store, a grocery store, and the New India Company.¹³⁴² In 1964, the Punjab Bazaar opened in Marysville and began offering an expanding range of South Asian products that re-connect Punjabi Sikh residents to their homeland. Although the Bazaar has moved a handful of times over the course of its existence, it continues to be operated by the same family. It sells goods at 1190 Stabler Lane, and freshly ground flour from a warehouse on Industrial Drive.¹³⁴³

Migration increased after Indian partition in 1947 under new immigration quotas; many of those who arrived initially were from the state of Gujarat. Perhaps the most notable commercial sector South Asians entered in the post-World War II period was in lodging, specifically hotels and motels. The earliest account of a South Asian-run hotel is that of San Francisco’s Goldfield Hotel, a residential hotel run by Japanese Americans who were forced to evacuate and turned over the business to a South Asian tenant.¹³⁴⁴

A study of early South Asian motel owners in San Francisco found that, unlike earlier immigrants, these were all from Gujarat, belonged to the same caste (Patidars or Patels), and the majority were Muslim. The first Gujarati men who entered hotel work in California had arrived decades earlier and began in that field in the 1940s. By the early 1950s, new arrivals went directly into working in motels; these were mostly single men who planned to bring family members as they gained the necessary funds. As these became family businesses, the parents and children took up residence in the hotel, and the wives, who found the work less demanding than traditional female tasks back home, worked alongside their husbands behind the counter and doing the cleaning. Most hotels had fifty to 160 rooms. Smaller hotels were run by the wives while husbands worked elsewhere.¹³⁴⁵

Most of the hotel operators had been farmers in South Asia and found that leasing a hotel to manage did not require a large investment. Their first hotels were single-room-occupancy (SRO) buildings in the South of Market (SOMA) area, a low-income neighborhood with many older, single, long-term tenants who often struggled with alcohol and drug abuse.¹³⁴⁶ Although the community found they could not

¹³⁴¹ Gary R. Hess, “The Forgotten Asian Americans: The East Indian Community in the United States,” *Pacific Historical Review* 43, no. 4 (1974): 590- 591.

¹³⁴² Miller, An Ethnographic Report on the Sikh, 97-98.

¹³⁴³ Dhaliwal, “Yuba-Sutter: A Case Study for Heritage Conservation in Punjabi American Communities,” 117-122.

¹³⁴⁴ Details on the Goldfield Motel are found in Pawan Dhingra, *Life Behind the Lobby: Indian American Motel Owners and the American Dream* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2012), 50-51. The Goldfield Hotel appears at 157 4th Street (not extant) in *Polk’s Directory for San Francisco* (1951), which lists Kanji M. Desae as the owner.

¹³⁴⁵ Usha Jain, *The Gujaratis of San Francisco* (New York: AMS Press, Inc. 1989), 9-10, 12, 20.

¹³⁴⁶ Jain, *The Gujaratis of San Francisco*, 17-18, 21.

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replicate the large, multi-generational households familiar to them in India, they kept in frequent contact with other Gujarati hotel owners and brought family members over from the home country to learn the hotel business under their tutelage. The 1953 Polk’s San Francisco City Directory lists over twenty hotels under the name Patel.¹³⁴⁷ Within a few decades, the Patels controlled approximately one-third of the 200 SROs in SOMA.

As their businesses grew more profitable, many of these hotel owners began purchasing buildings, and when possible, moving north across Market Street to more upscale areas, and leaving the cheaper residential hotels to newer Gujarati immigrants.¹³⁴⁸ Many pioneers moved into buying and managing travelers’ hotels as a step up from the SROs that had given them their start. The first San Francisco motel purchased by a South Asian is reported to be the Mart Motel at the corner of 9th and Mission Streets circa 1963 (appears extant).¹³⁴⁹ Patel motel ownership continued to expand in California and across the nation in the following decades.¹³⁵⁰

The 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act profoundly changed the Indian American community and its labor and employment patterns. Acceptance criteria expanded to emphasize training and education, as well as family reunion, which dramatically expanded the number of businesspeople and professionals who reshaped the Indian American community, and its public profile, in the 1970s and beyond.¹³⁵¹ The number of immigrants from India and Pakistan climbed from 582 in 1965 to 15,733 a decade later. These newer immigrants were well educated and relatively affluent, especially compared to the earlier immigrants from Punjab. They were numerous enough to patronize stores targeted toward their community in places like Fremont, Artesia and elsewhere.¹³⁵² Berkeley began hosting a thriving collection of Indian specialty shops on a several-block stretch of University Avenue.¹³⁵³

Samoa

The United States first established a naval station in the Samoa Islands in 1878 through a treaty with the local government. In 1899, the Tripartite Convention partitioned the islands among the U.S., Britain, and Germany as these countries interests in Samoa increased. From 1900 to 1951, American Samoa was

¹³⁴⁷ Polk’s San Francisco City Directory (1953), 1183, accessed December 5, 2021, <https://archive.org/details/polkssanfrancisc196465rlpo/page/1183/mode/lup>.

¹³⁴⁸ Jain, The Gujaratis of San Francisco, 39, 42, 128.

¹³⁴⁹ Dinghra, *Life Behind the Lobby*, 61. A traveler’s motel named the SOMA Park Inn still stands and a California Department of Parks and Recreation form on the City of San Francisco Property Information Management website shows it was built in 1956, accessed February 2, 2022, <https://sfplanninggis.org/docs/DPRForms/3728072.pdf>.

¹³⁵⁰ Edwin McDowell, “Hospitality is Their Business: One Ethnic Groups Rooms-to-Riches Success Story,” *New York Times*, March 21, 1996.

¹³⁵¹ Haley Duschinski, “Labor and Employment, Indian American,” in *Asian American History and Culture: An Encyclopedia*, Huping Ling and Allan Austin, eds. (New York: Routledge, 2015), 338.

¹³⁵² La Brack, *The Sikhs of Northern California*, 275; Jessica C. Lee, “From Dairies to Samosas and Saris,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 8, 2006.

¹³⁵³ Sara Marcellino, “Connecting a Heterolocal Ethnic Community: Berkeley’s Asian Indian Shopping District,” (master’s thesis, San Francisco State University, 2003).

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under U.S. Navy control. In 1951, oversight of American Samoa changed to the Department of Interior. It remains an unincorporated territory and its residents are U.S. nationals.

It appears before World War II, few Samoans migrated to the United States, though small communities were found in Hawai‘i and California.¹³⁵⁴ With the expansion of military presence during World War II, almost all working age men in American Samoa became engaged in employment that helped to transform the territory into a strategic naval base. The jobs included construction, trade, and stevedoring.¹³⁵⁵

After World War II, about 500 Samoans settled abroad or joined the military in the mainland between 1947 and 1950.¹³⁵⁶ As the naval authority transitioned to civilian governance in American Samoa after 1950, the employment opportunity within the naval industry decrease. Samoans in greater numbers migrated to Hawai‘i, Guam, and the mainland for economic opportunities. Farm labor contractors recruited Samoans to Hawaiian and Californian fields between 1951 and 1953.¹³⁵⁷ As travel became easier, with regular commercial air service and ocean liners to Hawai‘i and California beginning in 1956, and the establishment of commercial air travel in 1959, migration by young people and trained personnel grew. Notably, teachers, administrative personnel, and medical service professionals, among whom were more young women, migrated in noticeable numbers by 1960.¹³⁵⁸

Once in California, those in the military remained in service or retired and continued to live near the bases resulting in the formation of small Samoan communities around naval bases in the San Francisco Bay Area and in Southern California from Oxnard to San Diego.¹³⁵⁹ Those not in the military found work primarily in two industries: shipping related for men and nursing for women. In shipping, they worked in shipyards or heavy industry building or maintaining ships, as well as in the merchant marine or with one of the shipping or passenger lines.¹³⁶⁰ Samoan women found work as nurses’ aides in convalescent homes, hospitals, and nursing homes.¹³⁶¹ As part of their kinship system of mutual support, men and women often helped each other find employment in the same company or industry.¹³⁶² One Samoan aide reported that among the twenty Samoan nurses’ aides on a staff of thirty employees at a convalescent home, two were her sisters and two were her sisters-in-law.¹³⁶³ Other occupations include

¹³⁵⁴ Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, “From Polynesia to California,” 133-134.
¹³⁵⁵ Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, “From Polynesia to California,” 134.
¹³⁵⁶ Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, “From Polynesia to California,” 134.
¹³⁵⁷ Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, “From Polynesia to California,” 136, 140.
¹³⁵⁸ Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, “From Polynesia to California,” 137, 139.
¹³⁵⁹ Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, “From Polynesia to California,” 139, 143.
¹³⁶⁰ Ablon, “The Social Organization of an Urban Samoan Community,” 78, 80-81.
¹³⁶¹ Ablon, “The Social Organization of an Urban Samoan Community,” 78.
¹³⁶² Ablon, “The Social Organization of an Urban Samoan Community,” 81.
¹³⁶³ Ablon, “The Social Organization of an Urban Samoan Community,” 92.

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the service industries, such as x-ray or laboratory technicians in the medial field, employment in banks or small industries, or as truck drivers. Some continued their education and attended college.¹³⁶⁴

The 1980 census offers a glimpse into the occupations in which Samoan residents in California worked. Researchers Geoffrey Hayes and Michael J. Levin published *A Statistical Profile of Samoans in the United States*, in which the second volume explored the social and economic characteristics of the Samoan community as of 1980. As summarized from their report, of the 10,594 Samoan residents in California over the age of sixteen in 1980, about fifty-two percent or 5,595 were employed. The majority (4,427 or about eighty percent) were employed in the private sector in wage and salary positions. Only about 100, or less than two percent, were self-employed. Just under twenty percent, (1,061 individuals) worked in government, mostly at the federal or local level, with a smaller percent in state government.¹³⁶⁵

By occupation, about thirty percent of Samoan residents in California were in technical, sales, and administration (1,660), of which most (1,037) were women. Another thirty percent worked as operators and fabricators (1,663), mostly men (1,150). About fifteen percent (852) were in the service occupations, almost equally distributed between men (442) and women (410). Precision production and craftsmen accounted for about thirteen percent (752), with mostly men (631) and some women (121). In managerial and professional jobs were 627 individuals, about eleven percent, again evenly split between women (314) and men (313). Only forty-one individuals, mostly men (35), were in farming, forestry, and fishing.¹³⁶⁶

Hayes and Levin noted that the Samoan labor force was concentrated in three main industries: manufacturing, trade, and services, which reflected the U.S. economy at the time. In California, of the 5,595 workers, about thirty-two percent (1,826 individuals) were employed in manufacturing. The next largest group, 978 or about seventeen percent, were in professional services. After that, retail trade had 725 individuals or thirteen percent. Fewer than ten percent worked in public administration (336), transportation (308), business and repair services (283), construction (208), wholesale trade (181), other personal services (169), banking and credit agencies (164), insurance and real estate (164), and communications (105). Even fewer were in agriculture, forestry, and fishing (58), entertainment and recreation (53), private households (23), and mining (14).¹³⁶⁷

¹³⁶⁴ Ablon, "The Social Organization of an Urban Samoan Community," 92.

¹³⁶⁵ Geoffrey Hayes and Michael J. Levin, *A Statistical Profile of Samoans in the United States. Part I: Demography; Part II: Social and Economic Characteristics* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Labor, December 1983), 93.

¹³⁶⁶ Hayes and Levin, *A Statistical Profile of Samoans in the United States*, 98.

¹³⁶⁷ Hayes and Levin, *A Statistical Profile of Samoans in the United States*, 94-95.

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Vietnamese American

Vietnamese America Employment, 1975-2000

For those arriving among the first wave in the 1975, leaving one of the four military refugee camps was contingent on one of four factors: having sufficient funds to be self-supporting, returning to Vietnam, resettling in another country, or finding an American individual or group sponsor. Almost all followed the fourth path. By the end of 1975, almost 130,000 refugees had been resettled with sponsors throughout the United States.¹³⁶⁸ The sponsors, with some minimal funding from the federal government, secured food, clothing, and shelter for the individuals or families until they could be financially self-supporting. To do that, sponsors may have assisted with securing employment. Facilitating employment, and thus refugees becoming self-supporting and not reliant on public assistance, was one of the main reasons for federal funding of refugee services and resources.

Though educated, Westernized, and considered among the elite, the skillsets of those in the first wave did not translate immediately to similar jobs in the United States. Well over sixty percent did not speak English.¹³⁶⁹ Despite the challenges, those in the first wave sought and secured what employment they could. Their first jobs—as dishwashers, day laborers, janitors, security guards, gardeners, newspaper carriers, and other jobs where minimal English was sufficient—were downwardly mobile from their previous status in Vietnam, where many were in the military or in government service. Women, who may not have worked outside the home previously, also entered the workforce to help support their families. Those with transferable skills, like fishing or craftwork, were more likely to find jobs in those or related fields.¹³⁷⁰ By 1977, over ninety percent of the Indochinese refugee population were employed.¹³⁷¹

Those arriving with the second wave from 1978 to 1989 were more socially and economically diverse. Generally not as elite or influenced by the French and Americans as the first wave, the second wave were mostly from urban areas who had jobs as shopkeepers, machine operators, factory workers, and construction workers in Vietnam. The later arrivals, once the Orderly Departure Program was in place, included among their numbers many professionals, such as physicians, lawyers, and teachers. Many in the second wave were urban ethnic Chinese, a reflection of the persecution faced in Vietnam. Farmers, fishermen, craftsmen, and laborers were also among the second wave; a group of Vietnamese fishermen was operating twenty boats in the Monterey Bay by 1982.¹³⁷² In general, the second wave had lower levels of education, fewer material resources and job skills, less knowledge of English, and less contact with American culture than the first wave.¹³⁷³

¹³⁶⁸ Freeman, *Changing Identities*, 46.

¹³⁶⁹ Freeman, *Changing Identities*, 45.

¹³⁷⁰ Freeman, 52-53, 55; Rutledge, *The Vietnamese Experience in America*, 77-80.

¹³⁷¹ Freeman, *Changing Identities*, 61. It is assumed that the Vietnamese population is the largest percent among the Indochinese refugees surveyed.

¹³⁷² Watson, "Vietnamese Blame Fishing Woes on New Law."

¹³⁷³ Freeman, *Changing Identities*, 55-56.

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The refugee assistance system placed in service through the 1980 Refugee Act provided some money directly from the federal government to the second wave arrivals for living expenses. Distributed through local counties, the funds were short term; those who arrived in 1980 received direct funds for three years, while those who arrived later received support for less time.¹³⁷⁴

Indirectly, private and public resettlement and refugee support organizations received other federal funding to assist refugees with English language instruction, job training, and other services to achieve the twin goals of economic self-sufficiency and cultural adjustment.¹³⁷⁵ The agencies attempted to secure job placement, though according to the Vietnamese recipients, they were less successful at that than in providing other social services like immigration help, daycare, and sponsorship.¹³⁷⁶ Some of the resettlement organizations could also be the source of employment for Vietnamese workers, particularly those with college degrees and Chinese-Vietnamese individuals with trilingual skills—Vietnamese, Chinese (Cantonese), and English.¹³⁷⁷

More reliable and trusted to aid in securing employment was the refugee community itself. This included mutual assistance associations and nonprofit organizations founded and led by Vietnamese refugees, as well as the informal network of friends and family in areas where the first wave started to congregate and form communities, including Los Angeles and Orange Counties, San Jose and Santa Clara Valley in general, San Diego, and the San Francisco Bay Area.¹³⁷⁸ The economy in the late 1970s to early 1980s was in a recessionary period and in flux. Some manufacturing and assembly line jobs were still available, though dwindling. In Santa Clara Valley, several thousand Vietnamese workers were trained and found employment in electronics firms as assemblers and technicians as the high-tech industry was growing.¹³⁷⁹ Women tended to find part-time work in manufacturing garments or preparing food. Some new arrivals preferred to work in the underground economy, where they had flexible hours, did not pay taxes and were not under scrutiny by the welfare and social service agencies, or could work from home.¹³⁸⁰

After twenty years, the Vietnamese population in the United States held a wide variety of occupations, based on their education, length of time in the country, and as first or subsequent generations.¹³⁸¹ The 1990 census recorded the Vietnamese workforce in Santa Clara County, the center of California’s Silicon Valley, in various occupations through many were employed in high tech companies. Of the more than 20,000 Vietnamese people who were employed in the county, accounting for nineteen percent

¹³⁷⁴ Freeman, *Changing Identities*, 56.

¹³⁷⁵ Freeman, *Changing Identities*, 57.

¹³⁷⁶ Gold, *Refugee Communities*, 150.

¹³⁷⁷ Gold, *Refugee Communities*, 158.

¹³⁷⁸ Rutledge, *The Vietnamese Experience in America*, 56-57.

¹³⁷⁹ Freeman, *Changing Identities*, 55.

¹³⁸⁰ Freeman, *Changing Identities*, 55; Nazil Kibria, *Family Tightrope: The Changing Lives of Vietnamese Americans* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), 77-107.

¹³⁸¹ Freeman, *Changing Identities*, 66-67.

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of the Vietnamese workforce in California, thirty-eight percent were in technician, sales, and clerical positions, twenty-three percent in engineering and health professions, and eighteen percent in machine operation and assembly. Another ten percent were in mechanics and precision production jobs, eleven percent in services including food, and just one percent in farming and fishing.¹³⁸²

Little Saigons and Business Communities

Like immigrants with limited English skills before them, opening their own businesses was another avenue that the Vietnamese refugees pursued. As they settled into their communities—in their initial resettlement or more commonly in their secondary migration to areas with growing concentrations—they could operate a family-run business targeted to the needs of their fellow new arrivals. Many relied on friends and family for start-up capital, as they typically did not have credit histories that could secure loans through traditional banks.¹³⁸³ Systems of rotating credit developed among small networks or groups, such as among several Vietnamese restaurant and shop owners in the San Francisco Bay Area.¹³⁸⁴

Some business owners had experience from Vietnam, while others acquired the skills through their initial employment in the United States at grocery stores, laundromats, restaurants, and other businesses. Many continued working salary jobs while saving to open their businesses or as they were starting as a hedge against the uncertainty.¹³⁸⁵ A few public and private organizations assisting the refugee communities with resettlement provided support with starting small businesses, such as technical assistance in business operations, renting storefronts and equipment, securing marketing, accounting, and legal services, and navigating local government requirements like obtaining business licenses.¹³⁸⁶

Starting with a handful of businesses in the late 1970s and early 1980s, and expanding as others joined, concentrations of Vietnamese-owned or operated businesses appeared in the major metropolitan areas in Southern and Northern California. As an example, by the late 1980s, over 2,000 Vietnamese-operated businesses were in Southern California. The largest concentration was in Orange County’s Little Saigon, which by then spanned the cities of Westminster, Garden Grove, and Santa Ana. The City of Los Angeles’ Chinatown was another concentration as well as the Monterey Park and Alhambra areas in the San Gabriel Valley region of Los Angeles County, where significant Chinese American communities—fueled by migration from Hong Kong and Taiwan in the post-1965 immigration reform years—had been growing since the 1970s in these more suburban areas.¹³⁸⁷ The high numbers of various Asian American populations in Southern California allowed Vietnamese businesses to cater to a broader Asian American community before needing to also appeal to non-Asian communities.

¹³⁸² Freeman, *Changing Identities*, 66.

¹³⁸³ Freeman, *Changing Identities*, 53-55; Rutledge, *The Vietnamese Experience*, 81-83.

¹³⁸⁴ Gold, *Refugee Communities*, 205.

¹³⁸⁵ Steve Padilla, “Vietnamese Business Thriving in Southland Despite Some Opposition,” *Los Angeles Times*, July 10, 1981; “Voices in the Vietnamese Community;” Holley, “Chinese, Vietnamese Feel Tension.”

¹³⁸⁶ Gold, *Refugee Communities*, 193.

¹³⁸⁷ Gold, *Refugee Communities*, 188.

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Similarly, concentrations of Vietnamese businesses also appeared in other areas with existing Asian American communities, including in San Diego, San Jose, Oakland, Sacramento, and San Francisco during the same period. Smaller than the Little Saigon in Orange County, some developed over time into recognized pockets of Vietnamese businesses, while others blended into pan-Asian communities. In particular, the concentrations of Vietnamese-operated businesses in Chinese American communities reflected another layer of the Vietnamese community. Those with ethnic Chinese backgrounds had an advantage to more easily move within the Chinese American communities, secure investment and capital, and have a broader customer base.¹³⁸⁸ This fostered an undercurrent of resentment and envy among ethnic Vietnamese against ethnic Chinese-Vietnamese, who formed the traditional merchant class in Vietnam.¹³⁸⁹

In 1980, the Vietnamese Chamber of Commerce started and soon had locations in Orange County, Los Angeles, San Jose, San Diego, and Houston.¹³⁹⁰ Other chambers of commerce and business support organizations were established as the community of Vietnamese-owned businesses grew, including the Vietnamese American Chambers of Commerce in Orange County in 1985 and the Indochinese Chamber of Commerce in San Diego.¹³⁹¹ The Vietnamese Chamber of Commerce in Orange County provided seminars and published the *Vietnamese Business Directory*.¹³⁹²

Over time, as the Vietnamese American population grew in numbers and in financial stability later in the 1980s and 1990s, they moved to different areas for job, housing, and educational opportunities, and new pockets of Vietnamese businesses also appeared along retail streets, in existing shopping centers or mini-malls, or in purpose-built new buildings and centers. At long-time businesses, the storefronts and buildings often underwent alterations and improvements as the shops succeeded or with subsequent generations or new owners.¹³⁹³

Types of Businesses

The types of businesses varied, though their basis often focused on meeting the needs of their community. This included grocery stores and restaurants, personal and professional services, entertainment, and retail goods businesses like nightclubs, barber/beauty parlors, and clothing stores. Vietnamese shops also offered air freight services to send in-kind remittances to relatives in Vietnam.¹³⁹⁴ One example is Danh’s Pharmacy, one of the earliest businesses in what became Little

¹³⁸⁸ Gold, *Refugee Communities*, 189; Holley, “Chinese, Vietnamese Feel Tension.”

¹³⁸⁹ Day and Holley, “Boom on Bolsa;” Holley, “Chinese, Vietnamese Feel Tension.”

¹³⁹⁰ Padilla, “Vietnamese Business Thriving in Southland.”

¹³⁹¹ “Chamber History,” Vietnamese American Chamber of Commerce, accessed July 23, 2023, <https://vacoc.org/about/chamber-history/>; Gaw, “A Flowering Little Saigon.”

¹³⁹² Gold, *Refugee Communities*, 205.

¹³⁹³ Merrill Balassone, “The Heart of Little Saigon Beats Strong,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 23, 2005.

¹³⁹⁴ Gold, *Refugee Communities*, 188.

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Saigon in Orange County, where Air France made regular weekly stops to pick up shipments, allowed through a government program for refugees, to send humanitarian aid to family members.¹³⁹⁵

In addition to retail businesses, professional services provided by self-employed practitioners were also among the businesses that reinforced an ethnic enclave. Those included accountants, tax preparers, real estate agents, doctors, dentists, lawyers, and others. The *1988 Vietnamese Business Directory of Southern California*, with over 900 business listings, included 133 doctors, sixty-six dentists, and twenty-one pharmacists, accounting for about a quarter of the listings.¹³⁹⁶ Banks, newspapers, and other publications were also among the Vietnamese-owned or operated businesses.

Also beyond the retail businesses were the wholesalers and supplier networks that supported the retailers. Not only did wholesalers within the ethnic group provide the goods most desired by the customer base—such as groceries, books and magazines, video, cassette tapes, and compact discs—they were also more willing to provide special deals or extend credit.¹³⁹⁷ At the same time, Vietnamese wholesalers were not exclusively who helped to supply Vietnamese businesses. In California, existing networks of pan-Asian wholesalers who supplied the extensive groups of ethnicities and immigrants with similar needs, also supplied the Vietnamese-owned businesses.

Nail Salons

Nail salons are one of the business types dominated by Vietnamese owners and operators, and which have served not just the Vietnamese community. The origin is attributed to a 1975 visit by Hollywood actress Tippi Hedren to the Hope Village resettlement center at Weimar in Northern California. Hedren was there as part of a program to resettle several Vietnamese women. Classes in sewing and typing were offered to teach markable skills. Hedren brought her personal manicurist to Hope Village to teach the women manicuring skills, after the women admired her nails.¹³⁹⁸ Hendren then persuaded a beauty school to train the women and help them find work.¹³⁹⁹

Among the women was Kien Nguyen, who had been a hairdresser in Vietnam and who opened Tam’s Beauty Salon with her husband in the late 1970s. After succeeding with their beauty salons, the Nguyens started Tam’s Beauty College in 1987 in Orange County’s Little Saigon.¹⁴⁰⁰ The school, which later

¹³⁹⁵ Anh Do, “At 25, Little Saigon Looks Ahead: Vietnamese Refugees Built the District, Now Their Children Sustain It,” *Los Angeles Times*, June 19, 2013.

¹³⁹⁶ Gold, *Refugee Communities*, 189-190.

¹³⁹⁷ Gold, *Refugee Communities*, 191.

¹³⁹⁸ Lulu Garcia-Navarro, “How Vietnamese Americans Took Over the Nails Business: A Documentary,” National Public Radio, May 19, 2019, accessed August 17, 2021, <https://www.npr.org/2019/05/19/724452398/how-vietnamese-americans-took-over-the-nails-business-a-documentary>.

¹³⁹⁹ Susan Eckstein and Thanh-Nghi Nguyen, “The Making and Transnationalization of an Ethnic Niche: Vietnamese Manicurists,” *The International Migration Review* 45, no. 3 (Fall 2011): 651.

¹⁴⁰⁰ “Advance Beauty College History,” Advance Beauty College, accessed August 4, 2023, <https://advancebeautycollege.com/about-us/>.

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became Advance Beauty College, offered training in cosmetology trades, including manicuring. With classes offered in Vietnamese, a relatively short training period, and minimal upfront investment for equipment and supplies, the barriers to entry were low. Graduates, mostly women, started to work in the field, opening their own shops in affordable storefronts in mini-malls, and hiring others similarly trained. Other beauty schools and related manufacturing and distribution businesses also helped to grow the industry.¹⁴⁰¹

Until the early 1980s, professional manicures were a luxury and only available at salons that offered hairdressing and other services. With the proliferation of trained manicurists at stand-alone nail salons offering affordable service, the Vietnamese providers helped to build demand that then fueled others to enter the industry.¹⁴⁰²

Pharmacies or Drug Stores

Pharmacies catering to the Vietnamese community often served more as general stores than merely drug stores. They sold a variety of household goods, that along with over-the-counter medicines, toiletries, baby formula, and other basic products, were in short supply after the end of the war. Customers could purchase items for their relatives in Vietnam and the pharmacies would package and ship the goods. Only a handful of air carriers transported good to Vietnam and limits were in place for the value of goods that could be sent for personal use while trade embargos between the United States and Vietnam were in place. The pharmacies helped to navigate the cumbersome process. They also provided other services, such as taking passport photographs and fingerprints for immigration documents and sending money transfers and remittances to Vietnam.¹⁴⁰³

Newspapers and Magazines

Newspapers and magazines in the Vietnamese language were prevalent in the larger Vietnamese communities. They allowed those who had not mastered English to stay connected with news and events locally as well as in Vietnam. Often, a few publications had widespread readership and became the trusted voice of the community, such as the *Nguoi Viet Daily News* (“Vietnamese People”) in Orange County’s Little Saigon. Yen Do (also Do Ngoc Yen), among the first wave refugees, started new newspaper in 1978, a four-page weekly printed in his Garden Grove garage.¹⁴⁰⁴ It provided information to refugees, with articles on how to adjust to living in a new country and helped to reconnected loved ones. It grew into one of the largest Vietnamese language newspapers in the United States by 1986.¹⁴⁰⁵

¹⁴⁰¹ Eckstein and Nguyen, “The Making and Transnationalization of an Ethnic Niche,” 651-652; Colette O’Connor, “Nailing It: In Mini-Malls Across the Valley, Vietnamese Refugees Find Their Niche as Manicurists,” *Los Angeles Times*, June 8, 1989.

¹⁴⁰² Eckstein and Nguyen, “The Making and Transnationalization of an Ethnic Niche,” 653.

¹⁴⁰³ Thuy Vo Dang, et al., *Vietnamese in Orange County*, 34; Farrell, “Refugees Carve Downtown Niche;” Jean Davidson, “Pipeline to Vietnam Fueled by Family Ties,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 31, 1988.

¹⁴⁰⁴ Seema Mehta, “Hundreds Mourn Yen Do, a ‘Legend in Little Saigon,’” *Los Angeles Times*, August 25, 2006.

¹⁴⁰⁵ John Dreyfuss, “Little Saigon’s Own Edition of the Front Page,” *Los Angeles Times*, August 18, 1986.

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By Do’s death in 2006, the paper had more than seventy employees, a circulation of about 18,000, and an English language section.

Many of the other newspapers and magazines were free and paid for by advertisements. They served as a way for Vietnamese-owned businesses to reach their customers and promote themselves in a crowded marketplace. They were widely available at the shops that advertised. By the late 1990s, over twenty daily and monthly newspapers and journals in Vietnamese served the community in Santa Clara County while Orange County’s Little Saigon had three daily newspapers and more than forty weekly and monthly publications available in 2005.¹⁴⁰⁶

Orange County

Little Saigon in Orange County, spanning several cities (Westminster, Garden Grove, Santa Ana, Fountain Valley, Anaheim), became the largest Vietnamese business community in the state. Around 1978, a few businesses started by those among the first wave opened along Bolsa Avenue in the City of Westminster in central Orange County. At the time, the street was lined with agricultural fields and auto-oriented shopping centers (strip malls) that were half occupied.¹⁴⁰⁷ These included Quach Nhut Danh’s drug store (Linh’s), Frank Jao’s real estate office, and Harry Wu’s Hoa Binh Supermarket.¹⁴⁰⁸ Another early center was the shopping plaza at 2331 West First Street (extant) in Santa Ana, about four miles east along the same street, which housed several Vietnamese-owned businesses in the late 1970s.¹⁴⁰⁹

As the second-wave refugees arrived, many moved to these central Orange County cities attracted by the emerging refugee network and businesses established by the first wave. They became new customers, and then new business owners.¹⁴¹⁰ By 1984, when the *Los Angeles Times* first reported on Little Saigon, it had become a one-mile stretch of some 200 Vietnamese shops and offices along Bolsa Avenue, between Magnolia Street to the west and Brookhurst Street to the east.¹⁴¹¹ Most of that stretch was within Westminster, with the northern half of the street on one half block within the City of Garden Grove. Many more Vietnamese businesses were scattered around surrounding commercial streets, like along the north-south streets that crossed Bolsa Avenue and to Westminster Avenue one mile north of Bolsa Avenue.¹⁴¹² Over time, new businesses infilled between these streets, strengthening the identity of a Vietnamese business district that continued to expand east along Bolsa Avenue and merging into Santa Ana, where other Vietnamese business concentrations were also developing. Many of the businesses were located in shopping centers referred to as strip malls or mini malls—one-story commercial

¹⁴⁰⁶ Do, *The Vietnamese Americans*, 87-88; Balassone, “The Heart of Little Saigon Beats Strong.”

¹⁴⁰⁷ “Voices in the Vietnamese Community.”

¹⁴⁰⁸ “Voices in the Vietnamese Community;” Holley, “Chinese, Vietnamese Feel Tension.”

¹⁴⁰⁹ Chris Jepsen, “How Little Saigon Ended up in Central Orange County,” O.C. History Roundup, accessed June 12, 2023, <https://ochistorical.blogspot.com/2015/06/how-little-saigon-ended-up-in-central.html>. Bolsa Avenue’s name becomes First Street in the City of Santa Ana.

¹⁴¹⁰ “Voices in the Vietnamese Community.”

¹⁴¹¹ Day and Holley, “Boom on Bolsa.”

¹⁴¹² Padilla, “Vietnamese Businesses Thriving in Southland.”

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buildings or groups of buildings set back from the street or in a plaza with ample parking in front of the stores—typical of the commercial architecture in Orange County and other suburban communities in the 1970s and 1980s.

By the end of 1985, the *Los Angeles Times* was reporting a multitude of Vietnamese shops, restaurants, bakeries, markets, and nightclubs strung along Bolsa Avenue, Brookhurst Street, and Westminster Avenue.¹⁴¹³ Among the businesses mentioned was Pho '79 at 9941 Hazard Avenue (extant, alterations unknown) in Garden Grove, which was recognized with a James Beard America's Classics in 2019 as one of the first pho (noodle) specialists that helped to introduce the Vietnamese dish to America and one of the businesses to help grow Little Saigon.¹⁴¹⁴

The growing concentration of Vietnamese businesses was not without tension, as the businesses were visibly different with signage in the Vietnamese language. In 1982, a group of local, mostly white residents began to hold meetings to discuss ways to stop the influx of Vietnamese refugees and the stores. Getting to know each other in the school system and business community, and through work on the assembly lines, helped the Vietnamese and non-Vietnamese communities find common ground.¹⁴¹⁵ Internal tensions also arose, with competition among businesses for the same clientele and among ethnic Vietnamese and ethnic Chinese-Vietnamese owners who were among the first to start businesses.

Orange County's Little Saigon did not exclusively contain Vietnamese businesses. As of 1989, the largest import company there was owned by Thai immigrants, the largest restaurant by Hong Kong immigrants, and the largest grocery by Taiwanese immigrants.¹⁴¹⁶ The grocery store was the first 99 Ranch Market (also known as Tawa Supermarket), opened in 1984 in Westminster by Roger Chen, a Taiwanese immigrant. By 2023, it had fifty-eight stores in eleven states and is one of the largest Asian supermarket chains in the United States.¹⁴¹⁷ Chen and a partner developed the Today Plaza (9679 Bolsa Avenue, altered) around the anchor supermarket and included a 40-foot-tall, 80-foot-wide traditional Chinese-style gateway (extant) that became a recognizable marker.¹⁴¹⁸

¹⁴¹³ Eric Stone, "A Night Out in Little Saigon," *Los Angeles Times*, November 10, 1985.

¹⁴¹⁴ Matthew King, "Longtime Garden Grove Pho Restaurant Receives Prestigious James Beard Award," *Eater Los Angeles*, January 28, 2019, accessed July 23, 2023, <https://la.eater.com/2019/1/28/18201031/pho-70-james-beard-award-garden-grove-little-saigon-california-orange-county>.

¹⁴¹⁵ Day and Holley, "Boom on Bolsa." .

¹⁴¹⁶ Gold, *Refugee Communities*, 190.

¹⁴¹⁷ Clarissa Wei, "How Second-Generation Owners of 99 Ranch are Turning the Asian Supermarket into a National Powerhouse," *Los Angeles Times*, July 7, 2023.

¹⁴¹⁸ Holley, "Chinese, Vietnamese Feel Tension." The Man Wah Market is named as the anchor supermarket for Today Plaza in the article. This was the chain's first store. The building was originally in a light industrial park that Chen leased, and then developed into Today Plaza. The light industrial park buildings appear to have been heavily altered or demolished and replaced. Maria L. LaGanga, "Asian Lure for Anglos: Growing Tawa Supermarket Chain Blueprints Expansion Beyond Its Ethnic Roots and Neighborhoods," *Los Angeles Times*, December 11, 1988.

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Such reinvestment in the business district by the early business owners as they prospered was not uncommon. Real estate broker turned developer Frank Jao opened Asian Village (9191 Bolsa Avenue, Westminster, extant), a two-story strip mall shopping center along Bolsa Avenue near Magnolia Street in 1985. He then spearheaded the development of the Asian Garden Mall across the street (9200 Bolsa Avenue, Westminster, extant), a two-story enclosed mall with pagoda-like and Asian architectural elements that opened in 1988. Jao and his Bridgecreek Development Company owned eight shopping centers in the area.¹⁴¹⁹

In 1988, Bolsa Avenue received recognition as “Little Saigon,” resulting in new Little Saigon signage along the street and at nearby freeway offramps.¹⁴²⁰ By 1994, Little Saigon had between 1,600 and 2,000 Asian-run businesses.¹⁴²¹ By 2005, the borders of Orange County’s Little Saigon were roughly Trask Avenue (north, running along the Garden Grove 22 Freeway) to McFadden Avenue (south) and from Magnolia Street (west) to Euclid Street (east), which encompassed parts of Westminster, Garden Grove, and Santa Ana.¹⁴²²

San Jose

By the early 1980s, a concentration of Vietnamese owned and operated businesses was around First to Fourth Streets and Santa Clara Street in downtown San Jose. These included markets, beauty parlors, tailors, travel companies, insurance agencies, and a shopping mall called Catinat Market with fourteen shops.¹⁴²³ The Vietnamese communities lived in concentrated pockets around San Jose, and in other areas of Santa Clara County, including Mountain View. In San Jose, at least seven concentrations were mentioned by the *San Jose Mercury News* in an article about the Vietnamese community in 1981. The only one at the time noted as near an area with Vietnamese stores is the pocket bounded by San Salvador, 14th, Margaret, and Third Streets, which was served by the businesses in downtown San Jose along Santa Clara Street.¹⁴²⁴

By 1985, Vietnamese-owned businesses were purchasing or leasing blocks of vacant properties in downtown.¹⁴²⁵ Other clusters were appearing south of San Jose State University along William Street between Ninth and Tenth Streets, as well as between South First, Third, San Salvador, and William Streets. Sumitomo Bank was one of the first local financial institutions that provided loans and business services to this community. The Vietnamese merchants were helping to revitalize the area, and also

¹⁴¹⁹ “Asiantown: Commercial-Cultural Complex Expected to Anchor Southland’s Next Chinatown,” *Los Angeles Times*, March 16, 1987.

¹⁴²⁰ Paddock, " Deukmejian Courts 'Little Saigon' Votes,."

¹⁴²¹ Lily Dizon, “Little Saigon is Big in Hearts of Vietnamese,” *Los Angeles Times*, June 14, 1994.

¹⁴²² Balassone, “The Heart of Little Saigon Beats Strong.”

¹⁴²³ Jill Wolfson, "Viet Immigrants Eager to Take Care of Bigger Business," *San Jose Mercury News*, January 11, 1981; “Where They Live.”

¹⁴²⁴ “Where They Live.”

¹⁴²⁵ Farrell, “Refugees Carve Downtown Niche.”

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driving up the rent by taking over businesses or storefronts that had long-term businesses that were closing.

As the community established itself and people’s economic prospects improved, many purchased homes that moved them to different parts of San Jose. The area around McLaughlin Avenue and Senter Road in East San Jose emerged as another concentration of Vietnamese businesses by 1994. Over a hundred Vietnamese businesses were along Senter Road between Tully Road and Capitol Expressway.¹⁴²⁶ Others opened businesses in the pan-Asian Lion Plaza on Tully Road, a shopping center developed in 1985 to 1988 with the Asian immigrant communities, including those from Southeast Asia, in mind.¹⁴²⁷ Vietnamese residents started to purchase homes in more suburban areas of San Jose by the mid-1980s, building on a few of the small residential pockets that was noted by the *San Jose Mercury News* in 1981.

San Jose is where Lee’s Sandwiches started selling banh mi sandwiches out of a truck. The business grew into a stand-alone shop before becoming a chain located throughout California by the 2020s. Also started in San Jose was Pho Hoa, a pho restaurant that opened in 1983, and grew to over sixty locations around the world. In the 2000s, newer buildings and malls, including the Vietnam Town shopping area three miles to the north of Tully Road at Story Road drew the younger generation, and added another concentration of Vietnamese business in San Jose.¹⁴²⁸

San Diego

In San Diego, the Vietnamese community blended into the city’s existing Asian American communities, which were widespread, with few ethnic-specific neighborhoods.¹⁴²⁹ As of the 1990s, Southeast Asians—including those from Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos—were concentrated in Southeast San Diego, East San Diego, Linda Vista, and Mira Mesa. East San Diego is one of the areas with a concentration of Vietnamese businesses, and more specifically, in the City Heights neighborhood a one-and-a-half-mile area bordered by University Avenue and El Cajon Boulevard.¹⁴³⁰ Strip mall shopping centers such as Mid City Plaza (University Avenue and Marlborough Avenue, extant, alterations unknown) and City Heights Plaza (status unknown) housed several Vietnamese businesses. According to the Indochinese Chamber of Commerce, Vietnamese-owned businesses started to open in 1980, with the numbers doubling each year through 1985; by 1990, they estimated that San Diego had over 350 Vietnamese owned- and -operated businesses, including groceries, restaurants, and billiard halls as well as professional services like doctors, lawyers, and dentists.¹⁴³¹ At the time, San Diego’s Vietnamese population was estimated at 30,000 and lived throughout the city and county. With the relatively small

¹⁴²⁶ McLaughlin, “Emigres Seek Sign to ‘Saigon’ Vietnamese-Americans.”

¹⁴²⁷ Stan Moreillion, “Lion Plaza’s ‘Phenomenal’ Results in S.J.,” *San Jose Mercury News*, July 29, 1987.

¹⁴²⁸ Beth Nguyen, “Preserving Vietnamese Tradition in Silicon Valley,” Museum of Food and Drink + Eater, accessed August 1, 2023, <https://www.eater.com/a/mofad-city-guides/san-jose-vietnamese-history>.

¹⁴²⁹ Vo, *Mobilizing an Asian American Community*, 32.

¹⁴³⁰ Vo, *Mobilizing an Asian American Community*, 32; Gaw, “A Flowering Little Saigon.”

¹⁴³¹ Gaw, “A Flowering Little Saigon.”

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population, the clientele for the businesses was not exclusively Vietnamese, but also appealed other Asian and non-Asian communities.

An early Vietnamese business re-used the existing State Theater, built in 1940 and located at 47th Street and El Cajon Boulevard (demolished) in the Talmadge neighborhood.¹⁴³² Thoai Tang Minh and Nguyen Huu Due leased the theater in 1981 to start the Trieu Thanh Theater, one of three theaters catering to the Vietnamese population in San Diego. The State Theater was in good condition and located near the Vietnamese community around El Cajon Boulevard. It showed Hong Kong films, as movies were not being produced in Vietnam. Tang and his brother were among the second wave of immigrants. Tang’s brother started in the theater business by 1979 with a location in Santa Ana, and by 1981, the family was operating theaters in San Jose, Sacramento, and Portland, Oregon.

Other Vietnamese business concentrations were established in Linda Vista and Mira Mesa communities. A section of Convoy Street in Linda Vista between the triangle formed by the 805 and 163 freeways formed as a pan-Asian business center starting in the late 1970s. A branch of the Woo Chee Chong grocery store, which started in San Diego’s Chinatown in 1899, opened at 4625 Convoy Street in 1979. The Korean Zion Market started the same year along the street, after the Korean United Methodist Church opened nearby in 1978. Around the same time, the second wave of Indochinese refugees, including those from Vietnam, started to settle in Linda Vista and to open businesses.¹⁴³³

In 2013, a six-block section of El Cajon Boulevard in the City Heights neighborhood was recognized by the City Council as the “Little Saigon Cultural and Commercial District.” In the quarter-mile radius of the new district were more than 120 Vietnamese owned or operated businesses, accounting for about seventy percent of the businesses in the area.¹⁴³⁴ The San Diego region by then had roughly 40,000 residents of Vietnamese descent, making it the second largest Asian American community in the county, behind Filipina/o Americans.

ACTIVISM, CIVIC ENGAGEMENT, AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Engagement in political activities by California’s AAPI communities was complicated and complex. Each community had its own struggles and concerns, though they also shared commonality by virtue of their status as immigrants, U.S. born citizens, indigenous peoples, or refugees.¹⁴³⁵

¹⁴³² Harry Fotinos, "Viet Refugees Give Theater Lease on Life," Los Angeles Times, March 12, 1981. The north side of El Cajon Boulevard is considered the Talmadge neighborhood, while the south side of the street is in the City Heights neighborhood, both in the east part of San Diego.

¹⁴³³ Johnson, “How Convoy Became the Heart of San Diego’s Asian Food Scene.”

¹⁴³⁴ “‘Little Saigon’ Official in City Heights,” *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 4, 2013.

¹⁴³⁵ Considering the public policy implications of AAPI communities by these four categories is summarized from Kenyon S. Chan, “U.S.-Born, Immigrant, Refugee, or Indigenous Status: Public Policy Implications for Asian Pacific American Families,” in *Asian Americans and Politics: Perspectives, Experiences, Prospects* ed., Gordon H. Chang (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2001), 197-201.

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Immigrants usually are individuals who deliberately departed from their native lands with anticipated future plans in the host countries. They may immigrate as families or plan for temporary family separation and eventual reunification. They can retain regular correspondence and visits with relatives and friends in their country of origin.¹⁴³⁶ Their ability to leave their native country and enter the host country is dependent on the broader migration policies of both countries. All AAPI communities are immigrant-impacted communities to some extent, though the experiences vary between and within each group depending on when the immigration occurred and the policies in place at the time.

U.S. born citizens are those whose cultural, economic, and social experiences are largely modulated by the American context and represent an almost completely American experience.¹⁴³⁷ Not only are they fluent in the host country’s language and cultural customs, those born in the United States have birthright citizenship as established through the Fourteenth Amendment that conveys certain rights not extended to immigrants, indigenous peoples, or refugees. Still, their race subjects them to discrimination and unequal treatment despite their birthright status. By virtue of time and settlement, all AAPI communities also have members who are U.S. born.

Indigenous peoples are those whose territories were acquired by another country by force of colonization, military intrusion, or political and economic conquest. They are neither voluntary immigrants nor refugees.¹⁴³⁸ For AAPI communities, this includes Native Hawaiians, Chamorros, and Samoans, and Filipina/os to some extent historically. Some members of these communities reside in the U.S. mainland, most reside in their native lands. Their engagement with politics on the U.S. mainland may be very different from political engagement in their home territories, as well as different from those who trace their origins to Asia by virtue of their status as indigenous peoples.

Refugees are not voluntary immigrants. They flee their home countries unwillingly and usually in the face of traumatic situations. They typically do not have the opportunity to plan an orderly exit, and arrive in host countries with few resources or plans for the future. They also often have been separated from their families without guarantee of continued or regular ties or reunification with families and friends.¹⁴³⁹ For AAPI communities, those from Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos who arrived in the United States from the mid-1970s through mid-1995 are under this status group.

The four categories can be fluid or have overlap. For example, immigrant or refugee children may have more in common with their U.S. born counterparts, as they attend schools in the education system and are integrated in the U.S. cultural mainstream, though they may not benefit from the privileges inherent in birthright citizenship. Immigrants and refugees who have been in a host country for a while gain a different perspective and body of experience than newer arrivals, who have to re-establish themselves

¹⁴³⁶ Chan, “U.S.-Born, Immigrant, Refugee, or Indigenous Status,” 201.

¹⁴³⁷ Chan, “U.S.-Born, Immigrant, Refugee, or Indigenous Status,” 200.

¹⁴³⁸ Chan, “U.S.-Born, Immigrant, Refugee, or Indigenous Status,” 201.

¹⁴³⁹ Chan, “U.S.-Born, Immigrant, Refugee, or Indigenous Status,” 201.

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and who can also take advantage of the experiences and existing networks, institutions, and resources established by earlier immigrants from similar backgrounds.

California was the state where most immigrants entered and resided before 1965 immigration reforms and federal civil rights legislation of the mid-twentieth century, and was where many of the restrictions, and subsequent challenges by AAPI communities, occurred.¹⁴⁴⁰ Their fights for equality under the law, and ultimately to participate as full citizens, underpins much of the political activism from the 1850s through the post-World War II years. One of the primary means of challenge was through the courts, as immigrants from Asia effectively were barred from achieving citizenship until the 1940s.

