



Photograph: George Rodriguez

CULTURAL NEEDS ASSESSMENT

METRO RED LINE EAST SIDE EXTENSION
LOS ANGELES COUNTY METROPOLITAN TRANSPORTATION AUTHORITY
February, 1995

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During public hearings and meetings with local residents and their elected representatives, a clear message emerged for the Metro East Side Extension. The common understanding and consensus was that the East Side Extension of the Metro Red Line could not be just assessed as another mass rail transportation project, but rather, as the most crucial East Los Angeles transportation infrastructure project to date. As such, a careful and comprehensive planning and community participation program had to be established. In this context, the understanding of the project as the most significant catalyst for community-based development was unanimous.

The Transportation Community Linkages Program was created and simultaneously launched as the Environmental Planning and Preliminary Engineering began. The program objectives are to expand linkages to the local community in order to:

- 1) Maximize accessibility and transit connections to station;
- 2) Coordinate with community planning initiatives in housing and commercial revitalization;
- 3) Create a transportation-based development strategy around stations;
- 4) Create a strategy to maximize local residents and business participation in the project's economic benefits;
- 5) Create a fair and balanced housing relocation strategy;
- 6) and Insure that the station and public spaces are designed and built with creative and community sensitive architectural and art elements.

In relation to the sixth point, the Cultural Needs Assessment is a planning document that will assist the Architects and Artists in the design of the station interior, portal, and public spaces around station. This document is an information resource that compiles historical research, historical news articles, photography, cultural maps, and bibliographic sources.

The Cultural Needs Assessment highlights the rich and diverse history of East Los Angeles. Since its beginnings, East Los Angeles has been the gateway and first home for many people. As such, it has historically represented and conveyed hope and opportunity. Home away from home signs and symbols prevail everywhere. Yet, so many people set roots in this community that transition and permanency is the norm.

As the planning process for the East Side Extension evolved, it was clear that community cultural and art components had to play a key role in the architectural and urban design elements of the project. The station (portal and plaza included) to fully succeed had to be designed with the clear understanding that it will be a community landmark. As such its role is diverse. It is a place to arrive and depart from the community, it needs to

be welcoming, interesting and safe. It is a place that invites the riders to visit and discover the community.

The portal, public spaces and plazas need to be carefully designed and closely coordinated with the station. The portal and adjacent plaza simultaneously identifies the station but also defines the surrounding community. As such, the portal and plaza become the most important elements in the project. Their importance is crucial in that they play the same role as the station itself and more.

The plazas, portal and station are public spaces that in addition to circulation and transportation uses, need to create a sense of communal place and community identity. Plazas and portals need to generate pride and admiration, communicate optimism, hope, and conviction for a better future. Plazas are open, welcoming, and informative.

In the case of the Red Line stations in Downtown Los Angeles, Wilshire Corridor and Hollywood, the opportunities for higher intensity development are supported through existing land use and community plan designations. Thus, the Metro and existing land use designations have an equal role in promoting and supporting economic development.

On the other hand, almost all of the East Side Extension stations are situated in mid to high residential density areas with a very high usage of public transit and with very intense local pedestrian activity at the commercial corridors (Cesar Chavez Avenue and Whittier Blvd.). Thus, the principal role of the Metro is to provide community transportation and link the community to other destinations in the city. Real estate development will most likely remain at current intensity and show some activity in terms of in-fill development and will primarily serve local demand.

Consequently, in the Metro East Side Extension, the station, portal and plazas alone are the key elements to community revitalization. In the station and plaza, Art, Architecture, and Urban Design become crucial in building the Metro as a community landmark.

As such, the intent of the Cultural Needs Assessment is to provide the Artists and Architects with a planning document which includes information that will assist them in designing the project to respond to community needs and objectives.

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SPECIAL ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

We would like to give special acknowledgement to photographer George Rodriguez, whose work has truly captured the spirit and culture of the East Side over many years. Having grown up in modest environs on Seventh Street in Downtown Los Angeles, George has been a vigilant historian of the accomplishments, disappointments and simply the observations of the East Side community.



Photographer George Rodriguez (right) spent time with Cesar Chavez in August, 1969 in the Delano vineyards during the early years of Chavez' fast and the farmworkers' protest.
Photograph: Rudy Rodriguez

To him, we offer special thanks.

ABOUT THE WRITERS

Judy Branfman is a community arts consultant, artist, author and teacher with a broad experience in planning and implementation of educational, cultural, and community development programs with an emphasis on participatory and community-based projects. She currently consults for the Los Angeles Cultural Affairs Department on Neighborhood Arts Planning and is a Team Member for the Oakwood United Housing Task Force in Venice. In her professional experience she has organized and directed a variety of public arts commissions and arts projects. Among other activities, she is an active board member and conference organizer for the Alliance for Cultural Democracy based in Boston, Massachusetts. Ms. Branfman received her Masters of Education degree with a Specialization in Cultural Studies and Community Development from Harvard University, Graduate School of Education in Cambridge, Massachusetts in 1987, and her Bachelor of Arts degree in Studio Art and Art Education from Franconia College in Franconia, New Hampshire. Ms. Branfman was born and raised in Monterey Park, California and her family was one of the early immigrant families from New York and Cleveland to Boyle Heights in the 1930's and 1940's. Ms. Branfman herself attended the City Terrace Cultural Center Kindershule in the 1960's.

Professor Juan Gomez-Quinones specializes in the field of political, labor, intellectual and cultural history. From 1969 to the present, he has taught university classes each year and has been active in higher education, culture promotion and Chicano Studies efforts. He currently is a Professor of History at the University of California, Los Angeles. Among his over 30 published writings are: The Root of Chicano Politics, 1600-1940, Chicano Politics 1940-1990, Porfirio Diaz - Los Intellectuales, Mexican Students for La Raza, and "Questions within Women's Historiography" among others. He was awarded a National Endowment for the Humanities Fellowship and pursued his research at the University of Texas during 1972-1973. Apart from his academic interest, he is recognized as an able community organizer and planner. He has served as a Member of the Board of Trustees, California State University and Colleges, commissioner, WASC Accrediting Commission for Senior Colleges and Universities, and Member of the Board of Directors for the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund, The Latino Museum, The Mexican Cultural Institute, and El Pueblo de Los Angeles Commission. He has also participated in several film media projects and in radio and television programs. Gomez-Quinones received his Bachelor of Arts in Literature, his Masters of Arts degree in Latin American Studies and his Ph.D. in History at UCLA. He was born in Parral, Chihuahua, and raised in East Los Angeles where he attended Cantwell M.H. School.

