UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
EVALUATION/RETURN SHEET

Requested Action: COVER DOCUMENTATION

Multiple Name: Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in California, 1850-1970 MPS

State & County: CALIFORNIA, San Francisco

Date Received: 11/29/2019 Date of 45th Day: 1/13/2020

Reference number: MC100004867

Reason For Review:

__ Appeal	__ PDIL	__ Text/Data Issue
__ SHPO Request	__ Landscape	__ Photo
__ Waiver	__ National	__ Map/Boundary
__ Resubmission	__ Mobile Resource	__ Period
__ Other	__ TCP	__ Less than 50 years
	__ CLG	

__X__ Accept _____ Return _____ Reject __1/10/2020__ Date

Abstract/Summary Comments: The Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in California, 1850-1970 MPS cover document is an excellent resource for the evaluation, documentation and designation of historic ethnic resources in California. The MPS develops three fairly comprehensive thematic contexts and provides registration guidelines for several general and specific property types including historic districts, agricultural properties, industrial sites, community service properties, religious properties and properties associated with significant individuals. Additional contexts, time periods, and associated property types may be developed at a later date. NPS grant funded project.

Recommendation/ Criteria: Accept MPS Cover Documentation

Reviewer Paul Lusignan Discipline Historian

Telephone (202)354-2229 Date 1/10/2020

DOCUMENTATION: see attached comments: No see attached SLR: **Yes**

If a nomination is returned to the nomination authority, the nomination is no longer under consideration by the National Park Service.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Name of Property
County and State
Name of multiple listing (if applicable)

Section number ___ Page 1

Supplementary Listing Record

NRIS Reference Number: MC100004867 Date Accepted: **01/10/2020**

MPS/Property Name: Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in California, 1850-1970 MPS

County: Various State: CA

This MPS cover is accepted for use in association with the National Register of Historic Places in accordance with the attached nomination documentation subject to the following exceptions, exclusions, or amendments, notwithstanding the National Park Service certification included in the nomination documentation

Signature of the Keeper 1/10/2020 Date of Action

Amended Items in Nomination:

Resource Count:
Associated Property Types
Areas of Significance - Page F 130. Please note that the National Register Information System (NRIS) database separates out Ethnic Heritage-Asian and Ethnic Heritage-Pacific Islander, with additional subcategories for each. Properties nominated under this MPS associated with Chamorro, Native Hawaiian, and Samoan groups should be listed under Ethnic Heritage-Pacific Islander.

The CALIFORNIA SHPO was notified of this amendment.

DISTRIBUTION:
National Register property file
Nominating Authority (without nomination attachment)

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form

This form is used for documenting property groups relating to one or several historic contexts. See instructions in National Register Bulletin *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (formerly 16B). Complete each item by entering the requested information.

___X____ New Submission _____ Amended Submission

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing
Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in California, 1850-1970

B. Associated Historic Contexts
Migration and Community Formation
Community Serving Organizations
Religion and Spiritualty

C. Form Prepared by:
name/title: Page & Turnbull: Flora Chou, Senior Associate; Deepeaka Dhaliwal, Cultural Resources Planner; with Donna Graves, Public Historian
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telephone: (213) 221-1202 date: May 2019; Revised August 2019
Appendix OHP Staff, October 2019

D. Certification
As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements for the listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation.

_____ _____ _____
Signature of certifying official Title Date

_____
State or Federal Agency or Tribal government

I hereby certify that this multiple property documentation form has been approved by the National Register as a basis for evaluating related properties for listing in the National Register.

_____ _____
Signature of the Keeper Date of Action

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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

[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.

those who migrated to the United States. The 1960s was also when a growing Asian American 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]

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[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.

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.

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[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.

"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]

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.[9] Immigrants and their children often adopted more common American names. In this document, Chinese names are provided in the format found in 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.

[8] "The Hawaiian Spelling of Words," *OOCities*, accessed March 21, 2019, http://www.oocities.org/dhc2020/hawaiianspelling.htm.
[9] 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.

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.[10]

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.

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.

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

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.[11]

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.[12]

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 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.[13] Pilipino is also

[11] Japanese 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.
[12] 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.
[13] "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.

associated with anti-colonialist sentiments and a conscientious effort to establish cultural identity. Some organizations use the feminine rendering Pilipina.[14]

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.[15]
>
> *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.[16]

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.

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[14] 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.
[15] 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.
[16] 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.

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.[17]

Samoan
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 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.[18]

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.[19]

> *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

[17] Nayan Shah, *Stranger Intimacy: Contesting Race, Sexuality, and Law in the North American West* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 14.
[18] American Samoa Visitors Bureau, "The Territory of American Samoa," accessed March 29, 2019, https://www.americansamoa.travel/our-islands.
[19] 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.

range from forty to one hundred members. This traces back to the Samoan Islands, where land and property are passed down within the *aiga*.[20]

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*).[21]

Fa'a Samoa: Samoan custom, or the "Samoan Way."[22]

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.[23] 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 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.[24] 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

[20] 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.
[21] Mariesa J. McHenry, "The Samoan Way" (draft), daviddfriedman.com (accessed July 3, 2019) http://www.daviddfriedman.com/Academic/Course_Pages/Legal_Systems_Very_Different_13/LegalSysPapers2Discuss13/McHenry_The_Samoan_Way.htm.
[22] Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, "From Polynesia to California," 133; McHenry, "The Samoan Way."
[23] Gary Y. Okihiro, "Imperialism and Migration," in Odo, *Finding a Path Forward: Asian American Pacific Islander National Historic Landmarks Theme Study*, 27-29.
[24] Okihiro, "Imperialism and Migration," 29-31.

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.[25]

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.[26]

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 America 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 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.

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[25] 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.

[26] 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.

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 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.[27] 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.[28] In the 1820s, the first American missionaries arrived in Hawai'i.[29]

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 the coast.[30] Almost one-fifth of the adult male population in Hawai'i served on foreign ships by 1850.[31] According to Gregory Rosenthal, "Spatially, Hawaiian migrants lived and labored all across California,

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[27] Gregory Rosenthal, *Beyond Hawai'i: Native Labor in the Pacific World* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2018), 114.
[28] *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.
[29] David Kittelson, "A Bibliographical Essay on the Territory of Hawaii, 1900-1959," *The Journal of Pacific History* 6 (1971): 195.
[30] Rosenthal, *Beyond Hawai'i,* 134-135.
[31] Okihiro, "Imperialism and Migration," 20.

from the shores to the Sierras."[32] 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.[33] 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.[34] These early Native Hawaiian laborers in California quickly became part of an expanding global capitalist economy.[35]

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).[36] 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.[37]

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.[38] As Gregory Rosenthal states, "Hawaiian migrant workers experienced California as both a land of opportunity and a place of loneliness and suffering."[39]

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 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.[40]

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[32] Rosenthal, *Beyond Hawai'i,* 133.
[33] Rosenthal, *Beyond Hawai'i,* 133-135.
[34] Rosenthal, *Beyond Hawai'i,* 136.
[35] Rosenthal, *Beyond Hawai'i,* 133.
[36] 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.
[37] Susan Edinger-Marshall, "Hawai'i: The California Connection," *Rangelands* 22, no. 5 (2000): 15.
[38] Smith, *Freedom's Frontier*, 32.
[39] Rosenthal, *Beyond Hawai'i,* 133.
[40] Smith, *Freedom's Frontier*, 31.

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.[41] 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.[42] 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.[43] According to Gregory Rosenthal, "By 1880, Chinese and other non-Natives outnumbered Hawaiian workers in the sugar industry." [44] 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.[45] This led to the creation of a new Hawaiian identity, often Native Hawaiians mixed with the backgrounds of other imported laborers.[46]

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 Hawai'i was established in 1894.[47] In 1898, the U.S. Congress passed a resolution to create the Territory

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[41] 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.
[42] 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.
[43] 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/.
[44] Rosenthal, *Beyond Hawai'i,* 15.
[45] Ronald Takaki, *Strangers from A Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans* (New York: Back Bay Books/Little, Brown and Company, 1989), 132.
[46] Brightwell, "No Enclave—Explore Hawaiian Los Angeles."
[47] McGregor and MacKenzie, *Mo'olelo Ea O Na Hawai'i*, 38-39.

of Hawai'i, which transferred the islands to U.S. rule.[48] 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.[49] 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.[50] 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.[51]

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.[52] 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.[53]

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, given the rich, fertile landscape of Sutter County. They often went on to eventually own their own

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[48] McGregor and MacKenzie, *Mo'olelo Ea O Na Hawai'i*, 41-42.
[49] Hawai'i Organic Act, Pub.L. 56-399, 31 Stat.141 (1900).
[50] Okihiro, *American History Unbound*, 153.
[51] Rosenthal, *Beyond Hawai'i,* 154.
[52] 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.
[53] Rosenthal, *Beyond Hawai'i,* 147.

farmland along the river. Native Hawaiians were involved in the dairy industry, raising hogs, and farming alfalfa while living in Vernon.[54] Vernon became the largest nonurban settlement of Native Hawaiians in California by the mid-nineteenth century.[55]

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.[56] 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.[57] There are recorded instances of Native Hawaiians men marrying Native American women as well.[58]

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.”[59]

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).[60]

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.[61] The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941 led

[54] “Hawai’i in California,” *The San Francisco Call*, March 26, 1911.
[55] Rosenthal, *Beyond Hawai’i,* 1.
[56] Rosenthal, *Beyond Hawai’i,* 151.
[57] Rosenthal, *Beyond Hawai’i*, 150-151; Okihiro, “American History Unbound,” 153.
[58] Rosenthal, *Beyond Hawai’i,* 151.
[59] Rosenthal, *Beyond Hawai’i,* 165.
[60] Brightwell, “No Enclave—Explore Hawaiian Los Angeles.”
[61] Tamara L. Britton, *Pearl Harbor* (Edina, Minnesota: Abdo Publishing Company, 2003), 14.

to U.S. involvement in World War II and marked a turning point for both the U.S. and Hawai'i.[62] The U.S. military appropriated more land in Hawai'i and imposed martial law.[63] 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.[64] 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.[65]

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.[66]

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.[67] Hawai'i receiving statehood led to a steadier flow of Native Hawaiians moving to California.[68] 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). [69]

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

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[62] McGregor and MacKenzie, *Mo'olelo Ea O Na Hawai'i*, 22; 49; 436; 438.
[63] McGregor and MacKenzie, *Mo'olelo Ea O Na Hawai'i*, 22; 436.
[64] Brightwell, "No Enclave—Explore Hawaiian Los Angeles."
[65] "Discover More: Aloha on the Mainland," POV Archive, accessed December 4, 2018, http://archive.pov.org/americanaloha/aloha-on-the-mainland/.
[66] Brightwell, "No Enclave—Explore Hawaiian Los Angeles."
[67] McGregor and MacKenzie, *Mo'olelo Ea O Na Hawai'i*, 22; 49; 436; 438.
[68] Ueda, "Los Angeles, Hawaiian Enclaves (California)," 801.
[69] Ueda, "Los Angeles, Hawaiian Enclaves (California)," 802; "Napua Wood," Internet Movie Database, accessed March 21, 2019, https://www.imdb.com/name/nm1476022/.

through annexation.[70] 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.[71] 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.[72] 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.[73]

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.[74] 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.[75] From there, some made their way to California on shipping or fishing vessels.[76]

The first major wave of Chinese migration to California began in 1849 for the Gold Rush.[77] 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.