The Chinese and Japanese communities, as the two largest and earliest groups, formed organizations to represent their interests and magnify their clout in political lobbying, legal challenges, and activism. The other communities, lacking critical mass in population and resources, as well as a high level of political mobilization, were less visible in local, state, and federal politics, with some exceptions.¹⁴⁴¹ Many were engaged with political activities in their homelands, where fights for independence and self-determination extended to the overseas communities in California.

Political participation and engagement also had time and generational dimensions. Active discrimination written into legislation tended to target the group that the dominate culture caricatured as the scapegoat for economic or social ills at any given time. First were the Chinese immigrants in the mid- to late-nineteenth century, when they were the largest and most visible Asian community. Race-based discrimination against them was legislated into local, state, and ultimately federal policy, up to and beyond the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Law, the first federal law that restricted immigration based on race. The community’s response over time—organizing internally to protest against the injustices with coordinated efforts, hiring white attorneys and experts to represent their interest within the American legal system, and challenging the laws in court—set the model for other groups. They also won important cases about birthright citizenship that established precedents for the equal application of the law regardless of race under the Fourteenth Amendment that became the foundation for civil and equal rights battles to come.

By the early twentieth century, the exclusion law significantly reduced Chinese immigration, and the Japanese community became the more visible and growing group. Discriminatory laws shifted toward this community, such as the Alien Land Laws in California, which also applied the prohibition against land ownership by “aliens ineligible for citizenship” to other Asian American communities. As Filipino/a and South Asian communities also gained in numbers and visibility into the twentieth century, some laws targeted them directly, as well. For Chamorro and Samoan residents, where their numbers

¹⁴⁴⁰ John R. Wunder, *Gold Mountain Turned to Dust: Essays on the Legal History of the Chinese in the Nineteenth-Century American West* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2018), 93.

¹⁴⁴¹ For a discussion of the political mobilization typically needed for political participation, see Lai, *Asian American Political Action: Suburban Transformations* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2011), 30-38.

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increased after World War II, their status as U.S. nationals from territories controlled by the United States conferred some, not all, citizenship rights. Native Hawaiians did have full citizenship rights, as part of the Hawai'i Organic Act of 1900.

A generational shift came in the early twentieth century for both Chinese and Japanese communities. The second generation, U.S.-born citizens with more rights than their immigrant parents and still subject to legal discriminatory practices, organized groups like the Chinese American Citizens Alliance and the Japanese American Citizens League. Facile in both languages and cultures, and often educated in the U.S., the American born and/or raised generations continued the fight for access to education, employment, housing, marriage, and other civil rights denied to them based on their race.

Those who arrived after the mid-twentieth century civil rights reforms in the United States did not face the same legal barriers and blatant, socially acceptable discriminatory policies in housing, employment, education, and other arenas in the same way as the AAPI communities of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. This included the greater number of immigrants from Asia after the 1965 immigration reforms and refugees from Southeast Asian after 1975. While they still faced discrimination and bigotry, the political climate had changed, and they were able to engage in civil and political participation differently than the previous AAPI generations.

As a distinct Asian American identity started to appear in the 1960s and 1970s following the civil rights movement of those decades, another aspect of activism and political participation emerged. With many of the issues overlapping for AAPI communities, this section provides brief discussions of major topics that impact AAPI communities along with a section on pan-AAPI activism. Individual communities and their experiences in California, where relevant and available, follow. This historic context concludes with a list of the major legislation and court cases that affected AAPI communities in California from the 1850s through the 1970s.

Immigration

Several key laws and events impacted the ability of migrants from Asia and the Pacific Islands to enter the United States and California. Many immigration laws and policies came about specifically aimed at migration from Asia in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Chinese immigrants, who first arrived in substantial numbers for the Gold Rush in the 1850s and later as valued laborers in the 1860s and 1870s, encountered backlash from nativist and white supremacist factions almost as soon as they arrived. The systematic harassment occurred through legislative means with laws targeting them at local and state levels, such as the passage of the Foreign Miners' License Taxes in the 1850s by the California State Legislature aimed at discouraging and outright prohibiting immigration from China.¹⁴⁴² Prior to

¹⁴⁴² Charles J. McClain, *In Search of Equality: The Chinese Struggle Against Discrimination in Nineteenth-Century America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 10-20; "Anti-Chinese Laws," All Persons Born or Naturalized... The Legacy of *U.S. v Wong Kim Ark*, UC Hastings College of the Law Library Summary 2001, accessed February 7, 2022, <http://libraryweb.uchastings.edu/library/research/special-collections/wong-kim-ark/laws3.htm>.

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the U.S. Supreme Court's 1875 ruling in *Chy Lung v. Freeman*, a case challenging one of California's laws requiring bonds for Chinese women immigrants that finally established that the federal government had the sole responsibility for regulating immigration, individual states enacted their own immigration legislation.¹⁴⁴³

Before that, the federal government had passed one law aimed at Chinese immigrants. The 1862 Coolie Trade Act, passed during the Civil War, outlawed "coolie" labor to prevent the importation of indentured workers to replace enslaved people on southern plantations. As most Chinese laborers migrated voluntarily under a contract system that did not meet the definition of indentured servitude, the law was not enforced.¹⁴⁴⁴ In 1868, the United States signed the Burlingame Treaty with China that established the right to free immigration and travel within the United States for Chinese citizens and gave reciprocal access to education and schooling when living in the other country.¹⁴⁴⁵

The anti-Chinese movement was spreading nationwide and reached the federal level by the 1870s. Congress passed the Page Act in 1875 to prohibit unfree (coolie) labor from Asia and prostitutes. Though some of the women among the predominately male Chinese population were sex workers, enforcing the Page Act through interrogation at the point of entry had the effect of discouraging all Chinese women, including wives of those already in the United States, from immigrating.¹⁴⁴⁶

Chinese Exclusion Acts, 1882-1904

Although Chinese immigrants represented less than five percent of U.S. immigrants in the 1870s, the anti-Chinese movement grew increasingly violent and hateful that decade and finally culminated in the passage of the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act. It was the first significant law that restricted immigration into the United States, and Chinese immigrants became the first group that the country sought to prevent from entering.¹⁴⁴⁷ The act barred Chinese laborers, defined as both "skilled and unskilled laborers and Chinese employed in mining," for a period of ten years.¹⁴⁴⁸ It also established a system to document and certify laborers already in the United States to allow sojourners who traveled back and forth their re-entry. Non-laborers, such as merchants, professionals, diplomats, students, and travelers, were allowed, if the Chinese government issued a certificate authorizing their travel to the United States.

¹⁴⁴³ "Chy Lung v. Freeman (1875)," Immigration History, accessed August 12, 2022, <https://immigrationhistory.org/item/chy-lung-v-freeman/>.

¹⁴⁴⁴ Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 94; "Act to Prohibit the 'Coolie Trade' (1862)," Immigration History, accessed August 12, 2022, <https://immigrationhistory.org/item/act-to-prohibit-the-coolie-trade-2/>.

¹⁴⁴⁵ "The Burlingame-Seward Treaty, 1868," Office of the Historian, United States Department of State, accessed January 2, 2022, <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1866-1898/burlingame-seward-treaty>.

¹⁴⁴⁶ Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 40.

¹⁴⁴⁷ Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 90; "Chinese Exclusion Act (1882)," National Archives, accessed February 7, 2022, <https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/chinese-exclusion-act>; Estelle T. Lau, *Paper Families: Identity, Immigration Administration, and Chinese Exclusion* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), 1.

¹⁴⁴⁸ Forty-Seventh Congress, Session I, Ch.126, 1882, May 6, 1882.

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A second law, the 1888 Scott Act, revoked the “returning laborers” status, so Chinese workers who had been in the United States prior to the 1882 law and been granted re-entry certificates lost the ability to return if they left the country.¹⁴⁴⁹ Those who held such certificates and had returned to China for periodic visits suddenly found themselves unable to re-enter the United States.

The prohibition against Chinese laborers was extended another ten years in 1892 by the Geary Act. It was renewed again ten years later in 1902 with no end date and made permanent in 1904.¹⁴⁵⁰ The Geary Act also required Chinese immigrants to register with the federal government and to carry a Certificate of Residence, a precursor to the green card system.¹⁴⁵¹

With the new exclusionary policy, a new system was developed to enforce the policy. Immigration control, initially established as the Immigration office in the Department of State in 1864, migrated to the Department of the Treasury under a Superintendent of Immigration in 1891.¹⁴⁵² Federally controlled receiving stations for immigrants started to be established at ports of entry, with the best known, Ellis Island in New York, opening in 1892.¹⁴⁵³ In 1895, the Office of the Superintendent created the Bureau of Immigration with a specific Chinese Division to enforce the Chinese Exclusion Act.

The Chinese community challenged the exclusionary immigration policies directly through diplomatic avenues as well as judicial challenges, though with only occasional success.¹⁴⁵⁴ It also found extra-legal means to circumvent the policies. The desire to migrate remained, with the United States and the opportunities available still attractive despite the obstacles. One method was to enter over land through Canada or Mexico, where ports of entry were not as heavily regulated compared to the seaports until into the twentieth century. Another was through the use of false documentation, such as applying for entry as merchants or travelers and staying permanently.¹⁴⁵⁵ The 1906 earthquake in San Francisco inadvertently created a new immigration opportunity. The fires following the earthquake destroyed many paper records, including birth and citizenship records for the Chinese community. With U.S. citizens and their children, who were also entitled to U.S. citizenship, not subject to the exclusion acts, a trade in “paper families”—familial relationships created on falsified paperwork—started.¹⁴⁵⁶ It is estimated that nearly twenty-five percent of the Chinese population in the United States in 1950 had illegally entered as paper sons or paper families.¹⁴⁵⁷

¹⁴⁴⁹ Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 94; Fiftieth Congress, Session I, Ch.1064, 1888, October 1, 1888.

¹⁴⁵⁰ Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 94-95.

¹⁴⁵¹ Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 94; Fifty-Second Congress, Session I, Ch. 60, 1892, May 5, 1892.

¹⁴⁵² Lau, *Paper Families*, 14-15.

¹⁴⁵³ Lau, *Paper Families*, 19.

¹⁴⁵⁴ Lau, *Paper Families*, 24; 28-32.

¹⁴⁵⁵ Lau, *Paper Families*, 33; Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 144.

¹⁴⁵⁶ Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 146-147.

¹⁴⁵⁷ Lau, *Paper Families*, 5.

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In response, the federal government fenced off an area on Angel Island in the San Francisco Bay in 1910 as an immigration facility. As described by author Iris Chang in *The Chinese in America*:

Over the next thirty years, some 175,000 Chinese immigrants, along with arrivals from other countries, would pass through Angel Island. Approximately 75 to 80 percent of the Chinese were detained until they could prove who they were, which usually required detailed investigations. Though modeled on Ellis Island near Manhattan, for decades the primary immigration gateway for the United States, Angel Island served a much different purpose. Ellis Island was a way station, with most immigrants processed and released within hours, whereas Angel Island was a long-term detention center, where many Chinese were imprisoned for months, even years. Looking back at how each was run, one might say that Ellis Island was operated to facilitate immigration and Angel Island to discourage it.¹⁴⁵⁸

The various exclusion policies from 1882 to 1904, often collectively known as the Chinese Exclusion Act, drastically reduced the number of new Chinese immigrants. The numbers dropped from over 8,000 immigrants in 1883 to just ten in 1887.¹⁴⁵⁹ With substantially fewer immigrants to replenish the population, the number of residents of Chinese descent in the United States declined in the following decades. The exclusion acts also prohibited wives of laborers from entering the country. From 1906 to 1924, only about 150 Chinese women secured legal permission to enter the United States, primarily as wives of merchants, scholars, and others exempt from the exclusion acts.¹⁴⁶⁰ The uneven gender balance heavily skewed toward men and miscegenation laws that prohibited intermarriage between whites and other races resulted in insufficient numbers of the second and subsequent generations of Chinese Americans to maintain the population numbers until the exclusion acts were repealed in the 1940s and immigration laws changed in the 1960s.¹⁴⁶¹

Gentlemen’s Agreement, 1907-1908

With Chinese immigration curtailed starting in the 1880s, the door opened for another group of Asian immigrants—Japanese laborers—to supply the low-wage workforce in demand in California. Some arrived directly from Japan, and others through secondary migration from Hawai’i, where the labor-intensive sugar plantation system had attracted Asian laborers since the 1850s.¹⁴⁶² As the Japanese population in California increased substantially in the late nineteenth century, they inherited the racial discrimination aimed at Chinese Americans and became its target under the term “Yellow Peril.” The term originated 1895 with a German painting commissioned by Kaiser Wilhelm II depicting his dream where European nations were threatened by invaders from Asia. The painting, *Die Gelbe Gefahr* (The Yellow Peril) was published in the London *Review of Reviews* in 1895, and helped to popularize the

¹⁴⁵⁸ Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 147-148.

¹⁴⁵⁹ Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 144.

¹⁴⁶⁰ Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 174.

¹⁴⁶¹ Lau, *Paper Families*, 20-22.

¹⁴⁶² Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 132; Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 116.

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term and concept—this imagined fear of an Asian menace.¹⁴⁶³ The growing military might and expansionist tendency of the Japanese Empire, first through its defeat of China in the 1895 Sino-Japanese War and then of Russia in the 1904-1905 Russo-Japanese War, and the occupation of Korea, a Chinese protectorate in 1905, fueled the perceived threat.

By the early 1900s, Japanese immigration superseded immigration from China as the main group from Asia following the Chinese Exclusion Act. The growing numbers and visibility of Japanese immigrants shifted the racial enmity toward them. Following the annexation of Hawai‘i as a U.S. territory in 1898, the secondary migration of Japanese laborers and farm workers also increased.¹⁴⁶⁴ Tensions grew into the early twentieth century as white supremacist groups like the Japanese Korean Exclusion League formed in 1905 (later the Asiatic Exclusion League) to exclude Japanese and other Asian immigrants from the United States. This exclusion league successfully lobbied the San Francisco School Board in 1906 to force Japanese and Korean students to attend the segregated Chinese Primary School, renamed the Oriental School.¹⁴⁶⁵ This set off an international incident, with the Japanese government sending a protest through diplomatic channels to the federal government. Theodore Roosevelt’s administration negotiated an agreement for the San Francisco School Board to rescind the school segregation order in early 1907, and President Roosevelt issued an executive order to exclude any secondary migration by aliens, which included Japanese and Korean workers, to the continental United States from Hawai‘i, Mexico, and Canada to appease the California exclusionists.¹⁴⁶⁶

Racial attacks on Japanese residents, already recorded at 300 attacks in San Francisco in the summer and fall of 1906, exploded into a multi-day event starting on the night of May 20, 1907. A violent mob entered the Japanese-owned Horseshoe Restaurant (1213 Folsom Street, possibly the extant building), drove out its customers, and broke all windows. The mob also attacked a Japanese bathhouse across the street. The next night, the mob congregated in front of the Japanese-owned Lion Restaurant (124 Eighth Street, not extant) and attacked Japanese homes and businesses throughout the city. The violence lasted for several nights, with Japanese residents calling unsuccessfully for the police to help; none came. With the Japanese government again applying international pressure on the Roosevelt administration, some federal troops arrived to provide protection. The San Francisco attacks inspired supporters of Asian exclusion in the Pacific Northwest, with attacks on South Asians in Bellingham, Washington and on Chinese and Japanese in Vancouver, Canada in the summer of 1907.¹⁴⁶⁷

With white supremacist sympathies at the highest levels, including President Roosevelt himself favoring exclusion, the federal government negotiated an agreement with the Japanese government, nation to nation, to restrict immigration voluntarily and avoid a unilateral exclusionary order like the Chinese

¹⁴⁶³ Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 122-123.

¹⁴⁶⁴ Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 125.

¹⁴⁶⁵ Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 125; Joyce Kuo, “Excluded, Segregated and Forgotten: A Historical View of the Discrimination of Chinese Americans in Public Schools,” *Asian American Law Journal* 5 (1998), 206.

¹⁴⁶⁶ Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 125-126; Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 201-202.

¹⁴⁶⁷ Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 126-128.

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Exclusion Act.¹⁴⁶⁸ Known as the Gentlemen’s Agreement and signed in January 1908, the Japanese government agreed not to issue new passports to any laborers, skilled or unskilled, though those already in the United States and their direct relatives (parents, wives, and children) would be issued passports.¹⁴⁶⁹ Once Japan formally annexed Korea in 1910, Korean laborers also became subject to the immigration restrictions. While new laborers were prohibited from immigrating, non-laborers, including Japanese women, could continue to enter. From 1908 to 1920, 20,000 Japanese picture brides—women who exchanged photographs with Japanese men in the United States through matchmakers and relatives with the mutual intent of marriage—traveled to Hawai‘i and the continental United States, with many entering through Angel Island.¹⁴⁷⁰

1917 to 1924 Immigration Acts

The hostile attitude toward Asian immigration in the early twentieth century was part of a wider nativist backlash as immigration from Eastern and Southern Europe also increased significantly after 1890. Immigrants from Italy, Poland, Greece, Russia, and other Slavic countries, who were more likely Jewish or Catholic rather than the Northern European Anglo-Saxton Protestants from previous generations, also faced hostility, discrimination, and accusations of taking jobs.¹⁴⁷¹

This late nineteenth and early twentieth century period coincided with the backlash to Reconstruction and the gains made by the formerly enslaved after the Civil War and the passage of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments between 1865 and 1870. The backlash resulted in segregation policies and the Jim Crow era in the South that in part drove the First Great Migration of African Americans away from southern states to the North and West. This increased racial and ethnic diversity, particularly visible in industrializing cities, added to the nativist fear that the Anglo-Saxton heritage of the United States was under threat.¹⁴⁷² The era also overlapped with an influential eugenics movement seeking the selection of desirable, heritable traits, relying on pseudo-science to attribute what were considered desirable and superior characteristics over undesirable or inferior characteristics to certain races.¹⁴⁷³

The result was both increased exclusionary immigration laws in the first few decades of the twentieth century and discriminatory laws and policies based on race and ethnicity throughout the country. World War I and its aftermath, with the fear of more migration from war-torn countries, along with the Russian Revolution and suspicion of communists and anarchists, exacerbated the nativist viewpoint and resulted

¹⁴⁶⁸ Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 202; Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 125.

¹⁴⁶⁹ Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 129-130.

¹⁴⁷⁰ Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 112-113.

¹⁴⁷¹ Stuart A. Kallen, *Twentieth-Century Immigration to the United States* (Detroit: Lucent Books, 2007), 17-22.

¹⁴⁷² James W. Loewen, *Sundown Towns: A Hidden Dimension of American Racism* (New York: The New Press, 2018), 47-76; Kallen, *Twentieth-Century Immigration to the United States*, 28-39.

¹⁴⁷³ Kathleen R. Arnold, ed., *Anti-Immigration in the United States: A Historical Encyclopedia*, Vol. 1 A-R (Santa Barbara: Greenwood Press, 2011), 189-190; Kallen, *Twentieth-Century Immigration to the United States*, 24.

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in additional restrictive immigration laws. Two key immigration acts from this era around World War I directly affected Asian and Pacific Islander immigration.

Immigration Act of 1917 (Asiatic Barred Zone Act)

The turn of the twentieth century also saw an increase in South Asian immigrants, primarily Sikh from the Punjab region, arriving in the United States and settling along the West Coast. Though a relatively small group compared to Chinese and Japanese laborers (which in turn, were a small fraction of the total immigrants to the United States in this period), South Asian immigrants were visible enough to become a target of the nativist and white supremacist sentiments. By 1906, the *San Francisco Call* featured a full page on “Our First Invasion by Hindus and Mohammedans.”¹⁴⁷⁴ The Japanese Korean Exclusion League, started in 1905 in San Francisco, changed its name to the Asiatic Exclusion League in 1907 to broaden its exclusionary viewpoint toward South Asian immigrants with chapters throughout the Pacific Northwest.¹⁴⁷⁵ Those from the Indian subcontinent did not easily fit into the predominated racial categories of the day—Caucasian, African, East Asian, or Native American—and thus into the eugenics and white supremacist basis for discrimination. Two lower federal court cases, *U.S. v. Balsara* in 1910 and *Ajkoy Kumar Mazumdar* in 1913, ruled that South Asians were Caucasian and considered “white persons” eligible for naturalized citizenship, which allowed some to gain citizenship until the 1923 case of *U.S. v. Bhagat Singh Thind* that decided South Asians were Caucasian, while not white.¹⁴⁷⁶

In large part due to the 1910 and 1913 rulings, Congress passed the 1917 Immigration Act that established a geographic area from which immigration would be restricted.¹⁴⁷⁷ Also known as the Asiatic Barred Zone Act, the barred zone included India, Burma (Myanmar), Siam (Thailand), the Malay states, part of Russia, all of Arabia and Afghanistan, most of the Polynesian Islands, and all of the East Indian Islands.¹⁴⁷⁸ Because immigration from China was already regulated through the Chinese Exclusion Act, and from Japan and effectively Korea through the Gentlemen’s Agreement, China and Japan were not additionally affected by the Asiatic Barred Zone. The target was primarily South Asian immigrants, while also excluding a large swarth of Asia. Exempted from the 1917 Immigration Act were those with status as U.S. nationals in U.S. territories—the Philippines, Hawai‘i, Guam, America Samoa, and others.

The act also introduced a literacy test, requiring that those immigrating over the age of 16 to demonstrate basic reading ability in any language.¹⁴⁷⁹ It also shored up existing bans on contract laborers, anarchists, “paupers,” prostitutes, people with epilepsy or tuberculosis, and those deemed

¹⁴⁷⁴ John Hamilton Gilmour, “Our First Invasion by Hindus and Mohammedans,” *San Francisco Call*, November 18, 1906.

¹⁴⁷⁵ Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 128-129; Maeda, “Asian American Activism and Civic Participation,” 272.

¹⁴⁷⁶ Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 298-299.

¹⁴⁷⁷ Arnold, *Anti-Immigration in the United States*, 266-267.

¹⁴⁷⁸ Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 171.

¹⁴⁷⁹ “Closing the Door on Immigration,” National Park Service, accessed February 21, 2022, <https://www.nps.gov/articles/closing-the-door-on-immigration.htm>.

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“feeble-minded.”¹⁴⁸⁰ These aspects of the 1917 act were geared more toward immigration from Italy, Hungary, and Russia that peaked in the preceding decade, with nativist fears further inflamed by the Russian Revolution and World War I.¹⁴⁸¹

Immigration Act of 1924 (Johnson-Reed Act or National Origins Quota Act)

The nativist and anti-immigration movement culminated in the Immigration Act of 1924. The bill stressed the themes that underpinned the preceding exclusionary immigration laws: racial superiority of the Anglo-Saxons, that immigrants would cause lowering of wages, and the unassailability of foreigners.¹⁴⁸² A previous legislation, the 1921 Immigration Act known as the Emergency Quota Act, first established numerical limits on the number of immigrants who could enter the United States. It established a quota of three percent of the foreign-born population by nationality in the 1910 census and capped total immigration at 350,000.¹⁴⁸³ The 1924 act reduced nationality quotas to two percent of the foreign-born individuals in the 1890 Census with a minimum quota of 100. Total immigration was capped at an annual quota of 165,000 immigrants to the U.S. Accordingly, the law favored immigration from northern and western European countries and most effected Jewish, Italian, Slavic, and Greek immigrants, who had migrated in greater numbers after 1890.

For Asian immigrants, the 1924 act restricted those few remaining categories that had still been allowed under the Chinese Exclusion Act, such as merchants and students, and mandated restrictions on Japanese immigration superseding the Gentlemen’s Agreement. As with the 1917 Immigration Act, U.S. territories, such as the Philippines, Hawai‘i, Guam, and America Samoa, were exempt and migration from the territories was not subject to the quota system that remained in place for forty years until the 1965 Immigration Act.

Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934 (Philippines Independence Act)

Since migration from the Philippines was not regulated by the 1924 Immigration Act, Filipina/o laborers, primarily men, became the next group of Asian workers to arrive in significant numbers. Filipina women came mostly as students or with their husbands and families. The 1920 census counted approximately 5,600 Filipina/o residents in the United States, which increased to 56,000 by the 1930 census.¹⁴⁸⁴ They too became a target for discrimination and nativist activities to stem non-Anglo-Saxon immigration. The Northern Monterey County Chamber of Commerce passed anti-Filipino resolutions in 1930. Hotels and landlords in Stockton refused to rent to Filipina/o people.¹⁴⁸⁵ The harassment escalated

¹⁴⁸⁰ Arnold, *Anti-Immigration in the United States*, 267.

¹⁴⁸¹ Bill Ong Hing, *Making and Remaking Asian America through Immigration Policy* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1993), 32.

¹⁴⁸² Hing, *Making and Remaking Asian America*, 32-33.

¹⁴⁸³ “Closing the Door on Immigration,” National Park Service; “Chapter 1: The Nation’s Immigration Laws, 1920 to Today,” Pew Research Center, September 28, 2015, accessed November 28, 2018, <http://www.pewhispanic.org/2015/09/28/chapter-1-the-nations-immigration-laws-1920-to-today/>.

¹⁴⁸⁴ Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 178-179.

¹⁴⁸⁵ Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 185.

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to violence in some cases. In Stockton, eight Filipino men were stabbed and beaten on New Year’s Eve in 1926. The hostility in part centered on Filipino men paired with white women. Filipino men socializing with white women were attacked in Dinuba, and mobs attacked Filipino men in Exeter, Modesto, Turlock, and Reedley.¹⁴⁸⁶ The largest attack occurred in December 1929 when a mob of 400 white men attacked a Filipino dance hall in Watsonville after a photograph of an engaged Filipino man and white woman was published in the newspaper. Four days of rioting ensued, leaving many beaten and one dead.¹⁴⁸⁷ In 1933, the California State Legislature amended the state’s anti-miscegenation civil code to include Filipina/o people.¹⁴⁸⁸

As with the other groups, the result of such violence was additional exclusion, not more protection or acceptance. Nativists who sought to include migration from the Philippines under the restrictive immigration laws found an unexpected ally in Filipina/o nationalists seeking independence from U.S. colonialism. The result was the Tydings-McDuffie Act (also known as the Philippine Independence Act) that passed in 1934. The act granted the Philippines commonwealth status with the promise of independence in ten years.¹⁴⁸⁹ It also changed the status of Filipina/o residents from U.S. nationals to aliens, which changed their status on various fronts. As a separate country, restrictions on immigration from the Philippines was regulated under the quota system, with an annual quota of fifty persons established. As aliens, they were subject to the laws that barred non-white aliens from gaining U.S. citizenship and owning land in California. They also became ineligible for assistance through New Deal programs that gave preference to American citizens and those with the intention of becoming citizens.¹⁴⁹⁰

Strictly limiting migration from the Philippines was not enough for some. A year later in 1935, Congress passed the Filipino Repatriation Act that offered to pay for transportation back to the Philippines with the requirement that the repatriated person would forfeit their right to re-enter the United States.¹⁴⁹¹ The repatriation program lasted for three years and fewer than 2,200 Filipina/o nationals returned to the Philippines, out of approximately 108,000 who were in the United States.¹⁴⁹²

Reversal of Immigration Exclusions

World War II, the Cold War, and time shifted the attitudes and policies toward Asian and Pacific Island immigration. With Japan emerging as a wartime enemy, previous hostilities toward people from non-enemy countries changed. The Nationalist (*Kuomintang*) government in China that ruled since 1911 became an important ally in Asia, and suddenly, the Chinese community in the United States was no longer treated with disdain. Korean residents advocated for and received recognition as not being citizens

¹⁴⁸⁶ Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 186.
¹⁴⁸⁷ Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 186.
¹⁴⁸⁸ Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 185.
¹⁴⁸⁹ Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 187-188.
¹⁴⁹⁰ Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 332.
¹⁴⁹¹ Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 332-333.
¹⁴⁹² Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 190.

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of Japan, despite Japan’s occupation of the Korean peninsula, and received official declaration that they were to be treated the same as citizens of other allied nations.¹⁴⁹³ The long U.S. military presence in the Philippines also saw more Filipino men enlisting, and they too became seen as an ally. Though these groups started to be seen in more friendly terms by the American public, lingering racism and the inability of some to distinguish one Asian ethnicity from another also meant that some encountered the anti-Japanese bigotry aimed at Japanese Americans during the war.

In the aftermath of World War II, the United States’ position in Asia changed as the Cold War dominated geopolitics and international alliances were re-drawn. The easing of restrictive immigration policies, coupled with reversal of racially and ethnically discriminatory laws and practices domestically, were in part to neutralize the critique from Communist countries about the unequal treatment endured by people of color in America.¹⁴⁹⁴

The U.S. also maintained and expanded its military presence in Asia with bases in countries like South Korea, Taiwan, the Philippines, and in the Pacific Islands, particularly after the 1949 Chinese Communist Revolution drove the Nationalist Chinese government to exile in Taiwan. The military presence was also supported by economic aid to these countries, to keep them as allies and not have them turn to Communism after the war. U.S. military intervention in Korea the 1950s and in Vietnam in the 1960s to 1970s was a result of the Cold War, Communist containment strategy, with the resulting aftermath of each affecting migration to the U.S. from these countries.¹⁴⁹⁵

1943 Chinese Exclusion Repeal Act (Magnuson Act)

Repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act finally came in 1943, sixty years after it was first passed. Pressure came from the Nationalist Chinese government, an ally of the United States in the ongoing World War II, as well as through lobbying by Chinese Americans, including groups such as the Chinese Women’s Association and the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association. Support for repeal also came from other Asian American groups, including the Korean National Front Federation and from the South Asian community.¹⁴⁹⁶ Though anti-Chinese and anti-Asian hostilities remained vocal as Congress debated repeal, its repeal was also in part to neutralize Japanese propoganda that pointed to discrimination faced by Asians in the United States. Repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act did not re-open broad immigration from China. Instead, Chinese immigrants were subject to the quota system instituted by the 1920s immigration laws and were limited to no more than 105 individuals per year. The law repealing the Chinese Exclusion Act did finally allow a path to naturalized citizenship for Chinese residents.¹⁴⁹⁷ The War Brides Act of 1945 and 1947 also allowed military members to bring their foreign-born spouses and

¹⁴⁹³ Choy, Koreans in America, 173.

¹⁴⁹⁴ Chen, Citizens of Asian America, 2-3.

¹⁴⁹⁵ Lee, The Making of Asian America, 263-279.

¹⁴⁹⁶ Takaki, Strangers from a Different Shore, 376-377.

¹⁴⁹⁷ Takaki, Strangers from a Different Shore, 378.

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children to the United States, outside of the 105-quota cap. Through this, more Chinese women came to the United States than previous decades.¹⁴⁹⁸

1952 Immigration and Nationality Act (McCarran-Walter Act)

The next major modification of immigration policy was the 1952 Immigration and Nationality Act, also known as the McCarran-Walter Act. This act aimed to incorporate various provisions regarding U.S. immigration legislation into one law. It maintained the national origins (quota) system for European immigration and raised the cap from 154,000 to 158,000 persons. For Asian immigration, it ended the 1917 Immigration Act (Asiatic Barred Zone Act) and allotted 100 annual quotas to each Asian nation that were previously barred.¹⁴⁹⁹ The 100 limit also extended to the former British colony of India and to Pakistan after their 1947 partition.

The act also contained provisions to exclude those considered subversives and holding undesirable political allegiances. Anarchists, members of the Communist Party, and those who advocated for communism were barred. Health, criminal, moral, economic, and subversive criteria were allowed as the basis of exclusion.¹⁵⁰⁰

The other key provision of the 1952 act was to eliminate race as a criterion for naturalized citizenship. This finally removed the “aliens ineligible for citizenship” label and allowed all immigrants from Asia to apply for citizenship, not just the exceptions carved out for Chinese, Filipina/o, and South Asians residents by previous legislation.

The aftermath of the Korean War (1950-1953) also led to a small wave of Korean immigrants who were mostly women arriving as the wives of U.S. servicemen. They continued to account for a sizable part of Korean migration after 1965 immigration reform sponsored their immediate family members to migrate.¹⁵⁰¹ Korean children also came to the United States in substantial numbers after the Korean War as adoptees. Some were biracial children of U.S. servicemen and Korean women, and others were adopted by U.S. service personnel. Later, some were orphans adopted out of orphanages after American media coverage of needy children after the war.¹⁵⁰²

1965 Immigration Act (Hart-Celler Act)

The major change to immigration policy came in 1965 with the Hart-Celler Act. The act changed the national origins quota system by allotting each country the same annual quota of 20,000 people and removing race, ethnicity, and national origins as a factor in determining who was more welcomed to the

¹⁴⁹⁸ Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 257.

¹⁴⁹⁹ Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 270-271.

¹⁵⁰⁰ Arnold, *Anti-Immigration in the United States*, 332-333.

¹⁵⁰¹ Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 268.

¹⁵⁰² Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 268.

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United States.¹⁵⁰³ The new system also prioritized family reunification and those with professional skills that did not count toward the country limit. Though the Hart-Celler Act was aimed at righting the wrong of limits on Southern and Eastern European immigration, and also to eliminate a Communist talking point about racial discrimination, the resulting decades witnessed the greatest change in immigration from Asia.¹⁵⁰⁴

A new period of Asian immigration began, first slowly with students and professionals. Within a few decades, substantial and sustained migration from across Asia to the United States occurred. The new generation of Asian immigrants differed from the earlier waves. Rather than unskilled laborers, they tended to be better educated and arrive with some wealth. Because family reunification was prioritized, those who came were of varying ages and genders and with familial ties, including spouses, children, parents, and siblings.¹⁵⁰⁵ Migration since 1965 has been from across Asia, thereby diversifying who comprises the term Asian American.

Post-Vietnam War Refugee Acts

Another major change for migration from Asia came at the end of the Vietnam War. The rapid end of the war and withdrawal of U.S. troops in April 1975 did not leave enough time for orderly evacuation of those who had supported the U.S. before the South Vietnamese government fell and the North Vietnamese troops seized Saigon. Another 40,000 to 60,000 escaped by sea once the U.S. air evacuation ended. This first wave of Vietnamese refugees was mostly from the educated elite and middle-class with ties to the American forces and South Vietnamese government. They, along with a smaller group of Cambodian diplomats and high-level officials also at risk of persecution under the Communist regime and very few Hmong from Laos, arrived in the United States with few resources and fewer support systems. The 1975 Indochina Migration and Refugee Assistance Act classified this first wave of Vietnamese, Cambodian, and later Laotian and Hmong people as refugees to be resettled.¹⁵⁰⁶ This first wave in 1975 accounted for 130,000 Southeast Asian refugees admitted to the United States, with the vast majority (126,000) from Vietnam, followed by 4,600 from Cambodia and 800 from Laos. In 1976, an additional 10,200 Laotian refugees arrived via Thai refugee camps.¹⁵⁰⁷ The United States, with no formal refugee program, had an ad hoc system of allowing in aliens on an emergency basis to try to address the humanitarian crisis. President Gerald Ford established an Interagency Task Force (IATF) by executive order on April 18, 1975 to coordinate federal agencies in the evacuation and resettlement efforts.¹⁵⁰⁸ Congress passed the Indochina Migration and Refugee Assistance Act in May 1975 to

¹⁵⁰³ Arnold, *Anti-Immigration in the United States*, 241; Cathy Schlund-Vials, K. Scott Wong, and Jason Oliver Chang, eds, *Asian America: A Primary Source Reader* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2017), 97-101.

¹⁵⁰⁴ Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 285.

¹⁵⁰⁵ Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 285-290.

¹⁵⁰⁶ Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 320-323.

¹⁵⁰⁷ Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 325.

¹⁵⁰⁸ Kelly, *From Vietnam to America*, 64.

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convey special status for immediate entry to the country and allocate emergency funds for transport, processing, and resettlement costs.¹⁵⁰⁹

In the wake of the Communist regime in Vietnam and its persecution of political opponents such as those considered to be bourgeois—teachers, writers, artists, religious leaders, and business owners—and ethnic groups like ethnic Chinese who had previously dominated business ownership, a second exodus from Vietnam occurred in the late 1970s. Continued instability in the region, with Vietnam invading Cambodia in late 1978 and ousting the China-backed Khmer Rouge regime, resulted in China invading Vietnam in early 1979, further propelled those from Vietnam, especially ethnic Chinese, to leave. This second wave escaped by sea to nearby countries such as Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand, and Hong Kong seeking refuge, thereby earning the “boat people” moniker.¹⁵¹⁰

At the same time, the brutality of Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge regime also fueled a mass exodus of Cambodians. Another exodus in Laos occurred in the same period. As the first stop in their escape via land, nearby Thailand became overwhelmed with the number of refugees seeking help.¹⁵¹¹ In response, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) negotiated with Vietnam to establish the Orderly Departure Program (ODP) in July 1979. Southeast Asian countries agreed to provide temporary asylum, Vietnam agreed to promote orderly departure, and Western nations agreed to accelerate resettlement. As a result, Vietnamese refugees could be approved for family reunion and resettlement for humanitarian reasons and allowed a journey to their sponsoring country without a harrowing voyage of escape.

From 1978 to 1980, 268,000 Southeast Asian refugees entered the country from the initial camps in Asia.¹⁵¹² The U.S. passed the Refugee Act of 1980, the first comprehensive refugee legislation that established a new system to assist refugees. It superseded the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1968 related to refugees and defined who is a refugee and may be admitted under refugee status. The broad definition adopted by the act closely paralleled the United Nations definition—a person with a well-founded fear of persecution owing to race, religion, nationality, or membership in a social or political movement—and set the stage for future policy beyond the immediate Southeast Asian crisis.¹⁵¹³

The 1980 Refugee Act established many things, including a new cap—50,000 annually—of who would be allowed into the United States as a refugee. It also outlined geographic dispersal for resettlement and economic self-sufficiency and assimilation as the conditions of acceptance.¹⁵¹⁴ Four federal agencies had responsibilities for applying the new act. The Office of the United States Coordinator for Refugee

¹⁵⁰⁹ Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 323; “Resettlement,” Southeast Asian Archive, University of California, Irvine, accessed August 22, 2023, <https://www.lib.uci.edu/sites/all/exhibits/seaexhibit/resettle.html>.

¹⁵¹⁰ Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 326-327.

¹⁵¹¹ Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 327-329.

¹⁵¹² Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 340.

¹⁵¹³ Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 341.

¹⁵¹⁴ Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 342.

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Affairs (USCRA) had primary responsibility for coordinating refugee policy in the U.S., while the Bureau for Refugee Programs (BRP), under the U.S. State Department, oversaw the relief policies conducted overseas. The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) processed refugees, including determining the refugee status of an individual or family for entry into the United States. The newly created Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR), under the Department of Health and Human Services, was tasked with administering domestic assistance programs. It served as a clearinghouse for information on refugees, assisted state offices with refugee needs, and provided cash assistance, social services, and broad range of refugee programs.¹⁵¹⁵

Citizenship

The 1790 Naturalization Act established only free white persons as eligible to be naturalized citizens of the United States. The law was not challenged until 1878, in part because most newcomers in the early to mid-nineteenth century were either Caucasian, and therefore eligible to be naturalized, or arrived enslaved from Africa and were ineligible with few recourses to challenge the law.¹⁵¹⁶ Also during that period, state citizenship was more important for securing basic rights than federal citizenship.¹⁵¹⁷ After the U.S. Civil War, the Fourteenth Amendment in 1868 codified birthright citizenship—all persons born in the United States are citizens with no mention of race, which automatically conferred citizenship on the formerly enslaved.

Thirty years later, the U.S. Supreme Court settled the question of whether birthright citizenship extended to the children of those ineligible for citizenship, such as the children of immigrants from Asian, in the 1898 case of *United States v. Wong Kim Ark*. Wong was born in the United States to parents of Chinese descent. When he returned to California after a trip to China in 1895, the U.S. collector of customs in charge of immigration processing in San Francisco attempted to apply the Chinese Exclusion Act broadly (passed in 1882 and which explicitly prohibited granting citizenship to the Chinese) and denied him re-entry. Wong and his lawyers filed a writ of habeas corpus—a petition to the courts to inquire about the detention. The U.S. District Court for the Northern District of California ruled in Wong’s favor, and the U.S. attorney appealed. The case went before the U.S. Supreme Court, which affirmed that all persons born in the United States, regardless of race, were native-born citizens and entitled to all citizenship rights.¹⁵¹⁸ The Wong Kim Ark ruling became an important milestone in establishing that an

¹⁵¹⁵ Rutledge, *The Vietnamese Experience in America*, 36-38.

¹⁵¹⁶ The Dred Scott case was one example where a Black enslaved man sought to use the federal courts to sue for this freedom, though the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in 1857 that African Americans were not entitle to citizenship. Ian Haney Lopez, *White by Law: The Legal Construction of Race* (New York: New York University Press, 1996), 49-50; “The Dred Scott Case,” National Park Service, accessed January 30, 2022, <https://www.nps.gov/jeff/planyourvisit/dredscott.htm>. In addition, whether former Mexican citizens in territory gain through the Mexican-American War, along with the smaller numbers of those from the former Spanish Empire in Central and South America, were considered white also has a long, complicated, and inconsistent history. See National Register of Historic Places, *Latinos in Twentieth Century California* Multiple Property Submission, California, National Register 64501239, E92-E94.

¹⁵¹⁷ Lopez, *White by Law*, 50.

¹⁵¹⁸ Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 84-85; Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 137-139.

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American was not defined by race. Second and subsequent generations of Asian Americans benefited from the legal protections of birthright citizenship, in spite of other continued discrimination based on race.

The Hawai'i Organic Act that established a territorial government in 1900 also extended U.S. citizenship to those who were citizens of the Republic of Hawai'i. As an incorporated territory, birthright citizenship was granted to those born in Hawai'i after 1900.¹⁵¹⁹ Both the granted and birthright citizenship affected Native Hawaiians, as well as the Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Filipina/o, and other members of the immigrant labor force who had come to work in the islands' plantation system. Some of them, and their children, later migrated to California.

Naturalized Citizenship

The issue of who was eligible to be naturalized as a citizen if they were not born in the United States continued to be race-based, per the 1790 Naturalization Act. The 1870 Naturalization Act explicitly extended naturalization rights to people with African nativity and descent and excluded other races.¹⁵²⁰ The oversight was targeted in part toward Chinese residents in the midst of the heightened anti-Chinese sentiments in California.¹⁵²¹

With the increased migration from China starting in the 1850s with the Gold Rush, a large and visible group of non-Caucasian and non-African immigrants started to challenge the definition of white. Initially, those from China were classified as Black or Native American, and equally denied rights as a result. The 1854 *People v. Hall* case is an example, where through convoluted logic, the California Supreme Court decided that Chinese residents were considered Native American, and thus, also could not testify in court against a white person.¹⁵²²

Some Chinese residents were able to become citizens when the naturalization laws were not consistently enforced.¹⁵²³ In 1878, the U.S. Ninth Circuit Court ultimately ruled in *In re Ah Yup*—a request for naturalization brought by three Chinese residents (Ah Yup, Li Huang, and Leong Lan) represented by attorney Frederick Bee who helped the Chinese community in previous challenges to discriminatory laws—that a Chinese person is not considered a white person, and thus, remained ineligible for citizenship.¹⁵²⁴

Between 1878 and 1909, the federal courts heard twelve cases regarding whiteness and eligibility for naturalized citizenship. In eleven of those cases, the courts found against the applicants, who were from

¹⁵¹⁹ McGregor and MacKenzi, *Mo'olelo Ea O Na Hawai'i*, 38-42.

¹⁵²⁰ "Naturalization Act of 1870," Immigration History, accessed December 14, 2021, <https://immigrationhistory.org/item/naturalization-act-of-1870/>.

¹⁵²¹ Lopez, *White by Law*, 44.

¹⁵²² Lopez, *White by Law*, 50-52

¹⁵²³ Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 85.

¹⁵²⁴ Schlund-Vials, Wong, and Chang, *Asian America*, 41-44; McClain, *In Search of Equality*, 70-73.

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China, Japan, Burma, and Hawai‘i, and mixed-race applicants.¹⁵²⁵ The rationale was not consistent in these cases that occurred across the country at the lower courts. An unusual example was Ulysses Shinsei Kaneko, one of the few Asian immigrants to achieve U.S. citizenship. Kaneko immigrated to the United States sometime in the late 1880s from the Gumma prefecture of Japan after converting from Buddhism to Christianity in Tokyo.¹⁵²⁶ Kaneko applied to become a naturalized citizen in 1892 and was granted naturalization papers four years later by Superior Court Judge George Otis in San Bernardino. He reportedly was able to travel abroad with an American passport.¹⁵²⁷ As a later account in the *Los Angeles Times* noted, “Kaneko, thinking he was a full-fledged American, raised his large family in the American way, dressing his children like their playmates in Riverside, and sending them to school and college, where they received the finest education.”¹⁵²⁸ Powerful Riversiders must have agreed, because Kaneko was granted unusual status among prominent civic institutions and organizations. In addition to running the Golden State Restaurant and Café (3616-18 University Avenue, in the locally listed Roosevelt Building), Kaneko worked as an auditor for the city, a translator for the courts, served on the grand jury, and was elected to the Board of the Riverside Chamber of Commerce—a very rare degree of integration for a Japanese immigrant in the early twentieth century.¹⁵²⁹

Despite Kaneko’s ability to assimilate into Riverside society, in 1914 his citizenship was challenged by a U.S. District Attorney based on the argument that the judge was in error in granting him naturalized status eighteen years prior. Although the *Los Angeles Times* speculated that the case might mean that Kaneko and his eldest son’s citizenship could be forfeited, and that “the future rights of the Japanese may be determined,” the case was dismissed, making Kaneko the only Japanese American naturalized citizen whose status was confirmed in court.¹⁵³⁰

The question of whiteness and naturalized citizenship was decided in two U.S. Supreme Court cases in the 1920s involving Asian immigrants in another decade of heightened anti-immigrant sentiment.¹⁵³¹ Takao Ozawa began his quest for naturalized citizen status in Alameda County in 1902. After rejection by the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco in 1917, the Japanese Association Deliberative Council’s special naturalization committee helped bring the case to the U.S. Supreme Court, with

¹⁵²⁵ Lopez, *White by Law*, 61.

¹⁵²⁶ Wong and others place Kaneko’s arrival in 1888. A passport application by Mrs. U.S. Kaneko states that he arrived in the United States in April 1886 and that they lived in Riverside continuously from 1886 to 1901. Passport application dated June 5, 1901 accessed at ancestry.com. The Kanekos and their two sons, Arthur and George appears in the 1900 U.S. census as residing at 750 Eighth Street (not extant) in Riverside.

¹⁵²⁷ Yuji Ichioka, “The Early Japanese Immigrant Quest for Citizenship: The Background of the 1922 Ozawa Case,” *Amerasia Journal* 4, no.2 (1977): 2.

¹⁵²⁸ “May Japanese Be a Citizen?” *Los Angeles Times*, January 12, 1914.

¹⁵²⁹ “Ulysses Shinsei Kaneko Family Plot/Olivewood Cemetery,” 3300 Central Avenue, Riverside, California, California Department of Parks and Recreation, 1980.

¹⁵³⁰ “May Japanese Be a Citizen?”; National Register of Historic Places, Japanese American Heritage and the Quest for Civil Rights in Riverside, California, 1890s-1970s Multiple Property Documentation Form, Riverside, Riverside County, California, August 2012 Draft, Section 1-64.

¹⁵³¹ McClain, *In Search of Equality*, 149.