Ming-Yuen S. Ma is a Los Angeles-based media artist, independent curator and educator/activist. He was born in Buffalo, New York, and was raised in Hong Kong. He received his Bachelor of Arts degree in Art History from Columbia University, and a Masters degree of Fine Arts in Art from the California Institute of the Arts. Ma has created video installations in many North American venues, and his videotapes have screened at Asian, Australian, U.S., Canadian, and European festivals. Recent projects include the collaborative video installation *Between The Lines; Who Speaks?* which is based on a lecture given by Edward Albee at the 1991 OutWrite Conference, and explores the cultural and political interface between language and multiculturalism. In 1995, Ma co-curated *Persistent Dispositions Technetronic Identities*, a gallery exhibition and Internet panel discussion featuring artists and writers whose work redefines the notions of the body in cyberspace. His critical

writing and text-based art has been published in many anthologies and journals. Ma has been involved in political and community organizations such as ACT UP and various lesbian and gay Asian groups. Besides speaking at many conferences, panels, and schools, Ma has also been working with media arts organizations, such as Visual Communications and L.A. Freewaves.

David Moguel is an education consultant, teacher and author with specific expertise in social studies, bilingual education and education policy. He currently serves as a teacher at Thomas Jefferson High School in Los Angeles and holds classes in World History and Geography (Spanish), U.S. Government (sheltered English), and Urban Ecology and the Environment. His previous professional experience includes: Program Analyst for the U.S. Department of Education (Washington, D.C.); Co-Editor of the Journal of Hispanic Policy at Harvard University (Cambridge, Massachusetts); Education Consultant for the Los Angeles Educational Partnership; Assistant to the Superintendent Ramon Cortines, Superintendent of the San Francisco Unified School District; and Teacher for the Assumption School Youth Program (Los Angeles). Mr. Moguel also completed Basic Training and Officer Candidate School for the U.S. Marine Corps (San Diego, California and Quantico, Virginia). Mr. Moguel received his Masters of Public Policy degree from the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University in 1990, and his Bachelor of Arts degree in Political Science from Stanford University in 1987. Mr. Moguel was born in South Central L.A. and raised in City Terrace where he still resides today.

Irma Rodriguez Is President and Founder of Diversified Data Services, Inc., a minority-woman owned research company that provides quantitative and qualitative research and marketing expertise. Prior to that, Ms. Rodriguez had extensive experience in research, policy analysis, demographic and economic trends and preparation of research in database form for litigation disputes. Ms. Rodriguez has worked with various organizations, including: California Department of Transportation, University of California at Davis, Los Angeles Opera and GTE Telecommunications. Her experience includes community research on housing, transportation, homelessness, poverty, crime, education and safety issues as they relate to neighborhood watch campaigns for inner-city communities. Most recently, she is involved in ongoing research on public housing, health promotion, minority-owned small business trends, and economic development of the Southern California Region. Ms. Rodriguez is active in community organizations as an advisor and board member including KPFK and the Multicultural Collaborative. She received her Master of Arts degree in Urban Planning and her Bachelor of Arts degree in English from the University of California at Los Angeles.

Kariann Yokota was born and raised in Monterey Park, California. She has worked as a feature writer on the staff of The Rafu Shimpō, the largest bilingual Japanese American daily newspaper in the United States, and also writes for Visual Communications. Yokota received her Bachelor of Arts degree in History as well as a Master of Arts degree in Asian American Studies from University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA). She is currently working on her doctorate degree in United States History at UCLA.

Visual Communications

In 1995, Visual Communications celebrates its 25th Anniversary as the oldest Asian Pacific media arts center in the nation. Its mission is to promote intercultural understanding through the creation, presentation and support of media art by and about Asian Pacific Americans. Based in Little Tokyo for 18 years, the organization's programs include: Production (Independent, Community Services and Organizational); Exhibition; Program Packaging and Distribution; Publications; Education and Training; Photographic Archive and Moving Image Collections; and Media Artist Support Services. These programs strongly promote the cultivation of ideas, images, themes and subjects which reflect ethnic history and culture, contemporary community concerns, and distinctly Asian Pacific personal visions.

Founded in 1970 by artists, educators and community activists, Visual Communications began as collective of concerned Asian Pacific Americans who wanted to create positive alternatives to the racist depictions of their communities then prevalent in the mass media. Starting with simple, innovative photographic exhibits on the World War II Japanese American internment, Visual Communications soon ventured into film production, creating the first documentaries about the contributions of Asian Pacific people to American history. By seizing the creative initiative, the founders began a tradition of pro-active community media arts and commitment to artistic resourcefulness, independence and self-development.

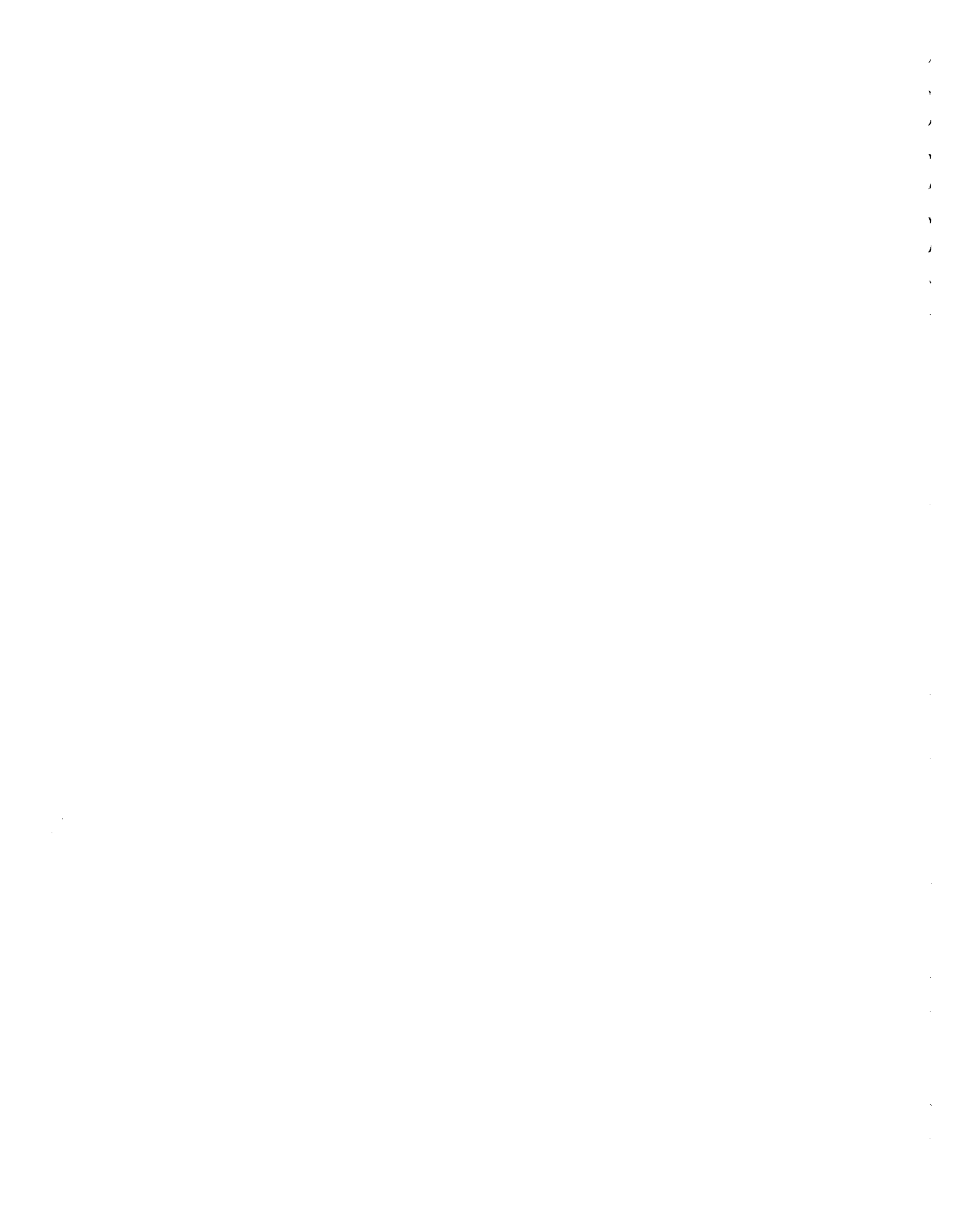
The Asian Pacific community is comprised of over two dozen distinct cultures and languages. Visual Communications has served this complex, diverse constituency with over 50 films and videos, numerous multi-media presentations, photographic exhibitions and publications, and has built an archive of 300,000 images of Asian Pacific American life. This work has earned the recognition of national and international film festivals, and the support of the John D. & Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, the California Lottery, ARCO, Hitachi, Ltd., Transamerica Occidental Life, TDK Electronics, KCBS and numerous businesses and community organizations. The two major publications of the organization, In Movement: A Pictorial History of Asian America (1977) and Little Tokyo: One Hundred Years in Pictures (1983), remain definitive historical texts in Asian American Studies courses throughout the country.