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[70] "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.

[71] "Hawaiian Homes Commission Act," Department of Hawaiian Home Lands, accessed May 3, 2019, https://dhhl.hawaii.gov/hhc/laws-and-rules/.

[72] "Discover More: Aloha on the Mainland."

[73] Ueda, "Los Angeles, Hawaiian Enclaves (California)," 803.

[74] 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.

[75] 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.

[76] 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.

[77] Lee, "Immigration, Exclusion, and Resistance," 88.

By 1852, over 20,000 came to *Gum Saam* (or *jin shan*, Gold Mountain), the name given to California.[78] 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.[79]

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.[80]

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.[81] Limited to re-working old claims, some became entrepreneurs by providing mining supplies, laundry services, lodging, and food to their fellow Chinese miners.[82] Others abandoned gold mining and became merchants, laborers, or service workers in nearby towns and cities.[83]

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.[84] 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

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[78] 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.
[79] Lee, "Immigration, Exclusion, and Resistance," 88.
[80] "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.
[81] Wey, "Chinese Americans in California"; Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 80-82.
[82] Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 71; Architectural Resources Group, *Chinatown Historic Resource Survey,* prepared for the City of Fresco Planning and Development Department, April 4, 2006, 22.
[83] Wey, "Chinese Americans in California."
[84] Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 84-85.

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 the U.S.[85] Most of the Chinese forty-niners originated from just eight districts in the Pearl River Delta in Guangdong providence.[86] By 1870, over 63,000 Chinese were in the United States, fewer than 5,000 of whom were women.[87] 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.[88]

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.[89] Others moved to rural regions and became agricultural laborers, though work in railroads, mining, lumber, and fishing was also available.[90] 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.[91] 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.[92] Others headed to the Central Coast to farm seaweed, fish, or work in canneries.[93] 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.[94]

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

[85] Lee, The Making of Asian America, 72.
[86] Lee, "Immigration, Exclusion, and Resistance," 88.
[87] U.S. census data from Chung, "A Brief Overview of the Contributions of Chinese Americans," 11.
[88] 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.
[89] Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 79, 87.
[90] Lee, "Immigration, Exclusion, and Resistance," 89.
[91] Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 89.
[92] Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 90.
[93] Wey, "Chinese Americans in California."
[94] 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/.

Central Pacific cut off their food supply and they were forced to surrender.[95] 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.[96] The United States first 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.[97] 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.[98] 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.[99] 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.[100]

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.[101]

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.[102] 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

[95] Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 75.
[96] Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 108-110; U.S. census data from Chung, "A Brief Overview of the Contributions of Chinese Americans," 11.
[97] Lee, *The Making of Asian America,* 67; An Act supplementary to the acts in relation to immigration, H.R. 4747, 43rd Cong (1875).
[98] Lee, "Immigration, Exclusion, and Resistance," 94-95.
[99] Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 111.
[100] Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 111; U.S. census data from Chung, "A Brief Overview of the Contributions of Chinese Americans," 11.
[101] Din et al., Chinese American Historic Context Statement, 8.
[102] Wey, "Chinese Americans in California."

working in fishing, canning, or even mining quicksilver (mercury); and in Santa Barbara County as bus boys, chefs, and waiters in a hotel.[103]

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 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.[104]

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.[105] 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).[106] Chinese immigrants established thirty enclaves within their first two decades in the United States.[107]

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.[108] 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

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[103] Wey, "Chinese Americans in California."
[104] Wey, "Chinese Americans in California."
[105] Lawrence Tom, Brian Tom, and the Chinese American Museum of Northern California, *Sacramento's Chinatown*, Images of America (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2010), 17.
[106] 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, *Maryville's Chinatown*, Images of America (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2008), 17.
[107] Tom, Tom, and Chinese American Museum of Northern California, *Sacramento's Chinatown*, 9.
[108] Din et al, Chinese American Historic Context Statement, 8.

tobacco.[109] Buildings in Chinatown, considered an older part of town, were converted into light manufacturing factories and other uses to serve the growing Chinese community.[110]

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.[111] 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 Washington Street between El Dorado and Hunter.[112] 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.[113]

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.[114] 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.[115]

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

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[109] Takaki, Strangers from A Different Shore, 87-88.
[110] Din et al, Chinese American Historic Context Statement, 9.
[111] Jeff Gillenkirk and James Motlow, *Bitter Melon: Inside America's Last Rural Chinese Town* (Berkeley, CA: Heyday Books, 1997), 30.
[112] Minnick, The Chinese Community of Stockton, 15.
[113] Architectural Resources Group, *Chinatown Historic Resource Survey*, 24.
[114] 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.
[115] M. Rosalind Sagara, *Chinese Americans in Riverside: Historic Context Statement*, prepared for the City of Riverside, September 30, 2016, 16-17.

crime syndicates.[116] 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 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.[117]

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.[118] In other places, suspicious fires damaged areas where the Chinese lived, such as in San Jose, Fresno, and Chico, all in 1887.[119] 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.[120] 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).[121] 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.[122]

It was among such racial tensions and violence that the Chinese Exclusion Act was passed in 1882. With it, significantly fewer Chinese laborers arrived.[123] 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

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[116] Din et al., Chinese American Historic Context Statement, 24-25.
[117] 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.
[118] Wey, "Chinese Americans in California."
[119] Wey, "Chinese Americans in California."
[120] Din et al., Chinese American Historic Context Statement, 14-16.
[121] Gillenkirk and Motlow, *Bitter Melon*, 26
[122] 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/.
[123] Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 94-95.

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*.[124]

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.[125] 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.[126]

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.[127] 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.[128] San Francisco's

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[124] Din et al., Chinese American Historic Context Statement, 26-27.
[125] Iris Chang, *The Chinese in America: A Narrative History* (New York: Penguin Books, 2003), 85-87.
[126] 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.
[127] Wey, "Chinese Americans in California."
[128] Din et al., Chinese American Historic Context Statement, 32-33.

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.[129] 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.[130] Some new immigrants arrived with falsified papers as "paper sons" claiming a family relationship to a legal Chinese immigrant.[131]

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.[132] 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.[133]

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.[134] It also ended some long-running customs, such as foot binding of women and queues (long, single braid) for men.[135]

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.[136] Some Chinatowns, like the one in Riverside, dissolved as the generation of immigrant laborers aged and other opportunities drew residents elsewhere.[137] Other Chinatowns were destroyed in fires, such as in Walnut Grove in 1915, Isleton in

[129] Din et al., Chinese American Historic Context Statement, 34-38.
[130] Wey, "Chinese Americans in California"; Din et al., *Chinese American Historic Context Statement*, 41.
[131] Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 95-96.
[132] Din et al., Chinese American Historic Context Statement, 40.
[133] Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 96.
[134] Wey, "Chinese Americans in California."
[135] Din et al., Chinese American Historic Context Statement, 15, 21.
[136] U.S. census data from Chung, "A Brief Overview of the Contributions of Chinese Americans," 11.
[137] Sagara, *Chinese Americans in Riverside*, 23.

1926, and Courtland in 1930, all in the Delta.[138] 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.[139] 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.[140] 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 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.[141]

In Los Angeles, the growing Chinatown was considered for the site of a new railroad terminal as early as the 1910s.[142] 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.[143]

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."[144] Economic and social opportunities

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[138] National Register of Historic Places, *Walnut Grove Chinese American Historic District*, Walnut Grove, Sacramento County, California, National Register #90000484, 8-1-2.
[139] 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.
[140] National Register of Historic Places, *Locke Historic District*, Locke, Sacramento County, California, National Register #71000174, 24.
[141] Gillenkirk and Motlow, *Bitter Melon*, 134.
[142] National Register of Historic Places, *Asian Americans in Los Angeles*, E-23.
[143] National Register of Historic Places, *Asian Americans in Los Angeles*, E-28.
[144] Din et al., Chinese American Historic Context Statement, 47.

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.[145] 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.[146] Several thousand Chinese Americans served in the U.S. military during World War II.[147] 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.[148]

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.[149] His fight was one of seven lawsuits that were admitted for review by the U.S. Supreme Court, which ultimately ruled

[145] Lee, The Making of Asian America, 256.
[146] Din et al., Chinese American Historic Context Statement, 53.
[147] Din et al., Chinese American Historic Context Statement, 47.
[148] Din et al., Chinese American Historic Context Statement; National Register of Historic Places, *Asian Americans in Los Angeles*, E-32.
[149] Cindy I-Fen Chen, *Citizens of Asian America: Democracy and Race during the Cold War* (New York: New York University Press, 2013), 21.

against state enforcement of racial covenants.[150] 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.[151]

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.[152]

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 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.[153]

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.[154]

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.

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[150] Chen, *Citizens of Asian America*, 22.
[151] Lyon, "Alien Land Laws."
[152] Din et al., Chinese American Historic Context Statement, 55.
[153] 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.
[154] National Register of Historic Places, *Asian Americans in Los Angeles*, E-36-37.

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.[155] 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.[156] California has played a defining role in Japanese American history ever since.

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.[157] 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.[158] 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.[159]

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[155] Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 110.
[156] 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.
[157] 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.
[158] 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.
[159] Okihiro, *American History Unbound*, 163-164.

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.[160] 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.[161]

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." [162] Ichioka divides Japanese immigration into two major periods shaped by immigration laws specifically targeting Asian immigrants: 1885 to 1907 and 1908 to 1925.[163]

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."[164] 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.

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[160] Okihiro, *American History Unbound*, 163-164; Niiya, *Japanese American History*, 216.
[161] Okihiro, *American History Unbound*, 276.
[162] Yuji Ichioka, *The Issei: The World of the First Generation Japanese Immigrants, 1885-1924* (New York: The Free Press, 1998), 1, 51-52.
[163] 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.
[164] Kiichi Kanzaki, *California and the Japanese*, (1921, reprinted San Francisco: R and E Research Associates, 1971), 1.

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.[165] 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.[166] 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 then declined as other Japantowns were expanding.[167] By 1908, Japanese immigrants made up the largest portion of California's agricultural workforce.[168]

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.[169] 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.[170] By 1910, Japanese immigrants cultivated crops on 194,742 acres of California soil.[171] *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

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[165] Niiya, *Japanese American History*, 307.
[166] Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 116; Okihiro, *American History Unbound*, 164.
[167] Takashi Tsujita and Karen Nolan, *Omo I de: Memories of Vacaville's Lost Japanese Community* (Vacaville, California: Vacaville Museum, 2001).
[168] Okihiro, *American History Unbound*, 164.
[169] Eiichiro Azuma, *Between Two Empires: Race, History, and Transnationalism in Japanese America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) 62-72.
[170] Niiya, *Japanese American History*, 99.
[171] Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore,* 188-189.