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arguments resting on his “white skin.” The Court rejected Ozawa’s claim by stating that skin color and race were not an exact correlation, and that the category of Caucasian did not include Japanese. The 1922 *Takao Ozawa v. United States* decision established definitively that Japanese immigrants could not become U.S. citizens.¹⁵³²

A few months later, the case of Bhagat Singh Thind came before the U.S. Supreme Court. Bhagat Singh Thind immigrated to the U.S. from Punjab in 1913 and spent years in the West as a migrant laborer and Ghadar activist. He studied at UC Berkeley for some time.¹⁵³³ In 1920, he applied for citizenship in Portland, Oregon after serving in the U.S. Army during World War I. At that point, people from India, classified as Hindus, were considered Caucasians rather than Mongolians, the classification under which Chinese (and presumably Japanese) fell. Singh’s application was approved by the District Court in Portland. The U.S. government appealed to the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals, which in turn, asked the U.S. Supreme Court to determine if someone from India was a white person.

In *U.S. v. Bhagat Singh Thind* (1923), the Supreme Court reversed its logic in *Ozawa* to decide against Thind by rejecting Caucasian as the marker for determining who was deemed white. Instead, they “elevated common knowledge ruling as follows: ‘What we now hold are that the words ‘free white person’ are words of common speech, to be interpreted in accordance with the understanding of the common man, synonymous with the word ‘Caucasian’ only as that word is commonly understood.’”¹⁵³⁴

The decision led the government to strip naturalized citizenship from sixty-nine South Asian men across the U.S. who had gained that status from 1908 to 1922.¹⁵³⁵ Not all lost their citizenship. Among the naturalized citizens who fought denaturalization was Sakharam Ganesh Pandit, an elite Gujarati immigrant who successfully applied for citizenship in Los Angeles in 1914. Three years later, the California State Bar licensed Pandit to practice law in the state.¹⁵³⁶ His business card described him as “The Only Hindu Lawyer in the United States,” and listed the Bank of Italy International Building at 116 Temple Street, Los Angeles (not extant) as his office.¹⁵³⁷ Pandit also represented Bhagat Singh Thind in his naturalization case, along with several other South Asians who fought to retain their citizenship.¹⁵³⁸

U.S. v. Sakharam Ganesh Pandit came before the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco in 1926. The judge’s sympathy for Pandit as an educated, prosperous professional married to a white woman, and concerns that the many cases he had engaged in as a lawyer and notary might be in

¹⁵³² Lopez, *White by Law*, 79-86; “Ozawa v. U.S.” Niiya, *Japanese American History*, 280.

¹⁵³³ “Echoes of Freedom,” accessed January 31, 2022, <https://guides.lib.berkeley.edu/echoes-of-freedom/bhagat-singh-thind>.

¹⁵³⁴ Lopez, *White by Law*, 90.

¹⁵³⁵ Shah, *Stranger Intimacy*, 247.

¹⁵³⁶ Shah, *Stranger Intimacy*, 248.

¹⁵³⁷ “Advertisement for S.G. Pandit, B.A.,” South Asian American Digital Archive, accessed September 4, 2022,

<https://www.saada.org/item/20130121-1230>.

¹⁵³⁸ Shah, *Stranger Intimacy*, 249-250.

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question, led to his upholding the lower court's decision that Pandit had received due process and too much time had passed to revoke his citizenship. Although the federal district attorney in the case filed an appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court, the Court declined to review Pandit's case.¹⁵³⁹

Others were not so lucky. Vaishno Das Bagai became a naturalized citizen in 1921, just two years before the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that South Asians were not white. Following the *U.S. v. Bhagat Singh Thind* ruling, Vaishno and his family were stripped of U.S. citizenship. Subject to California alien land laws, the Bagais lost their property, including their San Francisco general store. Within a few years, Vaishno was denied a passport to visit family in India. Before taking his own life, he described his predicament in a letter to be published by the press protesting his treatment:

In the year 1921 the Federal court at San Francisco accepted me as a naturalized citizen of the United States and issued to my name the final certificate. Giving therein the name and description of my wife and three sons. In last 12 or 13 years we all made ourselves as much Americanized as possible... I came to America thinking, dreaming and hoping to make this land my home... What have I made of myself and my children? We cannot exercise our rights, we cannot leave this country... Obstacles this way, blockades that way, and the bridges burnt behind.¹⁵⁴⁰

The reliance on race as a condition of citizenship was becoming increasingly complex, confusing, and inconsistent. The Nationality Act of 1940 started to depart from a racial requirement for citizenship by extending eligibility to "descendants of races indigenous to the Western Hemisphere," as a way for Native Americans to be eligible.¹⁵⁴¹ Into the early 1940s, the thinking of Americans around race and naturalization was changing in part due to World War II, where, continuing the practice from World War I, soldiers were allowed to naturalize regardless of their racial ineligibility.¹⁵⁴² An amendment to the Nationality Act of 1940 allowed Filipina/o military members to become naturalized citizens.¹⁵⁴³

In 1943, Congress finally repealed the Chinese Exclusion Act with the Magnuson Act as a gesture of good faith for a wartime ally. The act also allowed Chinese residents in the U.S. to become naturalized citizens, though it imposed a quota for new immigration from China in keeping with the 1924

¹⁵³⁹ Doug Coulson, *Race, Nation, and Refuge: The Rhetoric of Race in Asian American Citizenship Cases* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2017), 78; Paul R. Spitzzeri, "Pathfinder to Citizenship: A Portrait of Sakharam Ganesh Pandit and Lillian Stringer Pandit, 28 December 1925," Homestead Museum blog, December 28, 2019, accessed December 27, 2021, <https://homesteadmuseum.blog/2019/12/28/pathfinder-to-citizenship-a-portrait-of-sakharam-ganesh-pandit-and-lillian-stringer-pandit-28-december-1925/>.

"Oyama v. California," Densho Encyclopedia, accessed January 2, 2022, https://encyclopedia.densho.org/Oyama_v._California/.

¹⁵⁴⁰ "Bridges Burnt Behind," Immigration Voices: Angel Island Immigration Station Foundation.

¹⁵⁴¹ Marian L. Smith, "Race, Nationality, and Reality," *Prologue Magazine* 34, no. 2 (Summer 2002), accessed February 6, 2022, <https://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2002/summer/immigration-law-1>.

¹⁵⁴² Smith, "Race, Nationality, and Reality."

¹⁵⁴³ Mabalon, *Little Manila is in the Heart*, 233.

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Immigration Act. Further allowances for formerly “aliens ineligible for citizenship” include the passage of the Luce-Cellar Act by Congress in 1946, which allowed persons of Indian (from South Asia) and of Filipina/o descent to become naturalized citizens.¹⁵⁴⁴ Other Asian nationalities were still excluded from naturalized citizenship, most notably those from Japan.

The McCarran-Walter Act (1952 Immigration and Naturalization Act) finally eliminated restrictions against naturalization based on race or sex—nullifying the “aliens ineligible for citizenship category—so all Asian immigrants, not just those from China, India, or the Philippines, were eligible for citizenship. Priority was also given to spouses and children under the age of eighteen of U.S. citizens.¹⁵⁴⁵ Those first generations of Asian immigrants who had been in the United States since the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, such as the first-generation *Issei*, could finally become citizens with the protections therein.¹⁵⁴⁶ The 1965 Voting Rights Act further removed discriminatory barriers to voting, one of the fundamental rights of citizenship.

U.S. Nationals and Citizenship

People in U.S. territories were considered U.S. nationals and not full U.S. citizens. A key difference was that U.S. nationals did not have the right to vote. Residents of the Philippines held this U.S. nationals status until the passage of the Tydings-McDuffie Act in 1934 that provided for Philippine independence from U.S. territorial governance. At that point, those from the Philippines were considered aliens, as residents of any foreign country, with no special U.S. status. An amendment to the Nationality Act of 1940 allowed Filipinos serving in the military to become naturalized citizens.¹⁵⁴⁷

The 1940 Nationality Act codified the status of residents in other U.S. territories as U.S. nationals, not citizens. This did not apply to Hawai‘i, as the 1900 Hawai‘i Organic Act had already extended U.S. citizenship to those who were citizens of the Republic of Hawai‘i. For the Chamorro on Guam, the 1950 Organic Act of Guam not only replaced the long-running naval administration with a civilian government, it also granted U.S. citizenship to residents of the island.¹⁵⁴⁸ As of 2023, the residents of America Samoa remain U.S. nationals.¹⁵⁴⁹

Women and Citizenship

Another aspect of citizenship was the federal laws that dictated a women’s citizenship status based on her husband. In 1855, Congress had declared that a foreign woman automatically gained citizenship

¹⁵⁴⁴ Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 256-257; 263.

¹⁵⁴⁵ Patrick J. Hayes, ed., *The Making of Modern Immigration: An Encyclopedia of People and Ideas* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, Boston, Massachusetts, 2015), 383-384.

¹⁵⁴⁶ Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 271.

¹⁵⁴⁷ Mabalon, *Little Manila is in the Heart*, 233.

¹⁵⁴⁸ Viernes, “Organic Act of Guam.”

¹⁵⁴⁹ “America Samoa,” Office of Insular Affairs, United States Department of the Interior, accessed September 28, 2023, <https://www.doi.gov/oia/islands/american-samoa#:~:text=Unlike%20citizens%20of%20other%20U.S.,elections%20and%20pay%20Federal%20taxes.>

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upon marriage to a U.S. citizen or upon naturalization of her alien husband.¹⁵⁵⁰ In 1907, Congress passed the Expatriation Act, which declared that American women must assume the nationalities of their husband. As a result, thousands of women who were U.S. citizens with foreign-born husbands (including Europeans) had their citizenship revoked.¹⁵⁵¹ The women could regain their citizenship if they or their husband pursued the process of becoming naturalized citizens. As Asian immigrants, at least those who were not U.S. nationals, were still “aliens ineligible for citizenship,” this path was not open to women married to Asian men.

With the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920 giving women the right to vote, the question of their citizenship became more urgent. Congress passed the Cable Act (Married Women’s Independent Nationality Act) in 1922 repealing the 1907 Expatriation Act. An American woman married to a non-U.S. citizen would no longer lose her U.S. citizenship, on the condition her husband was eligible to become a U.S. citizen.

Because Asian immigrants continued to be aliens ineligible for citizenship, U.S.-born women who married foreign-born Asian men would still lose their citizenship. This included U.S.-born, Asian American women who by birth were U.S. citizens. If they married an Asian immigrant, they would lose their citizenship and had no path to naturalization.¹⁵⁵² In 1931, through advocacy by the Japanese American Citizens League, the League of Women Voters, and the YWCA, the Cable Act was amended so that a U.S. citizen woman who married an alien husband did not lose her citizenship. Suma Sugi (Yokotake), a *Nisei* woman from Los Angeles, traveled to Washington, DC to lobby for the amendment.¹⁵⁵³

The easing of immigration restrictions carved out a niche that primarily benefited women. After the Chinese Exclusion Repeal Act (Magnuson Act) passed in 1943 and Chinese immigration resume within the quota system, Congress passed the 1945 War Brides Act that allowed U.S. soldiers to bring their non-U.S. citizen brides and families to the U.S.¹⁵⁵⁴ Those who came under this act were not subject to the 1924 Immigration Act’s nationalities quota, which opened the door slightly for women from various Asian countries.

¹⁵⁵⁰ Lopez, *White by Law*, 46.

¹⁵⁵¹ Meg Hacker, “When Saying ‘I Do’ Meant Giving Up Your U.S. Citizenship,” *Prologue*, no.46 (Spring 2014): 57-58, accessed January 26, 2022, <https://www.archives.gov/files/publications/prologue/2014/spring/citizenship.pdf>.

¹⁵⁵² Judy Yung, *Unbound Feet: A Social History of Chinese Women in San Francisco* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995), 168; Lopez, *White by Law*, 46-47.

¹⁵⁵³ “Cable Act,” *Densho Encyclopedia*, accessed January 26, 2022, https://encyclopedia.densho.org/Cable_Act/; Saburo Kido, “Living with JACL: For the Nisei Women,” *Pacific Citizen*, March 3, 1961.

¹⁵⁵⁴ “War Brides Acts (1945-1946),” *Immigration History*, accessed October 8, 2022, <https://immigrationhistory.org/item/war-brides-acts-1945-1947>.

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The 1952 McCarran-Walter Act stated that the right of a person to become a naturalized citizen shall not be denied or abridged because a person is married, in addition to race and gender.¹⁵⁵⁵

Civil Rights

Limitation of civil rights has been used to restrict and discriminate against Asian Americans since Chinese immigrants first arrived en masse during the Gold Rush. The California Supreme Court in 1854 ruled in *People v. Hall* that Chinese residents were in the same category as Black and Native American people and could not testify against white defendants in court.¹⁵⁵⁶ This left Chinese immigrants vulnerable to violence and fraud, and at a disadvantage to receive justice through the court system. The 1868 Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution, and its provisions for the right to due process and equal protection under the law, laid the groundwork for removing legal inequalities based on race. Organized challenges by Asian American communities to discriminatory laws helped to establish the legal precedents for protection of various rights under the Fourteenth Amendment.¹⁵⁵⁷

The Civil Rights Act of 1870 established that all persons (not just citizens) have the same rights in every state and territory when it came to certain issues, such as contracts, being sued, and giving evidence. While primarily an act to protect Black voters in the South, its provisions were also aimed at securing the rights of Chinese immigrants following legislative advocacy by members of the Chinese community and sympathetic senators.¹⁵⁵⁸ The act also established that all persons shall be subject to the same taxes, licenses, and extractions, as a direct refutation of discriminatory financial legislation like the Foreign Miners' License Tax and other immigration taxes imposed by the State of California.¹⁵⁵⁹

A few key rights affecting Asian Americans and their ability to live and work in American society are highlighted here.

Alien Land Laws

California passed the first Alien Land Law in 1913 and while no specific mention of "Oriental" was included, the legislation was clearly focused on Asian immigrants, especially those from Japan. The law prohibited ownership of real property by "aliens ineligible for citizenship," and that such aliens would not be allowed to lease agricultural land for longer than three years.¹⁵⁶⁰ Passed in the midst of the Yellow Peril era, the *Issei* who engaged in agriculture with much success were a primary target for the initial law. Many *Issei* found ways to get around the laws, such as land ownership in the names of their U.S.-born children, who were citizens by birth. The law's limitations shaped the nature of *Issei* farms

¹⁵⁵⁵ "Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 (The McCarran-Walter Act), Immigration History, accessed January 26, 2022, <https://immigrationhistory.org/item/immigration-and-nationality-act-the-mccarran-walter-act/>.

¹⁵⁵⁶ McClain, In Search of Equality, 20-24; Lee, The Making of Asian America, 92.

¹⁵⁵⁷ McClain, In Search of Equality, 31-36.

¹⁵⁵⁸ McClain, In Search of Equality, 40.

¹⁵⁵⁹ McClain, In Search of Equality, 38-40.

¹⁵⁶⁰ Takaki, Strangers from a Different Shore, 203.

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and the crops they grew, such as cultivating short-term crops with high yields that accounted for the short-term tenure of leases.¹⁵⁶¹

The Alien Land Law also applied to Chinese immigrants who stayed in the United States following the Chinese Exclusion Act, closing their path to landownership, and keeping them in the role of migrant farm laborers.¹⁵⁶² Under the 1913 law, some were able to lease land, though without the benefit of ownership. A few managed to purchase land when the law was not enforced, like Thomas Foo Chew who became known as the “Asparagus King” of San Francisco. He also owned the Bayside Canning Company in Alviso, the first cannery to preserve green asparagus. It grew into the third largest cannery in the world after Del Monte and Libby’s.¹⁵⁶³

The house at 3356 Lemon Street in Riverside (National Historic Landmark, extant), purchased by Japanese immigrants Jukichi and Ken Harada in 1915, became an important test of the 1913 Alien Land Law.¹⁵⁶⁴ Six months after California legislators passed the law in 1913, the Haradas’ five-year-old son died from diphtheria. His parents attributed to illness to the cramped, unhealthy conditions of their second-floor quarters in a rooming house they occupied and ran at the corner of Orange and Eighth Streets (later University Avenue, not extant). During that same period, someone deliberately hurled a rock through the plate glass window of the Haradas’ Washington Restaurant (3643 University Avenue, extant).¹⁵⁶⁵

The Haradas bought the Lemon Street property in the names of their American-born children, all under the age of ten, which prompted a few of their predominately Caucasian neighbors to take the family to court. The case drew national and international attention because of its implications for the relationship between the United States and Japan, which was emerging as an international power. In the fall of 1918, the Haradas prevailed in Riverside Superior Court when the case was decided in their favor, ruling that American-born children were entitled to all the constitutional rights under the Fourteenth Amendment, including land ownership.

A second even more restrictive Alien Land Law passed by California ballot measure in 1920. It eliminated even those few opportunities available to immigrant families from Asian countries by prohibiting “aliens ineligible for citizenship” from leasing agricultural land for any term, buying agricultural land under the names of native-born minors, and owning stock in any corporation holding

¹⁵⁶¹ Niiya, Japanese American History, 99.

¹⁵⁶² Chang, The Chinese in America, 161-162.

¹⁵⁶³ Chang, The Chinese in America, 162.

¹⁵⁶⁴ Harada House was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1979, named a National Historic Landmark in 1990 (NHL #77000325), and designated California Historical Landmark 1060 in 2020.

¹⁵⁶⁵ Photo in Harada Collection, Riverside Metropolitan Museum, documents the attack with the caption in Japanese, “Riverside City 8th District, California, USA. December 24th 1913 (Meiji 43th year). Someone threw a rock (Wrapped in newspaper) and broke the front window in two places. I took a picture for record.”

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agricultural real property.¹⁵⁶⁶ The Japanese Association sponsored test cases of the laws' constitutionality, which failed in November 1923 when the U.S. Supreme Court found in favor of laws banning leasing to "aliens ineligible for citizenship" in California and Washington.¹⁵⁶⁷ Later cases, such as the 1928 U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Tashiro v. Jordan* involving the Japanese Hospital in the Boyle Heights neighborhood of Los Angeles, found other means to bypass or challenge the Alien Land Laws, including the laws' own vagueness, thereby allowing for non-agricultural land ownership.¹⁵⁶⁸

California's Alien Land Laws became applicable to immigrants from India in 1923, when Bhagat Singh Thind's legal battle for U.S. citizenship was overturned by the U.S. Supreme Court.¹⁵⁶⁹ The restrictive laws were used against Indian tenant farmers in the Yuba City-Marysville area and especially in the Imperial Valley. The impact of these laws helped shape the 1933 defense for a Punjabi farmer whose killing of two white men was explained as a response to their theft of his crop and failure to uphold their sales agreement. A large amount of Imperial Valley farmland was owned by absentee landlords who were satisfied with the work of Punjabi men farming their lands, until they were charged with evading the Alien Land Laws along with their tenants.¹⁵⁷⁰ Punjabi farmers, like Japanese Americans, sought to work around the new laws by enlisting the few members of their community who held U.S. citizenship to hold their land agreements. The relatively large number of Punjabi men married to Mexican American women turned to this strategy, and as their families grew, they were able to place land they owned in the name of American-born children.¹⁵⁷¹

The Alien Land Laws applied to non-agricultural land ownership as well. Vaishno Bagai and his family were readily admitted in 1915 at Angel Island Immigration Station due to their educated status and the \$25,000 he had with him.¹⁵⁷² Yet the Bagai family's attempt to purchase a house in Berkeley had been met with great hostility. The family ultimately settled in San Francisco alongside their store at 3159 Fillmore Street (extant, possibility altered).

The Alien Land Laws remained in effect through World War II, with Japanese American-owned property seized by the state in the last few years of the war through a rarely used mechanism. In 1944 and 1945, the state prosecuted more cases "than it had in the past thirty years, actions upheld by the state

¹⁵⁶⁶ Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 205.

¹⁵⁶⁷ Niiya, *Japanese American History*, 47.

¹⁵⁶⁸ Hayashi and Okamura, "Japanese Hospital," Section 8.

¹⁵⁶⁹ Karen Leonard, "Punjabi Farmers and California's Alien Land Law," in *Asian Indians, Filipinos, and Others Asian Communities and the Law*, ed. Charles McClain (New York: Garland Publishing, 1994) 107.

¹⁵⁷⁰ Leonard, "Punjabi Farmers and California's Alien Land Law," 114.

¹⁵⁷¹ Leonard, "Punjabi Farmers and California's Alien Land Law," 110, 113. Persons from Mexico were aliens eligible for citizenship as previous case law had determined they were white, though the 1907 Expatriation Act required American women to assume the nationalities of their husband. Such technicalities may not have been recognized by local counties that enforced the Alien Land Laws. See the Citizenship section of this document, as well as National Register of Historic Places, *Latinos in Twentieth Century California* Multiple Property Submission, California, E92-E94.

¹⁵⁷² Lee and Yung, *Angel Island*, 154; "Bridges Burnt Behind," Immigration Voices: Angel Island Immigration Station Foundation.

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supreme court.”¹⁵⁷³ Even land gifted to American-born *Nisei* children was prosecuted as evading the laws’ provisions. Many who were unable to defend their claims from incarceration camps lost their land, while others were only able to retain it by entering into “compromise settlements,” whereby Japanese American landowners paid the state up to fifty percent of the land value for property they had already purchased.¹⁵⁷⁴

California *Nikkei* organized to fight the escheat process through test cases beginning with a 1944 lawsuit in Monterey. In 1948, the case of *Oyama v. California*, involving over six acres of land purchased in 1934 in Chula Vista, reached the U.S. Supreme Court. The Court struck down certain provisions based on the Fourteenth Amendment’s equal protection clause that resulted in California halting enforcement, without overturning the Alien Land Laws.¹⁵⁷⁵ In 1952, the U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Fujii v. State of California* helped overturn the 1920 Alien Land Law. Sei Fujii, prominent resident in Los Angeles’ Little Tokyo and publisher of the *Kashu Mainichi* newspaper, purchased property in 1948 in Boyle Heights as a case to test continued application of the law. With support from the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), the case went before the Los Angeles Superior Court, the California District Court of Appeal, and ultimately the California Supreme Court. The state’s highest court decided in April 1952 that *Issei* had the right to own property in California. Along with *Masaoka v. California* (1952) these rulings eradicated the last remnants of the Alien Land Laws.¹⁵⁷⁶

Housing Discrimination

From the period of the Gold Rush, when mining camps were often arranged by immigrant groups, segregated housing led to segregated communities. Some of the segregation was self-selection: immigrants more willing to stay with others from similar or familiar backgrounds. Others was the result of an enforced racial hierarchy, with the dominant or majority group holding preferred territory for themselves and relegating minority groups to less desirable land. Early Sanborn insurance maps often labeled individual properties or distinct areas in California’s towns and cities as Chinese or Japanese, usually near each other, as an indication of the neighborhoods where these communities lived and concentrated.

The segregation that resulted in Chinatowns or Japantowns was not necessarily a response to regulations and ordinances, instead enforced by social practices such as the unwillingness of property owners to rent or sell to people of color. As California increasingly established municipalities and governing laws, racial discrimination in land use became codified either outright or in indirect ways. For example, during

¹⁵⁷³ Meredith Oda, *The Gateway to the Pacific: Japanese Americans and the Remaking of San Francisco* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2019), 33.

¹⁵⁷⁴ “Escheat Suits,” Densho Encyclopedia, accessed March 18, 2019, http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Escheat_suits/.

¹⁵⁷⁵ “Escheat Suits,” Densho Encyclopedia; *Oyama v. State of California*, 332 U.S. 633 (1948) accessed March 18, 2019, https://scholar.google.com/scholar_case?case=15171183144489494599&hl=en&as_sdt=2&as_vis=1&oi=scholar.

¹⁵⁷⁶ “Fujii v. California,” Densho Encyclopedia, accessed December 28, 2018, http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Fujii_v._California/.

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the period of anti-Chinese laundry harassment in the 1870s and 1880s, localities including San Francisco, Napa, and Stockton passed ordinances that banned laundries in certain areas, regulated where they could operate, or required approval for laundries to open outside of designated areas, along with others ostensibly for fire protection purposes. Although white-owned laundries were also bound by such regulations, they were more likely to receive approval or benefit from lax enforcement compared to Chinese-owned laundries.¹⁵⁷⁷

The use of race- and ethnicity-based deed restrictions dates to the period between 1890 and 1940, when race relations in the United States were at a low point. This fifty-year period witnessed a backlash to the gains made in the decades after the Civil War, during Reconstruction. During these years, Chinese Americans experienced heightened anti-Chinese sentiments after the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act. There was increasing hostility to immigrants, including those from Southern and Eastern Europe as well as Asia. The Ku Klux Klan rose in influence, Jim Crow laws were implemented, and sundown towns, where Black residents were driven out or barred from staying after sundown, were established. Many Americans embraced a belief in eugenics and other race-based pseudo-scientific theories that supported white supremacy.¹⁵⁷⁸

Racially restrictive covenants on deeds started to appear in this period, primarily at housing developments marketed to upper- and upper-middle-class white buyers. These covenants, as well as race-based zoning, gained traction nationally in the 1900s and 1910s.¹⁵⁷⁹ Fueled in part by the Great Migration of African Americans from the south to the northern, eastern, and western cities in search of better economic opportunities, these public sector (zoning) and private sector (deed restrictions and covenants) mechanism arose in response to the attitude by the white community that homogenous neighborhoods where people of similar backgrounds lived together—that is, communities of one race, ethnic group, religion, etc.—would remain more peaceful than those with residents of diverse backgrounds.¹⁵⁸⁰

Baltimore, Maryland was the first municipality to adopt race-based zoning in 1910 by adopting an ordinance prohibiting African Americans from purchasing homes on blocks where white homeowners were a majority, and vice versa. Other cities followed. In 1917, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled against such racial zoning ordinances in the *Buchanan v. Warley* decision. Following the decision, municipalities used their zoning authorities in more indirect ways to segregate neighborhoods.¹⁵⁸¹

¹⁵⁷⁷ Jung, *Chinese Laundries*, 81-82.

¹⁵⁷⁸ Loewen, *Sundown Towns*, 24-44.

¹⁵⁷⁹ Matthew D. Lassiter and Susan Cianci Salvatore, *Civil Rights in America: Racial Discrimination in Housing*, A National Historic Landmarks Theme Study (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2021), 8-11.

¹⁵⁸⁰ Richard Rothstein, *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America* (New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2017), 44-48.

¹⁵⁸¹ Lassiter and Salvatore, *Civil Rights in America: Racial Discrimination in Housing*, 9.

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As a result of the failure of race-based zoning in the courts, privately instituted restrictive covenants became more widespread, particularly as the 1920s saw a residential building boom across the country, including in the urbanizing centers throughout California. Often placed on deeds by the private subdividing developer, restrictive covenants listed building restrictions such as setback lines, minimum building cost, prohibited uses like oil drilling, as well as exclusions of sale, rental, or occupancy by African American, Asian American, Mexican American, Jewish, and other residents. Italian and Catholic Southern and Eastern European immigrants were sometimes excluded from residency, evidencing the nativist, anti-immigration sentiments of the period. Some covenants had limited periods such as twenty to fifty years; others had no listed effective period, which rendered them essentially in perpetuity unless intentionally removed from the deed.

For those excluded from access to housing in restricted subdivisions, options for housing were often limited to older neighborhoods that developed before racially restrictive covenants became commonplace. Some neighborhoods developed as ethnic enclaves where one group dominated, others became racially and ethnically mixed communities.

The attitude that homogenous neighborhoods were preferred to avoid racial conflicts permeated into federal government and reached into local communities through New Deal policies. The Home Owners' Loan Corporation (HOLC), part of the New Deal programs established to stimulate the economy during the Great Depression, conducted surveys in cities throughout the country to assigned grades to residential neighborhoods. The purpose of the grading was to reflect each neighborhood's perceived "mortgage security;" that is, the risk for mortgage lenders when determining who should receive loans and which areas were safer for investments. With input from local real estate professionals, HOLC assigned one of four lettered categories—A for First Grade/Best (green); B for Second Grade/Still Desirable (blue), C for Third Grade/Definitely Declining (yellow), and D for Fourth Grade/Hazardous (red)—based on factors such as topography, building age, housing types, and most notoriously, the racial and ethnic identity and the economic class of residents. Neighborhoods dominated by white-collar or professional workers, who were assumed to be white, and owned their homes would receive the highest ratings. Areas with high concentrations or a mix of people of color, immigrants, and the working class, received lower grades. Additionally, old or aging building stock was largely perceived by HOLC to entail rundown, blighted, or undesirable neighborhoods and also received lower grades.

The resulting, color-coded maps released in 1936 determined which areas were eligible, or considered low risk, for other New Deal programs, such as those offered through the Federal Housing Administration (FHA). Among its programs were the issuance of insurance to protect builders and mortgage lenders from losses, thus encouraging construction that would stimulate the economy and employ workers. Homeowners could secure loans to purchase these new houses with FHA-backed mortgages.¹⁵⁸² For people of color and those excluded, the system was discriminatory in multiple,

¹⁵⁸² Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 203-205.

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systemic ways. Neighborhoods in which they lived were denied investment capital by private banks reluctant to approve loans in the red and yellow areas of HOLC maps for fear the federal government would not guarantee such loans from default. The practice became known as “redlining” and continued into the postwar years as FHA and other federal programs like those for returning soldiers fueled the suburbanization boom through guarantees of private capital. Potential homeowners of color could not easily secure loans to purchase within neighborhoods considered to be high-risk for mortgage loans, nor could they purchase in the lower-risk neighborhoods or subdivisions where racial covenants prevented their ownership or residency.

Asian Americans, particularly the U.S. born generations, challenged such discriminatory housing policies and practices as they sought homeownership. Some found ways around such restrictions, by asking white friends to purchase property for them or purchasing in areas where the neighbors did not seek to enforce the covenants. By the late 1940s, two Los Angeles-area Asian Americans helped to end racially restrictive covenants. Chinese American Tommy Amer and Korean American Yin Kim both purchased homes in different Los Angeles neighborhoods, at 127 West 56th Street (extant) and 1201 Gramercy Place (extant), respectively. They moved into the homes, only for their neighbors to challenge their residency and ownership. Their lawsuits demonstrated that racially restrictive covenants affected more racial groups than African Americans and were among the seven lawsuits admitted for review by the U.S. Supreme Court in the 1948 *Shelley v. Kraemer* case which ultimately determined that racially restrictive covenants were not enforceable by law.¹⁵⁸³

The U.S. Supreme Court’s 1953 decision in *Barrows v. Jackson* found that the use of racial clauses in restrictive covenants violated the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, whether or not states were involved with enforcing them. The decision effectively forbade the use of racially restrictive covenants in the sale of private property.¹⁵⁸⁴ Residents of color continued to be excluded from some neighborhoods, including newly constructed postwar subdivision, by social practice if not by legal means. Real estate agents would steer them away from certain neighborhoods. Homeowners’ associations and neighbors would exert pressure on sellers about who was, or was not acceptable to sell to, and would intimidate potential homeowners of color to dissuade them from purchasing homes in their neighborhoods.¹⁵⁸⁵ Korean American Olympic diving champion Sammy Lee and his Chinese American wife Roz were refused twice chances to purchase a home in Garden Grove in 1955. The media attention brough offers from other areas in Orange County, where the Lees ultimately settled.¹⁵⁸⁶

The passage of the California Fair Housing Act (Rumford Act) by the California State Legislature in 1963 finally prohibited racial discrimination in housing by property owners and landlords. In response,

¹⁵⁸³ Chen, *Citizens of Asian America*, 21-23.

¹⁵⁸⁴ Nancy Farm Mannikko, “Barrows v. Jackson,” *Encyclopedia of Civil Rights in America*, ed. David Bradley and Shelley Fisher Fishkin, Vol. 1 (Armonk, NY: Sharpe Reference, 1998), 95.

¹⁵⁸⁵ Rothstein, *The Color of Law*, 115-138.

¹⁵⁸⁶ “Nixon and FHA Join in Dr. Lee’s Fight for Home,” *Los Angeles Times*, August 21, 1955; “Anaheim Gives Official Welcome to Dr. Lee,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 1, 1955.

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the California Real Estate Association sponsored Proposition 14 in the 1964 election to amend the California constitution so that state and local government could not limit the ability of any persons to sell, lease, or rent to whom they chose.¹⁵⁸⁷ The proposition passed, though it was challenged in the courts. In 1968, the federal Fair Housing Act passed, expanding on the 1964 Civil Rights Act and outlawing public and private discrimination in the sale and rental of property on the basis of race, color, religion, and national origin. It also banned discrimination in mortgage and home improvement loans and prohibited the real estate practices of blockbusting, racial steering, and advertising or misrepresenting the status of property for discriminatory purposes.¹⁵⁸⁸

Anti-Miscegenation

California state law has had prohibitions against interracial marriage (also referred to as miscegenation) since California became a state in 1850. The earliest statute banned and nullified existing marriages between whites and “negroes or mulattoes.”¹⁵⁸⁹ With the influx of Chinese migrants during the Gold Rush and later as laborers in the 1860s and 1870s, the 1880 California Civil Code added Mongolians to the list of races for which issuing marriage licenses with a white person was prohibited.¹⁵⁹⁰ The change occurred two years after the state’s constitution was revised with explicit discrimination against Chinese immigrants, and as anti-Chinese sentiment in the state was reaching its apex. Because men formed the majority of the Chinese population, intermarriage between Chinese men and white women was feared as a threat to the purity of the white population. It was also feared that marriage would prompt Chinese immigrants to settle in the United States rather than return to China. As local county officials issued marriage licenses, the law was applied inconsistently and some marriages which were prohibited by law still occurred. In 1905, the California Civil Code was amended at the height of the Yellow Peril anti-Japanese movement to invalidate all marriages between Mongolian and white spouses.¹⁵⁹¹

California’s anti-miscegenation law was explicit in prohibiting the issuance of marriage licenses between Caucasians and the listed races. Interracial marriage between other races was not prohibited, though the meaning of whiteness and the various races remained ill-defined (see the discussion under Citizenship). Over two hundred South Asian men married Mexican or Mexican American women in the Imperial Valley between the 1920s and the 1940s. Apparently, county clerks did not apply anti-miscegenation laws to these couples because they perceived them as racially similar.¹⁵⁹²

¹⁵⁸⁷ “No on Proposition 14: California Fair Housing Initiative Collection,” Graduate Theological Union Archives, Online Archive of California, accessed May 15, 2022, <https://oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/kt0b69q1bw/>.

¹⁵⁸⁸ Lassiter and Salvatore, *Civil Rights in America: Racial Discrimination in Housing*, 66.

¹⁵⁸⁹ Volpp, “American Mestizo,” 801.

¹⁵⁹⁰ Julia Tong, “In California, A Long and Pivotal History of Interracial Marriage,” Ethnic Media Services, January 25, 2023, accessed September 27, 2023, <https://ethnicediaservices.org/mixed-race/in-california-a-long-and-pivotal-history-of-interracial-marriage/>.

¹⁵⁹¹ Volpp, “American Mestizo,” 803.

¹⁵⁹² Leonard, *Making Ethnic Choices*, 109; Shah, *Stranger Intimacy*, 96.

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The inconsistency in application on a county-to-county basis allowed Filipina/o marriages with white spouses for a period from 1921 to about 1930, when the County Counsel of Los Angeles advised that Filipinas/os were of the Malay people. not Mongolians. As the number of Filipino male laborers arriving in California increased significantly in the 1920s, legal challenges about their racial classification, and questions of whether California’s anti-miscegenation laws should apply to them, arose more frequently.¹⁵⁹³ In one of these cases, *Roldan v. Los Angeles*, the California Appellate Court found in 1933 that those from the Philippines were Malays and not Mongolians. Almost immediately, the California State Legislature, in an era of anti-immigration fervor, amended the state anti-miscegenation statutes to include “Malays.”¹⁵⁹⁴

California’s anti-miscegenation statute was finally struck down in 1948 in the case of *Perez v. Sharp*. In the postwar era, where racial attitudes were changing, the California Supreme Court affirmed marriage as a fundamental right and found that restricting that right based on race was in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment’s equal protection clause. With the *Perez v. Sharp* decision, California was the first state to strike down anti-miscegenation laws, with fourteen more states following in subsequent years. Finally, the U.S. Supreme Court invalidated anti-miscegenation laws across the country with their 1967 ruling in *Loving v. Virginia*.¹⁵⁹⁵

Public Schools “Separate But Equal”

As early as 1855, California passed a school law that limited public school to white children.¹⁵⁹⁶ The School Law of 1860 went further and segregated Black, Chinese, and Native American children into separate schools. In August 1859, thirty Chinese parents in San Francisco petitioned the local school board to establish a primary school for their children. The board did not act. They did accept Reverend William Speer’s offer of a room at his Presbyterian church for the school. The Chinese School opened in San Francisco’s Chinatown in 1859, though attendance was low and sporadic in the first years. It closed and reopened a few times in different locations, and the San Francisco School Board closed it in 1871. This was in some ways a response to anti-Chinese attitudes gaining momentum in the 1860s and 1870s, which resulted in changes to the state school code in 1870 and 1872 that removed Chinese students as a group for whom separate schools would be provided. Black and Native American students would remain eligible for separate schools. With this erasure, the public education of Chinese children was in limbo. They were not welcomed in schools for white children, and not eligible for separate but equal schools.

For fourteen years, from 1871 to 1885, Chinese children in San Francisco were denied state-funded educations.¹⁵⁹⁷ Some Chinese families sent their children to alternative options, such as private Chinese language schools run by the community. These schools’ primary intent was to teach traditional Chinese

¹⁵⁹³ Volpp, “American Mestizo,” 813-820.

¹⁵⁹⁴ Volpp, “American Mestizo,” 822; Tong, “In California, A Long and Pivotal History of Interracial Marriage.”

¹⁵⁹⁵ Tong, “In California, A Long and Pivotal History of Interracial Marriage.”

¹⁵⁹⁶ Summarized from Kuo, “Excluded, Segregated and Forgotten,” 181-212.

¹⁵⁹⁷ Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 176.

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culture and values. Another alternative was schools offered by Christian missionaries, who offered English language instruction to adults and children, alongside proselytizing.

Other Chinese parents lobbied for change through their local school boards and at the state level. In 1878, the Chinese community gathered 13,000 signatures to petition the California State Legislature for access to the public school system. They sought either for their children to be admitted to public schools or, as they preferred, to separate schools. Although they were not successful, the *Ward v. Flood* decision from the California Supreme Court in 1874 started to change things. The decision stated that the Legislature could not exclude children from the public education system purely based on race. Relying on the Fourteenth Amendment’s equal protection clause, the state court holding that education was a legal right was groundbreaking, even though it affirmed segregated facilities. As a result, the California State Legislature changed the school law in 1880 by removing the word “white” so that public schools would have to admit all children regardless of race. In the absence of separate schools for Black and Native American students, these students were to be admitted to predominantly white schools.

It took another court case, *Tape v. Hurley*, decided in 1885, for Chinese students to be admitted to the public school system. Mamie Tape, an eight-year-old American-born girl with Chinese immigrant parents, was denied admission to San Francisco public schools. The parents sued the school board, and the California Supreme Court found in their favor that the state school law did not explicitly exclude those of Chinese descent from public schools. The findings opened the way for Mamie Tape to attend a predominantly white school and did not overrule the concept of separate but equal. Instead, the California State Legislature quickly added Chinese students back into the state school laws so that they would be segregated wherever possible, along with Black and Native American students.

Though the separate but equal approach would continue in policy, school boards were required to establish schools for Chinese students or allow them to attend schools with white children. In San Francisco, still home of the largest Chinese population in the state and one with many children, the school board established a new Chinese Primary School in 1885 at 807 Stockton Street (not extant).¹⁵⁹⁸ More students started to attend this school instead of (or in addition to) the private Chinese language schools organized by the Chinese Six Companies and missionary schools. The 1896 San Francisco city directory listed the Chinese Primary School at 920 Clay Street (not extant). By 1923, the average daily attendance was more than 900 students.

Outside of San Francisco, where the Chinese community was smaller in other cities and towns and the population of students was not enough to support separate schools, Chinese students, along with other excluded groups, were expected to be accepted at schools with White students if there was no objection

¹⁵⁹⁸ Per listing in *Langley’s San Francisco Directory* in 1889 and confirmed through review of the 1887 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map.

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from the white parents. Examples in San Jose and Stockton are documented, as well as in Santa Barbara.¹⁵⁹⁹

At this time relatively few students advanced beyond primary school, and provisions for separate Chinese secondary schools in San Francisco were not established. Chinese parents successfully held off attempts to create Chinese-only secondary schools, instead preferring to send their children to junior high and high schools with white students.

The separate but equal measures were challenged to no avail. The Chinese Six Companies continued to argue that the Chinese community paid taxes and did not receive their fair share of benefits in public education. The federal courts held public education to be the purview of states and continued to uphold separate but equal.¹⁶⁰⁰

It took another Asian group, Japanese Americans, to make further progress in California schools. School laws did not specifically exclude or segregate Japanese Americans, so Japanese students at first attended all-white schools if there were vacancies and no parents objected. As the number of Japanese residents grew in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and they replaced Chinese residents as the more visible and growing Asian community, the San Francisco School Board changed the Chinese Primary School into the Oriental Public School in 1906 to include Japanese and Korean students. The Japanese community objected to this segregation, and it almost turned into an international incident. This in part led to the Gentleman's Agreement of 1907 with the San Francisco School Board agreeing to exempt Japanese Americans from segregation requirements as part of the Agreement. The Chinese community tried the same political process, to no avail.¹⁶⁰¹

In 1914, a new Oriental Public School building was constructed on Washington Street between Powell and Stockton Streets (941 Washington Street, extant).¹⁶⁰² By the 1920s, the school, renamed Commodore Stockton School, was overcrowded and an annex was constructed in 1924 across the street at 954 Washington Street (extant).¹⁶⁰³ Alice Fong Yu, the first Chinese American teacher hired by San

¹⁵⁹⁹ Kuo, "Excluded, Segregated and Forgotten," 209; Raymond Douglas Chong, "A Lost Chinatown at Santa Barbara," *Gum Saan Journal* 44 (2022), accessed August 13, 2023, <https://gumsaanjournal.com/resisting-racism-we-are-in-this-together/a-lost-chinatown-at-santa-barbara/>.

¹⁶⁰⁰ Kuo, "Excluded, Segregated and Forgotten," 202-205.

¹⁶⁰¹ Kuo, "Excluded, Segregated and Forgotten," 205-208.

¹⁶⁰² "Deny Protest on Oriental School," *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 20, 1914. The school was renamed Gordon J. Lau Elementary School in 1998, in honor of the first Asian American member elected to the San Francisco Board of Supervisors. The 1906 policy of mandating Asian American students to attend the Oriental School was repealed in 2017. Chinese American Citizens Alliance, "Alliance Commends SFUSD School Board Repeal of Century Old Segregation Rule," press release, February 10, 2017, accessed February 12, 2022, http://www.cacanational.org/CACA_pdf/CACA_Commends_SFUSD_Board_Repeal_2017-02-10.pdf.

¹⁶⁰³ Kuo, "Excluded, Segregated and Forgotten," 209-210. The 1948 Sanborn fire insurance map lists the construction dates for the Commodore Stockton School and its annex.

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Francisco in 1926 and the first in the country in a public school system, taught at the Commodore Stockton School.¹⁶⁰⁴

School enrollment continued to increase and with demand exceeding available space by 1929, Chinese students were allowed to attend Jean Parker and Washington Irving Schools, outside of Chinatown.¹⁶⁰⁵ Strict segregation of elementary schools was no longer enforced in San Francisco, though it took the 1947 federal Ninth Circuit Court of Appeal’s decision in *Mendez v. Westminster School District*, brought by a Mexican American family against a Southern California school district, for California’s separate but equal school laws to be found in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. Two months later, California Governor Earl Warren signed a bill ending school segregation in California, the first state to officially desegregate its public schools.¹⁶⁰⁶ In 1954, the U.S. Supreme Court, presided over by Chief Justice Earl Warren, ended public school segregation nationwide in its ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education*.

Outside of San Francisco, where populations of Chinese residents often could not support separate public schools, Chinese students often attended schools with other racial and ethnic groups, or attended schools with white children if no parents objected.¹⁶⁰⁷ In reality, beyond the elementary school levels, it was not uncommon for Chinese, Japanese, and other Asian American students to attend local junior and senior high schools. With fewer numbers who stayed in school as they advanced, and overall representing a small minority in these predominately white schools, they assimilated into American culture as classmates while still facing discrimination from faculty and fellow students.¹⁶⁰⁸

After World War I, when compulsory education in the United States was introduced, more Asian American students, including many girls, continued their education beyond primary school.¹⁶⁰⁹ Few were encouraged to attend college.

Pan AAPI Activism

Chinese, Japanese, and Filipina/o Christian Student Organizations

In her book *Race, Religion, and Civil Rights: Asian Students on the West Coast 1900-1968*, Stephanie Hinnert documents coalitions that foreign- and native-born Asian students formed around their Christian identities. The Chinese Student and Japanese Student Christian Associations of North America (formed in the early 1920s), along with Filipina/o students’ Christian organizations, had a “vast membership” prior to World War II, and were “among the largest, most diverse, and most active ethnic

¹⁶⁰⁴ Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 191; Din et al., *Chinese American Historic Context Statement*, 30.

¹⁶⁰⁵ Kuo, “Excluded, Segregated and Forgotten,” 210.

¹⁶⁰⁶ “Background – Mendez v. Westminster Re-Enactment,” United States Courts, accessed December 21, 2018, <https://www.uscourts.gov/educational-resources/educational-activities/background-mendez-v-westminster-re-enactment>.

¹⁶⁰⁷ Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 178-179.

¹⁶⁰⁸ Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 180.

¹⁶⁰⁹ Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 189.

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organizations on campuses along the West Coast.”¹⁶¹⁰ Since the mid-nineteenth century, American Protestant missionaries had traveled to Asian countries to convert residents, setting up connections that led young people to study at American universities. College students from Asian countries were the largest group of foreign-born students on the West Coast during the early to mid-twentieth century and took on the role of providing a cultural bridge between the U.S. and their home countries.¹⁶¹¹

Early students were shocked by the “unchristian” racism they observed in the U.S., including within the Young Men and Women’s Christian Associations (YMCA and YWCA). The Y’s policy of segregated facilities meant that foreign students, who often came from elite families, were refused lodging and use of other facilities such as swimming pools.¹⁶¹² Student representatives attending a 1924 conference held at Asilomar conference center in Pacific Grove discussed “the problem of prejudice and lack of cultural understanding in America and in a global context.”¹⁶¹³ In conferences, meetings, discussion groups, and other gatherings, students reckoned with the gap between their new experiences and their previous vision of the U.S. as a Christian nation founded on democratic ideals.

By the late 1920s, second-generation Chinese and Japanese students expanded the membership of Christian student organizations. Together, the members analyzed the deeply racial nature of U.S. society and citizenship. That even with citizenship, the second generation still faced the same discrimination and did not fare better than their parents were harsh realizations for the Asian students.¹⁶¹⁴ Filipina/o students expanded the dialogue centered on racial discrimination to encompass colonialism and imperialism.¹⁶¹⁵

Throughout the 1930s, students from these organizations gathered across California, including at UC Berkeley, Stanford University, Mills College, Asilomar, and several YMCA and YWCA buildings. A 1936 conference at Stanford University brought students together to discuss Alien Land Laws and anti-miscegenation laws as well as “the racial discrimination against the largest minority groups on campus, Japanese, Filipina/o, and African American students.”¹⁶¹⁶ The forced relocation and incarceration of Japanese American students and World War II itself contributed to shifts in the organizations’ activities. A Chinese Christian student retreat at Lake Tahoe in 1943 included attention to the situation of Japanese American students. That same year, Japanese American students at Tule Lake organized a “Little Asilomar” conference and invited other college students to examine the problems of “racism,

¹⁶¹⁰ Stephanie Hinnershitz, *Race, Religion, and Civil Rights: Asian Students on the West Coast 1900-1968* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2015), 2, 10.