In addition to its own work of creation and preservation, the organization has also been committed to the widest possible distribution and exhibition for the work of other Asian Pacific Americans. Visual Communications co-presents with UCLA Film & TV Archives the annual L.A. Asian Pacific Film & Video Festival; broadcasts works on the International Channel/KSCI-Channel 18 and KCET-Public Television for Southern California; and programs film and video for community and cultural organizations throughout Los Angeles.

Today, new technologies confront Visual Communications with dramatic opportunities to further unify its diverse constituency. Visual Communications continues its commitment to professional standards of excellence at the grassroots community level and looks forward to forging new, creative relationships and cooperative linkages for the sharing and appreciation of age-old traditions and resources.

I.

PURPOSE OF THIS DOCUMENT



PURPOSE

The Los Angeles County Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA) is responsible for the improvement of mobility throughout the County of Los Angeles. As part of its comprehensive rail program, the MTA Board of Directors selected a Locally Preferred Alternative (LPA) rail alignment for service to the East Side of Los Angeles in 1993.

Project Description

As selected by the MTA Board of Directors in June, 1993, the LPA is a 6.8 mile underground alignment with seven stations extending from Los Angeles Union Station east to the intersection of Whittier and Atlantic Boulevards. Station locations include: 1) Little Tokyo/Art District (intersection of Santa Fe Avenue and Third Street), 2) First & Boyle Streets, 3) Cesar Chavez Avenue & Soto Street, 4) First & Lorena Streets, 5) Whittier Boulevard & Rowan Avenue, 6) Whittier Boulevard & Arizona Avenue, and 7) Whittier & Atlantic Boulevards. The seven-station alignment will be built in two phases. First, the Initial Segment (first four stations) will be built by the year 2002. Then, the second segment (the last three stations) will be built. The completion date for the second segment has not yet been determined.

Since selection, MTA staff have completed state and federal final environmental clearance, station area planning, community participation, and Full Funding Grant Agreement negotiations with the Federal Transit Administration for the entire alignment. In February, 1995, the next development phase of Final Design is scheduled to commence, including the selection of artists for each of the Initial Segment stations (first four stations).

Purpose of Cultural Needs Assessment

The purpose of the Cultural Needs Assessment is to provide the design team of the artist and architect of the Metro East Side Extension with an understanding of the community within which the project will be built. In this manner, it is hoped that the design work produced for the East Side Extension stations will reflect the history, spirit and culture of the Eastside community.

It is anticipated that the design team will use the Cultural Needs Assessment as well as other resources, such as the Community Profile prepared by the MTA Art Advisory Group and the list of resources presented in this Bibliography, to create the designs that will ultimately be featured in each of the Metro East Side stations. It is also hoped that each artist and architect team will use these resources as a *starting point* from where individual creativity and expression can be maximized for the benefit of each station.

The Cultural Needs Assessment is not intended to present the complete history and experience of past and present people and institutions of the Eastside community. It is not a fully researched paper nor a comprehensive academic exercise. Admittedly, this document only presents a select set of historical experiences as chronicled by the writers from their perspective. For example, specific attention is paid to the history of the Latino, Jewish and Japanese ethnic

communities; the Downtown Arts District; an educational perspective; and the role of women in the Eastside. The final selection of these topics evolved as they were relevant to the project, *and* as individuals and resources were available to document these items within the limited timeframe and budget for this project.

The Cultural Needs Assessment is a document designed to present an overview of *some* of the significant events, facts, people and organizations which have shaped the Eastside community as we know it today. In this manner, the design teams can be provided with an accurate starting point for the interpretation and expression of the culture and history of the Eastside community.

The MTA in no way has intentionally excluded ethnic groups, communities, persons and/or institutions for this document. It is hoped that the design teams use this set of resources as preliminary information; additional research and understanding of other perspectives is fully encouraged and expected by the MTA.

Document Organization

The Cultural Needs Assessment is not presented in any particular order of importance. Chronological information is presented first to provide a historical context. Key names of institutions, people and places as well as dates, events and themes are in **bold** text in order to highlight their significance.

Volume 1 includes narrative and visual information on the Latino, Japanese, Jewish and the Downtown Arts District and education. A Bibliography which was used for this volume is also included. **Volume 2** is not in narrative form. Rather, it comprises various *listings* of written and visual information deemed relevant to the Cultural Needs Assessment. **Volume 3** (prepared under separate cover) includes recommendations for artists' opportunities and strategies for involvement with the Metro East Side Extension project.

PROJECT CONTEXT

The Cultural Needs Assessment has been prepared as part of the final planning efforts of the Metro East Side Extension leading to the Final Design of the Initial Segment (first four stations). (See alignment map.) This final planning process was managed by the Central Area Team of the MTA commencing in October, 1993 and culminating with the completion of this document in February, 1995. During this phase of the project, the Final Environmental Impact Statement, the Final Environmental Impact Report, Conceptual Station Area Plans and an ongoing Community Outreach Program were accomplished.