Valley.[172] 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.[173]

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.[174]

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."[175] Women made up only five percent of Japanese in California in 1900 and most of them are speculated to have been sex workers who migrated in the routes that agricultural workers followed.[176]

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.[177] 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.[178] 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.[179] Not all Japanese immigrants chose heterosexual relationships. Amy Sueyoshi has documented early Japanese immigrants in San

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[172] Niiya, *Japanese American History*, 96–97; 124-125; 356.
[173] National Register of Historic Places, *Asian Americans in Los Angeles*, E-52.
[174] Waugh, et al., "A History of Japanese in California."
[175] Okihiro, *American History Unbound*, 150.
[176] Okihiro, *American History Unbound*, 166.
[177] Okihiro, *American History Unbound*, 276.
[178] *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.*
[179] 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.

Francisco whose most intimate relationships were with other men, including Issei poet Yone Noguchi.[180] 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.[181]

Shut out of most employment sectors, *Issei* relied on the labor of fellow immigrants and family members as they pursed self-employment as farmers and small business operators.[182] 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).[183]

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 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.[184]

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' 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. [185]

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[180] Amy Sueyoshi, *Queer Compulsions: Race, Nation, and Sexuality in the Affairs of Yone Noguchi* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2012).
[181] Sueyoshi, "Breathing Fire," 11-11 to 11-12.
[182] Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 180.
[183] Kanzaki, *California and the Japanese*, 8.
[184] 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.
[185] Niiya, *Japanese American History*, 334.

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.[186]

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 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.[187]

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

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[186] 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.*

[187] 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.

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.[188]

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."[189]

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 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.[190]

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

[188] Niiya, *Japanese American History*, 329.
[189] Roger Daniels, *Prisoners Without Trial: Japanese Americans in World War II* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004) 3-22.
[190] Daniels, *Prisoners Without Trial*, passim.

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.[191]

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.[192]

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."[193] 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. "Since they occupy the former Japanese residential district, they will resent being displaced by returning evacuees," Kido wrote.[194]

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

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[191] 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).
[192] Jacobus tenBroek, Edward N. Barnhart, and Floyd W. Matson, *Prejudice, War and the Constitution* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1954), 166.
[193] Reid Yoshio Yokoyama, "Return, Rebuild and Redevelop: Japanese American Resettlement in San Francisco, 1945-1958" (undergraduate honors thesis, Stanford University, 2007), 13, 100.
[194] 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.

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.[195] 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.[196] 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* who lived elsewhere. *Nihonmachi* also reflected generational changes and were somewhat less oriented to the immigrant generation.[197]

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.[198] 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.[199]

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[195] 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.
[196] Waugh, "A History of Japanese in California."
[197] 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."
[198] Waugh, "A History of Japanese in California."
[199] "Immigration Act of 1952," Densho Encyclopedia, accessed January 10, 2017, http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Immigration_Act_of_1952/.

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.[200] 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.[201] 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 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.[202]

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

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[200] Waugh, "A History of Japanese in California."
[201] 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).
[202] Charlotte Brooks, *Alien Neighbors, Foreign Friends: Asian Americans, Housing and the Transformation of Urban California* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 229.

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.[203] 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.[204]

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.[205] 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 arriving through San Francisco; one member of the group, Yu Kil-jun, stayed to attend school in Massachusetts.[206]

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.[207] These individuals, along with a handful of students and ginseng merchants

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[203] Niiya, *Japanese American History*, 83.
[204] 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.
[205] Hyung-chan Kim and Wayne Patterson, *The Koreans in America, 1882-1974: A Chronology and Fact Book* (New York: Oceana Publications, Inc., 1974), 1.
[206] Kim and Patterson, *The Koreans in America*, 1.
[207] 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.

mistaken for Chinese when they arrived in 1893, were among the earliest Korean immigrants to the United States.[208]

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.[209] By 1903, the Friendship Association or Friendship Society (*Chin-mok-hoe*) was established in San Francisco with Ahn as president.[210] Fewer than fifty Koreans were in San Francisco as of 1904, including the ginseng merchants.[211] 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.[212] 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.[213] 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.[214]

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.[215] 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.[216] From Hawai‘i, about

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[208] 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.
[209] Katherine Yungmee Kim, *Los Angeles's Koreatown,* Images of America (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2011), 13; 18.
[210] Kim and Patterson, *The Koreans in America*, 4; Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 23.
[211] Choy, *Koreans in America*, 105.
[212] David Yoo, *Contentious Spirits: Religion in Korean American History, 1903-1945* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010), Chapter 4.
[213] Choy, *Koreans in America*, 73-75.
[214] Choy, *Koreans in America*, 92-94.
[215] 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.
[216] 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

1,000 to 2,000 of these mostly young, single men and some women and children then migrated to the continental United States.[217]

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.[218]

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 1532 Pachappa Avenue (not extant) in Riverside, noted on the 1908 Sanborn map as the "Korean Settlement."[219] 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.[220]

Studies, California State University, Los Angeles, 1982), 5-6; Won Moo Hurh, *The New Americans: The Korean Americans* (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1998), 34.

[217] Ch'oe, "History of Korean Church," 38; Yang, "Koreans in America, 1903-1945," 6; Cha, *Koreans in Central California,* 19.

[218] Cha, *Koreans in Central California,* 18; Yang, "Koreans in America, 1903-1945," 7; Choy, *Koreans in America*, 105-106.

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

[220] Chang and Brown, "Pachappa Camp," 51.

In the Central Valley, the first stops were three main agricultural centers: Fresno (Fresno County), Hanford (Kings County), and Visalia (Tulare County).[221] Between 1906 and 1908, there were about 200 Koreans in these three cities.[222] 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.[223] 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.[224]

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.[225] 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.[226] 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 Korean Association), and the Korean Women's Association.[227] 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

[221] Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 20.
[222] Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 29.
[223] Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 20.
[224] Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 29-30, 34.
[225] Choy, *Koreans in America,* 105; Change and Brown, "Pachappa Camp," 48.
[226] Choy, *Koreans in America*, 105-106.
[227] Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 23; Kim and Patterson, *The Koreans in America*, 8, 15.

regular services by 1906.[228] 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.[229] 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.[230] 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.[231] 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.[232]

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. [233] Other data indicated more Korean residents were likely in the state. The Mutual Assistance Association reported 291 members in San Francisco and 150 in Riverside in 1907.[234] It is

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[228] 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.
[229] 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.
[230] Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 195.
[231] Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 197.
[232] Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 197-198; Song and Yu, *A History of San Francisco Korean United Methodist Church*, 696.
[233]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 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. .
[234] Chang and Brown, "Pachappa Camp," 49.

more likely there were over 500 Korean residents in California around 1910.[235] 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.[236] A handful of business corporations were established to pool funds, though none appear to be long-term successes.[237]

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.[238] Following his lead, military training camps were established in California in Lompoc and Claremont in 1910 and 1911.[239]

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.

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

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[235] Email comments received from Edward Chang to the California Office of Historic Preservation, April 9, 2019.
[236] Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 40-44; 157-164; Kim and Patterson, *The Koreans in America,* 24-26.
[237] Choy, *Koreans in America*¸129.
[238] Choy, *Koreans in America*, 85.
[239] 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.

job at a vineyard.[240] The availability of work in the grape, raisin, and tree fruit crops attracted more Korean workers alongside Japanese, Chinese, Mexican, and Filipina/o laborers.[241] 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.[242]

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.[243]

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.[244] 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.[245]

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.[246] 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."[247] 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.[248] The air school garnered substantial media 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.

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[240] Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 41.
[241] Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 41.
[242] Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 42.
[243] Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 57.
[244] Chang and Brown, "Pachappa Camp," 52-53.
[245] Chang and Brown, "Pachappa Camp," 53.
[246] Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 162.
[247] Edward T. Chang and Woo Sung Han, *Korean American Pioneer Aviators: The Willows Airmen* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2015), 10.
[248] Chang and Woo, *Korean American Pioneer Aviators*, 13.

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.[249]

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.[250] 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.[251]

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.[252]

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).[253] With their connection to Kim Brothers, Inc., K&S Jobbers became the only Los Angeles wholesaler for their nectarines.[254] 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.[255]

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[249] Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 170.
[250] Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 77-78.
[251] Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 84.
[252] Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 79.
[253] 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.
[254] Choy, *Koreans in America*, 131.
[255] 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.

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.[256] 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.[257]

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.[258] 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.[259] 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.[260]

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[256] Hurh, *The New Americans*, 34; Kim, Lee, and Byun, *Rainbow over the Pacific*, 87.
[257] Hurh, *The New Americans*, 34.
[258] U.S. census statistics for 1930 compiled by USC Korean Heritage Library and Gibson and Jung, "Historical Census Statistics," Table C-8.
[259] 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.
[260] Helen Lewis Givens, "The Korean Community in Los Angeles County," (master's thesis, University of Southern California, 1939), 48-50.

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.[261] 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.[262] 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.[263] 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.[264]

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.[265] 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.[266]

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

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[261] Kim, *Los Angeles's Koreatown*, 70.
[262] Jerry Crowe, "Lee Never Let Racism Block His March to Diving Glory," *Los Angeles Times*, May 30, 2011.
[263] 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."
[264] Nelson and Fenno, "Sammy Lee."
[265] Edward Chang, email to California Office of Historic Preservation April 9, 2019.
[266] 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/.

Los Angeles. Captain Kim became an army officer and led a unit of Japanese American soldiers during the war.[267]

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.[268] 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.[269]

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.[270] A Korean National Guard unit was established and incorporated into the California National Guard.[271] 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.[272]

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.[273]

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

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[267] 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.
[268] Kim, *Los Angeles's Koreatown*, 56; Edward Chang, email to California Office of Historic Preservation July 17, 2019.
[269] Edward Chang, email to California Office of Historic Preservation July 17, 2019.
[270] Choy, *Koreans in America*, 173-174.
[271] Kim and Patterson, *The Koreans in America*, 49.
[272] Kim, *Los Angeles's Koreatown*, 55; Choy, *Koreans in America*, 174.
[273] Kim and Patterson, *The Koreans in America*, 45.

ethnic groups that became problematic with the fervent anti-Japanese sentiments of the day. Although 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.[274]

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.[275] 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.[276] 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.[277] 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

[274] Kim and Patterson, *The Koreans in America*, 46.
[275] Kim and Patterson, *The Koreans in America*, 49.
[276] Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 267; "Korean War," History Channel, accessed May 13, 2019, https://www.history.com/topics/korea/korean-war.
[277] Kim and Patterson, *The Koreans in America*, 50.