¹⁶¹¹ Hinnershitz, *Race, Religion and Civil Rights*, 6-7

¹⁶¹² Hinnershitz, *Race, Religion and Civil Rights*, 31.

¹⁶¹³ Hinnershitz, *Race, Religion and Civil Rights*, 27.

¹⁶¹⁴ Hinnershitz, *Race, Religion and Civil Rights*, 48.

¹⁶¹⁵ Hinnershitz, *Race, Religion and Civil Rights*, 63.

¹⁶¹⁶ Hinnershitz, *Race, Religion and Civil Rights*, 129-130.

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discrimination, poverty, and the role of Christianity in social problems in the United States and around the world.”¹⁶¹⁷

Although many Asian Christian organizations became less active or disbanded after World War II, Hinnershitz argues that they served as a precursor to pan-ethnic activism of the 1960s and that many of their members “continued to promote interracial or culturally pluralistic engagement for the benefit of integration and equality.”¹⁶¹⁸

Asian American Political Alliance

UC Berkeley graduate students Emma Gee and Yuji Ichioka are believed to have coined the term “Asian American” when they named their new organization, the Asian American Political Alliance (AAPA), founded in 1968 at their home at 2005 Hearst Avenue, Berkeley (extant).¹⁶¹⁹ Ichioka and Gee searched for potential members by combing lists of campus political groups for Asian last names. Formed to increase the impact and visibility of Asian American activism, AAPA was more overtly political than other Asian college organizations. It took stands in support of other “Third World” movements, and against the Vietnam War.¹⁶²⁰ Comprised of students and community workers of Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Filipina/o descent, the AAPA joined rallies and boycotts in support of African American, Chicano, and Native American movement goals.¹⁶²¹

UC Berkeley’s AAPA quickly spawned new chapters at UCLA, California State University Long Beach, and San Francisco State College (later San Francisco State University). By 1969, students at East Coast colleges, including Columbia and Yale Universities, were forming counterpart organizations.¹⁶²²

The AAPA was short lived and disbanded in late 1969. Prior to its end, the AAPA chapter at San Francisco State merged with Chicano, Native American, and African American students in the Third World Liberation Front (TWLF), “which identified racism and colonialism as common sources of oppression of people of color in the United States and abroad.”¹⁶²³

¹⁶¹⁷ Hinnershitz, *Race, Religion and Civil Rights*, 164, 158.

¹⁶¹⁸ Hinnershitz, *Race, Religion and Civil Rights*, 142-43, 212-213.

¹⁶¹⁹ Anna Purna Kambhampaty, “In 1968, These Activists Coined the Term ‘Asian American’ – And Helped Shape Decades of Advocacy,” *Time*, May 22, 2020, accessed January 10, 2022, <https://time.com/5837805/asian-american-history/>; “Asian American Political Alliance,” Berkeley Historical Plaque Project, accessed January 10, 2022, <http://berkeleyplaques.org/e-plaque/asian-american-political-alliance-aapa/>.

¹⁶²⁰ Yen Le Espiritu, *Asian American Panethnicity: Bridging Institutions and Identities* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992), 34.

¹⁶²¹ Okihiro, *American History Unbound*, 416, 438.

¹⁶²² Espiritu, *Asian American Panethnicity*, 34.

¹⁶²³ Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 305.

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AAPA joined with the Black Student Union and other student groups to form the Third World Liberation Front to lead the longest student strike in U.S. history at San Francisco State College. Beginning in 1967, as students were already actively protesting the war in Vietnam, the Black Student Union began demanding that the college increase disproportionately low numbers of African American students and adopt a new Black Studies curriculum.¹⁶²⁴ The students called for more relevant and accessible educational content and more service to younger students of color.¹⁶²⁵ Frustration with the college's response led TWLF and Students for a Democratic Society (which objected to the presence of the ROTC on campus) to organize a sit-in in the Administration Building in May 1968. Protests, more sit-ins, and building occupations brought clashes with police amid a campus-wide strike of students and faculty that began on November 6, 1968.¹⁶²⁶ Students gathered daily at noon on a Speaker's Platform then marched to the Administration Building at 1600 Holloway Avenue in San Francisco (extant).¹⁶²⁷ Actor and SFSC alumnus Danny Glover later recalled "the incredible discourse and dialogue that happened between Asian American students and Latino students and black students, and progressive white students."¹⁶²⁸ On December 2, 1968, students posed a truck with sound equipment at the corner of 19th and Holloway Avenues to encourage others to join the strike. Newly appointed SFSC President, S.I. Hayakawa, a semantics professor who took a hard line against the students, climbed on the truck to disconnect the speakers, and was confronted by protestors who pulled his trademark tam o' shanter cap off his head.¹⁶²⁹

The Third World Liberation Front was forced off campus, and established its new headquarters in an office on Larkin Street donated by the Unitarian Church.¹⁶³⁰ The strike lasted several months and finally concluded on March 21, 1969.¹⁶³¹ Among the student demands that college administrators agreed to were the establishment of departments of American Indian Studies, Asian American Studies, Black Studies, and La Raza Studies in a new College of Ethnic Studies, the first in the nation.

Before it disbanded in late 1969, UC Berkeley's AAPA joined forces with African American, Chicano, and Native American groups in the Third World Strike at the university for a Third World College. The goals was to signal a more egalitarian open role for the university responsive to communities who had

¹⁶²⁴ Helene Whitson, compiler, "S.F. State Strike 1968-69 Chronology," FoundSF, accessed January 10, 2022, [https://www.foundsf.org/index.php?title=S.F. STATE STRIKE 1968-69 CHRONOLOGY](https://www.foundsf.org/index.php?title=S.F._STATE_STRIKE_1968-69_CHRONOLOGY).

¹⁶²⁵ Espiritu, *Asian American Panethnicity*. 35; Margaret Leahy, "On Strike! We're Gonna Shut It Down," FoundSF, accessed January 10, 2022, [https://www.foundsf.org/index.php?title=On Strike! We%27re Gonna Shut it Down](https://www.foundsf.org/index.php?title=On_Strike!_We%27re_Gonna_Shut_it_Down).

¹⁶²⁶ Leahy, "On Strike!"

¹⁶²⁷ Helene Whitson, *Strike! A Chronology, Bibliography, and List of Archival Materials Concerning the 1968-1968 Strike at San Francisco State College* (Washington, DC: Educational Resources Information Center, 1977), 2.

¹⁶²⁸ "1968-'69 Campus Scenes from the Strike," *SF State Magazine* (Fall/Winter 2008), accessed January 11, 2022, https://magazine.sfsu.edu/archive/archive/fall_08/strike2.html.

¹⁶²⁹ Whitson, "Strike! A Chronology, Bibliography, and List of Archival Materials," 1977, 29.

¹⁶³⁰ Donna Amador, "Third World Liberation and the Rise of Latino Power," in *The Whole World's Watching: Peace and Social Justice Movements of the 1960s and 1970s* (Berkeley, CA: Berkeley Art Center Association, 2001), 84.

¹⁶³¹ Leahy, "On Strike!"

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been historically excluded.¹⁶³² The SFSC and UC Berkeley protests helped spur the creation of ethnic studies and social justice programs nationwide.¹⁶³³ Among these new educational developments were Asian American studies programs which, according to Yen Le Espiritu, reinforced pan-Asian identity by reinterpreting U.S. history to focus on commonalities among the experiences of disparate Asian American communities.¹⁶³⁴

Battle to Save the I-Hotel (International Hotel)

Among the most visible actions undertaken by a group of pan-Asian activists was the battle to save the International Hotel in San Francisco. The I-Hotel, as it was known, was a single-room occupancy building that housed mostly elderly Filipino and Chinese men, some of whom had lived there for decades. The building, erected in 1907 at 848 Kearny Street, stood within the small Filipina/o enclave known as Manilatown, near Chinatown.¹⁶³⁵ The owners threatened eviction of the low-income tenants in the fall of 1968, inspiring a legion of community activists who fought alongside the tenants newly organized by the United Filipino Association. Asian American and Pacific Islander college students, who had been involved in recent campus strikes, were among the most stalwart warriors in the years-long battle to save the hotel. A coalition of tenants, students, and community activists fought until August 1977, when the final eviction was enforced by police officers. Police used axes and sledgehammers to break down doors and remove the tenants and activists barricaded inside. Although the building was demolished, historian Erica Lee credits the campaign with inspiring other affordable housing efforts in San Francisco’s Japantown and Chinatown, and providing a model for intergenerational, multiethnic, and cross-class organizing that has continued to inspire.¹⁶³⁶

Native Hawaiian

Little research has been found related to activism, civic engagement, or political participation by Native Hawaiians in California between 1850 and 1970. This may be due to the low population numbers, as well as the lack of political mobilization around strong ideologies to motivate Native Hawaiians to organize. The 1970s saw a burgeoning renaissance of the Native Hawaiian identity with reclaiming native language, dances, and heritage practices.¹⁶³⁷ Branches of the Hawaiian Civic Club were established also starting in the 1970s (see Community Serving Organizations).

Chinese American

Discrimination against Asian Americans, written into law and widely practiced, began at the initiation of California’s statehood. The influx of gold seekers from around the world stirred nativist feelings a few

¹⁶³² “The Third World Liberation Front,” The Berkeley Revolution: A Digital Archive of the East Bay’s Transformation in the 1960s and 1970s, accessed January 10, 2022, <https://revolution.berkeley.edu/projects/twlf/>.

¹⁶³³ “Asian American Political Alliance,” Berkeley Historical Plaque Project.

¹⁶³⁴ Espiritu, Asian American Panethnicity. 37.

¹⁶³⁵ James Sobredo, “The Battle for the International Hotel,” FoundSF, accessed January 26, 2022, https://www.foundsf.org/index.php?title=The_Battle_for_the_International_Hotel.

¹⁶³⁶ Lee, The Making of Asian America, 308.

¹⁶³⁷ Ueda, “Los Angeles, Hawaiian Enclaves (California),” 803.

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years into the Gold Rush. The large Chinese population (reported 50,000 strong by 1852) perceived as the most noticeably different—in their race, cultural customs, and labor force organization—to be the target of legislation passed by the newly formed state legislature. Although Chinese laborers were initially praised for their hard work, and even considered for importation to start the difficult task of draining the Sacramento-San Joaquin delta following the passage of the Swamp Act, lobbying from the politically strong mining districts resulted in measures like the Foreign Miners License Tax of 1852 that sought to place an economic burden on Chinese competition. The California State Legislature attempted to restrict Chinese immigration, when federal jurisdiction on immigration had not yet been settled, and limit access to public education for non-white children.

The Chinese community pushed back on these restrictions in the 1850s and 1860s. The main *huigans*—the regional or benevolent associations—unified into the Chinese Six Companies around 1862 in part to act collectively against the anti-Chinese legislation that was appearing at the local, state, and national levels.¹⁶³⁸ They hired lawyers to challenge laws in court and lobbyists to advocate against discriminatory laws, with some success.¹⁶³⁹ They attended and testified at Congressional committees about the injustice of the laws and the contributions the Chinese community made.¹⁶⁴⁰ Without consular representative for the Chinese government (the Qing dynasty at the time) in the United States until the late 1870s, the Chinese Six Companies acted in that capacity for overseas Chinese in the United States in the meantime.

Some in the mainstream white community also resisted the anti-Chinese measures. Pastors of the Presbyterian and Methodist missions helped to dispel uninformed racists views. Others provided supported from an economic perspective, arguing that California's growing agricultural industry needed a large labor force willing to work for low wages. Nonetheless, the prevailing sentiment, fueled by racist political movements like the Workingman's Party, was squarely against the Chinese community.

The 1870s saw an increase in resentment and violence toward Chinese residents during an economic recession. Author John R. Wunder compiled a list of at least sixty California localities where anti-Chinese violence occurred between 1850 and 1910.¹⁶⁴¹ The list is in chronological, then alphabetical order:

1. San Francisco (1852, 1859, 1877)
2. Mariposa (1856)
3. Shasta (1859)
4. Los Angeles (1871)
5. Sacramento (1876)
6. Truckee (1876)

¹⁶³⁸ Hoy, *The Chinese Six Companies*, 7; 10.

¹⁶³⁹ McClain, *In Search of Equality*, 23-25.

¹⁶⁴⁰ McClain, *In Search of Equality*, 36-40.

¹⁶⁴¹ Wunder, *Gold Mountain Turned to Dust*, 21-23.

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7. Chico (1877)
8. Colusa (1877)
9. Grass Valley (1877)
10. Lava Beds (1877)
11. Rocklin (1877)
12. Santa Cruz (1877)
13. Antioch (1878)
14. Linden (1878)
15. Arcata (1885)
16. Crescent City (1885)
17. Eureka (1885)
18. Ferndale (1885)
19. Fresno (1885)
20. Merced (1885)
21. Modesto (1885)
22. Stockton (1885)
23. Anderson (1886)
24. Auburn (1886)
25. Calistoga (1886)
26. Carson (1886)
27. Cloverdale (1886)
28. Dixon (1886)
29. Gold Run (1886)
30. Healdsburg (1886)
31. Hollister (1886)
32. Lincoln (1886)
33. Martinez (1886)
34. Napa (1886)
35. Nevada City (1886)
36. Nicolaus (1886)
37. Oakland (1886)
38. Pasadena (1886)
39. Petaluma (1886)
40. Placerville (1886)
41. Red Bluff (1886)
42. Redding (1886)
43. Saint Helena (1886)
44. San Buenaventura (Ventura) (1886)
45. San Jose (1886)
46. Santa Barbara (1886)
47. Santa Rosa (1886)

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48. Siskiyou (1886)
49. Sonoma (1886)
50. Vallejo (1886)
51. Ventura (1886)
52. Wheatland (1886)
53. Yuba City (1886)
54. Compton (1893)
55. Panamist City (1893)
56. Redlands (1893)
57. Tulare (1893)
58. Ukiah (1893)
59. Vaca Valley (1893)
60. Visalia (1893)

While Chinese residents became targets and scapegoats statewide, they were particularly visible in San Francisco. About 12,000, a quarter of California's Chinese population, lived in San Francisco by 1870, up significantly from under 3,000 in 1860.¹⁶⁴² With the gold mines depleted and the transcontinental railroad completed in 1869, Chinese laborers sought work throughout the state, including in the burgeoning city of San Francisco. Opportunities were available in manufacturing, such as clothing, leather goods, and cigar making. Many entered the commercial laundry trade, as workers as well as business owners. Some entered domestic service as cooks or maids for upper class, generally white households. Others became entrepreneurs, opening businesses that served the growing Chinese community in San Francisco.¹⁶⁴³

Hostility toward the Chinese community manifested as physical violence, with attacks on individuals. More systemic discrimination passed in thinly veiled, anti-Chinese ordinances by the city government. Egged on by organizations such as the Anti-Coolie Association, the San Francisco Board of Supervisors passed ordinances that regulated for minimum room sizes to discourage what was seen as overcrowding of Chinese laborers, as well as against carrying baskets attached to poles across the shoulders that was practiced by Chinese vegetable peddlers and laundry workers. The Board increased licensing fees for Chinese laundry practices, regulated the hours of operation, and limited where laundries could open.¹⁶⁴⁴ Ordinances extended to cutting the hair of convicted prisoners, including Chinese men with queues who were being arrested for violating the other discriminatory ordinances, and requiring consent from the county coroner to disinter the remains of deceased persons, a common practice among the Chinese to return the remains of their compatriots to China.¹⁶⁴⁵

¹⁶⁴² McClain, In Search of Equality, 43.

¹⁶⁴³ McClain, In Search of Equality, 43-44.

¹⁶⁴⁴ Jung, Chinese Laundries, 75-83.

¹⁶⁴⁵ McClain, In Search of Equality, 44-48.

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Chinese Six Companies/Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association

Upset by these measures clearly targeted toward them, the Chinese community organized to challenge anti-Chinese ordinances. Laundry owners hired white lawyers to represent them as the ordinances went into effect and Chinese residents were charged. While lawsuits in court succeeded in nullifying some ordinances, the San Francisco Board of Supervisors and the California Legislature continued with similar laws into the mid-1870s.

In 1882, the Chinese Six Companies established the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA, incorporated in California in 1901) that served the needs of the Chinese community internally. The group established schools, arranged final burials in China, and represented the Chinese American community's interest within wider American society.¹⁶⁴⁶ The CCBA employed private policemen and watchmen to guard San Francisco's Chinatown in the early years, kept track of the number of Chinese Americans in the western U.S. by periodic registrations, and fought anti-Chinese laws enacted by city, state, and federal governments through protests, appeals, and memorials, as well as through the courts by hiring legal counsel. Between the 1850s and the 1900s, at least twenty-five laws, statutes, and regulations aimed at restricting the civil rights of people of Chinese descent in the United States were enacted collectively by the three levels of government.¹⁶⁴⁷ The Chinese Six Companies, through CCB, fought against these laws and provided legal support to plaintiffs such as Wong Kim Ark, who challenged his detention and pursued his case about birthright citizenship to the U.S. Supreme Court in 1897-1898.¹⁶⁴⁸

Chinese American Citizens Alliance

Although it continued to be an important organization for the Chinese community, the CCBA's influence started to wane in the early twentieth century with the aging of the first generation and the coming of age of the second generation. A new organization, the Chinese American Citizens Alliance (CACA), started to take on the battles around immigration and political engagement in the 1910s. The Alliance was founded in 1895 in San Francisco as a fraternal organization of U.S.-born Chinese men called the Native Sons of the Golden State before reorganizing under a new charter and new name in 1915.¹⁶⁴⁹ Membership was limited to U.S. citizens. CACA involved itself with immigration procedures of its members. They provided affidavits to confirm citizenship and relation of immigrants. Later, it also endorsed candidates running for elected office at local and national positions. The organization lobbied government representatives in support of or opposition to various bills affecting the Chinese community.

¹⁶⁴⁶ Hoy, *The Chinese Six Companies*, 7, 27.

¹⁶⁴⁷ Hoy, *The Chinese Six Companies*, 21-22.

¹⁶⁴⁸ Chinese American Citizens Alliance, "*United States v. Wong Kim Ark*, Impact After 120 Years," press release, April 2, 2018, accessed February 11, 2022,

http://www.cacanational.org/CACA_pdf/news_release_Wong_Kim_Ark_120_Years_Later.pdf.

¹⁶⁴⁹ "About Us – History," Chinese American Citizens Alliance, accessed February 12, 2022,

<http://www.cacanational.org/htmlPages/history.html>. The original name of the organization may have been a reference to the Native Sons of the Golden West, founded two decades earlier.

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They encouraged the community to vote and produced a list of recommended candidates that the organization endorsed.¹⁶⁵⁰

Local chapters or lodges formed in Oakland, Los Angeles, San Diego, and Fresno, with chapters outside of California in Portland, Chicago, Pittsburgh, Detroit, and Boston. The building housing the national headquarters was completed at 1044 Stockton Street in San Francisco (extant) by 1920. In the mid-twentieth century, more lodges opened in San Antonio, Houston, Albuquerque, Tucson, Phoenix, Washington DC, New York, Sunnyvale, and Sacramento.¹⁶⁵¹

The official newspaper of CACA was the *Chinese Times*, founded in 1924. It created a “death benefit fund” in 1920 to fill the need for insurance, as discriminatory requirements by insurance companies left Chinese Americans unable to obtain life insurance. Upon the death of a lodge brother, payment was made to the member’s widow and family from assessments collected from the surviving lodge members. By 1947, liberalization of insurance regulations had progressed so that members no longer needed to offer this benefit and the program ceased. In 1977, women were admitted to CACA as members for the first time.

Transnational Political Involvement

In the late nineteenth through the early twentieth century, China was an empire in decline. The Qing dynasty, the ruling government, had been weakened by external Western imperial interactions that resulted in war and unequal trade treaties since the mid-nineteenth century. Internal strife with civil war and peasant rebellions exacerbated the Qing government’s decline as it struggled with modernizing in a changing world. The 1895 loss to a more modernized and militarized Japan in the First Sino-Japanese War signaled a need for change. The Chinese imperial government ceded part of Manchuria, four ports, Taiwan, and the Pescadores to Japan, along with influence in Korea that ultimately allowed Japan to declare Korea a protectorate in 1903.¹⁶⁵²

Some in China sought to reform the Qing government from within by encouraging the emperor, Guangxi, to modernize China’s educational system and national defense. A coup within the government, led by the Empress Dowager CiXi who had the nominal power of the throne, resulted in the exile of the reformers’ leaders, Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao. Fleeing to Canada, the two organized the Protect the Emperor Society, also known as the Chinese Empire Reform Association (*Bao Huang Hui*) that gained a wide following among Chinese immigrants in the United States in the early twentieth century. Chapters formed in Hawai‘i and across the continent, with a short-lived Western Military Academy at

¹⁶⁵⁰ Alyssa Tou, “A Brief Look at the Work of the Chinese American Citizens Alliance,” Stanford Libraries, May 11, 2020, accessed February 12, 2022, <https://library.stanford.edu/blogs/special-collections-unbound/2020/05/brief-look-work-chinese-american-citizens-alliance>.

¹⁶⁵¹ “About Us – History,” Chinese American Citizens Alliance.

¹⁶⁵² Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 158; Ron Soodalter, “How an American Helped the Chinese Revolution,” *MHQ – The Quarterly Journal of Military History* 32, no. 1 (Autumn 2019), accessed February 21, 2022, <https://www.historynet.com/soldier-of-misfortune.htm>.

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several training centers in California. Support for reforming the corrupt Qing government waned, especially after the death of Guangxu and Empress Dowager CiXi in 1908 and the elevation of Guangxi’s two-year-old nephew as emperor.¹⁶⁵³

Others in China sought revolution to overthrow the empire. The revolutionaries were led by Sun Yat-sen, who had moved to Hawaii from Guangdong in the early 1880s and studied at a mission school, embraced Christianity, and learned the concepts of Western democracy. His early attempts to organize forces to overthrow the imperial government in 1894 were unsuccessful and led to his exile abroad. His escape from Qing authorities in 1896, who tried to abduct him in London and bring him back to China, resulted in Western media attention that painted him as a hero and enabled him to relaunch his movement. As he toured the United States in the aftermath, including stops at several cities and towns throughout California, his public appearances drew thousands of eager Chinese American supporters who raised funds for his efforts to overthrow the imperial government.¹⁶⁵⁴

In 1911, the revolutionaries succeeded in overthrowing the imperial government and declared the establishment of the Republic of China. Sun Yat-sen was elected as provisional president. His party was the National People’s Party (*Kuomintang* or KMT), also known as the Nationalists. The KMT established local chapters throughout the United States in cities and towns with concentrations of Chinese residents.

The Republic of China, with its capital in Nanjing in the south rather than Beijing in the north, was unable to unify the country under its control. Though still the nominal government, feuding warlords rose to control different parts of China by the mid-1910s.¹⁶⁵⁵ The 1920s was a period of lawlessness in a fragmented China. In the late 1920s, a new Nationalist leader emerged. Chiang Kai-shek was a protégé of Sun Yat-sen. Between 1926 and 1928, he led a campaign to defeat the warlords and consolidate control of China under the Nationalists. Though Chiang had been supported by the Chinese Communist Party, he purged leftist labor activists from his ranks in 1927 and drove what remained of the Communist Party into the mountains where they waged guerrilla warfare against the Nationalists.¹⁶⁵⁶

At the same time, Japan continued its military expansion hoping to take advantage of China in disarray. Japan received the German concessions in Shandong province in the 1919 Treaty of Versailles in the aftermath of World War I. In 1931, Japan seized Manchuria and the following year, attached Shanghai, though Chinese resistance forced them to retreat. Chinese Americans followed what was happening in China and were uncertain how to help.¹⁶⁵⁷

¹⁶⁵³ Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 158-159; Soodalter, “How an American Helped the Chinese Revolution.”

¹⁶⁵⁴ Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 160-161.

¹⁶⁵⁵ Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 161; “The Chinese Revolution of 1911,” Office of the Historian, United States Department of State, accessed February 21, 2022, <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1899-1913/chinese-rev>.

¹⁶⁵⁶ Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 197-198.

¹⁶⁵⁷ Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 198.

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Japanese aggression escalated, overpowering the Nationalist army and conquering the Nationalist government's capital in Nanjing in 1937, and capturing Hong Kong in 1941. Chinese Americans rallied to raised money and supplies for the Nationalists, helped to train aviators in private, Chinese American-owned aviation schools, and bring attention to the Second Sino-Japanese War.¹⁶⁵⁸ One of the more successful campaigns was organized to halt shipments of scrap metal to Japan that could be used for munitions, which gained the support of labor unions like the International Longshoremen and the Warehousemen's Union. The unions joined forces with the Chinese War Relief Association, American Friends of China, and the Church Foundation to initiate a national embargo on all war materials to Japan. In 1941 (before the bombing of Pearl Harbor), the United States Congress authorized President Franklin D. Roosevelt to halt sale of arms and certain raw materials outside the western hemisphere.¹⁶⁵⁹ These efforts to support China from afar helped to fuel a sense of political unity among the Chinese community in the United States, with pioneering immigrants, recent immigrants, and the American-born generations active in the efforts.¹⁶⁶⁰

Though Japan occupied nearly all of China's major cities by 1940, the Second Sino-Japanese War did not gain much attention in mainstream America until Japan attacked Pearl Harbor in December 1941. With the United States at war with Japan, the image of Chinese and Chinese Americans suddenly shifted with Nationalist China as an ally and Japan and Japanese Americans demonized as the enemy.¹⁶⁶¹ Chinese Americans and white supporters lobbied to overturn the Chinese Exclusion Act in this period as public perception changed. The wife of Chiang Kai-shek, Meiling Soong, often called Madame Chiang Kai-shek, was invited by President Roosevelt to visit the U.S. From a wealthy Chinese Christian family and fluent in English, she came in November 1942 to rally support against Japan. In 1943, she toured the country with stops in New York, Wellesley (where she attended college), Boston, Chicago, San Francisco, and Los Angeles, where she spoke to captivated audiences at various venues, including the Hollywood Bowl. She also spoke to a joint session of Congress, and she and her husband were on the cover of *Time* magazine. After her tour, Senator Warren Magnuson introduced the bill to repeal the Chinese Exclusion Act, which passed in December 1943. Though it ended the 60-year ban on Chinese laborers, Chinese immigrants were subject to the quotas of the 1924 Immigration Act and limited to 105 immigrants a year. The Magnuson Act also finally granted Chinese immigrants who had entered the country the right to become naturalized citizens, a meaningful advancement in changing the national laws on race-based naturalization (see Citizenship section).¹⁶⁶²

After World War II, sentiments toward Chinese Americans remained positive. Revolution in China again shifted public perceptions. In 1949, the Chinese Communist Party forces under Mao Zedong defeated Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist military and systematically took control of mainland China as

¹⁶⁵⁸ Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 217-218.

¹⁶⁵⁹ Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 216-219.

¹⁶⁶⁰ Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 221; Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 240.

¹⁶⁶¹ Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 223.

¹⁶⁶² Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 225-227.

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they gained ground from the north toward the south. The Nationalist government fled to the southeast offshore island of Taiwan and re-established the Republic of China (ROC) there with the claim of it as the legitimate government of China. The Chinese Communists established the People’s Republic of China (PRC) on the mainland with its capital in Beijing.

Those with financial means and those who were the most targeted by the Communist government—bureaucrats, those in business, intellectuals—also left China for Hong Kong, Taiwan, and abroad. Chinese students studying in the United States, usually hailing from the more privileged classes, found themselves suddenly without a country.¹⁶⁶³ Later, as they became more prominent in their fields and as the Cold War raged, many were prohibited from leaving the United States for fear of their sharing national security knowledge.¹⁶⁶⁴

Cold War politics dictated transnational politics for Chinese Americans from 1949 until 1972, when President Richard Nixon visited mainland China. During this period, the U.S. federal government, as part of its containment strategy, decided to protect the ROC in Taiwan and use it as a base to combat communism in Asia. It recognized ROC as the legitimate government of China, supported its inclusion in the United Nations, and established diplomatic, economic, and military relationships with the Nationalist government-in-exile on the small island. Chinese immigrants arriving to the United States after the 1949 were more likely to be from Taiwan or Hong Kong, still a British protectorate, than from mainland China. During the Korean War, the U.S. government instituted a trade embargo against the PRC for its support of North Korea, which prevented American money from entering China. By early 1951, remittances from Chinese Americans to relatives in mainland China (including Hong Kong) were banned.¹⁶⁶⁵

Within Chinese American communities, both the Nationalists and Communists had supporters. Some, like the Chinese Workers Mutual Aid Association, celebrated the establishment of the communist PRC.¹⁶⁶⁶ The U.S. government monitored labor groups, like the Chinese Hand Laundry Alliance, as anti-Communist sentiments and the rise of McCarthyism in the 1950s led to increasing suspicion of Chinese communist activities in America. Other left-wing organizations like the China Youth Club and the *China Daily News* were also subject to surveillance.¹⁶⁶⁷ Into the 1950s, during and after the Korean War and into the height of anti-Communist hysteria in the U.S., more of the Chinese American community came under scrutiny for no reason other than because China was ruled by a Communist party. In 1956, forty major Chinese American associations were subpoenaed for their membership records and accounts of their income. Harkening back to an earlier era of targeting, Chinese American

¹⁶⁶³ Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 243-244.
¹⁶⁶⁴ Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 253.
¹⁶⁶⁵ Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 249.
¹⁶⁶⁶ Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 245.
¹⁶⁶⁷ Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 247-248.

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leaders appealed to politicians for a help and challenged the subpoena in court, which succeeded when a federal judge called it a “mass inquisition.”¹⁶⁶⁸

In another notorious incident, the U.S. consul in Hong Kong in late 1955 released a report that accused the Chinese American community of orchestrating passport and visa fraud, among other things. Referring to the paper son phenomena, the accusation led the U.S. government to start a “confession program,” which encouraged those who had migrated illegally to voluntarily confess. In San Francisco, some 10,000 Chinese residents confessed, and all except one percent were permitted to stay. A few were deported due to their political activities.¹⁶⁶⁹

Relations between the United States and the PRC improved following President Nixon’s trip to China in 1972. The United Nations had recently voted to seat the PRC delegation in place of the ROC delegation from Taiwan as a signal of the acceptance of PRC’s legitimacy as representing China.¹⁶⁷⁰ Diplomatic relations and the opening of travel between the United States and mainland China would take decades to fully normalize, during which time migration from Taiwan and Hong Kong still accounted for most of the immigration of ethnic Chinese to the United States after the 1965 immigration reforms.

Chinese Americans in Elected Office

Chinese Americans began entering into elected politics in California in the 1950s and 1960s. March Fong Eu served on the Alameda County Board of Education in the 1950s before her 1966 election to the California State Assembly. She was the second AAPI member of the state legislature, following Korean American Alfred Song’s 1961 election. Eu was the U.S.-born daughter of Chinese immigrants who operated a hand-wash laundry in the San Joaquin Valley town of Oakdale and later a similar business in San Francisco. She received her bachelor’s degree in dental hygiene at UC Berkeley, a master’s degree at Mills College, and a doctorate in education at Stanford University. Eu served in the California State Assembly from 1966 to 1974. In 1974, she was elected as California’s Secretary of State, the first Asian American elected to a statewide office and the first woman to serve in that office. She was re-elected five times and resigned in 1994 when President Bill Clinton nominated her as ambassador to the Federated States of Micronesia.¹⁶⁷¹

Tom Horn was first elected to the San Diego City Council in 1963. Horn’s father was a Chinese immigrant whose David Produce Company eventually became the largest produce wholesaler in San

¹⁶⁶⁸ Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 251-252.

¹⁶⁶⁹ Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 250-252.

¹⁶⁷⁰ “Rapprochement with China, 1972,” Office of the Historian, United States Department of State, accessed September 26, 2023, <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1969-1976/rapprochement-china>.

¹⁶⁷¹ Claudia Luther, “March Fong Eu, Pioneering Asian American Politician Who was Longtime California Secretary of State, Dies at 95,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 22, 2017; “A History of Asian Americans in the California Legislature,” California Asian American and Pacific Islander Legislative Caucus, accessed September 26, 2023, <https://aapilegcaucus.legislature.ca.gov/history-asian-americans-california-legislature#:~:text=A%20total%20of%2041%20Asian,and%20%20in%20the%20Senate>.

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Diego. Horn and his siblings inherited the business after their father’s passing, and Horn also entered the real estate business before entering politics. In 1968, he became the third AAPI member of the California State Assembly and was later the founding president of the Gaslamp Quarter Association that helped to revitalize downtown San Deigo around historic preservation.¹⁶⁷²

Japanese American

Japanese immigrants and their descendants engaged in political activities in various ways and to various ends. Early organizations often sought to protect immigrants’ rights in the face of anti-Asian discrimination and sought support from the government of Japan and the U.S. legal system. Progressive and radical activists in the pre-World War II period sought change in their country of birth and in the U.S. Activism in the post-war period lost focus on Japan and continued the earlier duality between political activism within and outside of the system.

Early Organizations

The Japanese Association was the most important political organization for *Issei* in the United States, who lacked rights as non-citizens and faced discrimination. Originally founded to “expand the rights of Japanese subjects and to maintain the Japanese national image,” the association functioned in a transnational capacity, serving as an intermediary to support Japanese immigrants in the U.S. on behalf of Japanese government, as well as performing other community functions.¹⁶⁷³

The first organization of this type was founded in 1891 by the Japanese consul in San Francisco as the short-lived Greater Japanese Association.¹⁶⁷⁴ As anti-Japanese sentiment increased after 1900, increasing numbers of local councils were established in areas throughout California that held numbers of *Issei*. In 1905, they joined with the San Francisco council to form United Japanese Deliberative Council of America, which in 1908 became the Japanese Association of America. Central bodies, which functioned under the Japanese consulates, oversaw regions with multiple local associations that provided direct service to immigrants. These included assisting those in need of bureaucratic functions from the Japanese government, such as certifying their status in the U.S. and to help with authorizing emigration by family members.¹⁶⁷⁵

In addition to serving as a proxy for the Japanese government, Japanese Associations also actively countered the growing anti-Japanese sentiment. Their publications, such as *Statistics Relevant to Japanese Immigration and the Japanese in California* (1920) or *What is Japan Fighting For? The Truth About the Sino-Japanese Conflict* (1937) sought to educate Americans about Japan and Japanese

¹⁶⁷² Melissa Mecija, “First Asian American Elected to San Diego City Council Reflects on Life,” ABC 10 News San Diego, posted May 24, 2021, accessed September 26, 2023, <https://www.10news.com/news/local-news/first-asian-american-elected-to-city-council-reflects-on-life-in-san-diego>.

¹⁶⁷³ Niiya, *Japanese American History*, 187.

¹⁶⁷⁴ Ichioka, *The Issei*, 157.

¹⁶⁷⁵ “Japanese Association,” *Densho Encyclopedia*, accessed March 24, 2022. <https://encyclopedia.densho.org/Japanese%20associations>.

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immigrants. Their important gate-keeping role also gave the Japanese Associations leverage in their quest to exert social control over immigrants in order to present an acceptable image to the American public. Local associations knew members of the nearby Japanese community well and could threaten to blacklist those they considered immoral, or whose conduct might damage the reputation of the immigrant community.¹⁶⁷⁶

The Japanese Association of America’s 1913 pamphlet, *The Proposed Land Bills: The Other Side*, announced their growing role in the fight against legal discrimination. The Association participated in several lawsuits that tested the alien land laws and naturalization laws. Local associations raised funds for lawyers’ fees, while committees of the central bodies coordinated policy and hired appropriate counsel.¹⁶⁷⁷ After passage of the 1924 National Origins Quota Act, which effectively banned immigration from Japan, the Association’s role as government proxy in establishing which *Issei* could send for family members became moot and their influence began to diminish.¹⁶⁷⁸

Progressive and Radical Issei

While most immigrants were focused on the substantial task of making a living in their new country, some were engaged in radical political organizing. The most prominent early Japanese radical in the U.S. was Sen Katayama, who immigrated to the U.S. in 1884 to study theology. Lack of funds diverted him to menial jobs where he met some Japanese political refugees before continuing his education, which culminated in a degree from Yale. After returning to Japan in 1897, Katayama helped organize the first trade union in the country. He returned to the West Coast briefly in 1904 when he organized branches of the Japanese Socialist Association in San Francisco and Los Angeles while travelling as a delegate to the Congress of the Second International in Amsterdam. After returning to Japan to continue writing and organizing, he was imprisoned again after a 1912 streetcar strike in Tokyo. He returned to California after his release in 1914. The following year, he organized the Japanese Labor Federation of America and founded the publication *Heimin* (Commoner). In 1919, Katayama was a founding member of the Communist Party USA and remained in the U.S. for a time. He endured government harassment, including being rounded up in one of the infamous “Palmer Raids” that targeted “subversives.” Katayama emigrated to the Soviet Union in 1921, where he lived until his death in 1933. Karl Yoneda chaired his memorial service organized in San Francisco at the Japanese Association Hall.¹⁶⁷⁹

The early *Issei* radicals included a group of Japanese men who arrived in San Francisco after serving a Japanese prison sentence for protesting the 1904-1905 Russo-Japanese war. Among them was Kotoku Shisui, a Japanese anarchist who shared an interest with the other former prisoners in learning from the International Workers of the World, which had recently formed in the U.S. as a revolutionary industrial

¹⁶⁷⁶ Niiya, Japanese American History, 185-86.
¹⁶⁷⁷ Niiya, Japanese American History, 188.
¹⁶⁷⁸ “Japanese Associations,” Densho Encyclopedia.
¹⁶⁷⁹ Yoneda, *Ganbatte*, 67.

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union.¹⁶⁸⁰ After the 1906 earthquake and fire in San Francisco, the group moved to Oakland and Berkeley. There, they formed the Social Revolutionary Party, which published calls to action from their headquarters at 2459 Parker Street in Berkeley (not extant).¹⁶⁸¹

Legal scholar Mari Matsuda describes the source of *Issei* radicals' worldview. "Active political study, professional organizers, mass circulation of Japanese-language progressive newspapers, and participation in multi-racial leftist formations made it possible for these *Issei* to turn their natural understanding of the unfairness of life on the bottom into political activism."¹⁶⁸²

Distinctions between political and labor organizing were immaterial to radical *Issei* such as Saidichi Kenmotsu, a founder of the LA Japanese Workers Association. In 1926, Kenmotsu began publishing *Class War* in San Francisco, which became the official publication of the Japanese Workers of America. San Francisco police arrested him at a 1929 anti-war demonstration at the Chinese Consulate organized by the Communist Party and turned him over to immigration authorities. After being bailed out by the International Labor Defense, Kenmotsu spoke the next day at another anti-war meeting held at Post and Buchanan Streets in Japantown.¹⁶⁸³ Arrested the following year at a strike meeting in El Centro, Kenmotsu was tried and sentenced to be deported to Japan where he would have suffered severe consequences for his socialism. Instead, he left San Francisco for the Soviet Union; presumably one of the seventeen Japanese "comrades" Karl Yoneda described as being able to seek asylum there between 1931 and 1934 through aid raised by sympathetic political radicals in the U.S.¹⁶⁸⁴

Japanese Americans in California joined the Communist Party and participated in their activities, though not in large numbers. In the 1930s, the Communist Party USA actively worked to form "Japanese sections" in California. Member of the Japanese community became involved in efforts to raise awareness of injustices such as the Scottsboro Boys trial, which prompted activists in Los Angeles to create and distribute a Japanese/English flyer decrying the racially biased rape charges against nine young African American men in Alabama.¹⁶⁸⁵ Although Japanese Americans were a relatively small number of the nearly 3,000 multi-racial membership of Los Angeles' Communist Party, they were over-represented compared to the population at large. Kurashige writes that while one in 5,000 U.S. residents were Party members, one out of 650 Japanese Americans were members of the CPUSA.¹⁶⁸⁶

¹⁶⁸⁰ Yamada, *The Japanese American Experience*, 6; Karl G. Yoneda, "A Brief History of U.S. Asian Labor," *Political Affairs*, September 1976, accessed January 15, 2022, <https://digital.library.pitt.edu/islandora/object/pitt%3A31735066228093/viewer#page/2/mode/1up%20accessed%20Jan%2015>.

¹⁶⁸¹ Yamada, *The Japanese American Experience*, 6

¹⁶⁸² Mari Matsuda, "Japanese American Progressives: A Case Study in Identity Formation," in *Trans-Pacific Japanese American Studies: Conversation on Race and Racializations*, eds. Yasuko Takezawa and Gary Y. Okihiro (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2016), 350.

¹⁶⁸³ Yoneda, *Ganbatte*, 28

¹⁶⁸⁴ Yoneda, *Ganbatte*, 50.

¹⁶⁸⁵ Kurashige, "Organizing From the Margins," 211.

¹⁶⁸⁶ Kurashige, "Organizing from the Margins," 213.

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In the early twentieth century, the Communist Party was a central target for state repression and members spent a great deal of time and resources responding to arrests and incarceration by organizing rallies, raising funds, legal defense, and negotiating with immigration officials. “Japan Nights” fundraisers in San Francisco and Los Angeles were among the activities that drew police attention. Karl Yoneda describes a Japan Night held at the San Francisco Fillmore Workers Center in 1934, which drew 800 people who enjoyed Japanese drama and singing as well as poetry readings by Langston Hughes.¹⁶⁸⁷ In February 1933, a multi-racial crowd of over 400 gathered at Hollywood’s John Reed Club to raise funds through a night of cultural performances. The Los Angeles Police Department’s “Red Squad” closed down the event, vandalized the building, and arrested Karl Yoneda as the event organizer.¹⁶⁸⁸

While progressive organizers faced daunting challenges, they persisted especially as Japan engaged in increasing acts of military aggression in the 1930s. Yoneda’s autobiography recounts the work he and other *Nikkei* activists undertook to counter Japan’s militarism and growing fascism. Their activism included printing and distributing thousands of leaflets aimed for Japanese naval ships docking in California, organizing dozens of protests against Japan’s military actions, and supporting boycotts of Japanese-made goods.¹⁶⁸⁹

The Nisei Young Democrats, a group of about forty members at UC Berkeley, organized protests in the Bay Area against supplying scrap metal to Japan. One of the organization’s founders, Ernie Iiyama, was among those who testified at the March 1942 Tolan hearings on the possibility of removing *Nikkei* from the West Coast, held in San Francisco at the National Register-listed U.S. Post Office and Courthouse (95 7th Street, extant).¹⁶⁹⁰ Iiyama described the club’s history of anti-fascist activities as a way to demonstrate their shared political ideology and commitment to American values.¹⁶⁹¹ Many progressive and radical *Nisei* championed the war effort as part of the fight against fascism. Journalist Shuji Fujii, who had publicly attacked some Japanese community leaders for unfair labor practices, aligned with them in promoting American patriotism during World War II. Within a few hours of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Fujii’s Los Angeles-based publication, *Doho*, issued an encouragement to all Japanese Americans to pledge their loyalty to the U.S.¹⁶⁹²

¹⁶⁸⁷ Yoneda, *Ganbatte*, 69.

¹⁶⁸⁸ Kurashige, “Organizing from the Margins,” 226.

¹⁶⁸⁹ Yoneda, *Ganbatte*, XIV, 28, 90.

¹⁶⁹⁰ The U.S. Post Office and Courthouse was listed in the National Register of Historic Places under that name. It was renamed the James R. Browning U.S. Courthouse in 2005. “James R. Browning U.S. Courthouse,” General Services Administration, accessed October 8, 2022, <https://www.gsa.gov/about-us/regions/welcome-to-the-pacific-rim-region-9/buildings-and-facilities/california/james-r-browning-us-courthouse>.

¹⁶⁹¹ “Oral history interview with Chizu Iiyama and Ernest Satoshi Iiyama,” Florin Japanese American Citizens League Oral History Project, Oral History Program, California State University, Sacramento, 2000, California Revealed, accessed October 8, 2022, <https://californiarevealed.org/do/027bdfee-8cf4-41a0-9596-8463a35dc9b9>.

¹⁶⁹² Jonathan van Harmelen, “Shuji Fujii and the Hidden Lives of Japanese American Communists,” *Discover Nikkei* (July 2021), accessed December 10, 2021, <http://www.discovernikkei.org/en/journal/2021/7/27/8678/>.

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Japanese American Citizens League (JACL)

Widely recognized as Japanese Americans' most powerful civil rights organization, the Japanese Americans Citizens League's (JACL) roots go back to San Francisco in 1918 when a small group of college-educated *Nisei* met as the American Loyalty League. Organized in 1923 by a number of Japanese Associations, the statewide League had faded by the late 1920s.¹⁶⁹³ Yet an organization was needed to represent the interests and goals of American-born *Nisei*, as distinct from the *Issei*-focused efforts of the Japanese Association. By 1929, the JACL was founded to "foster good citizenship and civic participation."¹⁶⁹⁴ The organization's first national convention was held in 1930 in Seattle, illustrating the fact that interest in its goals spanned the West Coast.

As the prominence of Japanese Associations dwindled, and the second generation came of age, chapters of the JACL grew. Like the Japanese Association, the JACL was founded to counter anti-Japanese xenophobia by emphasizing the loyalty and patriotism of the community, which was increasingly becoming *Nisei*-led. Open only to American citizens, the JACL's initial focus was on reversing laws that had been harmful to the *Issei* generation. Their first campaign was to repeal the 1922 Cable Act, which stripped citizenship from American women who married men ineligible for citizenship. The second was to secure citizenship for Asian veterans of World War I. Both tasks required lobbying the U.S. Congress; by 1935, they had been successfully resolved.¹⁶⁹⁵

JACL founders such as attorney Saburo Kido and dentist Thomas Yatabe were professionals and attracted other members of the *Nisei* elite to the organization. The *Pacific Citizen*, published out of Saburo Kido's home and law office at 1623 Webster Street (not extant) in San Francisco's Japantown, became the JACL's voice in 1932.¹⁶⁹⁶ The organization's politics of the time has been described as "very conservative and staunchly Republican," and would not have appealed to *Nisei* who were active in labor issues, or were not interested in the JACL's focus on American patriotism.¹⁶⁹⁷ Raising political awareness and encouraging voting were among the chapters' goals. Local chapters organized meetings that were social events where *Nisei* could discuss common issues. Pre-World War II community directories listed JACL chapters in Brawley, Gardena, Los Angeles, San Gabriel Valley, San Luis Obispo, Santa Maria Valley, and Tulare County in Southern California. Northern California chapters are listed in Oakland, San Mateo, Gilroy, San Juan Bautista, Watsonville, Salinas, Monterey, Santa Rosa,

¹⁶⁹³ Niiya, *Japanese American History*, 182-193.

¹⁶⁹⁴ "JACL History," Japanese American Citizens League, accessed March 28, 2022, <https://jacl.org/history>.

¹⁶⁹⁵ Niiya, *Japanese American History*, 183.

¹⁶⁹⁶ Niiya, *Japanese American History*, 181. 1623 Webster Street is listed as Kido's law office in the 1941 *Japanese American Directory*, 10.

¹⁶⁹⁷ Niiya, *Japanese American History*, 183; "Japanese American Citizens League," *Densho Encyclopedia*, accessed March 23, 2022, <https://encyclopedia.densho.org/Japanese%20American%20Citizens%20League>.