The Cultural Needs Assessment has been prepared with the benefit of these planning efforts of the Central Area Team, particularly its interaction with the Review Advisory Committee, a committee comprised of local residents, business owners, non-profit organizations and leaders of the Eastside community. Through the collective knowledge and experience gained from this overall process, it is hoped that the Cultural Needs Assessment's scope and presentation will fulfill the needs of the project and, ultimately, will serve as a starting point to highlight the unique culture and history of the Eastside community as part of the Metro East Side Extension.

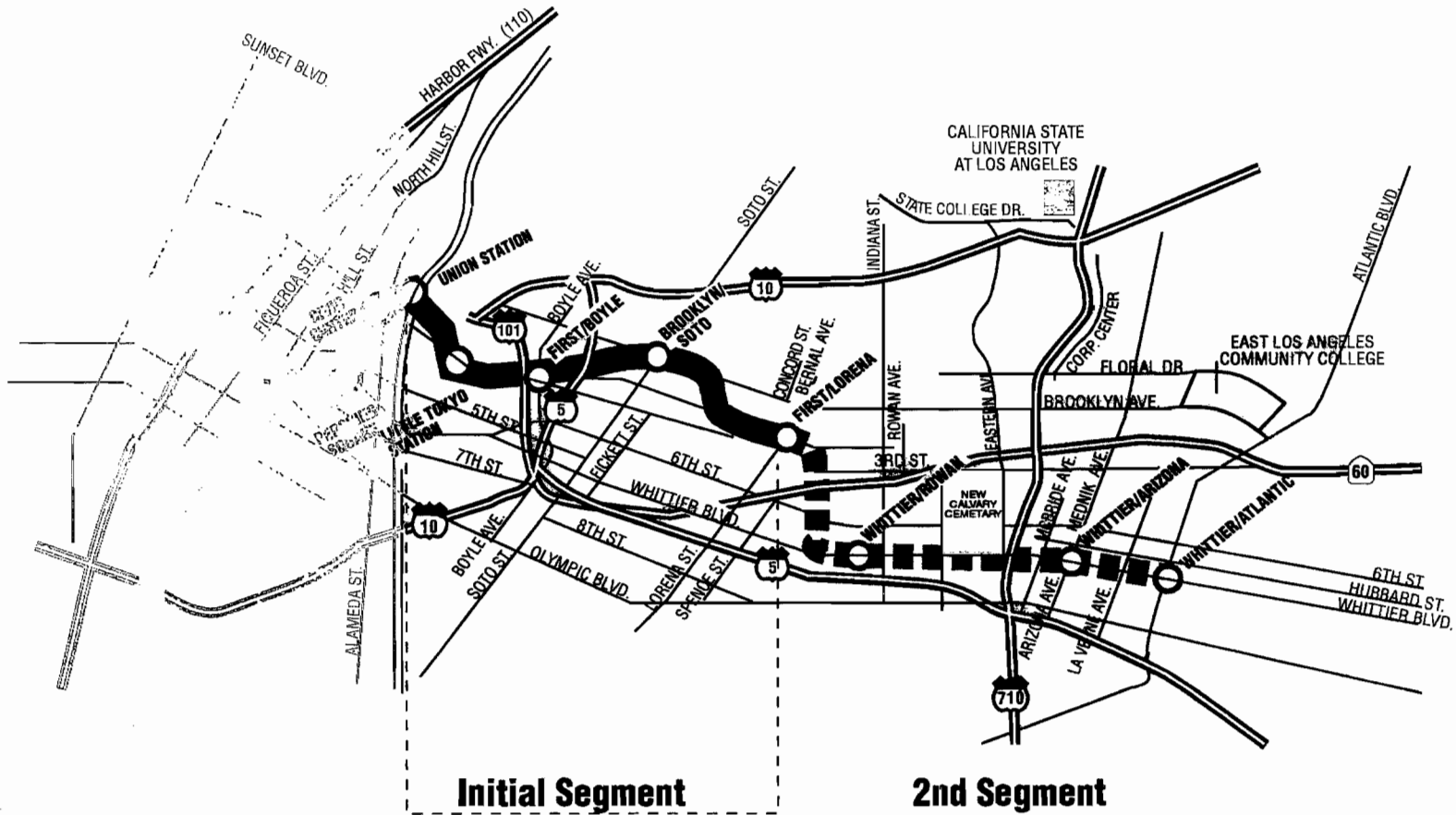
The Cultural Needs Assessment focuses upon the study area in which the Metro East Side Extension is planned for construction. This includes the geographic areas currently known as: Little Tokyo, the Downtown Arts District, Boyle Heights and East Los Angeles. (See Regional Context map.) The Regional Context of the area is mixed, with a combination of dense residential areas, commercial, light industrial, open space and warehouse uses. It is lined with freeways, major boulevards and many neighborhood streets.

The project tunnel alignment reflects a demographic timeline of the history of Los Angeles, beginning at its earliest days just outside Yang Na, the area originally inhabited by the Gabrielino Indians (near Alameda and Commercial Streets) and later El Pueblo; traveling east through what was Chinatown until it was replaced by Union Station; through the once magnificent Santa Fe passenger and freight depot areas; an underground solution to the age-old problem of crossing the Los Angeles River; up to El Paredon Blanco or Boyle Heights, a wealthy 19th century Anglo neighborhood which prospered during the booms of the late 1880's; via Brooklyn (now Cesar E. Chavez) Avenue through Brooklyn Heights, the heart of Jewish settlement in the area in the 1920's through the 1950's; and finally down Whittier Boulevard into the unincorporated and primarily Hispanic neighborhood of East Los Angeles.