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, and were often separated from the established Korean American community by circumstance.[278] Students from South Korea started to make their way to the United States in the years after World War II and the Korean War.[279]

Approximately 14,000 Koreans arrived in the United States between 1950 and 1965.[280] 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.[281] 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.[282] 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.[283]

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.[284] 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.[285] Lee and his

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[278] 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.
[279] Yoo and Ahn, *Faithful Witness*, 135-136.
[280] Kim Hak-Hoon, "Residential Patterns and Mobility of Koreans in Los Angeles County," (master's thesis, California State University, Los Angeles, 1986), 8.
[281] Maeda, "Asian American Activism and Civic Participation," 273.
[282] Cindy I-Fen Cheng, *Citizens of Asian America: Democracy and Race During the Cold War* (New York: New York University Press, 2013), 22-23.
[283] In the City of Los Angeles, locally designated historic districts are identified as Historic Preservation Overlay Zones.
[284] Nelson and Fenmo, "Sammy Lee."
[285] "Nixon and FHA Join in Dr. Lee's Fight for Home," *Los Angeles Times*, August 21, 1955.

family ultimately settled in 1955 at 12011 Cliffwood Drive in Anaheim (extant), where neighbors and civic leaders welcomed them.[286] The new home was not far from 1431 Broadway in Santa Ana (extant), where Dr. Lee opened his medical practice in 1955.[287]

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).[288] Opened by Francis Lewe in 1965, it appears to have moved to 1540 North Cahuenga Boulevard in Hollywood in 1970.[289] 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.[290]

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.[291] Song’s law office was at 608 South Hill Street (extant) in Los Angeles in 1964.[292]

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.[293] By the early 1970s, the numbers increased dramatically with over 30,000 Korean immigrants entering the U.S. alone in 1976.[294]

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[286] “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.
[287] “Dr. Sammy Lee Will Practice in Santa Ana,” *Los Angeles Times*, September 7, 1955.
[288] Kim, *Los Angeles’s Koreatown*, 79.
[289] Lois Dwan, “Roundabout,” *Los Angeles Times*, July 26, 1970.
[290] Kim and Patterson, *The Koreans in America*, 58.
[291] Kim and Patterson, *The Koreans in America*, 58.
[292] Hak Sun Pak, ed., The Korean Community of Southern California Year Book 1964, 86.
[293] Kim, “Residential Patterns,” 10.
[294] 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.

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 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.[295] 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.[296] After the success of Olympic Market, Hi-Duk Lee opened VIP Palace restaurant (Young Bin Kwan) at 3014 West Olympic Boulevard in 1975.[297] 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.[298] 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.[299] 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.[300]

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

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. 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.[301] 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.[302] 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.[303] 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.[304] 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.[305] 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.

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[301] National Register of Historic Places, *Asian Americans in Los Angeles*, E-123.
[302] National Register of Historic Places, *Asian Americans in Los Angeles*, E-124.
[303] 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
[304] 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.
[305] "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.

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 U.S. for a sum of $20 million, thwarting Filipina/o goals for independence.[306] 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.[307]

During the American regime from 1898 to 1946, the United States focused on the colonization and assimilation of Filipina/os.[308] 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."[309] 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."[310]

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.[311] *Pensionados* were highly selected, most often male, and typically the children of prominent Filipina/o families.[312] 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

[306] National Register of Historic Places, *Asian Americans in Los Angeles*, E-124.
[307] Yen Le Espiritu, *Filipino American Lives* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1995), 2.
[308] National Register of Historic Places, *Asian Americans in Los Angeles*, E-124.
[309] Espiritu, *Filipino American Lives*, 3.
[310] 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.
[311] Catherine Ceniza Choy, *Empire of Care: Nursing and Migration in Filipino American History* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 33-34.
[312] Espiritu, *Filipino American Lives*, 3.

> 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 promoted the pensionado program and America, thereby encouraging continued migration to the U.S. [313]

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.[314] 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.[315]

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.[316] 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.[317] San Diego also saw considerable numbers of Filipinos arrive during the early twentieth century as *pensionados* or enlisted naval recruits.[318]

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[313] National Register of Historic Places, *Asian Americans in Los Angeles*, E-125.
[314] "Immigration Act of 1917," Densho Encyclopedia, accessed December 6, 2018, https://encyclopedia.densho.org/Immigration%20Act%20of%201917/.
[315] Mabalon, *Little Manila is in the Heart*, 40.
[316] Rudy Guevarra, *Becoming Mexipino: Multiethnic Identities and Communities in San Diego* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2012), 25.
[317] National Register of Historic Places, *Asian Americans in Los Angeles*, E-127-128.
[318] 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/.

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.[319] 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 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.[320]

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.[321]

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.[322] 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.[323]

Filipina/o American Settlement in California, 1898-1934

Although Filipina/o migrants scattered across the country, the largest concentration was in California.[324] 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.[325]

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[319] Ronald Takaki, *In the Heart of Filipino America* (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1994), 31.
[320] Espiritu, *Filipino American Lives*, 9.
[321] 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.
[322] Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 187-188.
[323] Linda España Maram, C*reating Masculinity in Los Angeles's Little Manila: Working-Class Filipinos and Popular Culture, 1920s-1950s* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 4, 38.
[324] Espiritu, *Filipino American Lives*, 9.
[325] Mabalon, *Little Manila is in the Heart*, 60.

From there, some stayed in San Francisco or migrated to other cities. Approximately sixty percent sought and found work in agriculture.[326] 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."[327] 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 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.[328] 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.[329] 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.[330]

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.[331] 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

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[326] Espiritu, *Filipino American Lives*, 9.
[327] Espiritu, *Filipino American Lives*, 10.
[328] Espiritu, *Filipino American Lives*, 9; Jennifer Helzer, "*Building Communities—Economics & Ethnicity*, Delta Protection Commission," Delta Narratives, June 11, 2015 (Final Revision), 33-34.
[329] "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.
[330] Yen Le Espiritu, *Asian American Women and Men: Labor, Laws, and Love* (Walnut Creek, CA: Alta Mira Press, 2000), 17.
[331] Mabalon, *Little Manila is in the Heart*, 5.

canneries in Alaska and vineyards in Southern California. Stockton became the primary destination for Filipina/os arriving in San Francisco.[332]

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 the Filipina/o migrants, they found they shared rural and agricultural background upon their arrival in Stockton.[333]

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.[334]

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.[335] 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).[336]

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.[337] 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

[332] Helzer, "Building Communities—Economics & Ethnicity," 33-34.
[333] Helzer, "Building Communities—Economics & Ethnicity," 34.
[334] Mabalon, *Little Manila is in the Heart*, 116-117.
[335] National Register of Historic Places, *Asian Americans in Los Angeles*, E-127.
[336] Ronald Takaki, *In the Heart of Filipino America* (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1994), 63-64.
[337] Maram, C*reating Masculinity in Los Angeles's Little Manila,* 5

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.[338] 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.[339]

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.[340] They were accused of taking away jobs from white American workers, though they primarily worked in agricultural fields with Mexican and other Asian immigrants.[341] 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.[342] In comparison to other Asian groups, Filipino men generally dated or married across racial lines more often.[343] 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.[344]

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

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[338] 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.
[339] Guevarra, "Skid Row: Filipinos, Race and the Social Construction," 27.
[340] 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.
[341] Lee, "Immigration, Exclusion, and Resistance, 1800s-1940s," 97.
[342] Leti Volpp, "American Mestizo: Filipinos and Antimiscegenation Laws in California," *U.C. Davis Law Review*, 33, no. 795 (1999), 804.
[343] Takaki, *Strangers from A Different Shore*, 341.
[344] Burns, "'Splendid Dancing,'" 24.

when the county counsel concluded that Filipinos were not Mongolians.[345] 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."[346] 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.[347]

Racial and labor tensions materialized into the so-called "Filipino problem."[348] 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.[349] 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 began 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.[350]

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.[351] 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).[352]

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[345] Volpp, "American Mestizo: Filipinos and Antimiscegenation Laws in California," 813-814.
[346] 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.
[347] Lee, "Immigration, Exclusion, and Resistance, 1800s-1940s," 97.
[348] 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.
[349] Benicio T. Catapusan, *Social Adjustment of Filipinos in the United States* (Los Angeles: University of Southern California, 1940), 59.
[350] Ronald Takaki, *In the Heart of Filipino America* (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1994), 58.
[351] Philip Q. Yang, *Asian Immigration to the United States* (Cambridge, U.K.: Polity Press, 2011), 15.
[352] "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.

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.[353] 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.[354] During the same period that the 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.[355] 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.[356] Over the course of the war, approximately 16,000 Filipina/o Americans in California obtained U.S. citizenship.[357]

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.[358]

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.[359]

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

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[353] Takaki, *In the Heart of Filipino America*, 98.
[354] Alex S. Fabros, "The 1st Filipino Infantry Regiment," California State Military Museum, accessed October 15, 2018, http://www.militarymuseum.org/Filipino.html.
[355] Mabalon, *Little Manila is in the Heart*, 233.
[356] "Camp Beale History," *Historic California Posts, Camp Stations, and Airfields: Beale Air Force Base*, accessed March 18, 2019, http://www.militarymuseum.org/Beale.html.
[357] Wallovits, "The Filipinos in California," 10.
[358] Takaki, *In the Heart of Filipino America*, 100; Maeda, "Asian American Activism and Civic Participation," 273.
[359] Shelley Sang-Hee Lee, *A New History of Asian America*, (New York: Routledge, 2014), 238.

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.[360] 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.[361] Additional legislation allowed a greater number to enter, including the War Brides Acts of 1945 and 1947, and the Veterans' Aliens Fiancées Act of 1946, that allowed foreign wives, fiancées, and children of soldiers to enter the U.S. outside of the quota.[362] 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.[363] 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.[364] EVP offered foreign nursing graduates an opportunity for two-year postgraduate study and clinical training in U.S. hospitals.[365] 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.

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[360] 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.
[361] Takaki, *In the Heart of Filipino America*, 105.
[362] Rick Baldoz, The Third Asiatic Invasion: Migration and Empire in Filipino America, 1898-1946 (New York: New York University Press, 2011), 227-228.
[363] 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.
[364] Choy, *Empire of Care*, 64.
[365] National Register of Historic Places, *Asian Americans in Los Angeles*, E-140.