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Vacaville, Sacramento, Florin, Newcastle, Marysville, Colusa, Walnut Grove, Isleton, Stockton, Lodi, Livingston, Parlier, Reedley, and Visalia.¹⁶⁹⁸

The JACL and Kido, who served as the organization's president during World War II, became controversial when they cooperated with federal surveillance of the Japanese community. Kido hired Utah-born Mike Masaoka as the organization's executive secretary in 1941, shortly after Masaoka wrote the "Japanese American Creed," a paean to the "innumerable benefits" the U.S. had bestowed upon *Nisei*.¹⁶⁹⁹ These acts, which were undertaken out of fear that *Nikkei*'s loyalty would be doubted otherwise, led to Kido's later assessment that JACL membership "dwindled down to only about 10 active chapters and about 1,700 members.... It was no longer a matter of pride to belong to the JACL, but rather a thing to be shunned."¹⁷⁰⁰ Kido himself was swept up in antipathy toward *Nikkei* who were suspected of being *inu*, or traitors. While incarcerated with his family at Poston concentration camp, Kido was a prominent advocate for the JACL's positions, including that *Nisei* be given the opportunity to show their loyalty by military service. In 1943, Kido was attacked and beaten by a group of men and hospitalized for nearly a month. His wife, Mine, remembered the incident later, "The attack on Saburo was the climax to months of continual tension within the camp."¹⁷⁰¹

JACL leaders like Masaoka were among the first to enlist in the all-*Nisei* 442nd Regimental Combat Team and criticized those who answered "no" to required loyalty questions about renouncing allegiance to Japan and willingness to serve in combat duty in any theater. For many *Nikkei*, this was an untenable position and they answered "no" to both questions; *Issei* were asked to sever ties to the only country that offered them citizenship and *Nisei* were asked to fight on behalf of a country that was suspicious of them, and perhaps against relatives in Japan. In 1943, the "No-No's" were moved to the Tule Lake War Relocation Center facility, which became a segregation center for all *Nikkei* deemed disloyal. The JACL even suggested that *Nisei* who gave a "No-No" response and refused military service be charged with sedition. This stance, along with the JACL's reluctance to support legal challenges to the federal program of mass incarceration, placed the organization in opposition to *Nikkei* who were working to underscore *Issei* civil rights and *Nisei* citizenship rights under the pressures of war.¹⁷⁰²

Although still suspect to many Japanese Americans in the post-World War II years, the JACL became even more prominent as it solidified its place in Washington D.C. as a national voice for *Nikkei* and their concerns. Masaoka went from being the JACL's public relations agent there during World War II to

¹⁶⁹⁸ Listings are from *The Rafu Shimpo Yearbook and Directory 1940-1941* (Los Angeles: Rafu Shimpo, 1940) and from *The Japanese American Directory 1941* (San Francisco: Japanese American News Inc., 1941).

¹⁶⁹⁹ "Japanese American Creed," Denso Encyclopedia, accessed April 1, 2022,

https://encyclopedia.densho.org/Japanese_American_Creed/.

¹⁷⁰⁰ Niiya, *Japanese American History*, 183.

¹⁷⁰¹ Letter from Mine Harada to Mrs. Evans dated 29 March 1944 in Harada Collection, Riverside Metropolitan Museum.

¹⁷⁰² "Japanese American Citizens League," and "Loyalty Questionnaire," Denso Encyclopedia, accessed April 1, 2022, https://encyclopedia.densho.org/Japanese%20American%20Citizens%20Leaguehttps://encyclopedia.densho.org/Loyalty_questionnaire/

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becoming a key lobbyist for JACL-sponsored legislation such as the Japanese American Evacuation Claims Act of 1948 and the 1952 Immigration and Naturalization Act (McCarran-Walter Act). The JACL also lobbied to repeal California's Alien Land Laws, and to overturn legislation that supported segregation and immigration restrictions based on race, as well as laws prohibiting interracial marriage. According to Brian Niiya, "by the mid-1960s, the JACL firmly established itself as the only recognized organization representing the political interests of Japanese Americans."¹⁷⁰³

Activism During World War II

Political engagement and activism took many forms for Japanese Americans during World War II, nearly all which were imposed on them by circumstances of forced relocation and incarceration.

The refusal of four Japanese Americans—Mitsuye Endo, Fred Korematsu, Gordon Hirabayashi, and Minoru Yasui—to comply with various orders during the prelude to incarceration led to four important legal cases all of which made their way to the U.S. Supreme Court. Two of the events that precipitated those cases occurred in California. The first was inspired by the State of California's decision to question the loyalty of Japanese American employees in January 1942, even before Executive Order 9066 became law, before ultimately firing all employees of Japanese descent in spring 1942. One of those fired was Mitsuye Endo, a young *Nisei* who worked at the California Department of Motor Vehicles (1220 N. Street, extant) in Sacramento. Endo joined more than sixty state employees who worked with a lawyer brought in by the JACL, James Purcell, to challenge their dismissal.¹⁷⁰⁴

Purcell quickly determined that they should instead challenge the unconstitutional mass incarceration program. To do so, he needed one of the employees to step forward as the face of his proposed habeas case. To find her, Purcell sent a survey to the fired state employees. In Endo's responses, Purcell later reflected, he had found "the ideal candidate." In addition to having a brother serving in the U.S. Army, Endo was a Methodist (what many deemed an "American religion") and she had never been to Japan. As Endo recalled later in her life, Purcell thought she "represented a symbolic, 'loyal' American."¹⁷⁰⁵

While the government initially imprisoned Endo and her family at Tule Lake, Purcell filed a petition for a writ of habeas corpus on her behalf in San Francisco federal district court. After the government moved the Endo family to Topaz, in 1943, worried about the threat her case posed to the entire detention program, the government offered her release to moot her case and make it go away. The offer was conditional upon her not returning to the West Coast, which remained off-limits to Japanese Americans. She rejected the government's offer and remained at Topaz for almost two additional years. The case, *Ex*

¹⁷⁰³ Niiya, Japanese American History, 183.

¹⁷⁰⁴ "Mitsuye Endo," Densho Encyclopedia, accessed April 25, 2022, https://encyclopedia.densho.org/Mitsuye_Endo/, accessed November 16, 2023, [Ex parte Mitsuye Endo \(1944\) | Densho Encyclopedia](#).

¹⁷⁰⁵ Amanda L. Tyler, *A Loyal American: How One Woman Sacrificed her Freedom to Close the World War II Japanese American Detention Camps* (forthcoming). Shannon Cecil Turner Professor of Law at UC Berkeley School of Law, Professor Tyler's research and teaching interests include the Supreme Court, federal courts, constitutional law, legal history, civil procedure, and statutory interpretation.

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parte Mitsuye Endo, was ultimately decided in Endo's favor by the U.S. Supreme Court in December 1944. It did not address the fundamental abrogation of constitutional rights that wartime detention based on race had created.¹⁷⁰⁶ The decision only determined that the government had no right to detain loyal citizens such as Endo under the relevant military regulations. Not coincidentally, a public proclamation rescinding the exclusion orders was issued by the Roosevelt administration the day before the Court's decision was handed down—on a Sunday.¹⁷⁰⁷

Bay Area native Fred Korematsu, like Hirabayashi and Yasui, refused to comply with Executive Order 9066 believing that as “an American citizen, I had as many rights as anyone else.”¹⁷⁰⁸ He did not accompany his family from their San Leandro home and flower nursery to the hastily organized assembly center at Tanforan Racetrack. The twenty-two-year-old Korematsu remained with his Italian American girlfriend and attempted to evade the increasing exclusion orders that constrained movements of enemy aliens in the defense industry-rich San Francisco Bay Area. He was arrested, arraigned at the San Francisco U.S. Post Office and Courthouse, and imprisoned in May 1942.¹⁷⁰⁹ Ernest Bessig, an American Civil Liberties Union lawyer, invited Korematsu to be a test case for their challenge to various aspects of the constitutionality of Executive Order 9066. From Topaz, Korematsu continued to appeal his conviction, which went to the U.S. Supreme Court alongside the case of Endo and just one year after the cases of Hirabayashi and Yasui. The Court heard arguments in the Korematsu and Endo cases in October 1944 and in December, a Court majority upheld Korematsu's conviction for violating the military exclusion orders, while declining to reach broader questions about the constitutionality of the mass incarceration program. Three justices dissented and argued that Korematsu's constitutional rights had been violated and that his treatment, like that of all people of Japanese ancestry, had been motivated by racial discrimination.¹⁷¹⁰

In 1982, forty years after their convictions, newly discovered documents led Korematsu, Hirabayashi, and Yasui to file a writ of error, *coram nobis*, to overturn wrongful convictions due to governmental misconduct such as withholding evidence or presenting false information. The materials found by legal scholar Peter Irons were used by a team of young lawyers to show that evidence supporting the government's argument of “military necessity” was false and that criticisms by staff from the FBI and other agencies at the time were erased from the record. In November 1983, Korematsu argued his case in a packed courtroom in the Northern California U.S. District Court in the Federal Building at 450 Golden Gate Avenue in San Francisco (extant). U.S. District Judge Marilyn Patel arranged for the event to be held in the building's large Ceremonial Courtroom to accommodate the many who wished to

¹⁷⁰⁶ Niiya, *Japanese American History*, 134-45.

¹⁷⁰⁷ Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 240-241.

¹⁷⁰⁸ Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 234.

¹⁷⁰⁹ “Japanese Aliens: Bay Evacuation Test Cases Appear in Court,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 14, 1942.

¹⁷¹⁰ “Korematsu v. United States,” *Densho Encyclopedia*, accessed April 26, 2022

https://encyclopedia.densho.org/Korematsu_v._United_States/.

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observe the historic proceeding.¹⁷¹¹ Patel's ruling vacated Korematsu's criminal conviction, laying the groundwork for the vacating of the convictions of both Yasui and Hirabayashi petitions as well and influencing passage of the federal Civil Liberties Act of 1988.¹⁷¹²

Mitsuye Endo's legacy was more complex and is less well known. At least two scholars are working to change this. Amanda L. Tyler, Shannon Cecil Turner Professor of Law at UC Berkeley School of Law, considered Mitsuye Endo's case among others in her 2019 *Habeas Corpus in Wartime: From the Tower of London to Guantanamo Bay*. Forthcoming is *A Loyal American: How One Woman Sacrificed her Freedom to Close the World War II Japanese American Detention Camps*. In his 2016 book, *The Great Unknown: Japanese American Sketches*, University of Quebec, Montreal history professor Greg Robinson titled his biographical essay of Endo, "Mitsuye Endo: plus grand dans son obscurité?"

Endo's legacy—like those of Korematsu, Yasui, and Hirabayashi—is one of heroism and tremendous self-sacrifice. She was also the only Japanese American litigant to challenge outright the United States government's unconstitutional mass incarceration of Japanese Americans during World War II and the only Japanese American litigant to win her case in the Supreme Court. It was her case—and her victory before the Supreme Court—that prompted President Franklin Delano Roosevelt after prolonged resistance to announce the closing of the camps in December 1944. Throughout the extended life of her case, she remained an active partner with Purcell, exchanging correspondence on the state of conditions at the camps, and eagerly awaiting news of court proceedings. When the offer of release came her way, she wrote to Purcell that she would stay the course, aware that her case had a "bearing on... all Japanese-Americans who are eager to go back to their homes in the Western Defense Command area." Years later, she put it this way, "The fact that I wanted to prove that we of Japanese ancestry were not guilty of any crime and that we were loyal American citizens kept me from abandoning the suit."¹⁷¹³

Because the Supreme Court ultimately decided her case so narrowly, her case is rarely studied in law schools and has been rarely cited by the Supreme Court. It was Endo's case that finally closed the camps, and in so doing, the Supreme Court's opinion rejected stereotype-driven assertions about loyalty. Borrowing heavily from President Roosevelt's February 1943 speech announcing the opening up of military service to Japanese Americans, in *Endo*, Justice William Douglas wrote, "*Loyalty is a matter of the heart and mind, not of race, creed, or color.*"¹⁷¹⁴ At the time—three years after the attacks on Pearl Harbor—the camps still detained some 85,000 persons.

Law professor Tyler notes Endo's case began a conversation among the justices about finally applying equal protection principles to the United States government (with Justice Douglas having considered

¹⁷¹¹ Karen Kai, who served on the legal team with her husband Robert Rusky, shared the information about use of the Ceremonial Courtroom. Electronic communication with Donna Graves, April 29, 2022.

¹⁷¹² Kai communications with Graves; Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 395-96.

¹⁷¹³ Tyler, *A Loyal American*.

¹⁷¹⁴ Tyler, *A Loyal American*.

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writing the *Endo* opinion that way). As historian Greg Robinson has written, Endo’s case also “prefigured a whole series of postwar cases striking down racist state laws, and was referred to as precedent in a multitude of petitioner and *amicus* briefs in civil rights cases, most notably the NAACP briefs in the epochal 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* School desegregation cases.”

As Robinson also notes, “in a further irony, even after her long-sought victory, Mitsuye Endo (later Mitsuye Tsutsumi) did not return to the West Coast, and was not able to obtain court-ordered compensation for losing her job.”¹⁷¹⁵ Instead, following her release from the camps, she went to Chicago to meet her family and soon-to-be husband, taking a job in the City’s Human Rights Commission and raising a family.

In the years that followed, Endo, ever humble, rarely spoke of her case, and granted few interviews. In one interview, looking back on the case some thirty years later, she said, “I showed people what I could do.”¹⁷¹⁶ Unlike Korematsu, Yasui, and Hirabayashi, Mitsuye Endo Tsutsumi has not received the Presidential Medal of Freedom. Many continue to advocate that her extraordinary heroism and self-sacrifice warrant such recognition.

Post-War Progressives

Although the JACL was the most prominent political voice for Japanese Americans, their vision did not align with many *Nikkei* activists of the post-war period. Historian Scott Kurashige notes that the state power enforced through forced relocation and incarceration “had a chilling effect on activism” in the post-war years. *Issei* were concerned about FBI surveillance and growing anti-Communist repression.¹⁷¹⁷ Activism continued and, in some cases, encompassed multi-racial organizing, especially among Japanese Americans and African Americans in San Francisco’s Japantown and Los Angeles’ Little Tokyo, which became known as Bronzeville during World War II because of the influx of Black defense workers. Pilgrim House, a youth services agency in Little Tokyo, established a Common Ground Committee of Caucasians, Japanese and Negroes in 1945, which supported conflict resolution among community leaders and organized public meetings on social issues. *Nisei* Samuel Ishikawa was hired to work with founding director, Reverend Harold Kingsley, at the Pilgrim House’s first home at 150 N. Los Angeles Street. After that building was demolished to clear land for the new police complex, the organization moved to 600 E. First Street (not extant). Pilgrim House’s multi-racial alliance was unusual as returning Japanese Americans and African Americans found themselves in competition for residential and business space under a system of racial segregation.¹⁷¹⁸ Mari Matsuda describes her

¹⁷¹⁵ Greg Robinson, “Ex parte Mitsuye Endo (1944),” *Densho Encyclopedia*, accessed November 16, 2023, [Ex parte Mitsuye Endo \(1944\) | Densho Encyclopedia](#).

¹⁷¹⁶ Tyler, *A Loyal American*.

¹⁷¹⁷ Kurashige, *The Shifting Grounds of Race*, 184.

¹⁷¹⁸ Kurashige, *The Shifting Grounds of Race*, 172-174. Addresses are from “Little Tokyo/Bronzeville, Los Angeles, California,” *Densho Encyclopedia*, accessed March 29, 2022, https://encyclopedia.densho.org/Little_Tokyo_/Bronzeville,_Los_Angeles,_California/#Return_to_Little_Tokyo.

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grandparents' post-war activism with the Los Angeles Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, a multi-racial organization that fought politically motivated deportations.¹⁷¹⁹

Nisei like Oakland-born Richard Aoki picked up the mantle of socialism carried by their elders. A self-taught scholar of Marxism, Aoki identified as a revolutionary socialist, joined the Young Socialists of America, and in 1964 founded a Socialist discussion group at Oakland's Merritt College where he met Huey Newton and Bobby Seale, founders of the Black Panther Party. Aoki was one of the first members of the Party after its founding in 1966.¹⁷²⁰

Nisei Progressives

The organization Nisei Progressives was formed in 1948 in Los Angeles by men and women who had organized support for third-party presidential candidate Henry Wallace the previous year. Wallace, the Progressive Party candidate, was a pioneer in his outreach to communities of color and insistence on integrated rallies and meetings. Founded with a January 26, 1949 conference at the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles, Nisei Progressives adopted a platform including stands on naturalization and immigration, fair housing and employment, and ending the House Un-American Activities Committee.¹⁷²¹ Locally, members participated in actions to resist Little Tokyo evictions for construction of new civic buildings, while their broader positions encompassed ending restrictive housing covenants and building more affordable housing, as well as creating a new Fair Employment Practices Committee. Committed to furthering the "economic, political and social rights" of Japanese Americans, Nisei Progressives also proposed then-radical ideas such as repeal of alien land and anti-miscegenation laws, a ban on nuclear weapons, and reparations for *Nikkei* incarcerated in U.S. World War II concentration camps.¹⁷²²

During the early 1950s, Nisei Progressives actively defended radical *Issei* who were being targeted for deportation and was the only Japanese American organization to protest the McCarran-Walter Act (1952 Immigration and Nationality Act) for its anti-Communist tenets and for perpetuating racial discrimination through its quota system. Like other leftist groups, Nisei Progressives became a target for FBI surveillance and harassment, which led to the organization's end in 1952. At its peak, Nisei Progressives had chapters in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago, and New York and is estimated to have had approximately 200 members.¹⁷²³

Nisei Activism and the 1960s

¹⁷¹⁹ Matsuda, "Japanese American Progressives," 346.

¹⁷²⁰ Diane Fujino, "Race, Place, Space and Political Development: Japanese-American Radicalism in the 'Pre-Movement' 1960s," *Social Justice* 35:2 (2008), 69-70.

¹⁷²¹ "Nisei Progressives," Denso Encyclopedia, accessed March 27, 2022, <https://encyclopedia.densho.org/Nisei%20Progressives>.

¹⁷²² Kurashige, *The Shifting Grounds of Race*, 184-85; "Nisei Progressives," Denso Encyclopedia.

¹⁷²³ "Nisei Progressives," Denso Encyclopedia.

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Japanese American activism in student organizations and in the ethnic studies strikes of 1968-1969 is documented elsewhere in this document. Many participants expanded their work to new forms of activism and the establishment of community serving organizations. Edison Uno, often credited as the father of the redress movement, had taught courses on Japanese American history at San Francisco State College and organized protests against the school's conservative president, S.I. Hayakawa, also a *Nisei*, in 1969.¹⁷²⁴ The same year, Uno, Warren Furutani, Jim Matsuoka, Mori Nishida, and others organized the first pilgrimage to Manzanar on December 28-29. A group of about 150 mostly young people traveled together from Los Angeles to restore the Manzanar cemetery and to draw attention to efforts to repeal the 1950 Emergency Detention Act, the Cold War-era act influenced by the World War II imprisonment of Japanese Americans that authorized the federal government to detain any person suspected of espionage.¹⁷²⁵ By the late 1960s, anti-war and civil rights activists were concerned that the act might be used to incarcerate protestors in concentration camps. Activists from the Asian American Political Alliance and a few Japanese American Citizens League members argued publicly that Japanese Americans had a special responsibility to speak out against such measures.¹⁷²⁶ The 1969 Manzanar Pilgrimage inspired other annual camp pilgrimages and was a fundamental catalyst for the Redress movement.

Redress Movement

The year after the Manzanar Pilgrimage, Uno and others introduced a resolution at the JAACL's 1970 national convention calling for legislation to compensate Japanese Americans for the wrongs committed by the U.S. government during World War II. The successful movement for redress was fought over many years and involved numerous individuals and organizations that occurred well after 1970.

It is worth noting the California-specific organizations and major events that occurred in this battle. Three national organizations fought for redress and reparations: the JAACL; the National Council for Japanese American Redress, which started in Seattle and relocated to Chicago; and the Los Angeles-based National Coalition for Redress and Reparations (NCRP). NCRP members were local *Nikkei* who had been active in the fight against redevelopment of Los Angeles' Little Tokyo. NCRP was established in July 1980 and held a conference at California State University, Los Angeles with wartime dissident Gordon Hirabayashi as keynote speaker.¹⁷²⁷

Of note for this California-based study are the hearings held in 1981 by the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians in San Francisco and Los Angeles. The Commission, a bipartisan

¹⁷²⁴ "Finding Aid for the Edison Uno Papers, 1964-1976," UCLA Library Special Collections, Online Archive of California, accessed October 8, 2022, https://oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/ft9t1nb4jd/entire_text/.

¹⁷²⁵ "Emergency Detention Act, Title II of the Internal Security Act of 1950," Denso Encyclopedia, accessed October 8, 2022, https://encyclopedia.densho.org/Emergency_Detention_Act,_Title_II_of_the_Internal_Security_Act_of_1950/.

¹⁷²⁶ Naomi Hirahara and Heather C. Lindquist, *Life After Manzanar* (Berkeley, CA: Heyday Books, 2018), 100. Niiya, *Japanese American History*, 225, 131.

¹⁷²⁷ "National Coalition for Redress/Reparations," Denso Encyclopedia, accessed March 12, 2022, https://encyclopedia.densho.org/National_Coalition_for_Redress/Reparations/.

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federal body, explored the implementation and impacts of Executive Order 9066. Over 150 people, including elected officials, historians, and formerly incarcerated Japanese Americans, gave testimony at the Los Angeles hearings that took place August 4-6, 1981, at the Los Angeles State Building (300 South Spring Street, renamed Ronald Reagan State Building, extant) and the Little Tokyo Towers (455 East Third Street, extant).¹⁷²⁸ NCCR pressured the hearing organizers to include Japanese translators so that *Issei* and *Kibei* would feel comfortable testifying. The San Francisco hearings took place at Golden Gate University August 8-11 and included a theologian, a psychologist, attorneys, and U.S. military veterans. Both hearings drew overflow crowds.¹⁷²⁹

The redress movement culminated in the 1988 Civil Liberties Act that granted reparations of \$20,000 and a formal apology from President Reagan to every surviving U.S. citizen or legal resident of Japanese descent who was incarcerated.¹⁷³⁰

Japanese Americans in Elected Office

Japanese Americans entered elected political office in California in the late 1960s. Norman Mineta began his illustrious political career when he was elected student body president of San Jose High School in 1948.¹⁷³¹ In 1967, he became the first non-white member of the San Jose City Council. Three years later, Mineta was elected mayor and became the first Asian American mayor of a major U.S. city. In 1975, he campaigned and won election as the first Japanese American member of Congress from the forty-eight states; three Japanese Americans had been elected to represent Hawai‘i earlier, starting with Daniel Inouye in 1963. Mineta was reelected nine times and served over two decades in Congress. He played a central role in authoring the Civil Liberties Act of 1988. In 2000, Mineta became the first Asian American Cabinet member when President Bill Clinton appointed him as Secretary of Commerce. The following year, newly elected President George W. Bush selected Mineta to serve as Secretary of Transportation.¹⁷³²

Robert Takeo Matsui’s career as a public servant began on the Sacramento City Council in 1971 and he was elected vice-mayor in 1977. In 1978, he was elected to the House of Representatives, only the second Japanese American from the U.S. mainland and the first *Sansei* in Congress. As a freshman Congressman, Mr. Matsui found himself immediately thrust into the emerging movement for Japanese

¹⁷²⁸ “A Guide to The Commission on the Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians (CWRIC) Los Angeles Hearings Video Collection,” Visual Communications Archive and Media Resource Library, Los Angeles 1981, Online Archive of California, accessed April 4, 2022, <https://oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/c8xp75pg/>.

¹⁷²⁹ William Minoru Hohri, *Repairing America: An Account of the Movement for Japanese-American Redress* (Pullman, WA: Washington State University Press, 1988),111-118.

¹⁷³⁰ “Civil Liberties Act of 1988,” Densho Encyclopedia, accessed September 23, 2023, https://encyclopedia.densho.org/Civil_Liberties_Act_of_1988/.

¹⁷³¹ Mineta grew up in San Jose’s Japantown. His childhood home still stands at 545 N Fifth Street (extant) between the historic Issei Memorial Building/Kuwabara Hospital and the more recent Japanese American Museum of San Jose.

¹⁷³² “Life and Times of Norman Y. Mineta,” Mineta Legacy Project, accessed April 4, 2022, <http://minetalegacyproject.com/timeline/>.

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American redress and reparations. In 1979, along with senior congressional members Senator Daniel Inouye (D-Hawaii), Senator Spark Matsunaga (D-Hawaii), and U.S. Representative Norman Mineta (D-San Jose, CA), Mr. Matsui proposed the creation of a Blue Ribbon Commission to investigate the World War II incarceration. In 1980, President Jimmy Carter signed the bill that created the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians (CWRIC). On January 3, 1985, Representative Robert Matsui gave a powerful speech on the floor of the U.S. House of Representatives calling for redress and reparations for Japanese Americans. Mr. Matsui served thirteen consecutive terms as the Congressman from the Sacramento region before passing away on New Year's Day, 2005. In a special election in March 2005, Doris Matsui was elected to her late husband's Congressional District seat.¹⁷³³

Other early *Nikkei* elected officials include Paul Takeo Bannai who became a member of Gardena City Council in 1972 and the following year won a seat in the California State Legislature. In 1980, he was appointed as Executive Director of the Commission on Wartime Internment and Relocation.¹⁷³⁴ Floyd Mori gained a seat on the Pleasanton City Council in 1972, became mayor in 1974, and in 1975 successfully ran for California State Assembly. Mori went on to national leadership roles in the Asian Pacific American Institute for Congressional Studies and the Japanese American Citizens League.¹⁷³⁵

Korean American

Political engagement for Korean residents in California prior to World War II revolved around opposing Japanese colonization and fighting for Korean independence. Many of the earliest Korean social and community organizations in Hawai'i and California had independence as a primary focus. According to scholar Bong-youn Choy, the first political organization on the U.S. mainland was the Mutual Assistance Association (*Gong-rip Hyeop-hoe*) founded in 1905 in San Francisco, which published the *Gong-rip Sinpo* newsletter and had branches in Los Angeles, Riverside, and other areas.¹⁷³⁶ In 1907, another political organization was established in San Francisco called the Great National Protection Association (*Dae-dong Bo-guk-hoe*). These organizations served Korean immigrants and provided mutual aid.

Korean National Association

Mutual aid associations consolidated in 1909 into the Korean National Association (KNA) under Ahn Chang Ho after their unified efforts to raise support and legal aid funds for two Korean nationalists who assassinated Durham W. Stevens in San Francisco. Stevens was an American advisor to the Japanese government who had spoken positively about the Japanese occupation of Korea. The KNA's original

¹⁷³³ "Biography of Robert Takeo Matsui (1941-2005)," The Honorable Robert T. Matsui Legacy Project: Road to Redress and Reparations, accessed November 16, 2023, [Honorable Robert T. Matsui Legacy Project: Road to Redress and Reparations \(csus.edu\)](https://www.honorablematsui.org/).

¹⁷³⁴ "Paul Bannai," Densho Digital Repository, accessed April 4, 2022, <https://ddr.densho.org/narrators/123/>.

¹⁷³⁵ "Finding Aid for Floyd Mori Papers," Japanese American National Museum, Online Archive of California, accessed April 4, 2022, http://pdf.oac.cdlib.org/pdf/janm/mori_floyd.pdf.

¹⁷³⁶ Choy, *Koreans in America*, 114. Note, the English spelling of Korean names and titles in Choy's book, published in 1979, differs from the revised Romanization that has been accepted since 2000 and which is used in this document.

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purposes were “to promote educational and business development in the Korean community, to advocate freedom and equality among the Korean people, to look after the welfare of the Koreans in America, and to work for the restoration of national independence.”¹⁷³⁷

The KNA grew to become the primary political organization within the pioneer generation of Korean immigrants. By the late 1930s, it was headquartered in Los Angeles and had seventeen branches throughout the United States, including Hawai‘i; Cuba; and Mexico.¹⁷³⁸ It had modified its platform by then to focus even more on Korean independence, noting, “The purpose of the Association shall be to promote the common well-being of Koreans and to push forward the independence movement to restore our father land, while respecting freedom and equality.”¹⁷³⁹

Though the KNA represented the interests of the Korean community in the United States, it did not take on the role of opposing the racial discrimination experienced by the community. As East Asians, they faced the same segregation and prohibitions in housing, employment, and access to services as the Chinese and Japanese communities. Also falling under the category of “aliens ineligible for citizenship,” Korean immigrants did not qualify for citizenship and were prevented from owning land under California’s Alien Land Laws that targeted the Japanese community.¹⁷⁴⁰

The American-born children of the immigrant generation, with citizenship rights, formed the Korean American Citizens’ Club in the 1930s, similar to the Chinese American Citizens Alliance or the Japanese American Citizens League. While the loose organization concerned itself with the responsibilities of American citizenship, like local and federal governmental issues, the club did not last long and did not have the same impact as the Chinese and Japanese organizations.¹⁷⁴¹

Other Early Political Organizations

A few other political organizations from before 1930 are worth noting. The Korean Women's Patriotic League (*Taehanin Yoja Aeguktan*) formed in 1919 from several existing women’s organizations. These included the Korean Women’s Society, started in 1908 in San Francisco to provide educational and social services to Korean immigrants; the Korean Women’s Association, founded in Sacramento in 1917 with the purpose of aiding the KNA and boycotting Japanese goods; and the Women’s Friendship Association, started in 1919 in Los Angeles to promote friendship among Korean women and support social and cultural activities. In May 1919, the Korean women’s groups around California met in Dinuba and decided to merge into one group, the Korean Women’s Patriotic League. The organization’s main purposes were to support the Korean independence movement in cooperation with KNA, raise an independence fund, boycott Japanese goods, and promote educational and relief work for needy Koreans

¹⁷³⁷ Choy, *Koreans in America*, 115.
¹⁷³⁸ Givens, “The Korean Community in Los Angeles County,” 61.
¹⁷³⁹ Choy, *Koreans in America*, 115.
¹⁷⁴⁰ Choy, *Koreans in America*, 107-109.
¹⁷⁴¹ Givens, “The Korean Community in Los Angeles County,” 62.

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in the United States and Korea. Their work consisted of fundraising, including for scholarships for Korean students. The Korean Women's Patriotic League did not have their own building, sharing the KNA's building on Jefferson Boulevard in Los Angeles.¹⁷⁴²

Another political organization was the Comrade Society (*Dong-je Hoe*), founded by Syngman Rhee around 1921. The purpose of the organization was to support the Korean provisional government in Shanghai. It published the *Pacific Weekly* pamphlet and had branches in Honolulu, Los Angeles, Chicago, and New York. Its headquarters building was on North King Street in Honolulu, with another at 2716 Ellendale Place in Los Angeles. The Comrade Society increasingly became the political party of Rhee, especially once he became the president of the Republic of Korea (South Korea) in 1948. After his ouster in 1960, the Society's membership declined drastically.¹⁷⁴³

A third political party founded by an early Korean leader was the League of Korean Independence (*Dongnip-Undong*) established by Park Yong-man in 1919. Its main purpose was to support the national independence movement of Korea by organizing and training an army. It published the *Pacific Times*. The League ended with Park's assassination in China in 1928.¹⁷⁴⁴

Leftist Organizations

In the late 1930s, left-wing political organizations emerged within the Korean community in response to Japan's 1937 invasion of China. In Honolulu, the Sino-Korean People's League started in 1938 (dissolved in 1945) while in Los Angeles, Korean progressive leaders organized the China-Aid Society in 1939.¹⁷⁴⁵ The China-Aid Society boycotted Japanese goods and protested at piers where scrap metal was being sent to Japan that would be used for weapons. The Korean traditional nationalists of the KNA and Comrade Society did not support such visible anti-Japanese measures, for fear of offending American authorities and businesses, and felt such efforts were Communist-inspired tactics.¹⁷⁴⁶

The China-Aid Society changed its name to the Korean Volunteer Corps Aid Society in China in 1941, and again to the Korean People's Revolutionary Party in 1943, becoming the American chapter of the party that had its headquarters in Chungking, China. Its members were from all aspects of the Korean community. The group published the *Independence* in Los Angeles that reported extensively on North Korean affairs after World War II.¹⁷⁴⁷

World War II and Korean War Period

With Japanese military aggression in Asia and war underway in Europe, the Korean community in the United States banded together. At the urging of community leaders, Korean residents registered as

¹⁷⁴² Choy, *Koreans in America*, 119-120.

¹⁷⁴³ Choy, *Koreans in America*, 118-119.

¹⁷⁴⁴ Choy, *Koreans in America*, 117-118.

¹⁷⁴⁵ Choy, *Koreans in America*, 120.

¹⁷⁴⁶ Choy, *Koreans in America*, 169.

¹⁷⁴⁷ Choy, *Koreans in America*, 120-121.

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Koreans, and not as Japanese subjects, under the Alien Registration Act of 1940, which was accepted by the Alien Registration office. Anticipating that the United States would be drawn into a conflict that would result in the defeat of the Japanese Empire, the various Korean social and political organizations formed the United Korean Committee in April 1941. Among the groups involved were the KNA, Korean Women’s Patriotic Society, Comrade Society, and the Korean Volunteer Corps Aid Society in China (later renamed the Korean People’s Revolutionary Party).¹⁷⁴⁸ The United Korean Committee represented the diplomatic interests of the Korean provisional government in China and Korean residents of the United States. It sent representatives to Washington D.C. to convince American authorities not to treat Koreans as enemy aliens after Japan attacked Pearl Harbor. The State and Treasury Departments issued orders that Koreans in the United States were not citizens of Japan and should enjoy the same treatment accorded citizens of other allied nations. The United Korean Committee issued identification badges with the Korean flag as protection against anti-Japanese harassment.¹⁷⁴⁹

Syngman Rhee was appointed the committee’s chairman. Disagreements among the leadership and between conservative and progressive factions fractured the unity. By the end of World War II, no organization was recognized as wholly representing the Korean interest, and none was allowed to participate in the United Nations Conference held in San Francisco in 1945.¹⁷⁵⁰

In the aftermath of World War II, the Allied powers divided the Korean peninsula into two spheres of influence. In the north, Kim Il-Sung became the leader of the Soviet-backed Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (North Korea), while in the south, Syngman Rhee became the president of the Republic of Korea (South Korea) with support from the United States government.¹⁷⁵¹ This artificial division played out against the backdrop of what transitioned into the Cold War after World War II. North Korean movement into South Korean territory in 1950 started the Korean War (1950-1953) that extended U.S. military involvement in Asia and served as a proxy for the global ideological conflict.

According to Choy, the Korean residents in the U.S., numbering about 12,000 in the 1950s, had mixed feelings about the Korean War. They fell into three groups. One group, mostly supported by KNA and Young Korean Academy (*Heung Sa Dahn*) members, viewed it as a civil war of a divided country and did not take sides. Another group, supported by Syngman Rhee’s Comrade Society (*Dong-ji Hoe*), saw it as a war of ideology between democracy and communism and backed Rhee’s government in the south. The third group, supported by the handful of Korean National Revolutionary Party members, regarded the war as American imperialism against Asian peoples’ nationalism and sided with the north. Those in the third group were viewed with suspicion by the more conservative elements of the Korean community, accused of being Communists, and placed under surveillance by U.S. authorities. A few

¹⁷⁴⁸ Choy, *Koreans in America*, 169-171.

¹⁷⁴⁹ Choy, *Koreans in America*, 169-173.

¹⁷⁵⁰ Choy, *Koreans in America*, 178-181.

¹⁷⁵¹ Choy, *Koreans in America*, 182.

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were deported and made their way to North Korea through Czechoslovakia and other European Communist countries.¹⁷⁵² The Korean National Revolutionary Party in the United States disbanded in 1955.¹⁷⁵³

With the armistice ending fighting in 1953, the status quo remained on the Korean peninsula. Syngman Rhee stayed president of South Korea until 1960, when student demonstrations against his authoritarian regime led to his removal from office and exile to Hawai'i. Korean students also staged peaceful demonstrations at the Korean consulate building in Los Angeles and the consul general's office in San Francisco in support of the student protests. During his tenure, Rhee's agents monitored Korean residents who were against him and attempted to influence the social, student, and religious organizations in the United States. With his removal, many pro-Rhee leaders in California's Korean community retired and the organization most associated with him, the Comrade Society (*Dong-ji Hoe*), was no longer considered an effective political group.¹⁷⁵⁴

The KNA also underwent a transition in the postwar years. Without Korean independence as a unifying goal, it was no longer the primary organization to which much of the Korean community belonged. A group, led by Charles Ho Kim, Harry S. Kim, and Warren Y. Kim from Reedley, and with sponsorship from Leo Song, established the Korean Center in 1960 to promote unity among Koreans in the United States and recruit young members as new leaders. By 1962, they had purchased the Danish Hall at 1359 W. 24th Street (extant) in Los Angeles for their center. The Korean Center transformed into the Korean Association of Southern California in 1968 with Dr. Cho Yong-sam as the first president. The association acquired the office building at 981 S. Western Avenue in Los Angeles in 1975. Because of its close ties with the South Korean government, some Korean residents did not trust the association, and it did not gain the same type of widespread support that KNA had in the pre-World War II years.¹⁷⁵⁵

As the Korean community in California grew after the 1965 immigration law changes, new and different political organizations emerged to serve their needs. As their children matured, other organizations led by American-raised or -born Korean Americans also grew in the 1980s and 1990s, particularly after the 1992 uprising in Los Angeles following the acquittal of the police officers in the Rodney King beating that sparked days of unrest and during which many Korean-operated businesses were targeted for looting and destruction. Among those later organizations are the Korean Immigrant Workers Advocates (KIWA) and the Korean Youth and Community Center (KYCC). The KYCC started in the mid-1970s as the Korean Youth Center, an offshoot of the Asian American Drug Abuse Program (AADAP) to focus on specific issues for Korean immigrant youth. It became an independent nonprofit organization in 1982

¹⁷⁵² Choy, *Koreans in America*, 183; Vladimir Hlasny and Byung Joon Jung, "Political Migration of Korean Activists through Czechoslovakia in the Post World War II Period," *Seoul Journal of Korean Studies* 30, no. 1 (June 2017): 1-43, accessed September 28, 2022, <https://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2844602>.

¹⁷⁵³ Choy, *Koreans in America*, 121.

¹⁷⁵⁴ Choy, *Koreans in America*, 184-187.

¹⁷⁵⁵ Choy, *Koreans in America*, 187-188; 231; Angie Y. Chung, *Legacies of Struggle: Conflict and Cooperation in Korean American Politics* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007), 65-66.

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and expanded its services to educational needs, employment training, and other needs of the Korean community around the growing Los Angeles Koreatown.¹⁷⁵⁶

The KIWA evolved from the Korean Labor Association (KLA) that was founded in the mid-1980s by activists from Korea. The KLA offered case management services to Korean workers and worked together with American labor unions on a few major labor campaigns. Though not directly linked to KLA, KIWA started in early 1992 (before the uprising) as a grassroots organization with progressive leanings toward social activism and economic justice.¹⁷⁵⁷

Korean Americans in Elected Office

Among the few elected officials of Korean descent before 1970 is Alfred Song. In 1960, Song became the first Korean American to serve on a local city council when he was elected as a councilmember for the City of Monterey Park. Born in Hawai‘i, Song was the son of Korean plantation workers. He moved to Los Angeles to attend the University of Southern California (USC) for undergraduate studies. He served in the U.S. Army Air Forces during World War II and returned after the war for his law degree in 1945.¹⁷⁵⁸ Song was one of the two attorneys listed in the 1964 *The Korean Community of Southern California Year Book*, with his law office noted as at 608 South Hill Street (extant) in Downtown Los Angeles. After two years on the Monterey Park City Council, Song was elected to the California State Assembly in 1962, and State Senate in 1966—the first Asian American and Korean American to hold these positions. He served in the California State Legislature until 1978 and later served on various statewide boards.¹⁷⁵⁹

Filipina/o American

Filipina/o immigrants encountered numerous obstacles in work and in everyday life that caused them to struggle to assimilate into American society. Sub-par living and working conditions, racial tensions and discriminatory actions, and limitations in educational and professional opportunities contributed to growing frustrations in the Filipina/o community. Unions and other types of community rights organizations began forming since the late 1920s and vocal individuals began speaking up for their communities throughout California. Some eventually joined forces with other minority and immigrant organizations to speak out against injustices and advocate for equal rights. The Filipina/o community’s political participation began with various labor-related efforts and grew to fight alongside other communities for equal pay and equal treatment in the professional workforce.

¹⁷⁵⁶ Chung, *Legacies of Struggle*, 142-147. See the Migration and Community Formation section for more on Los Angeles’ Koreatown.

¹⁷⁵⁷ Chung, *Legacies of Struggle*, 153-157.

¹⁷⁵⁸ Kim and Patterson, *The Koreans in America*, 58; Elaine Woo, “Alfred H. Song, 85; Legislature’s First Asian American Left Under a Cloud,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 14, 2004.

¹⁷⁵⁹ Choy, *Koreans in America*, 291; Woo, “Alfred H. Song.”

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The following section outlines some of the individuals, efforts, and groups that helped define Filipina/o rights in California from labor, workforce, educational, and social perspectives. See also **Business, Industry, and Labor**, where some of the same organizations are discussed.

Filipina/o American Activism in Labor

Filipina/o agricultural laborers began to organize collectively and formally in California around 1928. The first formal Filipino labor organization to be documented was named *Anak ng Bukd*, or Children of the Farm. As discussed in the Business, Labor and Industry section, this organization developed with a focus on helping laborers receive better treatment, pay, and living and working conditions from employers. The organization worked to bring to light the harsh realities of Filipina/o laborers to other Filipina/o community members, to engage with local growers hiring Filipina/o workers, and to advocate for workers’ rights. Numerous other organizations began to evolve in the years that followed. By the mid-1930s, seven formal unions and/or organizations in California were documented, including the Filipino Labor Union (FLU), which was formed by D.L. Marcuelo, a Stockton businessman in 1933. This organization developed around Filipina/o labor rights and took its first stand for higher wages, union recognition, and improved working conditions.

Some of the earliest documented events that ultimately encouraged Filipina/o laborers to organize and speak out occurred in Exeter and Watsonville. In the late 1920s in the small farming town of Exeter, in the San Joaquin Valley, an anti-Filipino riot was sparked by the growing frustrations of white laborers over the hiring of Filipina/o laborers to harvest figs and grapes in the area.¹⁷⁶⁰ The riot occurred in a “social setting where young Filipino men dated local girls.”¹⁷⁶¹ A mob of about three hundred men burned a labor camp where Filipino laborers were housed. None of the laborers were at the camp when the riot happened. This act of violence led to several other anti-Filipino events, which eventually resulted in Filipina/o residents becoming more vocal about resisting the discrimination they faced.

In Watsonville, similar racial tensions were forming that led white residents to vocalize their desire to push Filipina/o residents out of the community. On January 10, 1930, a Justice of the Peace Judge in Watsonville, D. W. Rorhbach, issued a resolution that condemned Filipina/o people as “an economic and social menace to American society.”¹⁷⁶² His extreme rhetoric degraded Filipina/o people as savage and unable to assimilate into American society and work. The next day, January 11, a taxi-dance hall opened a few miles outside of Watsonville, in Palm Beach. This hall was open to white girls and allowed them to dance with Filipino men, which upset the local white community.¹⁷⁶³

The Filipina/o community responded to Judge Rorhbach’s resolution with a rebuttal in Watsonville’s local newspaper, *The Torch*. They defended the humanity of Filipina/o people as deserving of the same

¹⁷⁶⁰ Habal, “Radical Violence in the Fields,” 2.
¹⁷⁶¹ Habal, “Radical Violence in the Fields,” 2.
¹⁷⁶² Habal, “Radical Violence in the Fields,” 2.
¹⁷⁶³ Habal, “Radical Violence in the Fields,” 2.

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rights as their white counterparts. Their driving statement revolved around Christian principles; that God created all men equal and racial superiority did not exist.¹⁷⁶⁴ The response from the Filipina/o community further spurred frustrations and anger among the white community. From January 19 through January 23, 1930, Watsonville experienced five days of attacks on the Filipina/o community with over five hundred armed white people raiding local farms, where they killed one Filipino man and injured fifty others.¹⁷⁶⁵ What became known as the Watsonville riots came to an end when the local American Legion branch and a group of local citizens pacified the white mobs.¹⁷⁶⁶ According to Estella Habal, “eventually, eight rioters were caught but only four were tried; one was given a maximum sentence of one month in jail, and the others were released on probation.”¹⁷⁶⁷

The post-riot atmosphere among the Filipina/o community that followed events in Exeter and Watsonville was a mixture of caution and anger. Organizations throughout California, including in Los Angeles and San Jose, urged the Filipina/o community to remain calm and to not act out of anger. Local Filipina/o newspapers vocalized the anger and frustration felt across the community regarding the killing of a Filipino worker and with law enforcement and political leaders for encouraging the anti-Filipina/o sentiments.¹⁷⁶⁸ Organizations and groups began to form to promote equal treatment of Filipina/o people across the state and continued to gain traction as more anti-Filipina/o events occurred.

Similarly, labor organizations and unions took shape across California by the mid to late-1930s. Centered around recognizing and protesting against the injustices and discrimination Filipina/o workers frequently experienced, these organizations gained traction over the years and eventually organized and participated in demonstrations and strikes, sometimes alongside Mexican laborers. These groups advocated for laborers’ rights and worked toward improving the social and political standing of Filipina/o immigrants in California. From 1930 to 1936, more than twenty Filipina/o labor disputes were documented throughout the San Joaquin and Imperial Valleys as well as in other areas of California.¹⁷⁶⁹

The Delano Grape Strike of 1965 included a series of strikes and boycotts among workers on grape farms in an effort to demand better treatment and fairer wages. Organized by the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC), headed by Filipino activist Philip Vera Cruz, the Delano Grape Strike crippled the grape industry and ultimately helped Vera Cruz and others gain traction as important advocates.¹⁷⁷⁰ Vera Cruz’s involvement and initiation of the Delano Grape Strike eventually led him to become one of the founders of the United Farm Workers organization, which brought Filipina/o and Mexican laborers together in advocacy for agricultural workers’ rights.¹⁷⁷¹

¹⁷⁶⁴ Habal, “Radical Violence in the Fields,” 3.

¹⁷⁶⁵ Habal, “Radical Violence in the Fields,” 3.

¹⁷⁶⁶ Habal, “Radical Violence in the Fields,” 3.

¹⁷⁶⁷ Habal, “Radical Violence in the Fields,” 3.

¹⁷⁶⁸ Habal, “Radical Violence in the Fields,” 4.

¹⁷⁶⁹ Habal, “Radical Violence in the Fields,” 4.

¹⁷⁷⁰ Lee, The Making of Asian America, 301-302.

¹⁷⁷¹ Lee, The Making of Asian America, 301-302.

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Section number E Page 322Important Activists and Political Figures

Philip Vera Cruz was born in 1904 in the Ilacos Sur province of the Philippines. He immigrated to the United States in 1926 following the U.S. bans on Chinese and Japanese immigrant labor in order to find work and a better life.¹⁷⁷² He arrived in the United States among the first wave of Filipina/o immigrants who came in the early twentieth century. Vera Cruz spent over thirty years working on farms and in canneries and restaurants throughout the country. He moved to California in the 1950s and immediately became involved in the growing Filipina/o labor movement. He eventually helped to organize the AWOC along with Larry Itliong. The organization merged with the National Farm Workers Association, led by Dolores Huerta and Cesar Chavez, in 1966.¹⁷⁷³

Labor organizer Larry Itliong was born in 1913 in San Nicolas, Philippines. He immigrated to the United States in 1929 and immediately became involved in Filipina/o labor efforts beginning in the 1930s.¹⁷⁷⁴ He eventually gained recognition and support in 1965, when he joined Philip Vera Cruz, Benjamin Gines, and Pete Velasco in the Delano Grape Strike. Itliong went on to initiate and help organize various labor unions throughout California, including the Filipino Farm Labor Union (1956).¹⁷⁷⁵

Carlos Bulosan was a writer and a poet whose works illustrated the experiences of Filipina/o immigrants and laborers. Born in 1911 in Binalonan, Philippines, Bulosan arrived in the United States in 1930.¹⁷⁷⁶ He worked as a laborer and moonlighted as a writer, producing works which reflected the racism and hardships Filipina/o workers experienced in the U.S. His book, *America is in the Heart*, dispelled the idealistic American Dream that so many before and after him had encouraged Filipina/o migrants to pursue.¹⁷⁷⁷ Bulosan eventually became involved in an effort to organize independent unions that developed in direct response to the effects of the Great Depression—wage cuts, unemployment, the exploitation of workers, and various efforts to exclude Filipina/o workers from unionizing or joining other unions.¹⁷⁷⁸ Bulosan's involvement in organizing led to the creation of the United Cannery and Packing House Workers of America, which represented cannery workers in the Seattle-Alaska areas and packing house workers in Salinas, California. He later worked for newspapers throughout the Stockton-Salinas area, including the *Philippine Commonwealth Times*, which focused on problems and concerns among Filipina/o laborers.