Los Angeles County Metropolitan Transportation Authority

METRO RED LINE - EAST SIDE EXTENSION



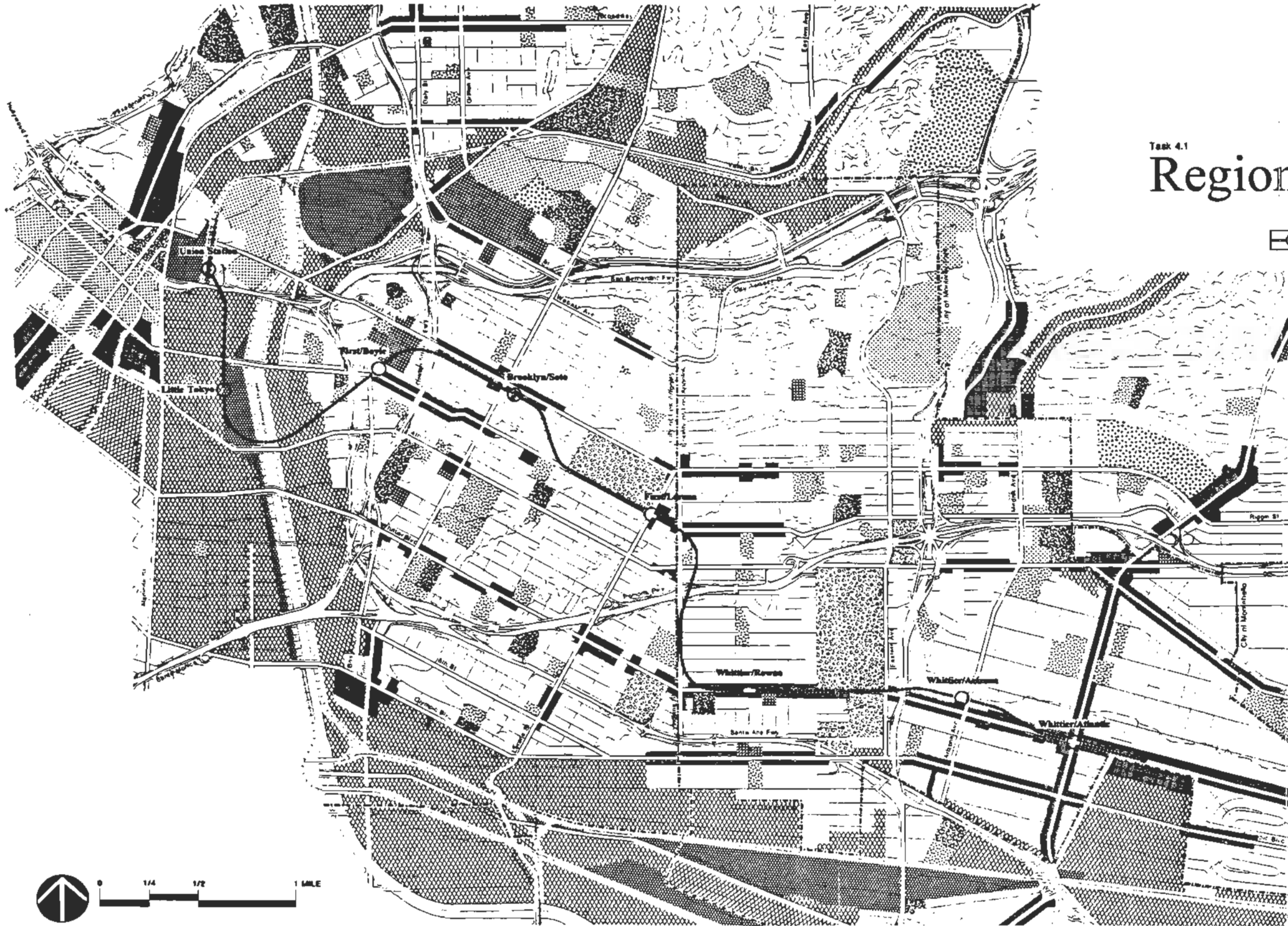
Metro Red Line East Side Extension
Locally Preferred Alternative


















II.

PROJECT CONTEXT

Task 4.1

Regional Context



-  Metro Red Line Route and Stations
- Land Use Sectors**
-  Residential Uses
-  Commercial Corridors / Concentrations
-  Industrial Uses
-  Railroad Related Uses
- Public Uses**
-  Schools (Public / Private)
-  Parks
-  Cemeteries
- Institutional Uses**
-  Hospitals
-  Colleges / Universities
-  LA. City / County Facilities
- Circulation System**
-  Freeways
-  Major Thoroughfares
-  Local / Collector Streets
-  Major Railroad Lines
- Jurisdictional Boundaries**
-  City / County Boundaries
- Topography**
-  100 Foot Contour Elevations