With these developments and the influx of Filipina nurses, the 1960s saw a transformation in the nursing labor force in the U.S.[366] 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..[367]

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."[368] 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 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.[369]

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.[370] 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.[371]

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

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[366] Choy, *Empire of Care*, 65.
[367] National Register of Historic Places, *Asian Americans in Los Angeles*, E-140.
[368] Rodolfo I. Necesito, *The Filipino Guide to San Francisco*, (San Francisco: Technomedia, 1977), 7.
[369] Daryl Kelley and Psyche Pascual, "Demographics: Filipinos Put Down Roots in Oxnard," *Los Angeles Times*, March 10, 1991.
[370] National Register of Historic Places, *Asian Americans in Los Angeles*, E-142-144.
[371] 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.

service industries.[372] Most Filipino navy recruits were restricted to the roles of stewards or galley staff, a situation that remained common until the mid-1970s.[373]

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.[374]

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.[375]

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."[376] 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. Between1966 to 1970, more

[372] Takaki, In the Heart of Filipino America, 109.
[373] Caridad Concepcion Vallangca, *The Second Wave: Pinay & Pinoy (1945-1960)* (San Francisco: Strawberry Hill Press, 1987), 26-27.
[374] Mabalon, *Little Manila is in the Heart*, 258-263.
[375] National Register of Historic Places, *Asian Americans in Los Angeles*, E-123.
[376] 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.

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."[377]

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.[378] 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.[379] The number of 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.[380]

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.[381] 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.[382] More scholarship is needed to

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[377] National Register of Historic Places, *Asian Americans in Los Angeles*, E-146.
[378] Tyner, "Filipinos: The Invisible Ethnic Community," 256.
[379] Takaki, *In the Heart of Filipino America*, 111-112.
[380] 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.
[381] 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.
[382] 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.

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.[383] Japan invaded Guam two days after Pearl Harbor and occupied the island until U.S. forces regained control in 1944.[384] 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.[385] During this time, those that resided in Guam were not eligible for U.S. citizenship unless they entered the U.S. armed services.

After the end of World War II, many Chamorro military families left Guam for California. [386] They settled near naval bases in Vallejo and Alameda in Northern California as well as Long Beach and San Diego in Southern California. [387] 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.[388]

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.[389] 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.[390] At that time, U.S. citizenship was granted to residents of Guam and their descendants.[391] Travel was still heavily controlled by the Navy until 1962 due to security concerns, which made it difficult to leave Guam.[392]

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

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[383] "Chamorro Migration to the U.S;" "Spanish-American War."
[384] Blackford, "Guam, the Philippines, and American Samoa,"169.
[385] Blackford, "Guam, the Philippines, and American Samoa," 170.
[386] "Chamorro Migration to the U.S."
[387] "Chamorro Migration to the U.S."
[388] "Chamorro Migration to the U.S,"
[389] Blackford, "Guam, the Philippines, and American Samoa,"171.
[390] Blackford, "Guam, the Philippines, and American Samoa," 172.
[391] James Perez Viernes, "Organic Act of Guam," Guampedia, accessed December 7, 2018, https://www.guampedia.com/organic-act-of-guam/.
[392] Blackford, "Guam, the Philippines, and American Samoa," 172.

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.[393]

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.[394]

South Asian American

Early South Asian Immigration to California, 1899-1917

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.[395] 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.[396] 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. [397]

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[393] "Chamorro Migration to the U.S."
[394] "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.
[395] "Sikhs Allowed to Land," *San Francisco Chronicle,* April 6, 1899, 10; Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 151.
[396] Okihiro, *American History Unbound*, 171-172.
[397] "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.

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.[398] 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.[399] 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.[400] 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.[401]

The journey for Indian immigrants to the U.S. was lengthier and more expensive than for other Asian immigrants.[402] 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.[403] 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.[404]

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

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[398] 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.
[399] 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.
[400] Jensen, *Passage from India*, 15 and Bruce La Brack, *The Sikhs of Northern California: 1904-1975* (New York: American Migration Series, 1988), 58.
[401] Okihiro, *American History Unbound*, 285.
[402] Erika Lee and Judy Yung. *Angel Island: Immigrant Gateway to America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 147-48.
[403] Jensen, *Passage from India,* 175. In 1914, Singh returned to India to participate in the *Ghadar* campaign against the British.
[404] "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./.

farmers from their fields and high taxes levied by the British forced many families to send members abroad to increase their collective livelihoods.[405] 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.[406] 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.[407]

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 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.[408]

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."[409] 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.[410] In the next few years, expulsions similar to those in Vancouver and Bellingham occurred in Sutter and Sacramento Counties.[411] 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

[405] Okihiro, *American History Unbound*, 170.
[406] Shah, *Stranger Intimacy*, 20.
[407] Okihiro, *American History Unbound*, 172.
[408] 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.
[409] Jensen, *Passage from India*, 22-23; La Brack, *The Sikhs of Northern California*, 69.
[410] Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 163-165.
[411] Shah, *Stranger Intimacy*, 30, 35.

migrants. By 1911, the U.S. Immigration Commission deemed South Asians "the least desirable race of immigrants thus far admitted…."[412]

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 therefor ineligible for U.S. citizenship.[413] The decision led the government to strip naturalized citizenship from sixty-nine South Asian men who had gained that status from 1908 to 1922.[414]

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 Act of 1917.[415] 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.[416] 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.[417] While other Indians processed through Angel Island were rejected as likely to become public charges, the Bagais were held for only a

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[412] Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 163; Hindu Immigration: Hearings Before the Committee on Immigration, House of Representatives (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1914).
[413] "Echoes of Freedom," accessed January 2, 2019, http://guides.lib.berkeley.edu/echoes-of-freedom/chapter10
[414] Shah, 247.
[415] According to Lee, 8,055 South Asians were admitted to the U.S. between 1910 and 1932. Lee, *The Making of Asian America,* 151.
[416] Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 156.
[417] "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/.

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.[418]

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.[419]

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.[420] These 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.[421] 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.[422]

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.[423]

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

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[418] "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/.
[419] Allan P. Miller, "An Ethnographic Report on the Sikh (East) Indians of the Sacramento Valley," (unpublished manuscript, University of California, Berkeley, 1950), 21.
[420] Howard Shideler, "Manteca: City in Transition," *The San Joaquin Historian* 2, no.1 (Spring 1988), 7.
[421] Jensen, *Passage from India*, 39.
[422] Shah, *Stranger Intimacy,* 90; "Echoes of Freedom."
[423] La Brack, *The Sikhs of Northern California*, 160.

could accommodate one to two men and their bedrolls.[424] 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."[425]

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.[426] 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."[427] 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.[428] Towns like Marysville, which had earlier driven out Chinese residents in 1886, acted as a center for the growing pre-World War II South Asian farming population.[429] 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."[430]

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.[431] 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.[432] 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.[433]

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[424] Shah, *Stranger Intimacy,* 92-93, 103; "Echoes of Freedom."
[425] Shah, *Stranger Intimacy*, 77.
[426] Shah, *Stranger Intimacy*, 95.
[427] Jensen, *Passage from India*, 40.
[428] La Brack, *The Sikhs of Northern California*, 111.
[429]"Yuba City Area," *UC Davis Pioneering Punjabis Digital Archive,* accessed December 7, 2018, https://pioneeringpunjabis.ucdavis.edu/places/destinations/yuba-city/.
[430] Allan Miller quoted in Shah, *Stranger Intimacy,* 39.
[431] Miller, "An Ethnographic Report on the Sikh (East) Indians of the Sacramento Valley," 24.
[432] With the exception of most South Asian immigrants engaging with the nationalist Ghadar Party.
[433] La Brack, *The Sikhs of Northern California*, 131.

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.[434] Apparently, county clerks did not apply anti-miscegenation laws to these couples because they perceived them as racially similar.[435] 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.[436]

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 Luce-Cellar Act, which allowed Indians to apply for legal entry under immigration quotas and granted them the ability to become naturalized citizens.[437] 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).[438]

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.[439]Approximately twelve million Punjabis were

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[434] Karen Isaksen Leonard, *Making Ethnic Choices: California's Punjabi Mexican Americans* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992), 109.
[435] Shah, *Stranger Intimacy*, 96.
[436] 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.
[437] Lee, *The Making of Asian America*, 263.
[438] "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/.
[439] La Brack, *The Sikhs of Northern California*, 210-12

displaced during this forced migration.[440] 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.[441]

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 Gujurati 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.[442] Families with the surname Patel immigrated from the city of Bombay (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.[443]

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.[444] 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.[445]

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

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[440] Urvashi Butalia, *The Other Side of Silence: Voices From the Partition of India* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 3.
[441] La Brack, *The Sikhs of Northern California*, 216.
[442] 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.
[443] La Brack, *The Sikhs of Northern California*, 253.
[444] "Echoes of Freedom."
[445] La Brack, *The Sikhs of Northern California*, 275.

land that had been part of an almond orchard.[446] 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.[447]

Samoan

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

During the period of Western imperialism from the early 1700s to the1800s, European and American explorers visited the Samoa Islands, yet none established colonial rule over the islands.[448] 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.[449] 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 interests to Britain.[450] 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.[451]

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.[452] 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.[453] 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

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[446] La Brack, *The Sikhs of Northern California*, 300-301.
[447] "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.
[448] "Cultural History of American Samoa," American Samoa Historic Preservation Office, accessed December 4, 2018, http://www.ashpo.org/index.php/history.html.
[449] "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. .
[450] "American Samoa's Role in World War II."
[451] "Samoan History," U.S. Embassy in Samoa, accessed December 7, 2018, https://ws.usembassy.gov/our-relationship/policy-history/samoan-history/.
[452] "American Samoa's Role in World War II."
[453] "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.

American Naval Government administering America Samoa.[454] 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.[455] In 1951, oversight of America Samoa was transferred to the Department of the Interior, which retains control over the unincorporated territory.[456] 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.[457]

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.[458]

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.[459]

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.[460] 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."[461] Their status as U.S. nationals meant they were not subject to the same immigration quotas as other groups.

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[454] 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.
[455] "American Samoa's Role in World War II."
[456] "Cultural History of American Samoa;" "American Samoa."
[457] Ann M. Simmons, "American Samoans Aren't Actually U.S. Citizens. Does That Violate the Constitution?" *Los Angeles Times*, April 6, 2018.
[458]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.
[459] Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, "From Polynesia to California," 13.
[460] Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, "From Polynesia to California," 134.
[461] Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, "From Polynesia to California," 134.

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.[462]

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.[463] 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. [464]

Between 1951 and 1956, 2,962 people left American Samoa and over 1,600 passports and letters of identity were issued. [465] Once commercial air travel was established in 1959 between America Samoa 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.[466]

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.[467] In the later 1950s, those who migrated were predominantly young and skilled, such as teachers and nurses, and included women.[468]

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.[469]

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[462] Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, “From Polynesia to California,” 134-135.
[463] Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, “From Polynesia to California,” 135.
[464] Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, “From Polynesia to California,” 135-136.
[465] Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, “From Polynesia to California,” 136.
[466] Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, “From Polynesia to California,” 138.
[467] Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, “From Polynesia to California,” 136; 140.
[468] Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, “From Polynesia to California,” 139.
[469] The Marine Corps operates under the Department of the Navy.