¹⁷⁷² Helen Zia and Susan B. Gall, eds., *Notable Asian Americans* (Cleveland, OH: Eastward Publications Development, Inc., 1995), 396.

¹⁷⁷³ Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 301-302.

¹⁷⁷⁴ Hyung-chan Kim, ed, *Distinguished Asian Americans: A Biographical Dictionary* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1999), 138-139.

¹⁷⁷⁵ Kim, *Distinguished Asian Americans*, 138-139.

¹⁷⁷⁶ Zia and Gall, *Notable Asian Americans*, 20-22.

¹⁷⁷⁷ Zia and Gall, *Notable Asian Americans*, 20-22.

¹⁷⁷⁸ Zia and Gall, *Notable Asian Americans*, 20-22.

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Filipina/o American Activism in Nursing

In the years after World War II, the nursing profession in California experienced a significant increase in Filipina/o professionals, as immigrants with educational and professional backgrounds in healthcare benefited from the state's need for more nurses. Filipina/o nurses became among one of the largest immigrant groups in the field. In the 1970s and 1980s, significant backlash arose against foreign-trained nurses, who were seen as taking jobs away from white Americans. Licensing requirements that limited or prohibited immigrant professionals from gaining access to professional opportunities in the U.S. affected Filipina/o nurses in particular.¹⁷⁷⁹ With professional licenses obtained overseas not accepted, Filipina/o nurses unable to meet newly established requirements were denied professional opportunities. Frustrated by these limitations, Filipina/o nurses founded organizations such as the Foreign Nurse Defense Fund, started in the late 1970s. The organization "defended the rights of foreign-trained nurses in the United States through the use of civil rights legislation."¹⁷⁸⁰

One notable figure in the overall effort to organize nurses was Norma Ruspian Watson, the executive secretary of the Foreign Nurse Defense Fund. Watson immigrated to the United States in 1973, where she sought work at a Bay Area medical center and was denied a position. Catherine Ceniza Choy's book, *Empire of Care: Nursing and Migration in Filipino American History*, outlines Watson's experiences:

Watson arrived in the United States in 1973 with an occupational immigrant visa and passed the licensure examination in 1974. She and seven other Filipino [*sic*] nurses applied for employment at the Letterman Army Medical Center (LAMC). According to Watson, "we were all denied employment applications, and I was told to my face that LAMC does not hire brown skinned Fillippinas [*sic*]." She later applied for work in a private hospital, Mary's Help Hospital in Daly City. In 1979, Watson filed a complaint with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission after discovering that she was not being compensated for her seven years of professional nursing experience in the Philippines but was being paid as a new nursing graduate.¹⁷⁸¹

Watson's experiences were similar to those of many Filipina/o nurses during this time, both in California and the rest of the U.S. Watson attempted to bring light to the discriminatory practices that were common in hospitals and care facilities where Filipina/o nurses worked. She drafted a letter to President Ronald Reagan in the early 1980s outlining the discrimination these nurses faced.¹⁷⁸² She attempted to organize a walkout, which never came to fruition. By 1981, organizations of nurses had developed a voice loud enough to convince the California Board of Registered Nurses to eliminate

¹⁷⁷⁹ Choy, *Empire of Care*, 183.

¹⁷⁸⁰ Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 295; Choy, *Empire of Care*, 183.

¹⁷⁸¹ Choy, *Empire of Care*, 183.

¹⁷⁸² Choy, *Empire of Care*, 183.

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discriminatory licensing requirements and practices that limited or prohibited foreign-trained nurses from working in the U.S.¹⁷⁸³

Student Activism

Filipina/o American youth, often called children of *Manongs* (also known as the “Bridge Generation”) included the children of those military families who arrived after World War II and before 1965 in the second wave of migration to California from the Philippines.¹⁷⁸⁴ In the 1960s and 1970s, these youth became heavily involved in social movements. In addition to involvement with the burgeoning Asian American activism, (discussed under **Pan AAPI Activism**), Filipina/o clubs and organizations on college and university campuses were formed to provide a sense of community support for Filipina/o Americans students and to also push for educational diversity, such as departments and programs in ethnic studies.¹⁷⁸⁵ One organization that formed was the United Filipino American Students at Harbor Junior College in Los Angeles.¹⁷⁸⁶

Filipina/o Transnational Activism

The waves of immigrants arriving in the United States in the post-World War II era included families and individuals seeking different educational and professional opportunities as well as an escape from a worsening political climate. The third wave of Filipina/o immigrants to the United States in the 1960s left a country under the leadership of President Ferdinand Marcos (1965 to 1985), fraught with civil unrest caused by communist rebels and Islamic separatists. The radical demeanor and actions of Marcos in the Philippines influenced Filipina/o residents in the United States and the Philippines to advocate for change in their native and adopted homelands by engaging with various organizations, groups, and individuals seeking the same level of change for Filipina/o nationals domestically and abroad. In order to continue being informed of what was happening in the Philippines, various organizations, newspapers, and other groups formed to provide support and services to new immigrants, and to share information about conditions in their home country.¹⁷⁸⁷

The greater Los Angeles area was a major hub of Filipina/o organizations and groups that worked to inform local communities of events unfolding abroad and the ongoing political situation. Organizations such as the *Katipunan ng mga Demokratikong Pilipino* (KDP or the Union of Democratic Filipinos) informed Filipina/o residents in the U.S. about the ongoing political, economic, and social conditions in the Philippines and to help those seeking refuge from the political oppression under Marcos’ rule. The KDP “exercised a ‘two-sided’ political program that spanned the Pacific.”¹⁷⁸⁸ One prominent Filipina who became heavily involved in the KDP was Carol Ojeda-Kimbrough, a medical student in the Philippines. Ojeda-Kimbrough was living in the Philippines when Marcos instated martial law, which

¹⁷⁸³ Choy, *Empire of Care*, 184.

¹⁷⁸⁴ Ibanez and Ibanez, *Filipinos in Carson and the South Bay*, 51.

¹⁷⁸⁵ Ibanez and Ibanez, *Filipinos in Carson and the South Bay*, 51.

¹⁷⁸⁶ Ibanez and Ibanez, *Filipinos in Carson and the South Bay*, 51.

¹⁷⁸⁷ Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 364.

¹⁷⁸⁸ Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 365.

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suspended democratic governance and resulted in the mass arrest of civilians, and she proceeded to become involved in local efforts that worked to gather and protect the poor community in Manila from Marcos’ arrests.¹⁷⁸⁹ Marcos’ government and military officials became aware of Ojeda-Kimbrough’s involvement in local efforts and she became a primary target for interrogations that attempted to identify and locate other activists. She fled to Los Angeles to join her parents, out of fear of being arrested or killed. Once in Los Angeles, Ojeda-Kimbrough became involved in local organizations such as the Anti-Martial Law Alliance and the KDP.¹⁷⁹⁰ She and continued to advocate for change in the Philippines, and became involved in organizing and advocating for issues affecting Filipina/o Americans in the U.S.

Filipina/o Americans in Elected Office

Despite strong population numbers, Filipina/o Americans did not enter elected politics until the 1970s. In 1972, G. Monty Manibog was elected to the Monterey Park City Council, the first Filipino American elected to a city council. He served several terms as the city’s mayor and mayor pro tem, positions that rotated periodically among city council members. He remained on the city council until 1988. Manibog was a lawyer by training whose father, Gonzalo Manibog, was the first Filipino American to graduate with a law degree in 1917. Among his other achievements, Manibong was an Olympic wrestler, competing in the 1952 Summer Olympics in Helsinki.¹⁷⁹¹

Other Filipina/o American candidates won a handful of elective posts mostly in small Northern California farming communities in the 1970s and 1980s. The early 1990s saw greater representation with Peter D. Fajardo and Lorelie S. Olaes to the Caron City Council in 1992 and 1993, respectively, and Michael Guingona to the city council of Daly City in 1993.¹⁷⁹²

Chamorro

Little research has been found related to activism, civic engagement, or political participation by Chamorros in California from 1850 to 1970. This may be due to the low population numbers, as well as the lack of political mobilization around strong ideologies to motivate Chamorros to organize. Some discussions about efforts to gain statehood or for independence occurred, though not as actively among the Chamorro community in California than in Guam.¹⁷⁹³

¹⁷⁸⁹ Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 365.

¹⁷⁹⁰ Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 365.

¹⁷⁹¹ Klarize Medenilla, “Fil-Am Political Pioneer, Olympian Monty Manibog, Dies at 86,” *Inquirer.Net*, August 23, 2016, accessed September 26, 2023, <https://globalnation.inquirer.net/143118/143118>; Zoe Nissen, “Mayor Monty Manibog, A Pioneering Filipino American Official,” USC Digital Library, January 22, 2020, accessed September 26, 2023, <https://libraries.usc.edu/article/mayor-monty-manibog-pioneering-filipino-american-official>.

¹⁷⁹² Randal C. Archibold, "Political Awakening: Filipino-Americans Start to Reach for Reins of Power," *Los Angeles Times*, August 20, 1993.

¹⁷⁹³ Mario Borja, Director, Sakman Chamorro Project, video conference interview with Flora Chou, February 4, 2022.

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The Ghadar Party was established in San Francisco in November 1913 to harness the vision for Indian freedom held by many in the South Asian diaspora. The party focused on Indian independence and was one of the main political organizations in the South Asian community. Activist and scholar Har Dayal, founder of the Ghadar Party, came to California in 1911 to teach Sanskrit and Indian philosophy at Stanford University after studies at Punjab University, Oxford, and Harvard. Dayal became active with the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) and after 1913 became a leader of the Ghadar Party in San Francisco. The following year, the *Ghadar* newspaper called on Indians living abroad to return to their home country to fight for its freedom, “It’s time, are you ready to die for your freedom?”¹⁷⁹⁴ Approximately 8,000 heeded the call, many captured *en route*, or jailed or hanged on arrival in India. The success of the party reinforced scrutiny from the British and U.S. governments, which found their moment to attack the radicals at the onset of World War I. Hayal was arrested in March 1914 following a Socialist meeting held at San Francisco’s Bohemian Hall (1580 Ellis Street, not extant). Immigration officials took Dayal under custody as an “undesirable alien” engaged in sedition against the government of Great Britain.¹⁷⁹⁵

The word *Ghadar* (Punjabi for uprising or revolt) exemplified its purpose to overthrow Britain’s colonial exploitation and rule of India. The party brought together Punjabi laborers and Bengali intellectuals in the diaspora communities across the world, including in California. This transnational campaign was built by outreach workers who travelled to Indian settlements and by distribution of several publications including the party newspaper, *Ghadar*, published in two languages (Gurumukhi and Urdu) on a weekly basis. Published in the party’s San Francisco office (436 Hill Street, not extant), nearly five thousand copies were read in India, where it was banned, and around the world in “China, Japan, Manila, Sumatra, Fiji, Java, Singapore, Egypt, Paris, South Africa, British East Africa, and Panama.”¹⁷⁹⁶ Other Bay Area radicals working for nationalist movements in China, Japan, Russia, Turkey, and Ireland assisted with printing and distribution of the *Ghadar* newspaper.¹⁷⁹⁷

Though the Ghadar Party emphasized secularism and its leadership was Muslim, Hindu, and Sikh, nearly ninety percent of the members were Punjabi Sikh men, half of whom had served in the British Indian army. Historian Seema Sohi argues that the British colonial elite elevated Punjabi Sikhs as models of martial masculinity, which led the soldiers to believe they held rights as British subjects for defending the crown around the globe. Their experiences of racial exclusion and discrimination in Hong Kong, North America, and other areas subject to British colonization contradicted this belief, and

¹⁷⁹⁴ Ramnath, “Two Revolutions,” 7.

¹⁷⁹⁵ “Hindoo Suspect in Taken by U.S. Agents,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 26, 1914. After release on bail, Hayal fled to Europe where he continued to organize anti-colonial efforts in India.

¹⁷⁹⁶ Other anti-colonialist publications emerged in British Columbia. Sohi, “Sites of ‘Sedition’, Sites of Liberation,” 11; Seema Sohi, “The Ghadar Party,” South Asian American Digital Archive, May 8, 2018, accessed April 14, 2022, <https://www.saada.org/tides/article/the-ghadar-party>.

¹⁷⁹⁷ Ramnath, “Two Revolutions,” 12.

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inspired many to join the Ghadar Party’s commitment to armed revolution in order to free India, and for justice and racial equality in North America.¹⁷⁹⁸ The work to overthrow British rule in India received support in the United States from many Irish Americans who saw parallels to their own struggles against British colonialism. Prominent figures, including writer/activist Agnes Smedley and birth control campaigner Margaret Sanger, also supported the party.¹⁷⁹⁹

As an important location for South Asian immigrants, California played a vital role in the Ghadar movement. Gurdwaras, Sikh houses of worship, across the Pacific Coast were central to the movement. The Stockton Gurdwara was a frequent location for meetings where Ghadar leaders argued that measures such as home rule offered by more moderate organizations would not achieve a free India. Ghadar gatherings were also held in the Imperial Valley, Oxnard, Fresno, and Sacramento.¹⁸⁰⁰ One of the first Ghadar campaigns was to support the Sikh immigrants trapped on the ship, the *Komagata Maru*, which became a cause célèbre when it was prohibited from docking in a two-month standoff in Vancouver, Canada in 1914. The ship hoped to challenge the “continuous voyage” statute that required immigrants to arrive directly from their home country, an impossible bar for most Indians since there were no direct routes to North America. Despite a wide campaign by the Ghadar Party and others, the ship was ultimately forced back to India.¹⁸⁰¹

Arguably the most well-known event in the history of the Ghadar movement in the U.S. was the “Hindu-German Conspiracy,” which culminated in a breathlessly covered trial in San Francisco’s District Court. In 1914, German foreign officers began to partner with organizations working for Indian independence as a move to weaken their enemy, Great Britain. Although not without their suspicions of German motives, some Ghadar members participated in a 1915 plan to smuggle arms and ammunition from San Francisco to Mexico. The plan failed, though many Ghadar “agitators fanned out from California to incite mutiny among British Indian troops in East Asia.”¹⁸⁰² In April 1917, using intelligence from British agents, U.S. officials arrested over one hundred activists, and began the “Hindu-German conspiracy trial” in San Francisco, the longest and most expensive trial in American history to that point.¹⁸⁰³ The proceedings were held at the U.S. Post Office and Courthouse (95 7th Street, extant) and received lurid news coverage, especially when one Ghadar leader shot another in the courtroom. The sentences handed down for violating the U.S.’s neutrality, and internal dissensions among Ghadar members, lead to the decline of the party in San Francisco. In 1917, the party moved to a new building

¹⁷⁹⁸ Sohi, “Sites of ‘Sedition’, Sites of Liberation,” 6-77.

¹⁷⁹⁹ Andrew Chatfield, “The Anti-Imperialist Moment,” *Australasian Journal of American Studies* 39, no. 1 (December 2020): 81-100.

¹⁸⁰⁰ Leonard, *Making Ethnic Choices*,” 45; Sohi. “Sites of ‘Sedition’, Sites of Liberation,” 13.

¹⁸⁰¹ Ramnath, “Two Revolutions,” 13. The *Komagata Maru* was pushed from port to port until it finally discharged passengers in Calcutta before a police battalion and violence that killed over twenty people.

¹⁸⁰² Ramnath, “Two Revolutions,” 15.

¹⁸⁰³ Karl Hoover, “The Hindu Conspiracy in California,” *German Studies Review* 8, no. 2 (May 1985): 246.

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at 5 Wood Street, which was given to the new independent Indian government in 1949. The original building was replaced and dedicated as Ghadar Memorial Hall in 1975 (extant).¹⁸⁰⁴

South Asian Elected Officials

In 1920, Dalip Singh Saund arrived from Punjab to attend the University of California in Berkeley, residing at a house owned by the Pacific Coast Khalsa Diwan Society at 1731 Allston Way (not extant). He completed his master's and doctorate degrees in mathematics by 1924 and credited the Society and the house as a critical resource and source of support for him and other newcomers from Punjab that enabled them to pursue their education.¹⁸⁰⁵ In 1930, the Society published Saund's book, *My Mother India*, written as a "handbook on India for general use by the American public."¹⁸⁰⁶ The volume and its title were a direct response to a popular 1927 book, *Mother India*, by Katherine Mayo that presented a positive view of British colonial rule over India's "backward" citizens.

Saund later settled in the Imperial Valley where he worked as a farmer and became active in the local political sphere. He was elected first president of the Los Angeles-based Indian Association of America, which focused on nullifying the effects of the Alien Land Laws on South Asian immigrants. Saund was a popular speaker and gave talks on Indian nationalism throughout Southern California, which he later wrote instigated a large file on his activities at the Department of Immigration and Naturalization.¹⁸⁰⁷

Following the change in naturalization laws in 1946, Saund became a U.S. citizen and furthered his interest in politics. He was elected judge in El Centro and in 1956, he ran for and won a seat in the U.S. House of Representative from the twenty-ninth district of California. Saund became the first person of South Asian descent elected to the U.S. Congress.¹⁸⁰⁸ As a local judge, and after 1954 as elected chair of the Imperial County Democratic Central Committee, Saund's political profile had been raised enough to prevail over a wealthy former leader of the Women's Airforce Service Pilots during World War II who came from a more populous area of the district. Saund received a seat on the high-profile Committee on Foreign Affairs and in 1957, undertook on a one-man congressional tour of Asian countries including Japan, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Vietnam, Indonesia, Singapore, Philippines, India, and Pakistan.¹⁸⁰⁹ Saund's biography on the U.S. House of Representatives' website states that "during his career in the House of Representatives, at the height of the Cold War, Saund became something of a transcendent politician who had the singular ability to engage audiences abroad."¹⁸¹⁰ He served in Congress until 1962.

¹⁸⁰⁴ "Gadar Memorial Hall," Consulate General of India, San Francisco, accessed April 10, 2022,

<https://www.cgisf.gov.in/page/gadar-memorial-hall/>.

¹⁸⁰⁵ Saund, *Congressman from India*, 36-37.

¹⁸⁰⁶ Dalip Singh Saund, "My Mother India," (Stockton, CA: The Pacific Coast Khalsa Diwan Society, Inc., 1930), accessed April 4, 2022, <http://www.saund.org/dalipsaund/mmi/mmi.html>.

¹⁸⁰⁷ Saund, *Congressman from India*, 73, 76.

¹⁸⁰⁸ Saund, *Congressman from India*, 36-37; Jensen, *Passage from India*, 280.

¹⁸⁰⁹ Saund, *Congressman from India*, 155.

¹⁸¹⁰ "Saund, Dalip Singh (Judge)," History, Art and Archives, United States House of Representatives, accessed April 14, 2022, <https://history.house.gov/People/Detail/21228>.

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Samoan

Little research has been found related to activism, civic engagement, or political participation by Samoans in California from 1850 to 1970. This may be due to the low population numbers, as well as the lack of political mobilization around strong ideologies to motivate Samoans to organize.

Vietnamese American

For the Vietnamese American community, whose migration en masse to the United States began in 1975 with a first wave after the fall of Saigon, and shifted to a second wave of migration in the late 1970s and into the 1980s, their political engagement occurred more in the 1980s and 1990s once they were able to focus on issues beyond those of acclimation and survival.¹⁸¹¹ Vietnamese refugees arrived in the United States after the civil rights reforms of the mid-twentieth century had removed the legal barriers and discriminatory practices that hindered the full participation of Asian Americans in American life. Not excluded from becoming citizens through naturalization, owning property, living in any neighborhood, or working in any jobs in which they were qualified, the Vietnamese American community embraced opportunities for civic and political engagement.

At the time, the process to become a naturalized U.S. citizen required at least five years of residency in the United States before application.¹⁸¹² Those who arrived among the first wave qualified to apply for citizenship around 1980. By 1994, almost half of the Vietnamese residents of Southern California were citizens—either naturalized or U.S. born—and almost sixty percent of them were registered to vote.¹⁸¹³ The 2000 census found close to sixty percent of foreign-born Vietnamese residents were naturalized citizens, a higher percentage than for all foreign-born residents and for Asian American residents.¹⁸¹⁴ As citizens, they could vote and became an important constituent for politicians, both Vietnamese and non-Vietnamese, in conservative Orange County and in other areas with large Vietnamese American communities.

Vietnamese Americans still faced hostility and discrimination based on their race as well as refugee status. One of the worst examples of anti-Vietnamese and anti-Indochinese violence in California was the shooting at Cleveland Elementary School in Stockton on January 17, 1989. A man open fire on children as they were assembling on the schoolyard to return to their classrooms, killing five children and wounding twenty-nine others along with a teacher. Most of the children at the school were refugees from Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos, with four of the five killed from Cambodia and the fifth from Vietnam. The tragedy brought Stockton together in mourning and sympathy with the refugee community.¹⁸¹⁵

¹⁸¹¹ Martin Wicksol, "Vietnamese Americans now O.C. Political Force," *Orange County Register*, June 10, 2016.

¹⁸¹² David Reyes, "Vietnamese Citizenship Rush Expected," *Los Angeles Times*, February 13, 1980.

¹⁸¹³ Andrea Heiman, "Vietnamese-Americans Enter Political Arena," *Los Angeles Times*, October 9, 1992.

¹⁸¹⁴ Linda Trinh Vo, "Construction a Vietnamese American Community: Economic and Political Transformation in Little Saigon, Orange County," *Amerasia Journal* 34, 3 (2008): 96.

¹⁸¹⁵ Rutledge, *The Vietnamese Experience in America*, 44.

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Some Vietnamese Americans engaged in transnational activism around ongoing issues in Vietnam and Asia. Issues includes human rights violations by the Vietnamese government, support for refugees still in Asian relocation camps, particularly after the 1989 Comprehensive Plan of Action agreement removed the automatic refugee status for those escaping Vietnam, and anti-trafficking of Vietnamese women and children. Such activism involved participating in rallies and public protests, joining in organizations active with these issues, and lobbying politicians at local, state, and federal levels for economic sanctions and political pressure against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.¹⁸¹⁶

Vietnamese American Anti-Communist Activism

The Vietnamese refugees who arrived as part of the first and second waves were mostly adults in their middle-age years. Having lived in Vietnam until their thirties through fifties, these refugees brought their life experiences and attitudes such as a shared anti-Communist stance. The group had a high percent of people who were previously in or associated with the South Vietnamese government and military, as well as those who endured persecution, hardship, or time in re-education centers under Communist rule in Vietnam.¹⁸¹⁷ A high level of support and affiliation with the Republican party among the Vietnamese American community can be attributed to the party’s strong anti-Communist foreign policy stance, along with the party’s platforms for fiscal, political, and social conservatism.¹⁸¹⁸

Anti-Communist activism in the U.S. manifested in several ways within Vietnamese American communities. Annual protests and commemoration marked the April 30 fall of Saigon, known as Black April, including the tenth anniversary in 1985 that drew about 500 people to Garden Grove’s Bolsa Mini Mall parking lot in Little Saigon in Orange County.¹⁸¹⁹ Businesses regularly displayed the yellow and red South Vietnamese flag. Actions of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam government spurred protests, as did any activity that appeared as support for the Communist government. Liberal Vietnamese Americans, travel agencies that arranged visits, and those who expressed support for normalizing diplomatic relations with Vietnam, have been among those targeted by smear campaigns, death threats, and protests.¹⁸²⁰ Between 1975 and 2002, there were over 200 protest events by Vietnamese Americans in Orange County.¹⁸²¹

In San Jose, similar anti-Communist activism also occurred. The Association of Vietnamese Organizations of Northern California organized a boycott of the Vietnamese newspaper, *Thoi Bao*, after alleging the stories to be Communist-friendly. San Jose’s Vietnamese American community demonstrated against the only U.S. concert by popular Vietnamese signer Thanh Lan in 1994, because she was seen as possibly being a member of the Communist party or married to a party member as she

¹⁸¹⁶ Thuy Vo Dang, et al., *Vietnamese in Orange County*, 95-103.

¹⁸¹⁷ Gold, *Refugee Communities*, 213-216.

¹⁸¹⁸ Vo, “Construction a Vietnamese American Community,” 96-100.

¹⁸¹⁹ David Holley, “Vietnamese Immigrants Protest Communist Rule,” *Los Angeles Times*, April 28, 1985.

¹⁸²⁰ Heiman, “Vietnamese-Americans Enter Political Arena.”

¹⁸²¹ Lai, *Asian American Political Action*, 91.

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was allowed to continue her singing career in Vietnam. In 1996, the association also organized demonstrations against a Smithsonian traveling exhibit on contemporary Vietnamese art despite input from the local Vietnamese community about the exhibit and what it meant.¹⁸²²

Tactics employed by the most ardent anti-Communists could include physical attacks. In 1987, Tap Van Pham, editor of a Vietnamese entertainment weekly magazine, was killed in a firebombing attack on his Garden Grove office after publishing advertisements for companies that some anti-Communists considered to be fronts for the Hanoi government.¹⁸²³ In 1988, after another arson at a Vietnamese magazine, the police in Santa Ana and Garden Grove reported that they investigated many instances of political violence within the Vietnamese community, usually instigated by anti-Communists.¹⁸²⁴

An almost universal viewpoint among the Vietnamese American community, the strong anti-Communist stance began to wane in the mid-1990s, as the United States was on its way toward normalizing diplomatic relationships with the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.¹⁸²⁵ The Vietnamese American community was also pushing back on the tactics used by anti-Communist protesters, with some willing to voice the opinion that such violent or negative approaches were impinging on freedoms they had in this country.¹⁸²⁶ This may have been a reflection of the changing demographics, with the maturing of the younger generation—those who arrived as children or who were native born, educated in the United States, had fewer connections to Vietnam, and did not share anti-Communist sentiments—into voters and leaders themselves. Vietnamese students’ organizations at various colleges and universities began holding annual conferences in the early 1990s to connect with each other and develop a forum to discuss issues important to the younger generations.¹⁸²⁷

Still, one of the largest and most high-profile anti-Communist protests occurred in early 1999 in Orange County’s Little Saigon. The display of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam flag and a photograph of Ho Chi Minh, Vietnam’s Communist revolutionary leader, at the Hi-Tek Video store in Westminster sparked weeks of rallies in the strip mall at Bolsa Avenue and Bushard Street where the shop was located. The store’s landlord asked the courts to issue an injunction for the store owner, Truong Van Tran, to remove the display that was disturbing the peace, in violation of his lease. Although a judge initially issued a temporary restraining order, she reversed her decision on the grounds that Tran had a First Amendment right to the retain the display.¹⁸²⁸ Protests continued, attracting hundreds of people, many sharing their stories of atrocities at the hands of the Communist government. Some clashed with the police and the weeks of protest garnered media attention. The day of the annual Tet new year parade

¹⁸²² Do, *The Vietnamese Americans*, 114-115.

¹⁸²³ Heiman, “Vietnamese-Americans Enter Political Arena.”

¹⁸²⁴ Eric Healy, “Arson Fire Hits Vietnamese Magazine,” *Los Angeles Times*, August 6, 1988.

¹⁸²⁵ Doreen Carvajal, “Passions of Exile Politics Wane Among Vietnamese,” *Los Angeles Times*, June 13, 1994.

¹⁸²⁶ Do, *The Vietnamese Americans*, 114-115.

¹⁸²⁷ Heiman, “Vietnamese-Americans Enter Political Arena.”

¹⁸²⁸ Tini Tran, “Flag Ruling Inflames Crowd,” *Los Angeles Times*, February 11, 1999; Karin Aguilar-San Juan, *Little Saigons: Staying Vietnamese in America* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), 79-81.

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and celebration in February 1999 concluded with thousands marching against the display and against Communism.¹⁸²⁹

The situation concluded when Tran lost his lease and closed the store in March of that year.¹⁸³⁰ Although protests demonstrated that anti-Communist sentiments still provoked strong reactions, the incident marked a political awakening for the local Vietnamese American community, and those following the saga through Vietnamese and English language media, in different ways.¹⁸³¹ The community showed it could organize in common cause and wield collective power as a group. Younger generations became more engaged with the community and with their ethnic identity. Some community members channeled their activism into fighting against the human rights abuses of the Vietnamese government. Others sought to establish a Vietnamese American community center in Little Saigon.¹⁸³² Still others became politically engaged locally. At the same time, the event also highlighted that the community was not monolithic. A recall attempt was instigated against Tony Lam, the Vietnamese American city council member in Westminster, because he was perceived as not speaking up enough during the situation.¹⁸³³ Other community members voiced their ambivalence about the protests and tactics employed, finding sympathy for the other store owners in the same strip mall whose businesses suffered during the protests, as well as recognizing the First Amendment free speech issues despite their disagreement with the display.

Vietnamese American Elected Officials

The year 1992 was a turning point year for Vietnamese Americans' involvement in politics, when three Vietnamese Americans were on local city council ballots in Orange County. Tony Lam and Jimmy Tong Nguyen were both running for Westminster City Council, while Henry Le was on the ballot for the neighboring Santa Ana City Council.¹⁸³⁴ They were among the first from the Vietnamese American community to seek public office in Orange County. Lam won his seat and became first Vietnamese American elected to public office. Lam arrived as part of the first wave of Vietnamese refugees in 1975. In Vietnam, he worked for the U.S. Agency for International Development, and later owned construction and processing plants. Once in the United States, Lam worked as an insurance agent, and later became co-owner and operator of three restaurants in Little Saigon. He became active in the Orange County Vietnamese American Chamber of Commerce, serving as its president for a period. He later served as a board member of the Orange County Community Council and on the Board of Trustees of Humana Hospital.¹⁸³⁵ These volunteer positions helped him gain name recognition among the Vietnamese American and non-Vietnamese American communities, as well as an understanding of the local politics,

¹⁸²⁹ Tini Tran, "Flag, Poster Rehung: Protesters, Police Clash," *Los Angeles Times*, February 21, 1999.

¹⁸³⁰ Truong Van Tran was also being investigated for video counterfeiting.

¹⁸³¹ Lai, *Asian American Political Action*, 91.

¹⁸³² Phil Willon and Harrison Sheppard, "Past and Present: Little Saigon Protests Have Spurred New Interests, Energy for Vietnamese Americans," *Los Angeles Times*, March 14, 1999.

¹⁸³³ Vo, "Constructing a Vietnamese American Community," 108-109.

¹⁸³⁴ Heiman, "Vietnamese-Americans Enter Political Arena."

¹⁸³⁵ Heiman, "Vietnamese-Americans Enter Political Arena."

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governmental processes, and networks among the politically connected. In the 1992 election, he was endorsed by local Republican elected officials, including congressional and state legislature representatives.

The next Vietnamese American elected official was Van Tran, who was elected to the Garden Grove City Council in 2000. In the eight years in between, the political engagement of the Vietnamese American community shifted. Many served on city commissions like the Planning Commission or school boards before being elected to city-wide office, where they gained experience, connections, name recognition, and familiarity with how the political and institutional systems operated.¹⁸³⁶ Vietnamese language media also grew, in print, radio, and television, that helped to highlight candidates and local issues.¹⁸³⁷

After 2000, several more Vietnamese Americans were elected to city council in Westminster and in Garden Grove.¹⁸³⁸ Andy Quach was elected to the Westminster City Council in 2002, joining Tony Lam. In 2004, after Van Tran successfully ran for California State Assembly, Janet Nguyen was elected to his vacated Garden Grove council seat, someone who Tran had appointed to that city’s Planning Commission.

In 2005, Madison Nguyen was the first Vietnamese American elected to the San Jose City Council.¹⁸³⁹ By 2008, Westminster had three Vietnamese American city councilors representing a majority of its five-member city council. The Vietnamese American vote was becoming something that politicians of all races, backgrounds, and party affiliation were courting.¹⁸⁴⁰

Van Tran was elected to California State Assembly in 2004, the first Vietnamese American to serve in this body. He received help from the California Republican Party, which offered political endorsements, campaign finance, and candidate slate placement. The support of the state Republican Party pushed Tran out of just reliance on Vietnamese or Asian American supporters. He also received help from positive and extensive coverage through Vietnamese language media, include print newspaper, radio, and television. These helped reach a wider audience in his assembly district than would have been possible at a local city council level.¹⁸⁴¹

¹⁸³⁶ Lai, *Asian American Political Action*, 92-94.

¹⁸³⁷ Vo, “Constructing a Vietnamese American Community,” 96-97.

¹⁸³⁸ Lai, *Asian American Political Action*, 91-94.

¹⁸³⁹ Lai, *Asian American Political Action*, 101.

¹⁸⁴⁰ My-Thuan Tran, “From Refugees to Political Players,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 7, 2008.

¹⁸⁴¹ Lai, *Asian American Political Action*, 94-97.

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Major Legislation and Court Cases affecting AAPI Communities in California

1852 Foreigner Miner’s Tax | California State Legislature | Affected: Chinese
Re-enacted the tax on foreign miners, following an earlier 1850 tax primarily against miners from Chile, Mexico, and Australia that was difficult to enforce and was repealed the following year.¹⁸⁴² This second tax applied to all non-native miners, though it was primarily enforced against Chinese miners. The tax remained in force until it was voided by the federal Civil Rights Act of 1870.¹⁸⁴³

1854 People v. Hall | California Supreme Court | Affected: Chinese
Ruled that Chinese people cannot testify against whites in court. Some state laws and cases superseded *People v. Hall* until the Civil Rights Act of 1870 extended basic civil rights, including the right to give evidence in court to all persons, not just citizens.

1860 State Education Law | California State Legislature | Affected: Blacks, Chinese, Native Americans
Enacted laws that barred “Negros, Mongolians, and Indians” from public schools statewide.¹⁸⁴⁴ Mongolian applied to Chinese while Indian applied to Native Americans. Modified in 1870 and 1872, where anti-Chinese sentiments led to Chinese students being removed from the state education law, so that the 1880 School Law in California provided for public education of Black and Native American children in separate, segregated schools, and provisions for Chinese children were not explicit.¹⁸⁴⁵

1868 Fourteenth Amendment | U.S. Constitutional Amendment | Affected: All
Established birthright citizenship for all who were born in the United States, which automatically conferred citizenship on freed slaves and children of those ineligible for citizenship, such as immigrants from Asia.¹⁸⁴⁶ Also established the concepts of due process and of equal protection of the laws for any persons.

1868 Burlingame Treaty | U.S. Treaty with China | Affected: Chinese Immigrants
Established the right to free immigration and travel within the United States for Chinese citizens and gave reciprocal access to education and schooling when living in the other country. New treaty in 1880 revised the agreement prior to the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act.¹⁸⁴⁷

¹⁸⁴² Elmer Clarence Sandmeyer, *The Anti-Chinese Movement in California* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1991), 41-42.

¹⁸⁴³ Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 82.

¹⁸⁴⁴ McClain, *In Search of Equality*, 133.

¹⁸⁴⁵ Kuo, “Excluded, Segregated and Forgotten,” 192-196.

¹⁸⁴⁶ The 1790 Naturalization Law established that any alien who is a “free white person, who shall reside within the limits and under the jurisdiction of the United States for the term of two years, may be admitted to become a citizen thereof,” (First Congress, Session II, Ch.3, 1790, March 26, 1790). As immigrants from Asia were not considered white, they fell under the category of “aliens ineligible for citizenship.”

¹⁸⁴⁷ “The Burlingame-Seward Treaty, 1868,” Office of the Historian, United States Department of State, accessed January 2, 2022, <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1866-1898/burlingame-seward-treaty>.

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Section number E Page 3361870 Naturalization Act | Federal Legislation | Affect: All

Explicitly extended naturalization rights to aliens of African nativity and to persons of African descent, not to Asians.¹⁸⁴⁸

1870 Civil Rights Act of 1870 | Federal Legislation | Affected: Chinese Immigrants

Section 16 of the Civil Rights Act of 1870, explicitly introduced to apply to the Chinese, extended basic civil rights enjoyed by white citizens to all persons.¹⁸⁴⁹

1874 Ward v. Flood | California Supreme Court | Affected: Primarily Chinese

Ruled in favor of a Black student in San Francisco who challenged California's school law on the ground that it violated the newly enacted Fourteenth Amendment's equal protection clause. While the Court upheld that education was a legal right available to all children, the State could still exclude Black and Native American students if separate schools were provided for them. As a result, the California State Legislature changed the school law in 1880 by removing the word white so that public schools would have to admit all children regardless of race. In the absence of separate schools for Black and Native American students, these students were to be admitted to predominantly white schools.¹⁸⁵⁰ Chinese students were not addressed in the case nor in the revised legislation.

1875 Page Act | Federal Legislation | Affected: All, Primarily Chinese Immigrants

Ostensibly intended to prevent coolies or indentured servants from "China, Japan, or any Oriental country," who were immigrating without "free and voluntary consent," as well as prohibited the immigration of women for prostitution and other "lewd and immoral purposes."¹⁸⁵¹ Enforcement of the act questioned women of all classes, including those arriving as wives, and had the result of discouraging women to immigrate.¹⁸⁵²

1878 In re Ah Yup | U.S. Circuit Court | Affected: All, Primarily Chinese

U.S. Ninth Circuit Court determined that Ah Yup, a native and citizen of China, was of the Mongolian race and a Mongolian was not a white person in terms of the U.S.'s naturalization laws. Therefore, he was not eligible to become a citizen of the U.S.¹⁸⁵³

1879 Ho Ah-Kow v. Nunan | U.S. Circuit Court | Affected: Chinese

¹⁸⁴⁸ "Naturalization Act of 1870," Immigration History, accessed January 2, 2022, <https://immigrationhistory.org/item/naturalization-act-of-1870/>.

¹⁸⁴⁹ McClain, *In Search of Equality*, 38-40.

¹⁸⁵⁰ McClain, *In Search of Equality*, 134; Kuo, "Excluded, Segregated and Forgotten," 195-197.

¹⁸⁵¹ Forty-Third Congress, Session II, Ch.141, 1875, March 3, 1875.

¹⁸⁵² Erika Lee, "Exclusion Acts: Chinese Women during the Chinese Exclusion Era, 1882-1943," in *Asian/Pacific Islander American Women: A Historical Anthology*, ed. Shirley Hune and Gail M. Nomura (New York: New York University Press, 2003), 79.

¹⁸⁵³ Schlund-Vials, Wong, and Chang, *Asian America*, 41-44.

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U.S. Ninth Circuit Court overruled San Francisco’s Queue Ordinance, which required jailed inmates to wear their hair within an inch of their head.

1879 Amendments to the California constitution in 1879 excluded all Chinese immigrants from employment with corporations and from public works projects and further limited land ownership to aliens of the “white race or of African descent,” after the Fourteenth Amendment was ratified in 1868 that extended citizenship rights to former slaves through birthright citizenship.¹⁸⁵⁴ The 1880 California Civil Code added Mongolians to the list of races for which issuing marriage licenses with a white person was prohibited.¹⁸⁵⁵

1882 Chinese Exclusion Act | Federal Legislation | Affected: Chinese
 Prohibited immigration of Chinese laborers for ten years. Chinese laborers defined as “skilled and unskilled laborers and Chinese employed in mining.” It also established a system to document and certify laborers already in the United States to allow their re-entry. Non-laborers were allowed in, if the Chinese government issued a certificate authorizing their travel to the United States.¹⁸⁵⁶ The 1892 Geary Act extended the term of the exclusion act for another ten years. It was extended again in 1902 with no end date and made permanent in 1904. The Magnuson Act in 1943 repealed the 1882 exclusion act and established an annual quota of 105 for Chinese immigrants.¹⁸⁵⁷

1885 Tape v. Hurley | California Supreme Court | Affected: Primarily Chinese
 After the California State Legislature changed the school law in 1880 by removing the word white so that public schools would have to admit all children regardless of race, unless separate school were provided for Black and Native American students, Chinese students should have been admitted to white schools. Mamie Tape, an eight-year-old American-born girl with Chinese immigrant parents, was denied admission to San Francisco public schools. The parents sued the school board, and the California Supreme Court found in their favor that the state school law did not explicitly exclude those of Chinese descent from public schools. The findings opened the way for Mamie Tape to attend an all-white school and did not overrule the separate but equal approach. Instead, the California State Legislature quickly added Chinese students back into the 1885 state school laws so that they would be segregated, along with Black and Native American students. Subsequently, the San Francisco Board of Education established a separate primary school for Chinese children in Chinatown.¹⁸⁵⁸

1888 Scott Act | Federal Legislation | Affected: Chinese

¹⁸⁵⁴ Gillenkirk and Motlow, *Bitter Melon*, 26; Cherstin M. Lyon, “Alien Land Laws,” Densho Encyclopedia, accessed January 2, 2022, http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Alien_land_laws/.

¹⁸⁵⁵ Tong, “In California, A Long and Pivotal History of Interracial Marriage.”

¹⁸⁵⁶ Forty-Seventh Congress, Session I, Ch.126, 1882, May 6, 1882.

¹⁸⁵⁷ Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 94-95; “Chinese Exclusion Act Records at the National Archives at Seattle,” National Archives, accessed January 2, 2019, <https://www.archives.gov/seattle/finding-aids/chinese-exclusion-act>.

¹⁸⁵⁸ McClain, *In Search of Equality*, 136-142; Kuo, “Excluded, Segregated and Forgotten,” 195-198.

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Allowed officials, teachers, students, merchants, or travelers from China with proper certification to enter.¹⁸⁵⁹

1892 Geary Act | Federal Legislation | Affected: Chinese
Renewed the Chinese Exclusion Act for another ten years.

1898 United States v. Wong Kim Ark | U.S. Supreme Court | Affected: All
Upheld the constitutional guarantee in the Fourteenth Amendment of birthright citizenship to all born in the U.S. without regard to their ethnic background.

1900 Hawaiian Organic Act | U.S. Congress | Affected: Native Hawaiians
Established a government for the Territory of Hawai'i on April 30, 1900, with the capital at Honolulu on the island of Oahu. Also included provisions that extended U.S. citizenship to those who were born in Hawai'i prior to official transfer of sovereignty to the U.S. in 1898, as well as those who were born subsequently.¹⁸⁶⁰

1903 Pensionado Act | U.S. Congress | Affected: Filipina/o
Provided funds for a select number of Filipina/os (mostly men) to study abroad in the U.S. through 1943. Ultimately, the intention was for the students to return to the Philippines and work for the American colonial administration. Some *pensionados* remained in the U.S.¹⁸⁶¹

1905 California Civil Code, and its anti-miscegenation provisions, were amended to invalidate all marriages between Mongolian and white spouses.¹⁸⁶²

1907 Gentleman's Agreement | U.S. Informal Treaty with Japan | Affected: Japanese
The U.S. would not impose over immigration restrictions and Japan would not allow further immigration of laborers to the U.S.¹⁸⁶³

1913 California Alien Land Law (Webb-Haney Alien Land Law) | California Legislation | Affected:
All, Primarily Japanese

¹⁸⁵⁹ Schlund-Vials, Wong, and Chang, *Asian America*, 49.

¹⁸⁶⁰ "8 U.S. Code § 1405 – Persons born in Hawaii," *Legal Information Institute*, accessed January 2, 2022, <https://www.law.cornell.edu/uscode/text/8/1405>; "Hawaiian Organic Act 1900," *The Hawaiian Kingdom*, accessed January 2, 2022, <https://www.hawaiiankingdom.org/us-organic-act-1900.shtml>.

¹⁸⁶¹ National Register of Historic Places, *Asian Americans in Los Angeles*, E125.

¹⁸⁶² Volpp, "American Mestizo," 803.

¹⁸⁶³ Schlund-Vials, Wong, and Chang, *Asian America*, 62-64.

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Prohibited “aliens ineligible for citizenship” from owning agricultural land or possessing long-term land leases; this limited land leases to a three-year maximum.¹⁸⁶⁴ The law primarily targeted Japanese immigrants, and also affected Chinese, South Asian, and Korean immigrant farmers.

1917 Immigration Act of 1917 (Asiatic Barred Zone Act) | U.S. Legislation | Affected: All (except Filipina/os and Japanese; Chinese already excluded)

Banned immigration from most Asian counties, except the Philippines, which was a U.S. territory and Japan, whose government voluntarily eliminated the immigration of Japanese laborers as part of the Gentleman’s Agreement of 1907. The act also required immigrants over the age of 16 to demonstrate basic reading ability in any language.¹⁸⁶⁵

1920 California Alien Land Law | California Legislation | Affected: All “aliens ineligible for citizenship”

Seven years after the original Alien Land Law passed in 1913, the State passed the even more restrictive California Alien Land Law of 1920. The 1920 law removed the provision of a maximum three-year land lease, prohibited aliens ineligible for citizenship from owning stock in companies that acquired agricultural land or purchasing agricultural land under the names of native-born children, and required any alien landowners to submit reports of land ownership activities annually.¹⁸⁶⁶ Other states also enacted alien land laws, including Arizona, Florida, Texas, and Washington, among others. Some provisions of the laws were struck down in 1948 by the U.S. Supreme Court in *Oyama v. California*. In 1952, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Fujii v. State of California* that alien land laws were unconstitutional.¹⁸⁶⁷

1922 Cable Act (Married Women’s Independent Nationality Act) | U.S. Legislation | Affected: All Repealed the 1907 Expatriation Act so an American woman (having just gained the right to vote) married to a non-U.S. citizen would no longer lose her U.S. citizenship, on the condition her husband was eligible to become a U.S. citizen.¹⁸⁶⁸ Because Asian immigrants continued to be aliens ineligible for citizenship, the Cable Act did not apply to those women who married Asian men.

1922 Takao Ozawa v. United States | U.S. Supreme Court | Affected: Japanese Denied Japanese residents the right to become U.S. citizens because they were not white.

1923 United States v. Bhagat Singh Thind | U.S. Supreme Court | Affected: South Asians

¹⁸⁶⁴ Brian J. Gaines and Wendy K. Tam Cho, “On California’s 1920 Alien Land Law: The Psychology and Economics of Racial Discrimination,” *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 4, no. 3 (2004): 271-293.

¹⁸⁶⁵ “Closing the Door on Immigration,” National Park Service.

¹⁸⁶⁶ Gaines and Cho, “On California’s 1920 Alien Land Law,” 76.

¹⁸⁶⁷ Cherstin M. Lyon, “Alien Land Laws,” *Densho Encyclopedia*.

¹⁸⁶⁸ Hacker, “When Saying ‘I Do’ Meant Giving Up Your U.S. Citizenship.”

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Found that a high caste Hindu was not a white person and ruled that South Asians could not become U.S. citizens.