Los Angeles County Metropolitan Transportation Authority

METRO RED LINE - EASTERN EXTENSION

Cordoba Corporation

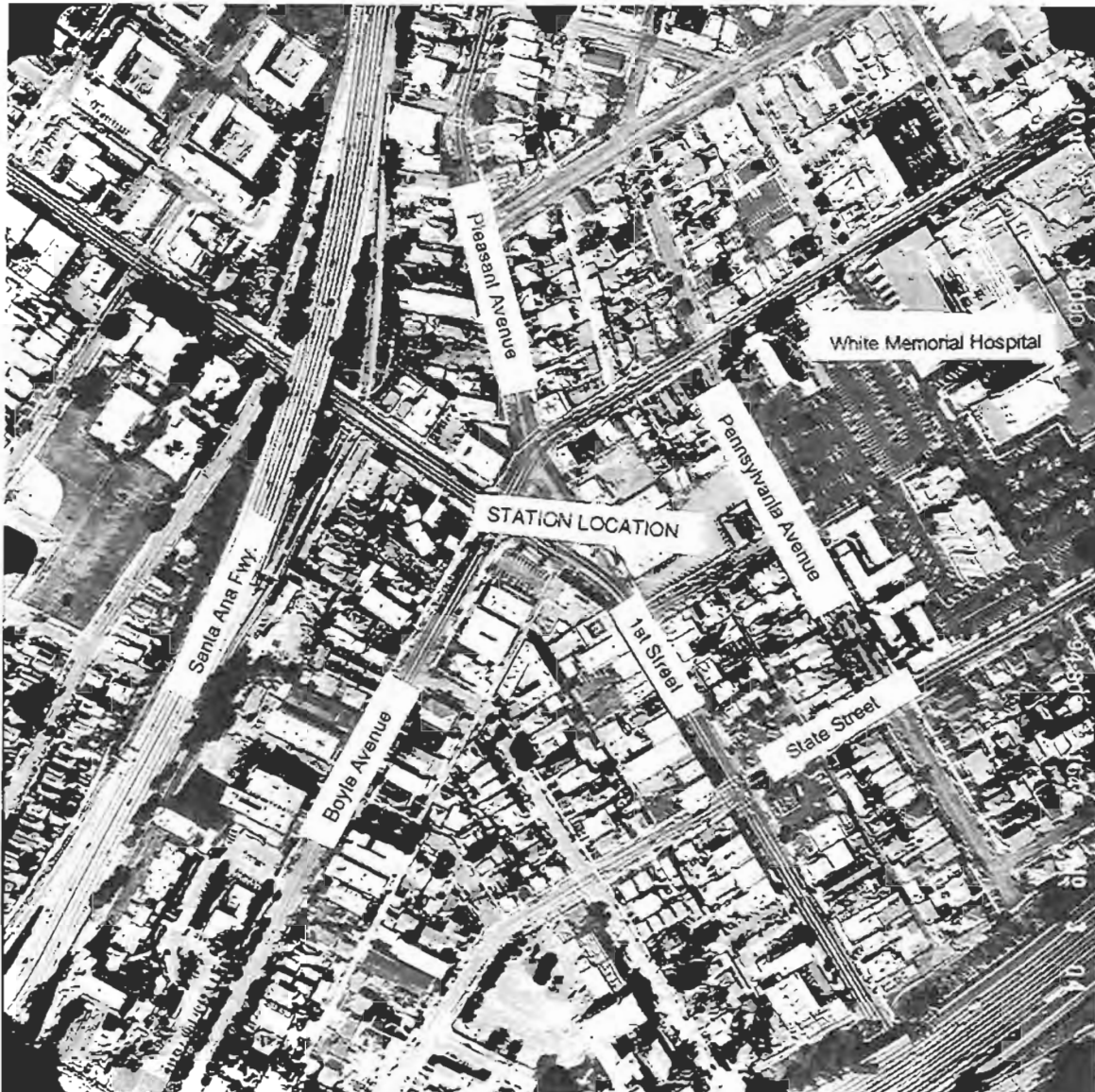
Barrio Planners Incorporated

Myra L. Frank & Associates



LITTLE TOKYO / ART DISTRICT STATION

The Little Tokyo/Art District Station would be located approximately 60 feet under Santa Fe Avenue at Third Street, directly opposite the existing MTA Rail Maintenance-of-Way Building. The planned station entrance is located at the southwest corner of the intersection (currently vacant, Catellus-owned property).



FIRST/BOYLE STATION

The First/Boyle station would be located just east of the U.S. 101 (Hollywood) freeway approximately 80 feet under First and Boyle Streets. The station would extend diagonally under the present First/Boyle intersection and cross private property and Pennsylvania Avenue to the north end, just prior to ending below the White Memorial Hospital parking lot. The entrance to the station would be located at the northwest corner of First and Bailey Streets. The entrance design was developed to accommodate the future development of the Mariachi Plaza. The station would also include a 375-foot "double crossover" on the southwesterly end, located under private property (to be acquired).



CESAR CHAVEZ/SOTO STATION

After the route crosses Soto Street, the Cesar Chavez/Soto station would begin. The station would be located approximately 200 feet south of and parallel to Cesar Chavez Avenue. It would lie 55 feet under private property (to be acquired) for about one and a half blocks. The main entrance would be located at the northwest corner of Cesar Chavez and Mathews Street under an existing abandoned one-story structure to be acquired and demolished. All proposed structures, shafts, emergency stairs, fresh-air intakes, etc., would be located at the perimeter of each lot, leaving land suitable for future development.



FIRST/LORENA STATION

The First/Lorena station would be located 85 feet under First Street and include a 375-foot "crossover" on the western end. A combination of hilly terrain along First Street and deep sewers would force the station to be as deep as 85 feet on the eastern end. In order to keep the station from being any deeper, a notch has been designed into the roof to allow a major storm sewer to remain in place. The station entrance would be located at the northeast corner of First Street and Lorena Street and provide access to a single-end mezzanine station containing one knock-out panel. The station would also include up to 500 parking spaces located at the northeast corner of First Street and Lorena Street north of the station entrance.



WHITTIER/ROWAN STATION

The Whittier/Rowan station and a 375-foot "crossover" would be located 55 feet under Whittier Boulevard between Townsend Avenue and Gage Avenue, with the station entrance at the southeast corner of Whittier Boulevard and Rowan Avenue.



WHITTIER/ARIZONA STATION

The Whittier/Arizona station would be located immediately north of the first alley north of Whittier Boulevard, about 55 feet below private property. The eastern end of the station would abut the western edge of Arizona Avenue. The station entrance would lie at the northwest corner of Whittier Boulevard and Arizona Avenue.



WHITTIER/ATLANTIC STATION

The Whittier/Atlantic station would be located 65 feet under Whittier Boulevard and include a 375-foot "crossover" beginning at Vancouver Avenue with the station itself nearly centered at Atlantic Boulevard. The entrance would be located in front of an historic theater on the southwest corner of Whittier Boulevard and Atlantic Avenue. Up to 1,200 parking spaces are ultimately anticipated to be provided in one or two surface lots or structures or structures at the northeast and/or southwest corners of Whittier Boulevard and Atlantic Avenue. A mined tail track would exist east of this station.

ANACAPA*, A SOCIETY UPON A PLACE AND TIME MEXICAN GREATER EAST LOS ANGELES

** Dream*

Human beings record their lives as history and this record is the memory of each generation's struggle to give life, to protect youth, to survive through work, to grasp beauty and to await the wisdom of age. And so is the history of Mexicans in east Los Angeles.

Through human effort, Los Angeles is a society and an economy living and changing upon a geography according to the melodies and rhythms of time. Writ regionally Los Angeles boundaries are San Bernardino to the east, Santa Ana to the south, Ventura to the north, and the Pacific Ocean to the west. Though scarce of water and with no compelling landscape, but the indeed compelling mountains, and with no resource other than the land itself, people found the banks of a modest river attractive. For hundreds of years the **Uto Aztecan language Gabrielinos** lived here, some still do, some are part Mexican.

Los Angeles Context and Premises

Historical Los Angeles began as a **Mexican town** and a Mexican Los Angeles continues, but within a 21st century multiplicity. Mexican Los Angeles, too, is a multiplicity of lives and places encompassed by a changing but shared culture. "**El pueblo de Nuestra Señora La Reina de Los Angeles de Porciuncula**" has been critically re-creating a cohesive general cultural identity in step with its changing social reality since the late 18th century through and during the 1990's.

Los Angeles has gone through many transitions since its beginning as a pastoral Mexican northern frontier town. Today many peoples from different parts of the world comprise the multiple communities of this city, creating a series of discrete, nonetheless, interconnected micro-worlds within a macro world.

However, unlike the east coast traditional Anglo Saxon, Protestant vision of the American Dream, which imagines a mixture of peoples poured into a vertical mold, Los Angeles lives an alternate reality in search of a more plural, more futuristic dream. That is, the city of the Angeles, is a rainbow of social-economic structures cast upon a natural given and human made geography. People from Europe, Asia and Latin America continue practicing their native immigrant cultures across the Los Angeles streets at least for one or two generations. And in the process, alongside other Angelinos, they recreate the city. Los Angeles is a meeting place and thus a place of synthesis; this is the dream made reality. This was the case during the **Mexican republic era** and is the case now. The defining influence of roads and freeways, ports and communications continues.

Benign climate and bedrock economics are major formative elements today as they were a century ago. Climate has an enormous impact on the Angelinos. Year in and year out the flat seasons are benign and plants bloom at irregular intervals and the life styles are varied in

possibilities across the freeways, the small and large valleys, the round hills and uneven unremarkable coast. Surely, the evolving composite economy which has thrived in this city is varied in modes, and borrows processes from various regions.

Previously social change in Los Angeles has paralleled economic change, from the **time of Mexican settlement** and the initial pastoral economy through periods of large scale **Anglo and European immigration**. The railroads, land and oil booms, manufacturing, movie industry and most of all the thousands of Anglo businesses were quick to seek profit in part at the expense of local labor, at all times in good part Mexican. Presently, Los Angeles, in addition to its major manufacturing and services importance, is now one of the **world's leading centers of commerce, cyber-technology, media and banking**. Effected by the Pacific Rim region and the Latin American (western) coast markets, Los Angeles is predicted to be increasingly important to world business transactions. And this incremental process will further emphasize the city's international character. Among the present and future constellation of cities within the city, the oldest of these is Mexican Los Angeles.