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.[470]

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.[471] 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.[472] By the end of the 1950s, California was considered a center for Samoan immigrants.[473]

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 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.[474] 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."[475]

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[470] From "Location of Samoan Settlement in California," CSUN Geography Department map in Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, "From Polynesia to California," 140-141.
[471] Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, "From Polynesia to California," 140.
[472] From "Location of Samoan Settlement in California," CSUN Geography Department map in Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, "From Polynesia to California," 141.
[473] Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, "From Polynesia to California," 143.
[474] Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, "From Polynesia to California," 143.
[475] Joan Ablon, "The Social Organization of an Urban Samoan Community," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* XXVII (1971), 77.

In 1963-64, California also saw the influx of older Samoans joining their family already settled in the U.S.[476] 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.[477]

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."[478] 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 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

[476] Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, "From Polynesia to California,"150.
[477] Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, "From Polynesia to California," 133.
[478] Shah, "Establishing Communities, 1848-1941," 112.

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.[479] 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.[480]

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.[481] 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).[482]

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[479] "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/.
[480] 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, .
[481] Uchima, "Association of Hawaiian Civic Clubs: History," 23.
[482] "Hawaiian Civic Clubs (California)," Heleloa, accessed March 28, 2019, http://www.heleloa.com/hawaiian-civic-clubs-california/.

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*.[483]

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.[484] *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.[485] 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.[486]

Huigan (regional or benevolent associations) were legitimate organizations, though they could not register as legal entities in the California government.[487] The earliest *huigan* was the Kong Chow Association, literally Pearl River Delta, named for the delta in Guongdon.[488] 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.[489] 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.[490]

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[483] See Terms and Definitions, E-4.
[484] Din et al., *Chinese American Historic Context Statement*, 25.
[485] National Register of Historic Places, *Asian Americans in Los Angeles*, E-20.
[486] Din et al., *Chinese American Historic Context Statement*, 28.
[487] Din et al., *Chinese American Historic Context Statement*, 26.
[488] Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 79.
[489] William Hoy, *The Chinese Six Companies* (San Francisco: Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association, 1942), 2-6.
[490] Din et al., *Chinese American Historic Context Statement*, 25-26. The names are in their Cantonese spellings as found in historic documents.

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).[491] Along with various services to support immigrants, the CCBA in Los Angeles also provided a Chinese school and a cemetery in 1919.[492]

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.[493] 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.[494] 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 Bible. The churches, primarily Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, and Congregationalist, came together to form the Chinese YMCA.[495] 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."[496]

The first Chinese YWCA was organized in San Francisco in 1916.[497] 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

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[491] National Register of Historic Places, *Asian Americans in Los Angeles*, E-19.
[492] Susie Ling, "Our Legacy: History of Chinese Americans in Southern California," in *Bridging the Centuries: History of Chinese Americans in Southern California*, 15.
[493] National Register of Historic Places, *Asian Americans in Los Angeles*, E-20.
[494] "History–1870 to 1890s," YMCA, accessed February 18, 2019, https://www.ymca.net/history/1870-1890s.html.
[495] Gibson, *The Chinese in America*, 197.
[496] Gibson, *The Chinese in America*, 197.
[497] "Julia Morgan Legacy Project," Chinese Historical Society of America, accessed February 19, 2019, https://chsa.org/exhibits/online-exhibits/julia-morgan-legacy-project/.

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 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.[498]

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.[499]

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[498] Niiya, *Japanese American History*, 200-201.
[499] *The Eighty-Fifth Anniversary of Protestant Work Among Japanese in North America, 1877-1962* (Los Angeles, 1964), 10-11.

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.[500] 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.[501]

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.[502] 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."[503] 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 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

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[500] *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/.
[501] *The Eighty-Fifth Anniversary of Protestant Work*, 42.
[502] Waugh, Yamamoto, and Okamura, "A History of Japanese Americans in California."
[503] Gail Dubrow and Donna Graves, *Sento at Sixth and Main: Preserving Landmarks of Japanese American Heritage* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Books, 2004), 109.

character and American spirit to develop permanent U.S. residents.[504] 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."[505] 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.[506]

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.[507] 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.[508]

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 Monument, National Register determined eligible).[509] 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).[510]

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.[511] The system relied on a

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[504] Alexander Yamato, Golden Gate Institute (Kinmon Gakuen) Historic Resources Inventory Form (Sacramento: California Office of Historic Preservation, 1979).
[505] Kiichi Kanzaki, *California and the Japanese* (San Francisco: Japanese Association, 1921; reprinted in 1971 by R&E Researchers, San Francisco), 20.
[506] Niiya, *Japanese American History*, 189-190.
[507] Niiya, *Japanese American History*, 176.
[508] Niiya, *Japanese American History*, 189-190.
[509] 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.
[510] Carey & Co., *San Jose Japantown Historic Context Statement,* prepared for the City of San Jose, 2006, 19-20.
[511] Lane Ryo Hirbayashi, "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.

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.[512] 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.[513]

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*).[514] 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 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.[515]

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.[516] 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.[517]

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.[518]

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[512] Niiya, *Japanese American History*, 326.
[513] *The Eighty-fifth Anniversary of Protestant Work*, 36.
[514] Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 23.
[515] Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 23; Kim, Lee, and Byun, *Rainbow over the Pacific*, 456.
[516] Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 23; Kim, Lee, and Byun, *Rainbow over the Pacific*, 456.
[517] Kim, Lee, and Byun, *Rainbow over the Pacific*, 456-457.
[518] Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 195-198.

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.[519]

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.[520] March 1 continues to be an important date for Koreans to commemorate.

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.[521] 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

[519] Kim, Lee, and Byun, *Rainbow over the Pacific*, 460; Chang and Han, *Korean American Pioneer Aviators,* xxxvi-xxxviii.
[520] Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 200.
[521] Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 200; Choy, *Koreans in America*, 119-120.

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.[522]

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.[523] Ahn also led the organization in Los Angeles, when he and his family moved there around 1914.[524] The Young Korean Academy in Los Angeles was located at 3421 South Catalina Avenue (extant) by 1936.[525] 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.[526] 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 Reedley's Kim Brothers, Inc., along with their associates Leo Song and Warren Y. Kim.[527] They purchased the former Danish Hall at 1359 W 24th Street (extant) in Los Angeles for the organization.[528] The Korean Center later merged with the Korean Residents' Association to become the Korean Association of Southern California in 1968.[529] 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.[530] 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

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[522] Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 69.
[523] Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 43; Lee, and Byun, *Rainbow over the Pacific*, 460.
[524] 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.
[525] *Los Angeles City Directory 1936*, 1995.
[526] Kim, Lee, and Byun, *Rainbow over the Pacific*, 461-467.
[527] Choy, *Koreans in America*, 188; 306-308.
[528] Choy, *Koreans in America*, 188.
[529] Kim, Lee, and Byun, *Rainbow over the Pacific*, 472.
[530] Choy, *Koreans in America*, 231.

Filipina/o Americans in response to anti-Filipina/o sentiment.[531] 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.[532] 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.[533]

Aside from church-affiliated groups, another broad group was fraternal organizations.[534] 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.[535] 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; and insurance benefits for its members for accidents, sickness, economic hardship, and death.[536] 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.[537]

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

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[531] Earlier Filipino arrivals were typically students under the 1903 Pensionado Act. Little information has been found about any organizations formed to support these students.
[532] Mabalon, *Little Manila Is in the Heart*, 106.
[533] Mabalon, *Little Manila Is in the Heart*, 106.
[534] 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.
[535] 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.
[536] Ave, "Characteristics of Filipino Social Organizations in Los Angeles," 7.
[537] Mabalon, *Little Manila Is in the Heart*, 107.

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.[538] 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."[539] These three groups, in addition to the Filipino Federation of America (FFA), also promoted Philippine nationalism and were committed to Philippine independence.[540]

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.[541] Occupations varied from those in the service industry working as busboys, 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.[542]

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

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[538] 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.
[539] Mabalon, *Little Manila Is in the Heart*, 107.
[540] Mabalon, *Little Manila Is in the Heart*, 107.
[541] Ave, "Characteristics of Filipino Social Organizations in Los Angeles," 13-26.
[542] Page & Turnbull, *San Francisco Filipino Heritage Addendum*, 11.

the chartering of the Maria Clara lodge in 1928.[543] In San Francisco, two lodges appear to have been present by 1925 at 301 and 916 Kearny Street (extant).[544] 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.[545] 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).[546] By 1940, there were over thirty LDT lodges in Filipina/o American communities across the nation.[547]

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.[548] At times, organizations organized separated political spaces for women

One of the most prominent and eventually among the largest was the Filipino Federation of America (FFA).[549] 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.[550] 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.

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[543] Mabalon, *Little Manila Is in the Heart*, 109.
[544] Page & Turnbull, *San Francisco Filipino Heritage Addendum*, 9.
[545] Mabalon, *Little Manila Is in the Heart*, 108.
[546] National Register of Historic Places, *Asian Americans in Los Angeles*, E-134.
[547] Mabalon, *Little Manila Is in the Heart*, 109.
[548]Ave, "Characteristics of Filipino Social Organizations in Los Angeles," 8; National Register of Historic Places, *Asian Americans in Los Angeles*, E-134.
[549] Mabalon, *Little Manila Is in the Heart*, 105.
[550] Wallovits, "The Filipinos in California," 56; Ave, "Characteristics of Filipino Social Organizations in Los Angeles," 34.

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.[551] The FFA included Filipina/o Americans from different provinces with Visayans, Tagalogs, and Ilocanos.[552]

Most members were male agricultural laborers; others were in the service, cannery, or aerospace industries.[553] Members worked to create recreational and social programs to bring Filipina/o Americans together.[554] 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.[555]

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.[556] 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.[557] After the war, Filipino American labor leaders Larry Itliong, Rudy Delvo, Philip Vera Cruz, and Pete Velasco were among those who formed 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.[558]

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

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[551] Ave, "Characteristics of Filipino Social Organizations in Los Angeles," 35
[552] Ave, "Characteristics of Filipino Social Organizations in Los Angeles," 36.
[553] Ave, "Characteristics of Filipino Social Organizations in Los Angeles," 36.
[554] Wallovits, "The Filipinos in California," 56.
[555] National Register of Historic Places, *Asian Americans in Los Angeles*, E-133.
[556] 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.
[557] Mabalon, *Little Manila is the Heart,* 220-226; Fabros and Gonzales, "Filipinos—Forgotten Heros of the UFW."
[558] Mabalon, *Little Manila is in the Heart,* 258-263; Fabros and Gonzales, "Filipinos—Forgotten Heros of the UFW."