1924 Immigration Act of 1924 (Johnson-Reed Act or National Origins Quota Act of 1924) | U.S. Legislation | Affected: All

Further restricted immigration, resulting in a decreased annual quota of immigrants to the U.S. of 165,000.¹⁸⁶⁹ Nationality quotas were reduced to two percent of the foreign-born individuals in the 1890 Census with a minimum quota of 100. Accordingly, the law favored immigration from northern and western European countries and most effected Jewish, Italian, Slavic, and Greek immigrants, who had migrated in greater numbers after 1890. For Asian immigrants, the 1924 act restricted those few remaining categories that had still been allowed under the Chinese Exclusion Act, such as merchants and students, and mandated restrictions on Japanese immigration superseding the Gentlemen’s Agreement.¹⁸⁷⁰ U.S. nationals in U.S. territories, such as the Philippines, Hawai‘i, Guam, and America Samoa, were considered immigrants and thus, not subject to the quota system that remained in place for forty years until the Immigration Act of 1965.

1933 Roldan v. Los Angeles | California Appellate Court | Filipina/os

Found that those from the Philippines were Malays and not Mongolians, which would have allowed for marriages between Filipina/o and white spouses. Almost immediately, the California State Legislature, in an era of anti-immigration fervor, amended the state anti-miscegenation statutes to include Malays.¹⁸⁷¹

1934 Tydings-McDuffie Act (Philippines Independence Act) | U.S. Legislation | Affected: Filipina/o

Signed by President Franklin D. Roosevelt on March 24, 1934, the federal law put the Philippines on the path to gaining independence. It established the Commonwealth of the Philippines and would grant the Philippines independence after a ten-year period. It also changed the status of Filipina/os from U.S. nationals to aliens, which changed their status to that of other immigrants. As a separate county, restrictions on immigration from the Philippines was established with an annual quota of fifty.¹⁸⁷²

1935 Filipino Repatriation Act of 1935 | U.S. Legislation | Affected: Filipina/o

Supported by anti-Asian exclusionists who called for the deportation of Filipina/os, this act provided free one-way transportation for Filipina/os in the U.S. to return to the Philippines. Ultimately, only 2,200 people were granted funds to return to the Philippines during the five-year time frame the law was in effect.¹⁸⁷³

¹⁸⁷⁰ Hing, *Making and Remaking Asian America*, 32-33.

¹⁸⁷¹ Volpp, “American Mestizo,” 822; Tong, “In California, A Long and Pivotal History of Interracial Marriage.”

¹⁸⁷² Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 188.

¹⁸⁷³ Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 190.

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1940 Nationality Act of 1940 | U.S. Legislation | Affected: Filipina/os, Chamorros, and American Samoans

The first act to depart from a racial requirement for citizenship and attempt to unify all laws in the U.S. relating to nationality and naturalization into one codified law. The law extended eligibility to “descendants of races indigenous to the Western Hemisphere,” as a way for Native Americans to be eligible.¹⁸⁷⁴ In addition, it defined who was eligible for citizenship either through birth or naturalization. Those living in territories were only eligible for status as U.S. nationals, including Alaska, Hawai‘i, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, the Philippines, or Panama.¹⁸⁷⁵ Extended naturalization rights to Filipina/os who served in the military. Established that U.S. nationals can become naturalized U.S. citizens once they become a resident of a state.

1942 Executive Order 9066 | U.S. Executive Order | Affected: Japanese
President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed the order to incarcerate persons of Japanese ancestry along the West Coast in response to the bombing of Pearl Harbor and the United States’ entry into World War II.

1942 Hirabayashi v. United States | U.S. Supreme Court | Affected: Japanese
Ruled that the curfew imposed on Japanese Americans was constitutional.

1943 Magnuson Act | U.S. Legislation | Affected: Chinese
Chinese Exclusion Act repealed, as China was an U.S. ally against Japan in World War II. Chinese immigrants were subject to the 1924 Immigration Act and limited to a quota of 105 per year. Chinese residents permitted to become naturalized citizens.

1944 Korematsu v. United States | U.S. Supreme Court | Affected: Japanese
Ruled Executive Order 9066 was constitutional. The ruling was overturned in 1983 as part of the efforts of the redress and reparations movement.¹⁸⁷⁶

1944 Ex parte Mitsuye Endo | U.S. Supreme Court | Affected: Japanese
Held unanimously that the federal government could not confine indefinitely U.S. citizens of Japanese ancestry who were loyal. Decision led to the lifting of Japanese American exclusion from the West Coast and made possible the winding down of the War Relocation Authority camps.¹⁸⁷⁷

1945 War Brides Act | U.S. Legislation | Affected: All

¹⁸⁷⁴ Marian L. Smith, “Race, Nationality, and Reality,” *Prologue Magazine* 34, no. 2 (Summer 2002), accessed February 6, 2022, <https://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2002/summer/immigration-law-1>.

¹⁸⁷⁵ Seventy-Sixth Congress, Session 3, Ch. 876, 1940, October 14, 1940.

¹⁸⁷⁶ Schlund-Vials, Wong, and Chang, *Asian America*, 153.

¹⁸⁷⁷ “Ex parte Mitsuye Endo (1944),” *Densho Encyclopedia*, accessed October 8, 2022, [https://encyclopedia.densho.org/Ex_parte_Mitsuye_Endo_\(1944\)](https://encyclopedia.densho.org/Ex_parte_Mitsuye_Endo_(1944)).

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Allowed U.S. soldiers to bring their non-U.S. citizen brides and families to the U.S. following World War II. They were not subject to the immigration quotas in place at the time.¹⁸⁷⁸ Initially, Chinese spouses were the only Asian nationality that qualified to be brought to the United States under the act.

1946 Luce-Cellar Act | U.S. Legislation | Affected: South Asians and Filipina/os
 Granted citizenship eligibility to persons of Indian (from South Asia) and Filipina/o descent. Combined two bills, one for Indian naturalization rights and one for Filipina/o rights brought by Clare Booth Luce and Emmanuel Cellar. These two Asian groups were previously excluded from being naturalized citizens. Indian immigrants had been denaturalized since the Supreme Court Case of the *U.S. v. Bhagat Singh Thind* in 1923. Immigration was allowed from these two countries, set at 100 Filipina/o persons per year and 100 Indians per year, the minimum number allowed under the restrictive quotas.¹⁸⁷⁹

1946 The Philippines were granted full independence from the U.S. on July 4.¹⁸⁸⁰

1948 Oyama v. California | U.S. Supreme Court | Affected: All, Primarily Japanese
 Struck down certain provisions of California’s Alien Land Act on the basis of the Fourteenth Amendment’s equal protection clause. California halted enforcement of the Alien Land Act following the ruling.¹⁸⁸¹

1948 Shelley v. Kramer | U.S. Supreme Court | Affected: All
 Ruled racially restrictive covenants violated the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment and were not enforceable.

1952 McCarran-Walter Act (Immigration and Nationality Act) | U.S. Legislation | Affected: All
 This act intended to incorporate various provisions regarding U.S. immigration legislation into one law. Superseded the Nationality Act of 1940. It maintained the national origins system for European immigration and raised the cap from 154,000 to 158,000. For Asian immigration, it allotted annual quotas of 100 to each Asian nation that was previously barred by the 1924 Immigration Act. This act also eliminated restrictions against naturalization based on race or gender, so all Asian immigrants, not just those from China, India, or the Philippines, were eligible for citizenship. Priority was also given to spouses and children under the age of 18 of U.S. citizens.¹⁸⁸²

1952 Fujii Sei v. California | California Supreme Court | Affected:

¹⁸⁷⁸ “War Brides Acts (1945-1946),” Immigration History.

¹⁸⁷⁹ Hayes, *The Making of Modern Immigration*, 189; Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 256-257; 263.

¹⁸⁸⁰ “Philippine Independence from the Americans,” Philippine History, accessed January 26, 2022, <http://www.philippine-history.org/independence-from-americans.htm>.

¹⁸⁸¹ “Oyama v. California,” Densho Encyclopedia.

¹⁸⁸² Hayes, *The Making of Modern Immigration*, 383-384.

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Ruled that the Alien Land Law of 1913 could not prevent aliens from owning land. The law was found to be racially discriminatory and in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment.¹⁸⁸³

1965 Immigration Act (Hart-Cellar Act) | U.S. Legislation | Affected: All
 Abolished the national origins quota for immigration. Each country was given the same annual quota of 20,000 people. A system of preferences prioritizing family reunification and those with professional skills was established.¹⁸⁸⁴

1965 Voting Rights Act | U.S. Legislation | Affected: All
 Removed discriminatory barriers to the right to vote.

1967 Loving v. Virginia | U.S. Supreme Court | Affected: All
 Ruled that state laws against interracial marriages were unconstitutional.

1975 Indochina Migration and Refugee Assistance Act | U.S. Legislation | Affected: Southeast Asian Immigrants
 Granted asylum in the U.S. for former U.S. allies, specifically South Vietnamese, Laotians, and Cambodians after the fall of Saigon in 1975.¹⁸⁸⁵

1980 Refugee Act | U.S. Legislation | Affected: All
 Revised the Indochina Migration and Refugee Assistance Act to make more explicit and uniform a procedure of resettlement for those seeking asylum in the U.S.¹⁸⁸⁶

1988 Civil Liberties Act | U.S. Legislation | Affected: Japanese Americans
 Concluded the redress movement by granting monetary compensation (\$20,000) and a formal presidential apology to every surviving U.S. citizen or legal resident of Japanese ancestry incarcerated during World War II.¹⁸⁸⁷

¹⁸⁸³ "Restrictive Covenants," Densho Encyclopedia, accessed January 26, 2022, http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Restrictive_covenants/.

¹⁸⁸⁴ Schlund-Vials, Wong, and Chang, *Asian America*, 97-101.

¹⁸⁸⁵ Schlund-Vials, Wong, and Chang, *Asian America*, 101-103.

¹⁸⁸⁶ Schlund-Vials, Wong, and Chang, *Asian America*, 103-105.

¹⁸⁸⁷ "Civil Liberties Act of 1988," Densho Encyclopedia, October 8, 2022, https://encyclopedia.densho.org/Civil_Liberties_Act_of_1988/.

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F. ASSOCIATED PROPERTY TYPES

This section assists with the identification and evaluation of properties that may be significant for their association with Asian American and Pacific Islander (AAPI) history in California related to the contexts of this MPDF. A wide range of property types has been identified and the different types are referenced throughout the historic contexts.

National Register Criteria for Evaluation

Properties are significant under Criteria A, B, C, and/or D of the National Register:

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

Certain kinds of properties are not usually considered for listing on the National Register: religious properties, moved properties, birthplaces or graves, cemeteries, reconstructed properties, commemorative properties, and properties achieving significance within the past fifty years. These properties can be eligible for listing if they meet special requirements, called Criteria Considerations, in addition to meeting the regular requirements—eligible under one or more of the four Criteria and possessing integrity.

Criteria Consideration A: Religious Properties

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

Criteria Consideration B: Moved Properties

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

Criteria Consideration C: Birthplaces or Graves

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

Criteria Consideration D: Cemeteries

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

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Criteria Consideration E: Reconstructed Properties

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

Criteria Consideration F: Commemorative Properties

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

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

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

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

Those properties not of exceptional importance may become eligible when more time has passed. It is anticipated that this MPDF will be amended over time to include expanded periods of significance and other AAPI populations in California, and to address additional contexts and property types not yet identified.

Integrity

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

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

- *Location* is the place where the historic property was constructed or the place where the historic event occurred.
- *Design* is the combination of elements that create the form, plan, space, structure, and style of a property.
- *Setting* is the physical environment of a historic property.
- *Materials* are the physical elements that were combined or deposited during a particular period of time and in a particular pattern or configuration to form a historic property.

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- *Workmanship* is the physical evidence of the crafts of a particular culture or people during any given period in history or prehistory.
- *Feeling* is a property's expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time.
- *Association* is the direct link between an important historic event or person and a historic property.

To retain historic integrity a property will always possess several, and usually most, of the aspects. The retention of specific aspects of integrity is paramount for a property to convey its significance. Determining which of these aspects are most important to a particular property requires knowing why, where, and when the property is significant.

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

All properties change over time. It is not necessary for a property to retain all its historic physical features or characteristics. The property must retain the essential physical features that enable it to convey its historic identity. The essential physical features are those features that define both why a property is significant—Applicable Criteria and Area(s) of Significance—and when it was significant—Period(s) of Significance. Some properties may change during the period of significance, such as expansion through additions or material replacement as more resources become available; the changes may gain significance over time. Street-facing elevations should retain most of their major design features; some original materials may have been altered or removed.

Resources should retain the overall shape and rhythm of window openings and entrances, even if storefronts have changed. Replacement of storefronts is a common alteration, and a missing storefront may not automatically exclude a commercial building from eligibility.

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

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excluded from consideration. The relationships among the district's components must be substantially unchanged since the period of significance.

Architectural and physical attributes of some properties associated with AAPI communities in California may be modest, and some may have been altered, compromising integrity of design, materials, and/or workmanship. Setting (surrounding buildings and land uses) and/or original use may have changed. Properties may still be eligible under Criterion A or B on the strength of their association with historic events or people. Retention of location, feeling, association, and sometimes setting, particularly for sites, cultural landscapes, and historic districts, may be more important than design, workmanship, and materials, though enough physical aspects should remain to connect the property to the significant association; that is, enough character-defining features from the period of significance exist to convey the property's significance. Consider the balance and combination of the structural system, massing, arrangement of spaces, pattern of fenestration, textures and colors of surface materials, type, amount, and style of ornamental detailing, and other aspects when determining the design integrity. Properties eligible under Criterion C must retain those physical features that characterize the type, period, method of construction, or work of the master that the property represents, and retain integrity of design, materials, and/or workmanship along with feeling and association. Location and setting are important for those properties whose design is a reflection of their immediate environment. The integrity requirements and considerations take into account the history of AAPI communities in California during the period of significance, whose ability to own and control property were often limited by legal, social, and economic circumstances. As such, properties that were modest in the first place may have undergone physical changes during and/or following the occupancy by AAPI communities.

Registration Requirements

All property types must date from within the period of significance for the associated context, retain character defining features from their period of significance, and retain sufficient integrity to convey their significance. Properties must have been constructed or used by AAPIs and represent an important association with AAPI communities in California.

Properties must be eligible in the area of Ethnic Heritage: Asian, with the subcategory of Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Filipina/o, South Asian, Vietnamese; or Ethnic Heritage: Pacific Islander, with the subcategory of Native Hawaiian, Chamorro, Samoan; and/or other AAPI communities to be specified as appropriate in the individual nomination. Nominations for properties eligible in the area of Ethnic Heritage must also identify one or more areas of significance that closely relate to the events, activities, characteristics, or information for which the property is significant. Refer to *National Register Bulletin 16A, How to Complete the National Register Registration Form* (Bulletin 16A) for a complete list of areas of significance. Registration requirements and/or special integrity considerations particular to specific property types are identified as needed.

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Property Types Associated with Prominent Persons in Asian American History

Description: Properties associated with prominent AAPI persons, and prominent persons in AAPI history, in California are common to all contexts. Properties include residential, commercial, institutional, educational, industrial, agricultural, and professional resources. Resources can be found statewide, with some concentrations in the geographic areas of settlement and migration as discussed in the context narratives. Architectural type, style, and detail vary widely and are generally based on the date of construction.

Significance: Properties associated with prominent AAPI persons, and prominent persons in AAPI history, in California may be eligible for listing on the National Register under Criterion B at the local, state, or national level. A property must be directly associated with the productive life of a significant AAPI individual or associated with California residents of other cultures and ethnicities who have been instrumental in furthering opportunities for AAPIs. In addition to Ethnic Heritage: Asian, individuals may be important in a wide range of areas of significance as listed in Bulletin 16A. Individuals include important civic leaders and activists, business owners, educators, labor organizers, religious leaders, lawyers, doctors, actors, writers, politicians, farmers, athletes, and artists. The associated historic context narratives identify some persons significant in AAPI history whose associated properties may be evaluated under this property type, and more may be identified with additional research.

Registration Requirements:

- Directly associated with the productive life of a significant AAPI individual or associated with California residents of other cultures and ethnicities who have been instrumental in furthering opportunities for AAPIs.
- Individual must be proven to have made an important contribution to one or more areas of significance as it relates to AAPI history.
- Individual must have lived in or used the property during the period in which the person achieved significance.
- Contributions of individuals must be compared to those of others who were active, successful, or influential in the same field.
- Each property associated with someone important should be compared with other properties associated with that individual to identify those resources that are good representatives of the person’s historic contributions.
- For multi-family residential properties, the apartment or room occupied by the person must be readable from the period of significance.
- Properties associated with the lives of living persons may be eligible, if the person’s active life in their field of endeavor is over AND sufficient time has elapsed to assess both their field and their contribution in a historic perspective.
- For an individual’s birthplace to be eligible, it must meet Criteria Consideration C: the person is of outstanding importance and no other appropriate site or building exists directly associated with the person’s productive life.

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- Should retain integrity of location, design, feeling, and association.

Property Types Associated with Migration and Community Formation

Description: Properties associated with migration and community formation in California are common to all AAPI communities during the period of significance. Some may be significant to more than one AAPI community. They cover a wide range of property types depending on the association.

- Properties associated with immigration or migration into the United States include ports of entry, immigration stations, and civic institutions, such as where important court cases were determined.
- Properties associated with migration within the state may be linked to movement for work opportunities, including mining, railroads, building irrigation systems and other infrastructure, forestry, agriculture, maritime activities, and other industries, and may include agricultural, industrial, transportation, mining, and infrastructure resources, among others. Residential and commercial properties related to hospitality and domestic servant work may also be included.
- Properties associated with settlement patterns and community formation, often near the location of jobs, may be linked to the establishment of residential or commercial AAPI concentrations, or residential, commercial, institutional (private or public), educational, or civic properties associated with significant individuals or events.

Resources can be found statewide, and the timeframes and locations varied according to the migration and community formation patterns as discussed in the context narratives. In general, properties may be purpose built or utilize existing buildings constructed for other purposes. Architectural type, style, and detail vary widely and are generally based on the date of construction.

Significance: Properties associated with AAPI migration and community formation in California during the period of significance may be eligible for listing on the National Register under Criterion A at the local, state, or national level of significance. In addition to Ethnic Heritage: Asian, associated areas of significance may include and are not limited to Agriculture, Commerce, Communications, Community Planning and Development, Economics, Education, Engineering, Exploration/Settlement, Health/Medicine, Industry, Law, Maritime History, Military, Politics/Government, Social History, and/or Transportation.

Because migration and community formation are among the most important and overarching themes for AAPI communities in California, many properties have the potential to be significant. The significance may be for direct association with a specific event, or with numerous events that cumulatively is important to the AAPI community. Those with the strongest connections to AAPI immigration or migration, or that led or were significant in settlement and community formation in specific parts of the state, are more likely to be listed. Mere association with migration or community formation would not be sufficient (i.e., a home that an AAPI family lived in), unless rarity or last-of-its-kind arguments can

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be made related to a particular significance (e.g., the last remaining home associated with an AAPI family in a specific locality from when a substantial AAPI community existed).

Properties may also be significant in association with other subcontexts or themes, such as agriculture, business, industry, or labor that have more detailed significance and registration requirements. A few subtypes (Mixed Use Historic Districts, Agriculture, and Industry) are outlined later in this section. Additional subtypes, such as transportation networks, mining sites, and landscapes, may be added over time or addressed as part of another subcontext as they are developed.

Some properties may also be eligible under Criterion B for association with a significant individual or Criterion C for architectural type, period, or method of construction, work of a master, or high artistic values.

Registration Requirements:

- Directly associated with the migration or community formation of one or more associated AAPI communities
- May be important for its association with numerous historic events and personages for the cumulative importance of those events and individuals to the community or communities.
- May reflect the changing demographics of a neighborhood.
- May represent a significant event or movement in the social history of a locality or California.
- Length of time and significance to the associated AAPI community or communities must be compared to other properties with similar association and significance to identify resources that are most representative.
- May be buildings designed by AAPI architects, constructed by AAPI builders, and/or with Asian design features.
- Should retain integrity of location, design, feeling, and association.
- Those nominated under Criterion C should also retain integrity of materials and workmanship through the presence of the majority of the features that illustrate its architectural distinction.

Mixed Use Historic Districts

Description: A significant concentration of commercial, residential, and/or institutional buildings associated with AAPI communities in California in a defined geographic area may constitute a historic district. Historic districts associated with this context may be found in small towns as well as large cities statewide. Prior to 1965, they were often where AAPI communities settled to be near employment and in the areas where they were relegated by *de facto* or *de jure* segregation.

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Districts may be as small as a few buildings in proximity to each other or as large as several blocks. For the Chinese, Japanese, and Filipina/o American communities, some well-defined Chinatowns, Japantowns, and Filipinotowns existed with a broad mix of businesses and institutions such as religious buildings, community serving organizations, and political or civic organizations. Residential buildings, including single-family houses, duplexes, multi-family apartments, and other property types, may also be adjacent and occupied primarily by AAPI persons during the period of significance. Mixed use buildings may include residential uses, such as apartments or lodging rooms above ground-floor retail. Chinatowns, Japantowns, and Filipinotowns are often located adjacent or near each other, alongside other ethnic communities that were also subject to segregation. Members of other AAPI communities may also have had commercial, residential, or institutional concentrations near existing Chinatowns, Japantowns, and Filipinotowns.

More common for all the AAPI communities before 1965 is a smaller cluster of residences with scattered places of business, sometimes near key institutions or a community center. These clusters are often in ethnically mixed neighborhoods not dominated by any one ethnic group. Small groupings associated with an AAPI community may still constitute a historic district.

Buildings within the district may be purpose built, or more commonly, were built by others and occupied by AAPI communities. Buildings may have been designed by AAPI or non-AAPI architects. Size, massing, form, and architectural style vary and generally reflect the date of construction, which may predate the association with the AAPI community. For earlier areas, the visual cues of the association with AAPI communities may have been on the building interior or through signage, and may no longer be readily apparent. For some later Chinatowns and Japantowns where the AAPI communities were more involved with the construction, Asian design motifs were included to clearly define these areas and distinguish them as an ethnic neighborhood that helped to improve their reputations, attract tourists, and avoid wholesale removal. Urban renewal and freeway building in the mid-twentieth century often destroyed some or all of the buildings in AAPI neighborhoods. Some districts were rebuilt in styles of the day with Asian design motifs, while others have discontinuous buildings separated by empty or infilled lots or freeways.

Significance: Mixed use historic districts associated with AAPIs in California may be eligible for listing on the National Register under Criterion A at the local, state, or national level of significance. In addition to Ethnic Heritage: Asian, identified districts are significant in areas that may include and are not limited to Commerce, Community Planning and Development, Exploration/Settlement, and Social History. Mixed use historic districts may also be significant under Criterion C as a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction, as well as in the area of Architecture as a distinctive and cohesive collection of buildings with Asian design features associated with noted AAPI architects, and in the area of Art for public art features designed by master artists, or for their high artistic value.

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The districts served as the hub of day-to-day commercial and social activities for AAPI individuals. They may evidence the direct influence of AAPI business and civic leaders in the planning, development, and operation of key commercial centers, groupings of businesses, or important institutional buildings associated with AAPI communities.

Registration Requirements:

- Represents an intact grouping of commercial, residential, and/or institutional buildings that has a strong cultural association to one or more AAPI communities.
- Conveys a strong sense of overall historic environment from the period of significance.
- Development may be influenced by significant business/civic leaders in AAPI communities.
- May be important for its association with numerous historic events and personages who operated businesses or provided services for the cumulative importance of those individuals to AAPI communities.
- May include a substantial number of buildings designed by AAPI architects, constructed by AAPI builders, and/or with Asian design features.
- May be discontinuous districts of remaining, intact buildings associated with AAPI communities.
- Should retain integrity of location, design, setting, feeling, and association.

Agriculture

Description: Property types include vernacular agricultural landscapes, packing houses, barns, stables, produce markets, nurseries, worker bunkhouses/lodging houses, and ranch/farm houses. Properties may also include canals, irrigations systems, and levees.

The California Department of Transportation’s 2007 report, *A Historic Context and Archaeological Research Design for Agricultural Properties in California*, defines two broad agricultural property types: farms and ranches.¹⁸⁸⁸ Farms are generally associated with growing plant products. Ranches are associated with raising animals. Some properties may be mixed with both uses. These categorizations are not absolute, and may not have been consistently used historically, such as in census data collection. They are useful frameworks to consider agricultural property types for AAPI communities.

Two types of feature systems under farm and ranch may exist: domestic and agricultural. In domestic feature systems, houses and barns are the principal buildings and other buildings are ancillary. The primary function of the house and ancillary buildings is to support domestic activities. Agricultural feature systems consist of barns, fencing, fields, irrigation systems, and specialty structures whose primary function is support of agricultural production.

¹⁸⁸⁸ California Department of Transportation, *A Historical Context and Archaeological Research Design for Agricultural Properties in California* (Sacramento, 2007), 143.

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Farms are the more common property type associated with the AAPI communities in California during the period of significance; ranch and multi-use properties may also be associated though they do not appear as frequently.

Farms

Farms were generally comprised of buildings and structures that facilitated the growing and production of foodstuff, like produce, orchards, vineyards, poultry, etc., or products like cotton for use in manufacturing. They range in size from as little as ten acres to over a thousand acres. Farm buildings were generally clustered together.

Ranches

Ranches were generally comprised of buildings and structures that facilitated the raising of livestock for domestic and commercial use. Cattle and sheep were the main livestock in California between 1850 and 1950, though horses, goats, and hogs were also raised. Ranch properties generally contain a minimum of forty acres, and larger ranches may have thousands of acres. Built resources may be scattered throughout the property.

Multi Use Properties

Some properties may exhibit a mix of farming and ranching uses. In these cases, resources of either or both property types may be present.

Domestic Feature Systems

Domestic feature systems are associated with the household activity of the owner or tenant. They may include a house, cellar or basement, privy, well, sheet refuse, trash dumps, cisterns, windmills, and other associated resources. Designed, vernacular, or natural landscapes such as gardens, fruit trees, fields/farmland and/or grove/orchard, chicken coops, and boundary fencing may be part of the system when adjacent to and oriented around the residence. Farm and ranch houses are generally of wood-frame construction and reflect popular architectural styles of the period of construction; adobe, stone, and logs may also have been used depending on available local building materials.

Agricultural Feature Systems

Agricultural feature systems were larger than domestic feature system properties, and include more building types. The associated resources, including areas occupied by workers, are oriented primarily or exclusively toward production for market or personal consumption.

The associated resources include barns, sheds, granaries, fencing, corrals, pens, fields, orchards, activity areas, trash dumps, agricultural machinery, water conveyance and storage systems/irrigation features, troughs, access roads, and silos. Specialty buildings and structures related to the function may exist, such as milk houses or creameries, poultry sheds, slaughterhouses, cold storage or ice house, or loading

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chutes, as well as buildings for associated craft industries, such as weaving, spinning, woodworking, or metalworking.

There is generally a work area for food production (fields, orchards, dairy), or animal raising. Permanent worker housing buildings (bunk houses, lodging houses) or complexes and temporary camps used by workers may be adjacent or found in different areas of the property. Depending on the size of the operation, there may be independent parts within the same property that function differently and all support the operation.

Buildings and structures such as barns, sheds, and worker housing associated with agricultural farm properties were generally constructed of wood framing. Log, stone—including fieldstone foundations, and metal may also be part of the construction.

Significance: Agricultural properties associated with AAPIs in California during the period of significance may be eligible for listing on the National Register under Criterion A at the local, state, or national level of significance. In addition to Ethnic Heritage: Asian, resources may be significant in the areas of Agriculture and/or Social History, among others.

Individual domestic farms or ranches reflect the ability of some AAPI individuals to secure their own land to cultivate, whether through purchase, lease, or sharecropping. Truck farming was a specific type of domestic farming that was an important part of agricultural production throughout California, particularly for local markets. It provided a livelihood for thousands of small farmers in rural parts of metropolitan areas, including farmers from a variety of ethnic and cultural backgrounds. Their contributions when viewed in aggregate were critical to the local economy. Furthermore, some truck farms represent a notable movement within early twentieth century residential development to provide self-sufficient acreage in a systematic way to newcomers who took on a more rural lifestyle.

Domestic farm and ranch properties may be significant when they can visibly convey their historic use through the presence of the farm or ranch house and associated domestic feature system landscape. In an urban setting, intact farm or ranch houses constructed prior to 1900 may be extremely rare, and a limited suggestion of their former setting (larger lot, landscaped with fruit trees and/or vegetable gardens) may be sufficient for their eligibility, particularly at the local level of significance.

Agricultural farms and ranches were important to AAPI communities during the period of significance as sources of employment and livelihood. The availability of agricultural jobs, both permanent and seasonal, drove the migration pattern of many AAPI laborers and often was the reason for settlement and community formation in nearby towns. Associations include properties where AAPI laborers represented a significant part of the workforce, properties owned and operated by AAPI individuals or families, and properties that reflect a specific crop or type of agriculture closely associated with AAPI communities.

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Agricultural farms and ranches may retain significant remnants of a once expansive agricultural landscape. The most intact properties will include multiple buildings, structures, and landscape resources related to the full range of farming or ranching activity, such as barns, sheds, worker housing, water conveyance/irrigation systems, fields, orchards, corrals, and pens. Enough resources should be present to convey the sense of the historic use in agricultural production. Individual buildings and structures that no longer have the historic association with a farm or ranch may still be eligible, especially in more urbanized settings, as the only extant property type associated with AAPI agricultural history of the locality.

Properties associated with agriculture may also be associated with AAPIs who made important individual contributions to the field under Criterion B. Under Criterion C, properties could also be eligible for specialized technical developments in the area of Design or Engineering.

Registration Requirements: Domestic Farms or Ranches

- Agricultural property owned and/or operated by an AAPI farmer or/rancher.
- Open landscape with agricultural features that may include a farm or ranch house, fields/farmland, orchard/grove, corrals/pens, agricultural outbuildings and related features such as wells, pumps, water conveyance/irrigation systems, barns, sheds, gardens, windmills, and fencing.
- May have played a significant role in agricultural development for local and/or regional/national markets.
- Relationships between buildings/structures and landscape features should be retained.
- Site or historic district should retain integrity of location, setting, feeling, and association. Contributing resources should also retain integrity of design and/or materials and workmanship.

Registration Requirements: Agricultural Farms or Ranches

- Agricultural property owned and/or operated by an AAPI individuals or families, or where AAPIs made up a significant portion of the labor force.
- Open landscape with a range of agricultural resources that may include fields/farmland, orchard/grove, corrals/pens, stables, barns, sheds, and other agricultural outbuildings and related features such as fencing, water conveyance/irrigation systems, standpipes, and tanks.
- May have played a significant role in agricultural development for local and/or regional/national markets.
- Relationships between built and landscape resources should be retained.
- Site or district should retain integrity of location, setting, feeling, and association. Contributing resources should also retain integrity of design and/or materials and workmanship.

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Registration Requirements: Farm/Ranch House

- Associated with an AAPI farmer/rancher.
- Constructed as a farm/ranch house.
- Single-family residence, typically constructed of wood-framing, adobe, logs, or stone.
- Often designed in prevalent architectural styles of the period.
- May convey historic use through an associated designed, vernacular, or natural landscape.
- Because of their rarity, pre-1900 examples and examples in urbanized settings may have minimal associated agricultural landscape resource(s).
- Associated resources may include gardens, fruit trees, chicken coops, barns or stables, corrals, wells, pumps, windmills, fencing, fields/farmland and/or grove/orchard.
- Should retain integrity of location, design, feeling, and association.

Registration Requirements: Worker Housing

- Worker bunk house or lodging house that provided housing for AAPI agricultural workers during the period of significance for the associated context.
- Often designed in prevalent architectural styles and construction method of the period and locality.
- May include more than one building or be part of a complex.
- Should retain integrity of location, design, feeling, and association.

Industry

Description: Industrial properties related to AAPI in California during the period of significance reflect the wide range of industries in which AAPI communities labored. These may include food production, fishing, processing, and manufacturing. Property types include those along the path from farm/sea to market, such as packing houses, canneries, food processing and manufacturing factories, and storage and wholesale distribution warehouses, lodging for industrial workers, and commercial buildings associated with retail sales and industry associations.

Known resources are primarily related to food processing and manufacturing and wholesalers of produce and other foods. Extant industrial buildings are generally one-story and utilitarian in design; some may have also included commercial retail space for sales of products. Some industries were culturally specific such as tofu manufacturing by Japanese Americans.

Significance: Industrial properties associated with AAPIs in California may be eligible for listing on the National Register under Criterion A at the local, state, or national level of significance. In addition to Ethnic Heritage: Asian, resources may be significant in the areas of Industry and/or Social History. They evidence the types of industries AAPIs engaged and excelled in based on skills, knowledge, cultural traditions brought with them to California and, in some cases, passed on through generations. Resources

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also represent a sense of entrepreneurship that triumphed despite racial discrimination and competition with other culturally based industries over the years.

Registration Requirements: Industrial Building

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

Property Types Associated with Community Serving Organizations

Description: Property types associated with community serving organizations are common to all AAPI communities. They cover a wide range of facilities serving many functions including, and not limited to, the following:

- Community and Cultural Centers
- Kin, Fraternal, or Regional Lodges, Associations, and Organizations
- Benevolent Associations
- Social Service, Welfare, or Mutual Aid Organizations
- Senior Citizen Centers
- Youth Organizations
- Women's Clubs and Organizations
- Religiously Affiliated Organizations
- Language Schools
- Hospitals
- Financial or Credit Organizations
- Transnational or Independence Movement Organizations
- Labor Organizations
- Political or Civic Organizations

Known property types are located statewide within areas of migration and community formation associated with each AAPI community. Some organizations and institutions may have been established earlier in different locations or formed branches in different parts of the state.

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

Significance: Institutional buildings associated with community serving organizations associated with AAPIs in California during the period of significance may be eligible for listing on the National Register under Criterion A at the local, state, or national level of significance. In addition to Ethnic Heritage: Asian, associated areas of significance may include and are not limited to Community Planning and Development, Education, Exploration/Settlement, Health/Medicine, Politics/Government, and/or Social History. Organizations served as social and cultural hubs in their communities and played a critical role in the lives of AAPIs of all ages. Many organizations provided a range of services to new residents settling in California to assist with housing, employment, language, and education needs. Others provided activities and services to promote Asian and Pacific Islander cultural traditions, languages, and practices as well as health, social services, and community development programs that were not available to AAPI communities otherwise. Others supported political activism, equality, and civil rights.

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

Many individuals associated with AAPI community serving organizations may have also made significant individual contributions to their respective field and associated resources may be eligible under Criterion B. Some buildings may also be eligible under Criterion C for architectural style, work of a master, or high artistic values.

Registration Requirements:

- May be important for its association with numerous historic events and personages for the cumulative importance of those events and individuals to the community.
- May reflect the changing demographics of a neighborhood.
- May represent a significant event or movement in the social history of a locality or California.
- Length of time and significance to the associated AAPI community must be compared to other locations of the same organization to identify resources that are most representative.
- Should retain integrity of location, design, feeling, and association.
- Those nominated under Criterion C should also retain integrity of materials and workmanship through the presence of the majority of the features that illustrate its architectural distinction.

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Property Types Associated with Religion and Spirituality

Description: Property types associated with religion and spirituality are common to all AAPI communities during the period of significance. They include individual buildings as well as religious campuses with multiple buildings, which, in addition to churches and temples, housed living quarters, schools, community centers, and sports facilities. Campuses may be evaluated as historic districts.

Resources can be found statewide, and the timeframes and locations varied according to the migration and community formation patterns as discussed in the context narratives. For the Chinese and Japanese American communities, religious buildings first appeared during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, while for others, such as the Samoan community, they are not seen until after World War II. For the most part, buildings and sites are located within or near areas where the communities they served formed, which may be in defined ethnic neighborhoods like Chinatowns, Japantowns, or Filipinotowns, or in historically ethnically mixed areas.

Property types include temples serving Eastern religions—such as Taoism, Confucianism, Buddhism, Sikhism, and Hinduism—and Islamic mosques and community centers. Temples and mosques can be purpose built, with or without Asian design elements or outward features indicating religious use or association with an AAPI community. Early gathering places for worship may have been located in existing buildings adapted for religious uses, or within mixed use buildings in which the religious use was one of many. Chinese fraternal and benevolent association buildings frequently included shrines.

Property types also include churches and buildings that served a variety of Christian congregations (Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, Episcopal, and Catholic, among others). Properties affiliated with religious uses from before a church was established, such as missions, fellowships, and clubs, may also be included. The earliest church properties associated with the Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Filipina/o American communities were founded as Christian (primarily Protestant) missions before a full church or congregation was established. Such missions were located in residential or mixed used buildings.

Once established, it was common for congregations to change locations over time, first renting or sharing a building with other congregations or denominations, and then purchasing or constructing new buildings. For this reason, many different locations can be associated with a congregation over time. Religious buildings associated with AAPI communities can be purpose built or originally constructed by and for other congregations, and subsequently used by AAPI congregations.

Many religious campuses were expanded over time with new or larger buildings replacing the earlier ones. Size, massing, form, and architectural style vary over time and with the religious group. Most religious buildings have undergone some alterations over time.

Significance: Religious properties associated with AAPIs in California during the period of significance may be eligible for listing on the National Register under Criterion A at the local, state, or national level of significance. In addition to Ethnic Heritage: Asian, associated areas of significance may include and

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are not limited to Religion, Community Planning and Development, Exploration/Settlement, and/or Social History.

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

Many individuals associated with religion and spirituality emerged as community leaders. Under Criterion B, a resource may also be significant for its association with an individual. Some religious buildings may also be significant under Criterion C for architectural style, work of a master, or high artistic values.

Registration Requirements: To meet eligibility requirements for inclusion in the National Register, religious properties must first satisfy Criteria Consideration A: the property must derive primary significance from historical importance (Criterion A or B) or architectural distinction (Criterion C).

- May be important for its association with numerous historic events and personages for their cumulative importance to the community.
- May reflect the changing demographics of a neighborhood.
- May represent a significant event or movement in the social history of a locality or California.
- Length of time and significance to the associated AAPI community may be compared to other locations of the same congregation to identify resources that are most representative.
- Should retain integrity of location, design, feeling, and association.
- Properties nominated under Criterion C should also retain integrity of materials and workmanship through the presence of the majority of the features that illustrate its architectural distinction.

Property Types Associated with Business, Industry, and Labor

Description: Property types associated with business, industry, and/or labor are common to all AAPI communities. They cover a wide range of facilities depending on their association. Those related to places of employment by AAPI labor primarily include agricultural and industrial properties discussed under Property Types Associated with Migration and Community Formation.

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Those related to places owned or operated by AAPI proprietors are primarily commercial buildings or concentrations of such buildings that form contiguous or discontinuous historic districts. Mixed Use Historic Districts are discussed under Property Types Associated with Migration and Community Formation.

Commercial buildings can be stand-alone retail buildings; attached or detached mixed-use buildings with ground-floor storefronts; low- to high-rise, multi-story office buildings; or small groupings in strip mall shopping centers or as hotel or motel properties, among others. Some types of businesses, housed in various commercial buildings and properties, include and are not limited to:

- Retail
 - Grocery/Market
 - General Goods
 - Bookshop
 - Flower shop
 - Pharmacy/Herbalist Shops
 - Nursery
- Clothing Service
 - Laundry
 - Tailor
- Personal Grooming
 - Barber Shop
 - Beauty Salon
 - Nail Salon
- Food Service
 - Restaurant
 - Bakery
 - Bar/Club
- Professional Service/Office
 - Medical/Dental
 - Legal
 - Accounting/Finance
 - Real Estate
 - Employment Agency
 - Mortuary/Funeral Homes
 - Bank/Financial Institution
 - Translation/Language Schools
 - Newspapers/Magazines
 - Publishing

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- Lodging/Hospitality
 - Hotel/Motel
 - Boarding House

Commercial buildings may also house multi-tenant stalls or be the headquarters location or office of a business development and support organization, such as Chambers of Commerce or trade organizations. They may also represent places of employment for AAPI laborers, such as segregated hotels where AAPI servers worked.

Properties related to labor organizing may include labor halls; other buildings with assembly spaces; buildings housing labor organization headquarters, offices, or meeting spaces; and sites of protests or strikes. Properties associated with persons important in business, industry, and/or labor are discussed under Property Types Associated with Prominent Persons in Asian American History.

Resources can be found statewide, and the timeframes and locations varied according to the events and patterns as discussed in this subcontext. In general, properties may be purpose built or utilize existing buildings constructed for other purposes. Architectural type, style, and detail vary widely and are generally based on the date of construction.

Significance: Properties associated with AAPI business, industry, and/or labor in California may be eligible for listing on the National Register under Criterion A at the local, state, or national level of significance. In addition to Ethnic Heritage: Asian, associated areas of significance may include and are not limited to Agriculture, Commerce, Communications, Community Planning and Development, Economics, Engineering, Entertainment/Recreation, Health/Medicine, Industry, Invention, Law, Maritime History, Military, Social History, and/or Transportation.

For many in the AAPI communities, how they made their living was a major part of their lives in California. It was one of the main factors in determining where they moved and settled in the state. AAPI communities made important contributions in certain industries that shaped the state, with agriculture and agriculture-related fields as the most common across communities prior to 1965. The Chinese community was also a key part of mining, railroad, and land reclamation in the nineteenth century. The contributions of the AAPI community members were as laborers, workers, and employees, as well as business owners, operators, and facilitators.

Significance Related to AAPI Labor or Employment

As employees, the mere association with AAPI laborers or employment is insufficient for significance. The association of the property with AAPI employment should be significant. In addition to the discussions under Property Types Associated with Migration and Community Formation, such significance may be related to the place of employment as a pull factor that attracted or resulted in local AAPI community formation or settlement, as part of seasonal trends for AAPI labor migration, or in building the business to become prominent in its field or in commercial or social history. Ownership or

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management by AAPI community members or association with associated with individuals who are considered important, or otherwise recognized as important in history may be more significant.

Some AAPI communities played a prominent role in labor organizing, such as the Filipina/o labor unions in the early to mid-twentieth century. Properties that are the sites of significant labor protests or strikes, that served as important locations of assembly for organizing, as the headquarters or offices of prominent labor organizations, or otherwise associated with AAPI communities and labor organizing or activism may be important as well. See also Property Types Associated with Activism, Civic Engagement, and Political Participation.

Significance of Businesses Owned or Operated by AAPI Community Members

As immigrants or refugees acclimating to a new country, and in the discriminatory environment many encountered, owning or operating a business was one of the few available paths to independence, security, and wealth-building. AAPI business owners and operators engaged in all types of endeavors, including professional services. Some business types were strongly associated with specific AAPI communities, such as Chinese-owned laundries, Japanese-owned nurseries or flower shops, and Vietnamese-owned nail salons, as a few examples.

While they collectively tell the pattern of history, the mere association of a property with an AAPI-owned or operated business would not be sufficient for listing. Those properties associated with businesses that have been significant in that field, in commercial or social history, associated with individuals who are considered important, or otherwise recognized as important in history are more likely to be listed.

The significance of the business may be related to the particular goods and services provided, the serving of AAPI communities when other businesses excluded them, its position in community formation or development of ethnic enclaves or concentrations, its importance as part of an AAPI network, or the role it played in local, regional, or broader commerce, among others. Some businesses also served as cultural hubs, social gathering places, and in providing services unique to its community.

Properties associated with a significant AAPI business may be its founding location, or the location of a long-term tenancy. Those with a short associated tenancy may be significant if they are associated with specific significant events or efforts or are highly intact. Buildings that have been significantly modified or purpose-built by the business owner as the business prospered may also be significant, so long as the significance remains after the modification or construction.

For all properties under this subcontext, entire buildings owned, constructed, remodeled, or operated by AAPI persons, businesses, or organizations would be of particular importance. Larger-scale properties with associated significant spaces, such as an office or assembly hall within a multi-occupant building, or a site of a historic event on a campus or park, may be nominated for the association if it is of particular importance or in addition to other significance. The significant space must be readable from

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the period of significance.

Rarity or last-of-its-kind arguments can be made related to a particular significance (e.g., the last remaining property associated with an AAPI-owned or operated business in a specific locality from when a substantial AAPI community existed). Properties that house multiple AAPI-owned or operated businesses concurrently or successively may be important if they reflect settlement or community formation patterns or patterns of changing demographics.

Some properties may also be eligible under Criterion B for association with a significant individual or multiple significant individuals who made important contributions related to business, industry or labor associated with AAPI communities, or Criterion C for architectural type, period, or method of construction, work of a master, or high artistic values. Properties may also be eligible under Criterion D if they have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important to the understanding of industry and labor related to AAPI communities.

Properties may also be significant in association with other subcontexts or themes, such as migration and community formation; community-serving organizations; activism, civic engagement, and political participation; or others.

Registration Requirements:

- Strongly associated with AAPI business, industry, and/or labor, as places of employment, as owned or operated by AAPI community members, or as related to labor organizing.
- Associated with one or more businesses that made important contributions to local, state, or national commercial or industrial development, or to the development of one or more associated AAPI community, and in which the AAPI contribution is significant.
- May be important for its association with numerous historic events and personages for the cumulative importance of those events and individuals to the community.
- Length of time and significance to the associated AAPI community or communities must be compared to other properties with similar association and significance to identify resources that are most representative.
- In addition to the guidance under Mixed Use Historic District in Property Types Associated with Migration and Community Formation, commercial historic districts must be strongly associated with the commercial or community development of one or more associated AAPI community, such as those that helped to establish or expand the concentration of businesses during the formative years.
- For properties nominated under Criterion B, see Property Types Associated with Prominent Persons in Asian American History for Registration Requirements.
- Properties should retain integrity of location, design, feeling, and association.
- Those nominated under Criterion C should also retain integrity of materials and workmanship through the presence of the majority of the features that illustrate its architectural distinction.

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Property Types Associated with Activism, Civic Engagement, and Political Participation

Description: Property types associated with activism, civic engagement, and/or political participation are common to all AAPI communities. Some may be significant to more than one AAPI community. They cover a wide range of property types depending on the association, though are primarily sites where significant events or series of events occurred, and buildings of various functions, such as residential, commercial, institutional, mixed-use, or others.

Sites where important events or series of events occurred may be locations of significant protests or strikes held in streets, sidewalks, plazas, parks, parking lots, and other spaces. They may be adjacent to buildings where protests continued inside, were the target of the protests in terms of what the building represented, or were the places occupied by certain persons, businesses, organizations, or institutions. Unless the building came to symbolize the historical event or the protest physically extended into the building, the site should be considered the documented boundaries of the assembly space.

Buildings where important events or series of events occurred may be courthouses where precedent-setting cases were decided, or gathering places, meeting halls, hearing rooms, and other locations associated with planning, strategizing, and advancing the fight for equal and fair treatment of AAPI communities. They may also be the headquarters or primary offices of prominent organizations during the time that they played an important role in activities related to this subcontext. Some organizations may have branch offices that were locally important in different parts of the state, and more than one property may be associated with a specific organization or group. Larger-scale properties with associated significant spaces, such as an office or assembly hall within a multi-occupant building, or a site of a historic event on a campus or park, may be nominated for the association if it is of particular importance or in addition to other significance. The significant space must be readable from the period of significance.

Buildings also may be properties that were part of important court cases or at the center of discriminatory policies and practices and/or in the fight against such policies by AAPI communities. They may also be ones purpose-built due to discriminatory or exclusionary policies, such as segregated public schools. Site and buildings may also be where important transnational political activism occurred or represent the significant engagement of California’s AAPI communities in transnational activism abroad. Properties associated with persons who played a critical role within the topics of this subcontext are discussed under Property Types Associated with Prominent Persons in Asian American History.

Resources can be found statewide, and the timeframes and locations varied according to the events and patterns as discussed in this subcontext. In general, properties may be purpose built or utilize existing buildings constructed for other purposes. Architectural type, style, and detail vary widely and are generally based on the date of construction.