In the **1980's**, Mexicans, as in the **mid-nineteenth century** became once again the major subgroup within the multiethnic, multicultural city of Los Angeles. Media coverage of Latino population growth and potentialities makes this fact less a surprise to some today as it might have decades ago. The change and continuity of Mexican Los Angeles is too seldom appreciated, the vital core, the area linked to **Aliso, Boyle Heights** and the **greater east Los Angeles** all once **Indian and Rancho lands**, remains, as the initial core, mega barrio, one ongoing for generations. And to be sure so too continue the **San Fernando, San Gabriel, San Pedro and Santa Monica Mexican communities**. To better understand Los Angeles, the metropolis, is to reflect on the origins and development of the Mexican community, allegedly merely an ethnic enclave. These are concurrent and contrasting images. History, or rather the memories and traditions of people, is very much a maker of contemporary Mexican east Los Angeles; the more subtle history is, social and economic, the more obvious is public and political.

VOLUME I

III.

ANACAPA, A SOCIETY UPON A PLACE AND TIME

Prepared by: Dr. Juan Gomez-Quinones

AN EAST SIDE PROFILE IN HISTORICAL SEQUENCE

The following chapter presents a chronological presentation of people, events and places which comprise the history of Los Angeles' east side community. The chapter is organized into five sections as follows: 1) Pre-Spanish Settlement (pre-1769), 2) Generation 1780-1900, 3) Regeneration 1900-1945, 4) The New Call 1945-1975, and 5) Answers 1975-1995. Each section is followed by a series of photos, news clippings and relevant images which pertain to that period.

Pre-Spanish Settlement (Pre-1769)

The project area was originally inhabited by the **Gabrielino Indians**. Their village was called **Yang-na** and was located near the 20th century intersection of **Alameda and Commercial Streets** in downtown Los Angeles. In 1769, **Franciscan Father Crespi** kept a daily account of his observations with the 62 member **Gaspar de Portola expedition** and on **August 3, 1769** described the area near the village of **Yang-na**:



Yang-na, reconstructed from *The Yang-na Indians*, LA City School Publication #420. In Robinson, *Panorama*, 1953.

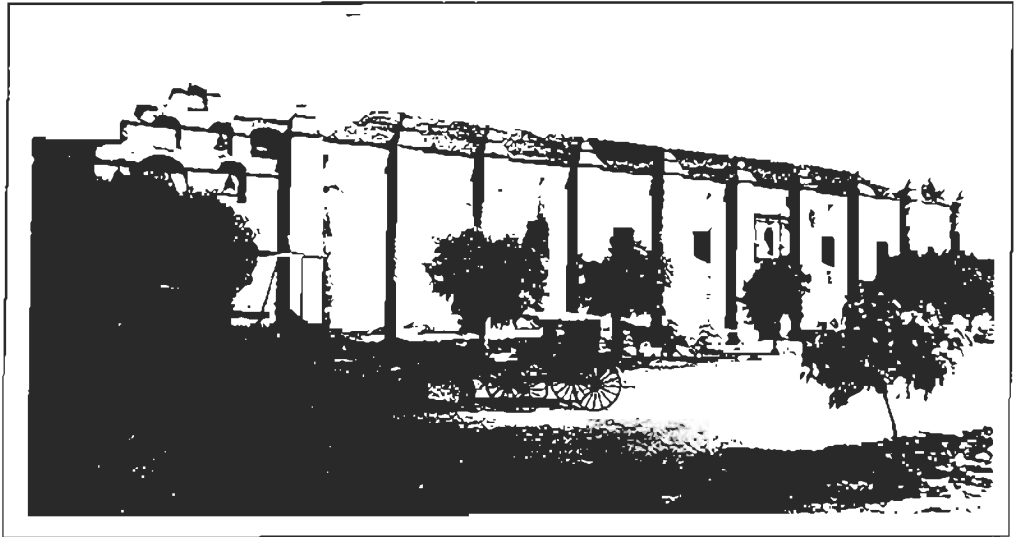
At half-past six we left the camp and forded the Pomnicula River. After crossing the river we entered a **large vineyard of wild grapes** and an **infinity of rose bushes** in full bloom. All the soil is black and loamy, and is capable of producing every kind of grain and fruit which may be planted. We went west, continually over **good land well covered with grass**. After traveling about half a league we came to the village of this region, the people of which, on seeing us, came out into the road. As they drew near us they began to howl like wolves; they greeted us and wished to give us seeds, but as we had nothing at hand in which to carry them, we did not accept them.

The project vicinity was first visited by **Europeans in 1769**, when the Spanish expedition of **Spaniard Gaspar de Portola** passed through and camped near what is now **Elysian Park**. Two years later, when the fourth of the 21 Franciscan missions of Alta California was founded at **San Gabriel**, portions of the area were used for grazing land and for vineyards. A decade later, the pueblo known as **Nuestra Señora Reina de Los Angeles**, and now the City of Los Angeles, was

founded and incorporated some of these lands. The areas currently known as Boyie Heights, Lincoln Heights, Echo Park, and a portion of Silver Lake all fall within this four square league parcel (36 square miles) of the original City of Los Angeles.

Generation 1780-1900

After the establishment of **Mission San Gabriel, 1771**, on or about **September 4, 1781**, El Pueblo de la Reina de Los Angeles, the City of Los Angeles, was founded by Mexican settlers. This site, the **Gabrielino Village of Yang-na**, had been a hub for a constellation of a dozen other local villages. Now its



Mission San Gabriel Archangel, founded in 1771. Source: Seaver Center, Natural History Museum in Rios-Bustamante, 1986, p. 13.

formal land allocation consisted of **four square leagues or 17,172 acres**. These lands constituted the living and working habit of the pobladores and their descendants. Distributed among eleven families, the founding pobladores, together totalled **44 persons**. In the majority, they were farmers or agricultural laborers, campesinos and artisans, originating from what today comprises the Mexican northwest coast states of Sonora, Sinaloa, Chihuahua and Baja California.

Like Mexicans today, pobladores were nearly all Spanish speaking mestizos, racially mixed people of multi-ethnic background, **mainly Indian, African and Spanish**. Their language was Spanish and their religion, culture, customs, traditions, and beliefs were those of the mestizo population of **Mexico's northwest coast in the 18th century**. **Alta California Indians**, especially **Gabrielinos**, were integrated into the developing Mexican pueblo. Pueblo lands surrounding the Plaza and immediately to the north, northeast and east provided land for grazing, crops and house sites. The earliest large rancho (1810) adjoining pueblo lands to the east and northeast belonged to **Antonio Maria Lugo, "San Antonio"**; an earlier one to **Jose Manuel Nieto, 1784 - Santa Gertrudis**, an area between the **Santa Ana and San Gabriel rivers**.