Filipino Ladies Aid Society served the Filipina/o American community in the 1920s and 1930s.[559] 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.[560]

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.[561] 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.[562] 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.[563] 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.[564] The Filipino Alumni Association in Los Angeles was for Filipina/o college graduates and had a more intellectual focus.[565]

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).[566] Flores first

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[559] Page & Turnbull, *San Francisco Filipino Heritage Addendum*, 9-10
[560] Mabalon, *Little Manila Is in the Heart*, 73; 315.
[561] National Register of Historic Places, *Asian Americans in Los Angeles*, E-134; Ave, "Characteristics of Filipino Social Organizations in Los Angeles," 52.
[562] Ave, "Characteristics of Filipino Social Organizations in Los Angeles," 52; National Register of Historic Places, *Asian Americans in Los Angeles*, E-134
[563] 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.
[564] Ave, "Characteristics of Filipino Social Organizations in Los Angeles," 38-42.
[565] Ave, "Characteristics of Filipino Social Organizations in Los Angeles," 39.
[566] 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/.

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.[567]

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.[568] 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.[569]

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.[570]

South Asian American

South Asian immigrants appear not to have formed organizations based on shared affiliation by village, region, or caste.[571] 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 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."[572] 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.[573]

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[567] "About," Sons & Daughters of Guam Club, Inc., accessed March 29, 2019, https://www.guamclub.org/about/.
[568] "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.
[569] Uslander, "Sons & Daughters of Guam."
[570] "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.
[571] Karen Isaksen Leonard, *Making Ethnic Choices: California's Punjabi Mexican Americans* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992), 83-88.
[572] Leonard, *Making Ethnic Choices*, 90.
[573] Leonard, *Making Ethnic Choices*, 130; Jane Singh, email to California Office of Historic Preservation, May 13, 2019.

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.[574] 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.[575]

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.[576] 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. Saud became the first person of South Asian descent elected to the U.S. Congress.[577]

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.[578]

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.[579]

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

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[574] Leonard, *Making Ethnic Choices*, 83.
[575] "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/ .
[576] Dalip Singh Saund, *Congressman from India* (NewYork: Dutton, 1960), 36-37.
[577] Saund, *Congressman from India*, 36-37; Jensen, *Passage from India,* 280.
[578] Maia Ramnath. "Two Revolutions: The Ghadar Movement and India's Radical Diaspora, 1913-1918," *Radical History Review* 92 (Spring 2005): 7-9.
[579] Leonard, *Making Ethnic Choices,* 82.

cemeteries.[580] 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.[581] 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.[582]

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*.[583] 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.[584] By 1970, almost every Samoan household was noted as having at least one member, and on average six to ten members, from the extended family living with them.[585] Through marriage, Samoans can claim membership in several *aiga* though most are active in only one. [586]

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

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[580] 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.
[581] Leonard, *Making Ethnic Choices*, 172.
[582] Leonard, *Making Ethnic Choices*, 172.
[583] 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.
[584] Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, "From Polynesia to California," 148; 151.
[585] Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, "From Polynesia to California," 151.
[586] Koletty, "The Samoan Archipelago in Urban America," 137.

choirs and the Samoan Catholic Benevolent Societies formed in 1959.[587] 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."[588] A Samoan community dance was noted in 1964, though it is unclear where the dance was held.[589] Samoan Americans also held *luaus* or *fiafias* with food and dancing.[590]

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."[591] 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.[592]

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.

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

[587] Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, "From Polynesia to California," 149.
[588] Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, "From Polynesia to California," 143.
[589] Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, "From Polynesia to California," 150.
[590] Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, "From Polynesia to California," 154.
[591] Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, "From Polynesia to California," 149.
[592] Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, "From Polynesia to California," 149.

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.[593] 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.[594]

As communities became established in the 1850s through 1880s, Chinese residents built or renovated spaces into Taoist temples with some Buddhist and Confucianist elements.[595] Called "joss houses" at the time by the English-speaking population, many temples appeared as nondescript, vernacular commercial buildings on the exterior, sometimes with banners or signage to indicate their use.[596] The interiors had elaborate decorations, in the form of deity statues, carvings, wall hangings, incense holders, bells,

[593] 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.
[594] National Register of Historic Places, *Asian Americans in Los Angeles*, E-17.
[595] Ho and Bronson, Three Chinese Temples in California, 1-2.
[596] 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.

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."[597] For the most part, the religious and ritual practices tended to be flexible to adapt to the pioneering life in a different land.[598]

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.[599] 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 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

[597] Shah, "Establishing Communities, 1848-1941," 117.
[598] Ho and Bronson, Three Chinese Temples in California, 9-10.
[599] National Register of Historic Places, Mendocino and Headlands Historic District, Mendocino, Mendocino County, California, National Register #71000165, 7-2, 8-2.

established by the Sam Yup Kung Saw, likely one of the Six Company *huigans* or benevolent associations.[600]

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.[601] 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.[602]

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.[603] 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.[604] 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 time, more Chinese converted to Christianity, or the congregations grew with subsequent generations

[600] National Register of Historic Places, Taoist Temple, Hanford, Kings County, California, National Register #72000226, 6.
[601] Ho and Bronson, *Three Chinese Temples in California*, xiv.
[602] Shah, "Establishing Communities, 1848-1941," 117.
[603] Wesley S. Woo, "Presbyterian Mission: Christianizing and Civilizing the Chinese in Nineteenth Century California," *American Presbyterians* 68, no.3 (Fall 1990):168. (167-178)
[604] Otis Gibson, *The Chinese in America* (Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden, 1877), 198.

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.[605] 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.[606] 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).[607] 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.[608]

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).[609] Most of these missions operated as part of the local Presbyterian church, served by paid Chinese workers under the supervision

[605] National Register of Historic Places, *Asian Americans in Los Angeles*, E-18.
[606] Woo, "Presbyterian Mission," 168-169.
[607] 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/.
[608] Woo, "Presbyterian Mission," 170.
[609] Woo, "Presbyterian Mission," 174.

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.[610] 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.[611] In 1922, all the Chinese work was finally transferred to the newly established Board of National Missions.[612]

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.[613] 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.[614] 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.[615] 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.[616] 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.[617]

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[610] Woo, "Presbyterian Mission," 172.
[611] Woo, "Presbyterian Mission," 175-176.
[612] Woo, "Presbyterian Mission," 177.
[613] Woo, "Presbyterian Mission," 172.
[614] "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.
[615] Woo, "Presbyterian Mission," 176.
[616] Woo, "Presbyterian Mission," 177.
[617] "Lo Mo: The Beloved Mother of Chinatown."

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.[618] 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.[619] 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.[620]

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).[621] 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.[622]

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.[623]

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

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[618] "Gibson, Otis," Methodist Mission Bicentennial, accessed February 18, 2019, http://methodistmission200.org/gibson-otis/; Gibson, *The Chinese in America*, 176.
[619] "150th Anniversary," Chinese United Methodist Church San Francisco, accessed February 18, 2019., https://cumcsf.org/150th-anniversary/
[620] Gibson, *The Chinese in America*, 178.
[621] Gibson, *The Chinese in America*, 183 and 196.
[622] Gibson, *The Chinese in America*, 203.
[623] "150th Anniversary," Chinese United Methodist Church San Francisco.

Chinese converts; the church ceased when he moved east. In 1870, another Baptist mission started at 829 Washington Street in San Francisco. By 1877, it had 125 Chinese members and average attendance at its school was about 100.[624]

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.[625]

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.[626] 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.[627]

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

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[624] Gibson, *The Chinese in America,* 166.
[625] Gibson, *The Chinese in America*, 170-172.
[626] Buddhist Temple of Alameda, accessed March 18, 2019, http://www.btoa.org/history.html.
[627] 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).

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 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.[628]

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.[629] 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.[630] 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.[631] 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."[632] Services for Japanese immigrants were first conducted by Protestant ministers who led missions among

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[628] 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.

[629] Duncan Ryuku Williams and Tomoe Moriya eds., *Issei Buddhism in the Americas* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2010), vii-viii.

[630] *Buddhist Churches of America*, 375-377.

[631] Williams and Moriya, *Issei Buddhism in the Americas*, vii.

[632] *Eighty-fifth Anniversary of Protestant Work*, 51.

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 immigrant communities.[633] 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. [634]

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."[635] 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.[636] 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

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[633] American Missionary Association, *The Sixty-Fourth Annual Report of the American Missionary Association* (Boston, 1910), 93, 100-101.
[634] Japanese American News*, Directory* (San Francisco: Japanese American News, Inc., 1941), 2-3.
[635] *Eighty-Fifth Anniversary of Protestant Work*, 36.
[636] *Eighty-Fifth Anniversary of Protestant Work*, 9-10, 37.

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."[637] Of the ninety-nine Japanese American Protestant churches in the U.S. in the early 1960s, California held sixty-eight with over 10,000 members.[638] 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.[639]

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.[640]

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.[641] 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.[642] Other Christian denominations, such as Catholic and Baptists, also existed though fewer in number than Presbyterian and Methodist churches.

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[637] *Eighty-Fifth Anniversary of Protestant Work*, 70.
[638] *Eighty-Fifth Anniversary of Protestant Work*, 82.
[639] "Future of Japanese Ethnic Churches in L.A. Studied," *Pacific Citizen*, September 26, 1969. P1.
[640] Choy, *Koreans in America*, 92-94 and Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 190.
[641] Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 191.
[642] 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.

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.

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).[643] The first Korean Mission Home opened in 1905 at 521 Page Street as a mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church (North).[644] 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.[645]

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.[646]

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.[647] 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.[648] He was later the president of the KNA, an important figure in the

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[643] Kim, Lee, and Byun, *Rainbow over the Pacific*, 455.
[644] Baek Guel Sung, *A History of San Francisco Korean United Methodist Church* (Seoul, Korea: Handle Publishing House, 2003), 693.
[645] Sung, *A History of San Francisco Korean United Methodist Church*, 694.
[646] Sung, *A History of San Francisco Korean United Methodist Church*, 696.
[647] Sung, *A History of San Francisco Korean United Methodist Church,* 695.
[648] Sung, *A History of San Francisco Korean United Methodist Church,* 696.

Korean independence efforts. He also invented a Korean language typewriter used in publications for the KNA.[649]

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 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.[650] In 1939, the SFKMC became part of the California Oriental Mission Conference, which also included the Chinese and Filipina/o churches.[651] Ownership of the church property was transferred from the Board of the Home Mission to the San Francisco Korean Methodist Church in 1960.[652]

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.[653] 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.[654]

The mission closed by 1912 after financial woes and the loss of its leadership.[655] The Methodist and Presbyterian congregations essentially merged at that point as the Korean Presbyterian Church.[656] 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.[657]

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

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[649] Sung, *A History of San Francisco Korean United Methodist Church,* 695-6.
[650] Sung, *A History of San Francisco Korean United Methodist Church,* 697-698.
[651] Sung, *A History of San Francisco Korean United Methodist Church,* 698.
[652] Sung, *A History of San Francisco Korean United Methodist Church,* 700.
[653] 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.
[654] 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.
[655] Yoo and Ahn, *Faithful Witness*, 49-51.
[656] Yoo and Ahn, *Faithful Witness*, 51.
[657] Yoo and Ahn, *Faithful Witness*, 62-69.