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Significance: Properties associated with activism, civic engagement, and/or political participation by AAPIs in California may be eligible for listing on the National Register under Criterion A at the local, state, or national level of significance. In addition to Ethnic Heritage: Asian, associated areas of significance may include and are not limited to Communications, Education, Law, Military, Politics/Government, and/or Social History.

The fight by AAPI communities for equal and fair treatment has been part of their histories since at least when California became a state. Discriminatory policies and practices toward AAPI communities were common at all levels of government and society from the mid-nineteenth century through the mid-twentieth century, as was resistance to such unfair treatment. The incarceration of people of Japanese ancestry in California during World War II was the most egregious example.

State and federal civil rights legislation passed in the mid-twentieth century, and decisions from the judicial system at all levels moved the country toward equal treatment under the law. With the courts as one of the few avenues available for direct challenge, AAPI individuals and organizations played important roles in establishing precedent and advancing civil rights through court cases, particularly around the application of the Fourteenth Amendment’s equal protection provision. Even when the decisions were not in their favor, the acts of resistance through such challenges against injustice contributed to the efforts to secure equal rights for all.

Activism and resistance were also expressed through protests, demonstrations, strikes, and other acts of civil disobedience. These included transnational issues important to AAPI communities that remained engaged in activities in their native lands. The early to late twentieth century saw the rise of pan-Asian activism, as AAPI communities organized together under a newly coined “Asian American” term that built on the mid-twentieth century’s Civil Rights Movement.

Citizenship, and thus access to voting and elected representation, was denied to AAPI communities for much of the nineteenth and into the early twentieth century, which limited their political participation. As citizenship was secured by U.S.-born generations and federal legislative changes in the twentieth century, civic engagement and participation in local, state, and national politics increased. AAPI elected officials emerged in the mid-twentieth century and AAPI communities gained more political clout.

Properties with the strongest association with the successful fight for equal and fair treatment are more likely to be listed. For example, not all properties owned by AAPI community members as exceptions to the Alien Land Laws would be significant, unless it was associated with actions to challenge the laws or for other reasons. Similarly, public schools that were integrated due to the lack of separate schools for AAPI students during the period of “separate but equal” practices or were predominately for AAPI students as a result of the neighborhood demographics would not be significant under this context, though they may be significant for other reasons.

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Properties may also be eligible under Criterion B as the residences or offices of a significant individual or multiple significant individuals associated with this context. Individual(s) may include trailblazers and those who played a pivotal role in the fight for equal and fair treatment, such as primary parties and attorneys in significant court cases or leaders in activist or labor movements. They may also include those who served as civic leaders, pioneering elected officials, important heads of prominent organizations, or whose philosophy or actions inspired movements.

Some properties may also be eligible under Criterion C for architectural style, work of a master, or high artistic values. Properties may also be significant in association with other subcontexts or themes, such as Migration and Community Formation or Community Serving Organizations.

Registration Requirements:

- Strongly associated with activism, civic engagement, and/or political participation by one or more associated AAPI communities.
- May represent a significant event, series of events, or movement in the political or social history of a locality or California.
- May be important for its association with numerous historic events and personages for the cumulative importance of those events and individuals to the community.
- Length of time and significance to the associated AAPI community or communities must be compared to other properties with similar association and significance to identify resources that are most representative.
- For properties nominated under Criterion B, see Property Types Associated with Prominent Persons in Asian American History for Registration Requirements.
- Should retain integrity of location, design, feeling, and association.
- Those nominated under Criterion C should also retain integrity of materials and workmanship through the presence of the majority of the features that illustrate its architectural distinction.

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G. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

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H. SUMMARY OF IDENTIFICATION AND EVALUATION METHODS

The Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in California, 1850-1970 MPDF was developed to provide a format to identify and evaluate historic resources associated with the state’s Native Hawaiian, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Filipina/o, South Asian, Chamorro, and Samoan communities between 1850 and 1970. The contexts are arranged by themes important to these communities and cover all geographic areas of California in which these groups settled, lived, and worked during this period. The communities selected are known to have a substantial presence in California prior to federal immigration policies that significantly limited Asian migration in the twentieth century, or were U.S. territories not subject to the immigration limits.

The MPDF may be expanded and revised to include additional contexts, time periods, geographic details, and other Asian American and Pacific Islander communities who arrived in significant numbers after immigration policies changed in 1965. Future contexts already identified include Activism and Civic Participation/Political Engagement to include the Asian American movement and elected officials, and Business and Labor to discuss industries associated with specific groups as well as work-oriented organizations.

The California Office of Historic Preservation (OHP) initiated this effort with grant funding from the National Park Service (NPS) and matching state funds to develop a historic context focused on AAPIs in California. It complements *Finding A Path Forward: Asian American Pacific Islander National Historic Landmarks Theme Study*, produced by the NPS and released in late 2017, which provides a national context. The AAPI terminology and geographic definition of Asia and the Pacific Islands used in this context are based on the national theme study.

Given the number of communities involved, the project team relied on existing information as much as possible. The theme study was one of three foundational documents used in preparation of this MPDF. The others were *Five Views: An Ethnic Historic Site Survey for California*, published by the OHP in 1988 that was a statewide survey of properties associated with ethnic communities in California, and the *Asian Americans in Los Angeles* MPDF prepared by the City of Los Angeles Office of Historic Resources and approved by the National Register in 2018. Several historic contexts developed for various AAPI communities in different cities across California also served as key tools for developing the contexts in this MPDF and for the identification of resources associated with AAPI histories. These include and are not limited to:

- 2018 Internal Draft of the San Francisco *Chinese American Historic Context*
- 2016 *Chinese Americans in Riverside: Historic Context Statement*
- 2013 San Francisco *Filipino Heritage Addendum to the South of Market Historic Context Statement*
- 2011 San Francisco *Japantown Historic Context Statement*
- 2011 *Japanese Americans and the Quest for Civil Rights in Riverside, California, 1890s to*

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1970s Draft MPDF

- 2008 San Jose *Historic Context and Archaeological Survey Report: Heinlerville/San Jose Corporation Yard*
- 2006-2012 *California Japantowns* public history project
- 2006 Fresno *Chinatown Historic Resource Survey*

The majority of these previous contexts pertained to Chinese and Japanese communities. This reflected the unequal amount of scholarly research available across communities. For the Chinese and Japanese, a larger body of scholarship was available due to these communities having had an earlier and significantly larger presence in California. The histories of Korean, Filipina/o, and South Asian communities in California had some scholarship available, though to a lesser extent than the Chinese and Japanese, due to their later arrival in California and smaller populations. The Pacific Islander groups included in this study had the least amount of existing scholarship due to their smaller populations and migration en masse at a later date. More specifically, the historical experiences of the Native Hawaiians, Chamorros, and Samoans in California remain largely untold due to Native Hawaiians interspersing into American society after their early migration before and just after statehood and the mass migration of Chamorros and Samoans starting primarily after World War II. Discussion with scholars and experts for these groups confirmed that this scholarship has not yet been developed in great length.

In addition to the unequal amount of available scholarship, the type of scholarship also varied across the AAPI communities. The research for the Chinese and Japanese presented broader thematic information while the scholarship for Koreans, Filipina/os, and South Asians was more piecemeal and specific. These factors led to a varying degree of length of and type of information presented in each context for the AAPI communities that are part of this project.

Each of the AAPI communities is distinct and has its own history and impact on California. Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders also share many similarities based on their race and experiences migrating to California. As a result, the project team determined a thematic approach with more details for each community was appropriate. Three initial contexts were developed: Migration and Community Formation, Community Serving Organizations, and Religion and Spirituality. Some topics overlap more than one context and are discussed in greatest detail where the association was the strongest. For example, religious organizations that served each community are briefly mentioned in the Community Serving Organizations context and discussed in more detail in the Religion and Spirituality context.

The existing historic contexts and available scholarship provided a foundation for understanding relevant themes, patterns of geographical distribution, timeframes, and associated property types across the different AAPI communities. At the beginning of the effort, the MPDF authors on the project team reached out to scholars and experts on the histories of each community in California to discuss the general patterns of migration, areas in California where each community settled,

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significant properties and locations, and scholarly research or repositories to access. These individuals were available to answer clarifying questions and assist with obstacles encountered during research. Secondary source research focused on existing scholarship in the form of books and journal articles pertaining to both general sources on Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders and specific sources for the communities that are part of this study. Limited primary research was conducted pertaining to U.S. Census data, Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, and historic newspapers.

The OHP coordinated the organization of a project Advisory Committee to work with the project team. The Advisory Committee members, some of whom were among the scholars and experts contacted by the project team, provided guidance and information that greatly enhanced the contexts. Committee members included leaders in the Asian American community representing a wide range of interests, organizations, and institutions as well as professors, lecturers, scholars, and public historians of Asian American history. An effort was made to balance the presence of academic and community members, as well as statewide geographic representation on the Advisory Committee. A full list of participants is at the end of this section. Members offered feedback on the overarching framework, identified terms to use or not use, and served as subject matter experts to review and comment on context drafts. The committee convened two meetings during the project period: March 2019 and July 2019. Following the committee’s first meeting and review of initial drafts, the project team worked to incorporate revisions and feedback into the MPDF. The second meeting took place after review of the completed and fully formatted document. The Advisory Committee along with the consulting scholars and experts played a critical role in completing this document.

The associated property types identified were based on function and time period. Many property types were also determined based on migration patterns and typical jobs associated with various communities during different timeframes. Existing contexts, such as the *Asian Americans in Los Angeles* MPDF and *A Historical Context and Archeological Research Design for Agricultural Properties in California* prepared by the California Department of Transportation, served as a starting point for determining property types since these studies looked at similar contexts and communities. Broad lists cross all ethnic groups and are intended to capture potential property types that could be designated; additional property types may be identified in the future.

Requirements for integrity were based primarily on the knowledge of typical properties within the period of significance and the extent of alterations that may have occurred. Feedback from scholars and general experience with evaluating properties associated with AAPI communities further helped develop the integrity requirements.

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Advisory Committee Members and Project Participants

In preparing this context statement, the OHP and project team were advised by a diverse panel of Asian American and Pacific Islander community members, scholars, experts, and public historians.

Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in California Advisory Committee

Sefa Aina, Associate Dean and Director, Draper Center for Community Partnerships, Pomona College
 Audrey Aofia Kawaiopua Alo, Chair, LE GaFa (Leadership and Education through Gagana Fa'a)
 Dennis Arguelles, Senior Program Manager, National Parks Conservation Association
 Mario Borja, Director, Sakman Chamorro Project
 Marn Cha, Professor Emeritus, Department of Political Science California State University, Fresno
 Edward Taehan Chang, PhD, Founding Director, Young Oak Kim Center for Korean American Studies,
 University of California (UC) Riverside
 Jane D. Chin, Interim Executive Director, Chinese Historical Society of America
 Milton Chen, PhD, Senior Fellow, Edutopia, George Lucas Educational Foundation
 Catherine Ceniza Choy, PhD, Professor and Chair, Department of Ethnic Studies, UC Berkeley
 Dillon Delvo, Executive Director, Little Manila Foundation
 Dorothy Fujita-Rony, PhD, Associate Professor, Department of Asian American Studies, UC Irvine
 Janet Hansen, Deputy Director Emerita, City of Los Angeles Office of Historic Resources; California
 State Historical Resources Commission, History
 Kristen Hayashi, PhD, Collections Manager, Japanese American National Museum
 Michelle G. Magalong, PhD, President Emerita, Asian & Pacific Islander Americans in Historic
 Preservation
 Eugene Moy, Membership Secretary, Chinese Historical Society of Southern California
 Linda Trinh Vo, Professor, Asian American Studies, University of California, Irvine
 Thuy VoDang, Asst Professor, Information Studies, UCLA School of Education & Information Studies
 Jane K. Singh, PhD, Lecturer, Asian American & Asian Diaspora Studies, UC Berkeley
 Bill Watanabe, Executive Director Emeritus, Little Tokyo Service Center
 Christopher Yip, PhD, Professor Emeritus, Architecture, College of Architecture and Environmental
 Design California Polytechnic State University

Additional input and information was received from the following scholars and expert community members (area of AAPI expertise):

Tejpaul Baniwal, Doctoral candidate, UC Riverside (South Asian)
 Keith Camacho, Associate Professor, Department of Asian American Studies, UCLA (Chamorro)
 Yen Espiritu, Professor, Ethnic Studies Department, UCSD (Filipina/o)
 Alfred Flores, Assistant Professor, Asian American Studies, Harvey Mudd College (Chamorro)
 Joe Quintana, Chief Program Officer, Guam Preservation Trust (Chamorro)
 Gregory Rosenthal, Assistant Professor of Public History, Roanoke College (Native Hawaiian)
 Nayan Shah, Professor, American Studies and Ethnicity and History, USC (South Asian)
 Sandy Uslander, Vice President of Programs, Chamorro Optimist Club (Chamorro)

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The project team reached out to several others who were unable to assist due to other commitments or who did not respond.

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Asian Pacific Resource Center, Rosemead Library, County of Los Angeles Public Library
Bancroft Library, University of California Berkeley
C.V. Starr East Asian Library, University of California Berkeley
East Asian Library, University of Southern California, Los Angeles
Southeast Asian Archive, University of California Irvine

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APPENDIX A: Potentially Eligible Properties

This list includes resources specifically identified by the consultant team as extant in the MPDF. The list also includes many designated and known historic resources identified through SurveyLA as part of the development of *Asian Americans in Los Angeles, 1850-1980* MPS; resources identified by the San Francisco Planning Department at the request of the OHP; and resources identified by OHP staff. For the groups with fewer specific identified resources, possible resources are indicated for further research. Some resources may already be National Register listed, in some cases under other criteria; some resources may only be eligible locally.

Asian American and Pacific Islander

Asian American Studies Center, University of California, Los Angeles, Los Angeles County

Buddhist Church of Sacramento, Sacramento County

Gidra: The Monthly of the Asian American Experience, Los Angeles County

Sacramento City Cemetery, Sacramento County

Native Hawaiian

California and Hawaiian Sugar Refining Company (C&H) resources, Contra Costa County

Defense industry resources, Los Angeles County

Hawaiian Civic Clubs (HCC), Los Angeles, Orange, Riverside, and San Diego Counties

Ho'olaule'a (festival) resources, Los Angeles County

Kalakaua HCC, San Francisco County

Vernon farming resources, Sutter County

Chinese American

Ah Louis Store, San Luis Obispo County

Amer, Thomas, House, Los Angeles County

Apartment House at 2356 W Duane Street, Los Angeles County

Bank of America, Los Angeles County

Bay Side Canning Company, Santa Clara County

Bicycle Lee's, Los Angeles County

Bing Kong Tong, Free Mason Association, Los Angeles County

Bodie Chinese American Community, Mono County

Bok Kai Miu, Yuba County

Bow On Benevolent Association, Los Angeles County

Brookside Winery, San Bernardino County

Castelar Street School, Los Angeles County

Cathay Bank, Los Angeles County

Chan, Kiu Sing, House, Los Angeles County

Chew House, Los Angeles County

Chew Yuen & Co. Gift Shop, Los Angeles County

China Camp, Marin County

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Chinatown East Gate, Los Angeles County
 Chinatown Gateway, Los Angeles County
 Chinatown Mall, Sacramento
 Chinatown Senior Citizens Service Center, Los Angeles County
 Chinatown Service Center, Los Angeles County
 Chinatown West Gate, Los Angeles County
 Chinatown YWCA (Chinese Historical Society of America), San Francisco County
 Chinese American Citizens, Los Angeles County
 Chinese American Telephone Exchange, San Francisco County
 Chinese Benevolent Association, San Diego County
Chinese Celestial Dragon Mural, Los Angeles County
 Chinese Chamber of Commerce, Los Angeles County
 Chinese Confucius Temple and School, Los Angeles County
 Chinese Congregational Church, Los Angeles County
 Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association, Los Angeles County
 Chinese Cultural Center, San Francisco County
 Chinese Presbyterian Church, San Francisco County
 Chinese Temples, San Luis Obispo County
 Chinese United Methodist Church, Los Angeles and San Francisco Counties
 Choy, Barton and Ildiko, House, Los Angeles County
 Choy, Eugene, House, Los Angeles County
 Choy, Marilyn, House, Los Angeles County
 Cinemaland Theater (Royal Pagoda Theater), Los Angeles County
 Clay Street Center, San Francisco County
 Confucius Church and Community Center, Imperial County
 Continental Hotel, Los Angeles County
 Dragon Gate, San Francisco County
 Dun Sow Hong Co., Los Angeles County
 East West Players (Union Center for the Arts), Los Angeles County
 East-West Bank, Los Angeles County
 Empress of China, San Francisco County
 F. See On Co., Los Angeles County
 Far East Café (Far Bar), Los Angeles County
 Far East Plaza, Los Angeles County
 Fiddletown Chinese American Community, Amador County
 First Chinese Baptist Church, Los Angeles County
 First Chinese Presbyterian Church, Los Angeles County
 Fong's Oriental Works of Art, Los Angeles County
 French Hospital (Pacific Alliance Medical Center), Los Angeles County
 G.W. Market, Los Angeles County
 Garnier Building, Los Angeles County

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Gasquet Toll Road, Del Norte County
 Gee How Oak Tin Association, Los Angeles County
 Gin Family Association, Los Angeles County
 Ginling Gifts, Los Angeles County
 Globe Paper Company, Los Angeles County
 Golden Gate Fortune Cookie Factory, San Francisco County
 Golden Pagoda Restaurant (Hop Louie), Los Angeles County
 Grand Star Restaurant/Grand Star Jazz Club, Los Angeles County
 Grandview Gardens Sign, Los Angeles County
 Greater Chinatown Commercial Historic District, Los Angeles County
 Haraszthy Buena Vista Vineyards, Sonoma County
 Harmony Borax Works, Inyo County
 Hercules Powder Plant, Contra Costa County
 Hi Chung Laundry, Solano County
 Hong Building, Los Angeles County
 Hong Kong Café, Los Angeles County
 Hong Kong Low, Los Angeles County
 Hong Kong Noodle Company, Los Angeles County
 Hop Sing Tong Benevolent Association, Los Angeles County
 Hoy Ping Benevolent Association, Los Angeles County
 Jade Tree, The, Los Angeles County
 Jan Ying Benevolent Association, Los Angeles County
 Jin Hing Jewelry Co., Los Angeles County
 Joe, Jue, Company, Los Angeles County
 Joe, Jue, Ranch, Los Angeles County
 Johnie's Coffee Shop (Romeo's Times Square), Los Angeles County
 Joss House, aka "Red House," San Luis Obispo County
 Joy Yuen Low Restaurant, Los Angeles County
 K.G. Louie Company, Los Angeles County
 Kawaguchi House, Los Angeles County
 Ken Ying Low Restaurant, Santa Clara County
 Kim Ling Inn Restaurant, Los Angeles County
 Kim Sing Theater, Los Angeles County
 King Hing Theater, Los Angeles County
 Kong Chow Benevolent Association, Los Angeles County
 Kow Kong Benevolent Association, Los Angeles County
 Kwoh, Edwin and Beulah Quo, House, Los Angeles County
 L.T. Sue Herb Co., Kings County
 Lang Station Site, Los Angeles County
 Lee On Dong Association, Los Angeles County
 Lee, Bruce, Martial Arts Studio, Los Angeles County

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Lee, Dr. Edward, House, Los Angeles County
 Li Po Restaurant, Los Angeles County
Listening for the Trains to Come Mural, Los Angeles County
 Locke, Sacramento County
 Los Angeles Chinese Cemetery Shrine, Los Angeles County
 Los Angeles Massacre Site, Los Angeles County
 Lung Kong Ting Yee Association, Los Angeles County
 Madame Wong's, Los Angeles County
 Man Jen Low (General Lee's), Los Angeles County
 Mandarin Plaza, Los Angeles County
 Market Hotel, Los Angeles County
 Mo Dai Miu (Temple of Kuan Kung), Mendocino County
 Moytel Hotel, Los Angeles County
 Nevada City Chinese American Cemetery, Nevada County
 New Chinatown Commercial Historic District, Los Angeles County
New Kwong Tai Press, Los Angeles County
 New Union Hotel, Los Angeles County
 Ning Yung Benevolent Association, Los Angeles County
 Occidental Mission Home for Girls (Donaldina Cameron House), San Francisco County
 Old St. Mary's + Chinese Mission, San Francisco County
 Oriental Warehouse, San Francisco County
Party at Lan-Ting Mural, Los Angeles County
 Paul's Kitchen (Paul's Café), Los Angeles County
 Phoenix Bakery, Los Angeles County
 Phoenix Imports, Los Angeles County
 Ping Yuen housing project, San Francisco County
 Portsmouth Square, San Francisco County
 Produce Exchange Building, Los Angeles County
 Quick Ranch Stone Wall, Mariposa County
 Quon Yick Noodle Company, Los Angeles County
 Rice Bowl, The, Los Angeles County
 Riverside Chinese American Community Site, Riverside County
Shades of Chinatown Mural, Los Angeles County
 Sincere Imports, Los Angeles County
 Sing Chong Building, San Francisco County
 Soo Hoo Sr., Peter and Lillie, Duplex, Los Angeles County
 Soo Yuen Fraternal Association, Los Angeles County
 St. Bridget Chinese Catholic Center, Los Angeles County
 Sulphur Bank Mine, Lake County
 Sun, Yat-sen, Dr., Statue, Los Angeles and San Francisco Counties
 Tianhou (also Tin How) Temple, San Francisco County

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Tirado-Lion-Peligri House, Los Angeles County
Tuey Far Low Restaurant, Los Angeles County
Water Lens Tower Sculpture, Los Angeles County
Way-Aft-Whyle, Lake County
Wing On Tong Co., Los Angeles County
Won Lim Miu, Trinity County
Wong Family Benevolent Association (Wong Kong Har Wu San Association), Los Angeles County
Wong, Hon. Delbert E. and Dolores, House, Los Angeles County
Ying On Benevolent Association, Los Angeles County
Yu Family Acupuncture/Chiropractic Clinic, Los Angeles County

Japanese American

442nd Regimental Combat Unit Memorial, Los Angeles County
Aiso, Frank T., House, Los Angeles County
Akita, Mary Yone, House, Los Angeles County
Anzen Hotel Supply Co., Los Angeles County
Aoyama Tree, Los Angeles County
Assembly Centers at Manzanar, Marysville, Merced, Pinedale, Pomona, Sacramento, Salinas, Santa Anita, Stockton, Tanforan, Tulare, and Turlock, Multiple Counties
Baba's Lawnmower Shop, Los Angeles County
Bakersfield Buddhist Church, Kern County
Bank of Tokyo/Union Bank, Los Angeles County
Bo Chow Hotel, San Francisco County
Boarding House at 2122 S Corinth Ave, Los Angeles County
Bowles, Fresno County
Bruin Flower Shop, Los Angeles County
Buchanan YMCA, San Francisco County
Buddhist Church of San Francisco, San Francisco County
Bush Street Temple, San Francisco County
Centenary United Methodist Church, Los Angeles County
Chacksfield Tract Residential Historic District, Los Angeles County
Chug Aku-Bu, Los Angeles County
Concord Nippongo Gakko, Contra Costa County
Courtland Bates Oriental School Site, Sacramento County
Crenshaw Seinan Historic District, Los Angeles County
Daichi Gakuen Honko, Los Angeles County
Delta Hotel/Bayanihan House, San Francisco County
Far East Market, Los Angeles County
Fellowship House of Union Church/Mott Manse, Los Angeles County
Florin East Grammar School, Sacramento County
Flower View Gardens Florist, Los Angeles County

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Forsythe Building/Boyle Heights Language School/Evergreen Hostel, Los Angeles County
 Fox La Brea Theatre; Toho La Brea Theatre; Cherry Blossom Restaurant, Los Angeles County
 Fugetsu-Do Sweet Shop, Los Angeles County
 Fuji Gakuen, Los Angeles County
 Fujisaka Drug Store, Arimatsu Dry Goods, Matsunaga Chop Suey, Ota Barber Shop, Yamada Jewelers,
 Yasaki Dry Cleaners, Okamoto Lawnmower Shop, Ota Grocery, Los Angeles County
 Fujiya Grocery/Market, Los Angeles County
 Fukui Mortuary, Los Angeles County
 Galarneaux, Mary Haley, House, Sacramento County
 Garden Basket No. 2, Los Angeles County
 Garden Basket No. 7, Los Angeles County
 Garden of Peace/Roosevelt High School, Los Angeles County
 Garden of the Pines Memorial, Los Angeles County
 Go For Broke Monument, Los Angeles County
 Grace Bakery and Pastry, Los Angeles County
 Griffith Park, Los Angeles County
 Guiberson, Ethel, and Hannah Carter, Japanese Garden, Los Angeles County
 Harada Nursery, Los Angeles County
 Harbor Japanese School, Los Angeles County
 Hayakawa, S., House, Los Angeles County
 Higashi Honganji Buddhist Temple/Rissho Kosei-Kai Buddhist Temple, Los Angeles County
 Hinomoto Gakuen, Los Angeles County
 Historic Wintersburg, Orange County
 Holiday Bowl, Los Angeles County
 Holland Union Gakuen, Yolo County
 Hollywood Japanese Cultural Institute (Hollywood Japanese Community Center), Los Angeles County
 Hompa Hongwanji Buddhist Temple, Los Angeles County
 International Institute, Los Angeles County
 Isleton Oriental School Site, Sacramento County
 Japanese American Citizens League Headquarters, San Francisco County
 Japanese American Cultural and Community Center, Los Angeles County
 Japanese Baptist Church, Los Angeles County
 Japanese Garden at VA Hospital, Los Angeles County
 Japanese Home for the Aged, Los Angeles County
 Japanese Hospital, Fresno County
 Japanese Hospital, Los Angeles County
 Japanese Institute of Sawtelle/Sawtelle Gakuen, Los Angeles County
 Japanese Presbyterian Church, Los Angeles County
 Japanese Salvation Army (Chinese Consulate), San Francisco County
 Japanese Tea Garden, Golden Gate Park, San Francisco County
 Japanese Union Church of Los Angeles, Los Angeles County

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Japanese Village Plaza, Los Angeles County
 Japanese YWCA/Issei Women's Building, San Francisco County
 Japantown Malls, San Francisco County
 Jefferson Park Historic District, Los Angeles County
 Joannes Brothers Company Building, Los Angeles County
 Jo-Mi Plumbing, Los Angeles County
 Joyce Boarding House, Los Angeles County
 Jyodo-Shu Betsuin, Los Angeles County
 Kashu Realty and Sign, Los Angeles County
 Kawabe, Dr. Akira, Office, Los Angeles County
 Kawasaki Labor Camp, Sierra Vista Ranch, Tulare County
 Kays (Tak's Hardware and Garden Supply), Los Angeles County
 Kinmon Gakuen/Golden Gate Institute, San Francisco County
 Kokusai Theatre, Los Angeles County
 Komai, Toyusaku, Family House, Los Angeles County
 Konko Temple, Los Angeles County
 Kouraku, Los Angeles County
 Koyasan Buddhist Temple/Koyasan Beikoku Betsuin, Los Angeles County
 Kubota Nikkei Mortuary, Los Angeles County
 Kuwabara Hospital, Santa Clara County
 Leimert Park Historic District, Los Angeles County
 Little Tokyo Historic District, Los Angeles County
 Lodi Japantown, San Joaquin County
 Los Angeles Holiness Church Education Building, Los Angeles County
 M.G. Lawnmower Shop, Los Angeles County
 Magnolia House, Los Angeles County
 Manzanar, Inyo County
 Midwife Association, Los Angeles County
 Mikawaya, Los Angeles County
 Mixed Use Commercial Building at 620 E 1st Street, Los Angeles County
 Morning Star School, San Francisco County
 Motor Vehicles Building (also identified as Food and Agriculture Building), Sacramento County
 Mount Hollywood Congregational Church, Los Angeles County
 Nankaiya Hotel, Los Angeles County
 New Otani Hotel, Los Angeles County
 Nichiren Buddhist Church, San Francisco County
 Nichiren Shu Beikoku Betsuin Buddhist Temple, Los Angeles County
 Nippon Hospital, San Joaquin County
 Nisei VFW Post No. 8985 (Nisei War Memorial Community Center), Sacramento County
 O.K. Nursery, Los Angeles County
 Otomisan Japanese Restaurant, Los Angeles County

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Oyama, San Diego County
 Parkview Presbyterian Church, Sacramento County
 Pavilion for Japanese Art, Los Angeles County
 Peace Pagoda and Peace Plaza, San Francisco County
 Rafu Chuo Gakuen Japanese Language School, Los Angeles County
 Rafu Daini Gakuen/Young Men's Meeting House, Los Angeles County
 Rooming House at 1130 Fedora Street, Los Angeles County
 Rooming House at 1507 W 35th Place, Los Angeles County
 Rooming House at 1511 W 35th Place, Los Angeles County
 Rooming House at 1641 Cosmo Street, Los Angeles County
 Rooming House/Obayashi Employment Agency, Los Angeles County
 Rose Frozen Shrimp Co., Los Angeles County
 Saint Francis Xavier Chapel, Maryknoll School, and Grotto, Los Angeles County
 Sakura Restaurant, Los Angeles County
 San Fernando Holiness Church, Los Angeles County
 San Fernando Valley Hongwanji Buddhist Temple, Los Angeles County
 San Jose Japanese Theatre, Santa Clara County
 San Jose Midwifery, Santa Clara County
 Satsuma Imports; Sawtelle Fish Market; Toya Grocery Company; Modern Dress Shop/Modern Beauty Salon; Mitchell Sewing School, Los Angeles County
 Sego Nursery, Los Angeles County
 Sei Fujii, Los Angeles County
 Seinan Judo Dojo/Seinan Kendo Dojo, Los Angeles County
 Senshin Buddhist Temple/Senshin Gakuin, Los Angeles County
 Shimizu, K. H., House, Los Angeles County
 Shiraro Photo Studio, Los Angeles County
 Shitamachi Dai-Ichi Gakuen, Los Angeles County
 Shonien; New Shonien (Japanese Children's Home), Los Angeles County
 Slocum, Tokutaro "Tokie," House, Los Angeles County
 Soshi Jiku, Los Angeles County
 Soto Zen Temple (Kokoro Assisted Living Center), San Francisco County
 Southern California Flower Market, Los Angeles County
 Southern California Gardeners' Federation, Los Angeles County
 St. Francis Xavier Catholic Church, San Francisco County
 St. Mary's Episcopal Church, Los Angeles County
 Stanyan House, San Francisco County
 Stoner Park Japanese Garden, Los Angeles County
 Storefront Community Center, Los Angeles County
 Sumitomo Bank Building, Los Angeles County
 Tabuchi Nursery, Los Angeles County
 Tempura House, Granada Market, Los Angeles County

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Tenrikyo Church and Cultural Center, Los Angeles County
 Tenrikyo North American Church, Los Angeles County
 Teraoka, Masami, House, Los Angeles County
 Terminal Island, Los Angeles County
 Tillman, Donald C., Water Reclamation Plant, Los Angeles County
 Tobin House, San Francisco County
 Tokio Florist, Los Angeles County
 Tule Lake, Modoc County
 Tuna Canyon Detention Station, Los Angeles County
 Union Center for the Arts (Old Japanese Union Church), Los Angeles County
 Uyeda, S. K., Department Store, Los Angeles County
 Valley Japanese American Community Center, Los Angeles County
 Valley Judo Dojo, Los Angeles County
 Venice Japanese Cultural Center; Venice Gakuen; Venice Judo Dojo, Los Angeles County
 Wada & Asato Agency, Los Angeles County
 Walnut Grove Oriental School Site, Sacramento County
 Washington Restaurant, Riverside County
 West Los Angeles Community Methodist Church, Los Angeles County
 White Point Hot Springs, Los Angeles County
 Yamada Company, Los Angeles County
 Yamaguchi Bonsai Nursery, Los Angeles County
 Yamato Colony, Merced County

Korean American

Ahn, Chang Ho Dosan, Family Home, Los Angeles County
 Ahn, Philip, House, Los Angeles County
 All Korean University Alumni Association of California, Los Angeles County
 American-Korean Civic Organization, Los Angeles County
 Berendo Street Baptist Church, Los Angeles County
 Dharma Zen Center, Los Angeles County
Dong-A Il Bo, Los Angeles County
 East West Food Supermarket, Los Angeles County
 Hannam Supermarket, Los Angeles County
 High Society Custom Tailor, Los Angeles County
 House of Korean Arts, Los Angeles County
 Hyun & Whitney Architects & Associates, Los Angeles County
 Hyun, David and Mary, House, Los Angeles County
 Hyun, David, House, Los Angeles County
 K&S Company (K&S Jobbers), Los Angeles County
 Kim Bang Ah, Los Angeles County
 Kim, Yin, House, Los Angeles County

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Korea Exchange Bank of California, Los Angeles County
Korea Herald, Los Angeles County
 Korea Restaurant (aka Korea House), Los Angeles County
Korea Times, Los Angeles County
 Korean American Community Center, Los Angeles County
Korean American Herald (Miju Shin-Mun), Los Angeles County
Korean American Times, Los Angeles County
 Korean Association of Southern California (Korean-American Federation), LA County
 Korean Bell and Belfry of Friendship (Angel's Gate Park), Los Angeles County
 Korean Broadcasting Company, Los Angeles County
 Korean Community Center (Danish Hall), Los Angeles County
 Korean Cultural Center, Los Angeles County
 Korean Dong Ji Hoi (Tongji-Hoe, Comrade Society), Los Angeles County
 Korean Independence Memorial Building (Korean National Association Building), Los Angeles County
Korean Independence News, Los Angeles County
 Korean Methodist Church (Korean Methodist Episcopal Mission), Los Angeles County
Korean Pacific Press, Los Angeles County
 Korean Philadelphia Presbyterian Church, Los Angeles County
 Korean Presbyterian Church, Los Angeles County
 Korean TV Productions, Los Angeles County
 Korean Women's Patriotic League, Los Angeles County
 Koreatown Development Association, Los Angeles County
Koreatown Weekly, Los Angeles County
 Lee, Sammy and Roz, House, Orange County
 Lee, Sammy, and Mary Chun Lee Shon, Childhood Home, Los Angeles County
 Lee, Sammy, Dr., Medical Practice, Orange County
 MBC TV, Los Angeles County
New Korea, The, Los Angeles County
 Ninth Church of Christ, Scientist, Los Angeles County
North American Times, Los Angeles County
 Oriental Employment Agency, Los Angeles County
 Oriental Food Products of California, Los Angeles County
 Oriental Mission Church, Los Angeles County
 Phil Ahn's Moongate, Los Angeles County
 Radio Korea, Los Angeles County
 Redeemer Baptist Church/Korean Church of Southern California, The, Los Angeles County
 Reedley Korean Presbyterian Church, Fresno County
 San Francisco Korean United Methodist Church, San Francisco County
Shin Han Min Bo, Los Angeles County
 Song, Alfred, Law Office, Los Angeles County
 Song, Leo, House, Los Angeles County

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Star of Creation Chapel, Methodist Episcopal Church, Los Angeles County
TBC TV & Joong Ang Il Bo, Los Angeles County
United Korean Committee, Los Angeles County
VIP Plaza, Los Angeles County
Voice of Korea, Los Angeles County
Willows Korean Aviation School, Butte County
Young Bin Kwan/Guelaguetza (VIP Palace Restaurant), Los Angeles County
Young Korean Academy, Los Angeles County
Young Nak Celebration Church, Los Angeles County

Filipina/o American

Asprin, Dr. Primitiva Demandante M.D., Clinic, Los Angeles County
Associated Filipino Press, Los Angeles County
Bernie's Teriyaki, Los Angeles County
Burlington Nursery School and Kindergarten, Los Angeles County
Caballeros de Dimas-Alang Lodge, Los Angeles and San Francisco Counties
Congregational Christian Church, Los Angeles County
De La Ysla, Roque E., Insurance Agency, Los Angeles County
Dye, Mrs. Royal, House, Los Angeles County
Filipinas Plaza (Temple Plaza), Los Angeles County
Filipino American Community of Los Angeles/Filipino American Cultural Center, Los Angeles County
Filipino Christian Church, Los Angeles County
Filipino Community Center of Los Angeles Harbor Area, Inc., Los Angeles County
Filipino Federation of America (Auguste R. Marquis House), Los Angeles County
Filipino Observer-Spokesman, Los Angeles County
Filipino Recreational Hall, Los Angeles County
Filipino Service Center, San Diego County
Filipino Youth, The, Los Angeles County
First United Methodist Church, Los Angeles County
Gintong Kasaysayan, Gintong Pamana (Filipino Americans: A Glorious History, A Golden Legacy)
Mural, Los Angeles County
Gran Oriente Filipino Hotel, San Francisco County
Gran Oriente Filipino Masonic Lodge, San Francisco County
Gran Oriente Filipino Masonic Temple, San Francisco County
Historic Filipinotown, Los Angeles County
Iglesia Ni Cristo - Church of Christ, Los Angeles County
Immaculate Heart of Mary/Filipino Ministry of Los Angeles, Los Angeles County
Legionarios del Trabajo Lodge, Los Angeles County
Legionarios del Trabajo Worshipful Dahugoy Lodge No. 528, San Joaquin County
Little Ongpin, Los Angeles County
Los Angeles Filipino American United Church of Christ, Los Angeles County

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Luzon Plaza, Los Angeles County
MacArthur Monument, Los Angeles County
Manibog, G. Monty, Law Office, Los Angeles County
Our Lady of Loretto Catholic Church and Elementary School, Los Angeles County
Philippine Hand Embroidery Company, Los Angeles County
Precious Blood Catholic Church and School, Los Angeles County
Saints Peter & Paul Catholic Church and School, Los Angeles County
Search to Involve Pilipino Americans (SIPA), Los Angeles County
St. Bernard Catholic Church, Los Angeles County
St. Columban Catholic Church, Los Angeles County
St. Genevieve Catholic Church, Los Angeles County
St. Joseph's Church and Rectory, San Francisco County
St. Patrick's Church, San Francisco County
Tiki Ti Bar, Los Angeles County
Tribal Café, Los Angeles County
Valor, Filipino WWII Veterans Memorial, Los Angeles County
Waters, Benjamin J., House, Los Angeles County

Chamorro

Chamorro Optimist Club, San Diego County
Defense industry resources, Alameda, Los Angeles, San Diego, and Solano Counties
Guam Communications Network, Los Angeles, Orange, Riverside, and San Bernardino Counties
Guamerica Club (Sons and Daughters of Guam), Los Angeles and San Diego Counties
United States Fruit Company (Dole Company) resources

South Asian American

Bagai's Bazaar, San Francisco County
East Indian Store, Walnut Grove, Sacramento County
El Centro Gurdwara, Imperial County
First Unitarian Church, Alameda County
Ghadar Memorial Hall, San Francisco County
Greek Theater, University of California, Berkeley, Alameda County
Gurdwara Sahib Stockton, San Joaquin County
Gurdwara Sahib Yuba City, Sutter County
Hearst Memorial Mining Building, University of California, Berkeley, Alameda County
Krishnamurti Foundation of America, Ventura County
Muslim Mosque Association, Sacramento County
Vedanta Society of Northern California, San Francisco County
Yogananda Ashram and Temple, Los Angeles County

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Samoan

First Samoan Congregational Church, San Francisco County

Samoan Catholic Benevolent Societies

Samoan Civic Association, San Francisco County

Settlement resources, Los Angeles, Orange, San Diego, San Francisco, and Ventura Counties

Vietnamese American

All Culture Friendship Center, Los Angeles County

Asian Garden Mall, Orange County

Asian Senior Acculturation Center, Orange County

Asian Village, Orange County

Bridgecreek Group, Orange County

Camp Pendleton, San Diego County

Cao Dai Church, Orange County

Center for Southeast Asian Refugee Resettlement/Southeast Asian Community Center, San Francisco County

City Heights Plaza, San Diego County

College of Oriental Studies, Los Angeles County

Congregation of Vietnamese Martyrs, Sacramento County

Danh's (Linh's) Pharmacy, Orange County

Duc Vien Buddhist Temple (also known as the Temple of Perfect Virtue), Santa Clara County

Hamilton Airforce Base, Marin County

Hoa Binh Supermarket, Orange County

Hoa Hao Buddhist Church, Los Angeles County

Hoa Hao Meeting Hall, Orange County

Hope Center Shopping Plaza, Orange County

Hope Village, Placer County

Indochinese Chamber of Commerce, San Diego County

Indochinese Resettlement and Cultural Center, Santa Clara County

International Buddhist Meditation Center, Los Angeles County

Lee's Sandwiches, Santa Clara County

Lion Plaza, Santa Clara County

Mid City Plaza, San Diego County

Nguoi Viet Daily News, Orange County

Pho '79, Orange County

Pho Hoa, Santa Clara County

St. Anselm's Immigrant and Refugee Community Center, Orange County

St. Barbara's Catholic Church, Orange County

Sun Hop Fat grocery store, Alameda County

Tam's Beauty College / Advance Beauty College, Orange County

Tam's Beauty Salon, Orange County

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Travis Airforce Base, Solano County
 Truc Lam Yen Tu Temple, Orange County
 Union of Pan Asian Communities (UPAC), San Diego County
 Vietnam Town, Santa Clara County
 Vietnamese American Association of Santa Clara County, Santa Clara County
 Vietnamese American Chambers of Commerce, Orange County
 Vietnamese Catholic Center, Orange County
 Vietnamese Catholic Mission of Our Lady, Queen of Martyrs, Santa Clara County
 Vietnamese Chamber of Commerce in America, Orange County
 Vietnamese Chamber of Commerce, Los Angeles County
 Vietnamese Chamber of Commerce, Santa Clara County
 Vietnamese Chamber of Commerce, San Diego County
 Vietnamese Community of Orange County (VNCOC), Orange County
 Vietnamese Federation of San Deigo, San Diego County
 Vietnamese Information and Referral Center/Indochinese Service Center (ISC), San Diego County

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APPENDIX B: Guide to Using the Multiple Property Documentation Form (MPDF)

Completing National Register of Historic Places forms can be technically challenging and the writing requirements are stringent. This brief guide is intended to facilitate the preparation of nominations for any person who is interested.

Buildings are the most popular type of historic resource nominated. Nominations can also be submitted for sites, structures, objects, and districts, including landscapes. The National Register requires that a nominated property be discussed within a historic context. The applicant, or writer, must discuss the broader history associated with the property as well as the history of the nominated property itself.

Historic context facilitates a greater understanding of how the individual property fits in the big picture. In this way, the individual property nominated is connected with broader historic events that have influenced the locality, state, and nation. These connections lend historical significance to the nominated property.

About Multiple Property Submissions

The research and documentation necessary to describe history, context, and significance can be challenging and time consuming. To make it easier for applicants to complete nominations, the National Register created the Multiple Property Submission (MPS). The MPS contains much of the background and contextual history for the broad trends and themes associated with a specific subject in history. By associating a new nomination with an existing MPS, it is no longer necessary for the applicant to research and write about broader context.

The Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in California (AAPI in CA) MPS has five contexts:

- Migration and Community Formation
- Religion and Spirituality
- Community Serving Organizations
- Business, Industry, and Labor
- Activism, Civic Engagement, and Political Participation

Additional contexts may be added as future funding allows.

Beginning the Process

To nominate a property to the National Register, please contact the Office of Historic Preservation’s (OHP) Registration Unit. Staff will be able to tell you if the property has already been nominated or listed, and whether the property appears to be eligible for the National Register.

The property must retain enough of its historic appearance and original material to convey its historic character and significance. This is defined as integrity, and is different from condition. Evaluation of integrity is sometimes a subjective judgment. It must always be grounded in an understanding of a

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property's physical features and how they relate to its significance. Historic properties either retain integrity or they do not. These seven aspects, or qualities, in various combinations, express integrity: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association.

To retain historic integrity a property will always possess several, and usually most, of the aspects. The retention of specific aspects of integrity is vital for a property to convey its significance. Determining which of these aspects are most important to a particular property requires knowing why, where, and when the property is significant.

Significance + Integrity = Eligibility for the National Register

Note that nominations must be completed according to two bulletins published by the National Park Service. *National Register Bulletin 15, How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation* (Bulletin 15) explains the criteria for listing properties and provides more information about integrity. *National Register Bulletin 16A, How to Complete the National Register Form* (Bulletin 16A) provides detailed instructions section by section. The bulletins are available online at

- https://www.nps.gov/subjects/nationalregister/upload/NRB-15_web508.pdf
- <https://www.nps.gov/subjects/nationalregister/upload/NRB16A-Complete.pdf>

Bulletins 15 and 16A can also be accessed via the OHP website at <http://www.ohp.parks.ca.gov/nationalregister>.

To assist with topics including research, evaluation and documentation of specialty properties, and definition of boundaries, additional bulletins and other publications are available at <https://www.nps.gov/subjects/nationalregister/publications.htm>.

Completing the National Register Nomination Form

Follow the instructions and guidelines provided in the Bulletins, including Bulletin 16A, Section IV. *Documenting Properties Within Multiple Property Submissions*. Past nominations presented to the State Historical Resources Commission are available for review as guides, on the Commission webpages at Actions (Taken) www.ohp.parks.ca.gov/actionstaken, and up to sixty days prior to a meeting at Pending Nominations www.ohp.parks.ca.gov/pending.

Download the National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form 10-900 from www.ohp.parks.ca.gov/nationalregister. This is the form used to nominate individual properties. In Section 1 of the nomination form under "Name of related multiple property listing," enter *Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in California, 1850-1970*.

Clearly distinguish between the physical description of the property requested in the Section 7 Description, and the property's history and importance in the Section 8 Statement of Significance.

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Section 8 also identifies the level, area, and period of significance, and how the property meets the MPS registration requirements.

An example Statement of Significance Summary Paragraph:

The Japanese YWCA is eligible for the National Register of Historic Places at the local level of significance under Criterion A in the areas of Ethnic Heritage: Japanese and Social History: Women’s History for its association with the struggles and accomplishments of Japanese American (*Nikkei*) women. The property is also eligible in the areas of Ethnic Heritage: Black and Social History: LGBTQ History for its association with the fight for African American civil rights and homosexual rights. The 1932 to 1959 period of significance begins when construction was completed on the Julia Morgan-designed building. Significant dates include 1942—when the San Francisco YWCA leased the building to the American Friends Service Committee; 1943—when a San Francisco chapter of the national civil rights organization, the Committee on Racial Equality (CORE), was formed and based at the building; and 1954—when the building was the location for the first annual convention of the Mattachine Society. The period of significance closes in 1959 when control of the building shifted back to the San Francisco YWCA. As a property type associated with Community Serving Organizations, the Japanese YWCA meets the registration requirements of the Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in California, 1850-1970 Multiple Property Submission.

After an applicant submits a nomination to the OHP, it is thoroughly reviewed. The nomination process is a collaborative effort between the applicant and the OHP Registration Unit staff. Additional information or clarification may be requested to make a nomination as strong as possible.

When the nomination is ready for public review, the State Historic Preservation Officer will schedule it for hearing by the State Historical Resources Commission at one of the Commission’s quarterly meetings. After the Commission approves the nomination, the State Historic Preservation Officer will send the nomination to the Keeper of the National Register in Washington, D.C. for final approval.

Note that Commission agendas are set approximately three months in advance of meetings, so six to nine months is a general timeframe to get a property listed on the National Register. Although the consent of property owner(s) is not required, properties cannot be listed over the objection of private owner(s). In such cases, a property may be determined eligible for the National Register. Property owner contact information must be submitted with a National Register nomination as part of the cover letter.

For further information, contact:

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