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.[658] By this time, the church served a congregation of approximately 125 people.[659]

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).[660] The permanent location marked an important milestone for the nomadic church and was a point of pride that reflected the congregation's improved circumstances.[661] 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.[662]

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.[663] 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.[664]

Also in 1906, a group established a Presbyterian mission in Los Angeles with the help of the Presbyterian Missionary Extension Board.[665] 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.[666]

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[658] Kim, *Los Angeles's Koreatown*, 42-43 and "Sunday Sermons," Los Angeles Times, October 26, 1940.
[659] Givens, "*The Korean Community in Los Angeles County*," 38-39.
[660] Yoo and Ahn, *Faithful Witness*, 112.
[661] Yoo and Ahn, *Faithful Witness*, 132-33.
[662] Yoo and Ahn, *Faithful Witness*, 132-133; 138-139.
[663] Chang and Brown, "Pachappa Camp," 50-51.
[664] Dr. Edward Chang, email correspondence to the California Office of Historic Preservation, May 2, 2019.
[665] Kim and Patterson, *The Koreans in America*, 10.
[666] Yoo and Ahn, *Faithful Witness*, 63-64.

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 1374 West Jefferson Boulevard, where it remains.[667] 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.[668] The larger Korean United Presbyterian Church building was constructed next door to its 1938 brick church in 1983.[669]

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. [670]

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.[671]

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[667] Kim, *Los Angeles's Koreatown*, 46.
[668] Givens, "The Korean Community in Los Angeles County," 38.
[669] Kim, *Los Angeles's Koreatown*, 46.
[670] Cha, Koreans in Central California, 42-43.
[671] Cha, *Koreans in Central California*, 64.

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.[672] The Dinuba Korean Presbyterian Church remained at its location until 1958, when the church closed.[673] 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 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.[674]

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.[675]

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.[676]

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.[677] 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

[672] Cha, *Koreans in Central California,* 65.
[673] Cha, *Koreans in Central California,* 43.
[674] Cha, *Koreans in Central California,* 84-85.
[675] 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.
[676] Page & Turnbull, *San Francisco Filipino Heritage Addendum*, 16; 47.
[677] Ronald Takaki, *In the Heart of Filipino America* (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1994), 19.

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.[678] In Stockton's Little Manila, Filipina/o Americans were part of the congregation at St. Mary's Church on Washington Street.[679]

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 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.[680] 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).[681]

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.[682] 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.[683] 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.[684]

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[678] Page & Turnbull, *San Francisco Filipino Heritage Addendum*, 4; 16; 53.
[679] Mabalon, *Little Manila Is in the Heart*, 193.
[680] "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.
[681] National Register of Historic Places, *Asian Americans in Los Angeles*, E-125.
[682] National Register of Historic Places, *Asian Americans in Los Angeles*, E-137.
[683]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.
[684] 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.

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.[685] 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.[686]

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.[687]

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.[688] 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.[689]

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,

[685] Maram, C*reating Masculinity in Los Angeles's Little Manila*, 166.
[686] Page & Turnbull, *San Francisco Filipino Heritage Addendum*, 4; 53.
[687] Mabalon, *Little Manila Is in the Heart*, 193.
[688] Mabalon, *Little Manila Is in the Heart*, 193-194.
[689] Mabalon, *Little Manila Is in the Heart*, 193.

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.[690] 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.[691] With the development of Protestant churches and organizations in Stockton during the 1930s it became a common 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.[692]

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.[693]

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.[694]

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.

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[690] Mabalon, *Little Manila Is in the Heart*, 192-193; 196.
[691] Mabalon, *Little Manila Is in the Heart*, 197.
[692] Mabalon, *Little Manila Is in the Heart*, 192-193.
[693] National Register of Historic Places, Filipino Christian Church, Los Angeles, Los Angeles County, California, National Register # MP100003291, 12.
[694] 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/.

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 g*urdwaras* (Sikh houses of worship).[695] 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:

> 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.[696]

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*.[697] 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

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[695] Deepeaka Dhaliwal, "Yuba-Sutter: A Case Study for Heritage Conservation in Punjabi-American Communities," (master's thesis, University of Southern California, 2018), 40.
[696] "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.
[697] 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.

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.[698]

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.[699] 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 arrived via the underground route that moved Sikhs from Mexico to Northern California when legal immigration ended in 1924.[700] 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.[701] The temple complex has grown and evolved as a spiritual, cultural and social center since the first building was dedicated, expanding to include a

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[698] 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_anouncing_Sarojini_Naidu%27s_lecture_at_Stockton_Sikh_Temple.jpg; Leonard, *Making Ethnic Choices,* 167.
[699] 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.
[700] 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.
[701] Dhaliwal, "Yuba-Sutter: A Case Study for Heritage Conservation in Punjabi-American Communities," 58.

wing with offices, living quarters, and classrooms for Punjabi language school; a large secondary meeting hall (Dashmesh Hall); a garden; and basketball courts.[702]

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." [703]

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 in Chicago.[704] 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).[705] 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."[706]

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.[707] A second temple (2323 Vallejo Street, extant), dedicated in 1959, houses most of the monastic and religious activities while the

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[702] Dhaliwal, "Yuba-Sutter: A Case Study for Heritage Conservation in Punjabi-American Communities," 20-21, 51-55.
[703] 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.
[704] LaBrack, *The Sikhs of Northern California*, 58.
[705] 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.
[706] "The Vedanta Society." The Pluralism Project: Harvard University, accessed December 26, 2018, http://pluralism.org/religions/hinduism/hinduism-in-america/the-vedanta-society/.
[707] Sen, "Architecture and world-making," 87-88.

original building accommodates a guesthouse and the Sunday school.[708] Other Vedanta Society temples in California are located in Hollywood, Santa Barbara, Berkeley, and Sacramento.[709] An 1877 house in South Pasadena where Swami Vivekenanda stayed in 1900 is maintained as a historic site by the Vedanta Society of Southern California.[710]

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.[711] Attendance at the Sacramento mosque affected that of the Gurdwara Sahib Stockton, which had drawn all members of the South Asian diaspora together for decades.[712]

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.[713] 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.[714] 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

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[708] Vedanta Society of Northern California, accessed December 26, 2018, https://sfvedanta.org/the-society/new-temple/ ; Sen, "Architecture and world-making," 96-97.
[709] "North American Centers," Vedanta Society of Southern California, accessed December 26, 2018, http://vedanta.org/north-america-centers/.
[710] "Vivekenanda House," Vedanta Society of Southern California, accessed December 26, 2018, http://vedanta.org/vivekananda-house/.
[711] "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. ,
[712] LaBrack, The Sikhs of Northern California, 219-221; Leonard, Making Ethnic Choices, 168.
[713] 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.
[714] "Brief History of the Theosophical Society," Theosophical Society in America, accessed December 26, 2019, https://www.theosophical.org/the-society/history-of-the-society.

early twentieth century ranch house there (1130 McAndrew Road, extant) became part of the Krishnamurti Foundation of America, a school and retreat center.[715]

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.[716] 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).[717]

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 of Samoa, created by teachers of the London Missionary Society (LMS). In the diaspora, Samoans tend to be devoted members of varied Christian denominations.[718]

In general, religious practice is a central part of the daily lives of Samoan migrant communities in California.[719] 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.[720] 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*."[721] The Samoan church brought migrants together upon settling in California, in addition to helping them retain a connection with the churches in the homeland.[722]

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. [723]

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[715] 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.
[716] "The Buddhist Delegate." *San Francisco Call,* October 8, 1893, 8.
[717] "Hindoo Students Hold Buddhist Celebration," *San Francisco Call,* October 19, 1911, 4.
[718] 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.
[719] Koletty, "The Samoan Archipelago in Urban America," 141.
[720] Koletty, "The Samoan Archipelago in Urban America," 141; Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, "From Polynesia to California," 133.
[721] Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, "From Polynesia to California," 148.
[722] Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, "From Polynesia to California," 148.
[723] Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, "From Polynesia to California," 133.

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).[724]

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).[725] 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.[726] 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.[727]

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.[728]

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.[729]

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.[730] 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

[724] Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, "From Polynesia to California," 133.
[725] Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, "From Polynesia to California," 141, 148.
[726] Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, "From Polynesia to California," 141.
[727] Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, "From Polynesia to California," 149.
[728] Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, "From Polynesia to California," 149.
[729] Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, "From Polynesia to California," 149.
[730] Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, "From Polynesia to California," 141, 148.

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.[731]

[731] Lewthwaite, Mainzer, and Holland, "From Polynesia to California," 153.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

Multiple Counties, California
County and State
Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in California, 1850-1970
Name of multiple listing (if applicable)

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

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.

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.
- *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 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 Native Hawaiian, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Filipina/o, South Asian, 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.

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 exits directly associated with the person's productive life.
- 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 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, industry, business, 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.

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 discontiguous 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.

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 discontiguous 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.[732] 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

[732] California Department of Transportation, A Historical Context and Archaeological Research Design for Agricultural Properties in California (Sacramento, 2007), 143.

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.

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 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.

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.

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 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

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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.

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.

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.

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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 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.

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G. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

The State of California.

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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 1970s* Draft MPDF
- 2008 San Jose *Historic Context and Archaeological Survey Report: Heinlenville/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, 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.

Advisory Committee

Sefa Aina, Associate Dean and Director, Draper Center for Community Partnerships, Pomona College
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, 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, Executive Director, Asian & Pacific Islander Americans in Historic Preservation
Eugene Moy, Membership Secretary, Chinese Historical Society of Southern California
Jane K. Singh, PhD, Lecturer, Asian American & Asian Diaspora Studies, UC Berkeley
Christopher Yip, PhD, Professor, 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 Bainiwal, Doctoral candidate, UC Riverside (South Asian)
Keith Camacho, Associate Professor, Department of Asian American Studies, UCLA (Chamorro)
Marn Cha, Professor Emeritus, Department of Political Science, Fresno State (Korean)
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)

The project team reached out to several others who were unable to assist due to other commitments or who did not respond.

I. MAJOR BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES

Primary Repositories

Asian American Studies Center Library and Reading Room, University of California Los Angeles
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
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United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

Multiple Counties, California
County and State
Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in California, 1850-1970
Name of multiple listing (if applicable)

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

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

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Multiple Counties, California
County and State

Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in California, 1850-1970
Name of multiple listing (if applicable)

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

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, lnyo 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

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Multiple Counties, California
County and State

Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in California, 1850-1970
Name of multiple listing (if applicable)

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

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 Beikuku 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, lnyo 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
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
Oyama, San Diego County

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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
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
Korea Exchange Bank of California, Los Angeles County

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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
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

Flipina/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
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

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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 three contexts:

- Migration and Community Formation
- Religion and Spirituality
- Community Serving Organizations

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 property's physical features and how they relate to its significance. Historic properties either retain

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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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