In the late **18th century**, Alta California, developed with the rest of Mexico as an outpost colony of the **Spanish Empire**. Early pioneers established what was to be a major city, developed the first fields and exercised the first trades, sang the first songs. They provided a historical heritage for later generations to claim. Musical instruments, even compositions and certainly memorized lyrics, travelled with the first settlers and priests. These mestizo and clerical skills were taught to the local native Americans. **The Plaza and San Gabriel Mission** sponsored the first arts.

When Mexico secured independence in **1821**, El Pueblo de Los Angeles, or simply, Los Angeles, by which name it was called, was established as an expanding Mexican frontier town. Already the largest population center in Alta California, Los Angeles became recognized as the regional economic, political, social, cultural and religious center for the area between the missions Santa Buenaventura and San Juan Capistrano. Several ranchos developed. In **1835 Juan Crispin Perez** filed for Paso de Bartolo; in **1837 Maria Casilda Soto** recorded the grant, "La Merced"; and in **1847 Antonio Valenzuela and Juan Alvetre** that of Potrero Chico and **Juan Matias Sanchez** that of Potrero Grande. These properties involved lands now in east Los Angeles in addition to those of Rancho San Antonio.

Los Angeles, while part of Mexico, had its own regional identity and cultural expression, based upon the economy of the ranchos, the cattle and agricultural ranches, influenced by the missions of San Gabriel and San Fernando, and exhibited at the Plaza over which presided the local church. Mexican culture, as transmitted through tradition and the periodic renewal from the south and southeast, provided the modes of behavior, dress, music, dance, poetry and politics, adapted to local conditions. Homes, fields, aqueduct, roads, churches and cemeteries appeared. Visitors remarked on the attention citizens of this small frontier town devoted to music and literary recitals.

Life had a surface tranquility which belied the divisions between wealthy and laborers and the intensity of local politics. Political rivalries and the consequent clashes concurrent with a leisurely flamboyant socializing were the public life of the town. Recognizing the town's local ascendancy, the **Mexican Congress**, in **1835**, changed Los Angeles status from Pueblo to Ciudad, City, and designated it the **capital of Alta California**, a decision immediately contested by northern alta California.

House sites and crops existed immediately east of the Plaza and east of the river and soon in the area known as **Paredon Blanco** or White Cliffs, now Boyle Heights. Mexicans were living in today's east Los Angeles by the **1820's** and **1830's**. Across the river, at Paredon Blanco, **Jose Rubio** planted vineyards and **Francisco Lopez** orchards. In two decades others would take over these early plantings. Scattered **Mexican adobes** punctuated the lands between Rancho San Antonio, San Gabriel and the Plaza. Mestizos and hispanicized Indians lived in lands now part of **Boyle Heights, Alhambra, Monterey Park, Belvedere, Bella Vista and Maravilla**. The center of the community life was from the beginning the Plaza and this centrality continued. Prominent rancheros such as the **Lugos, Avilas, Picos, and Lopez'** had house sites there and laborers lived to the northeast, a neighborhood eventually called **Sonora**.

During this time, the character of land along either side of the **Los Angeles River** was largely due to the **vineyards** planted there. Construction of **La Iglesia de Nuestra Senora de Los Angeles in 1822** further distinguished the density of El Pueblo from the surrounding agrarian community. Cultivating grapes and winemaking had become a common activity in much of the area between the Pueblo and the San Gabriel Mission. The Mission property had introduced grape cultivation from a native wild variety.

Following **secularization of the missions in 1832**, many of the old mission vineyards become the source of cuttings and recultivation, as **Jose Rubio in 1835, Francisco Lopez in the**

1840's, and Andrew Boyle in the late 1850's would all undertake in El Paredon Blanco. **Jean Louis Vignes** was a Frenchman who had arrived in Los Angeles in 1829. He built an adobe with a prominent wall on Commercial Street near Alameda Street, planted a fine vineyard and boasted of possessing 20-year old wine as early as **1857**. Vignes is also credited with planting the first oranges in El Pueblo from the San Gabriel Mission Valley.

William Wolfskill, who had arrived overland in **1831** with the **Ewing Young party**, married into the **Antonio Maria Lugo family** who owned the 29,000 acre Rancho San Antonio, and thereby inherited hundreds of cultivated acres of grapes and oranges. Wolfskill's orange grove, the first to ship commercially, was located just west of the project area, between Alameda, San Pedro, Fourth and Seventh Streets. **Nathaniel Pryor** was another Yankee immigrant who planted a vineyard in the project area. Pryor was a member of the **James Pattie party** which blazed the Gila River Route and arrived in Los Angeles in 1828. He married into the **Sepulveda family** and developed an orchard south of Vignes, bounded by First, Commercial, and Alameda Streets and the Los Angeles River.

In **1846**, war broke out between the **republic of Mexico** and the **United States** as a consequence of the **annexation of Texas**. Alta California was invaded by the United States and threatened by the "**bear flag**" revolt of United States settlers. Los Angeles was the center of Mexican opposition to the invasion. During **1846-1847**, several military actions took place in the vicinity of the Ciudad, in which Mexican Angelinos took the leading part including actions in and around the Plaza and immediately east across the river at **Aliso** and what is now **Boyle Heights**, and eastward including **Pico Rivera** at **Rio Hondo**. In fact, after their initial entrance, United States troops were stopped and were driven out by local volunteers led by **Serbulo Varela, Leonardo Cota, Jose Maria Flores, Andres Pico** and others.

For the Los Angeles area, the change in authority from Mexico to the United States was signed at the **Treaty of Cahuenga**, named for the ranch memorialized in the street by that name. The sense of national identity and community felt by Angelinos and other Mexican Californios was recurrently expressed in popular incidents of affirmation or celebration.

Following the **acquisition of Alta California** by the United States in **1848**, Los Angeles, for two decades, remained a predominantly Mexican town, however steadily Anglo American political, and economic influences increased. **Since 1840**, when most of the mission property had been secularized or privatized, lands were largely in the hands of Mexican origin Californios until about **1870**. **Julio and Mariano Chaves**, previously from New Mexico and descendants of settlers from Chihuahua, held over a hundred acres in what came to be part of Boyle Heights, and had claims to a ravine overlooking the Plaza to the northeast. House sites of the ranchos still dotted the local landscape. However, the Mexican Californios eventually lost control of land with the arrival of Anglos and an intensely commercial agricultural economy.

The property and political process of **Mexican displacement** set in motion as a result of political and physical forces, accelerated due to the consequences of the **late 1850's drought**. Mexican property owners borrowed money to survive the harsh times. Concurrently, specific regulations required them, the original possessors, to validate their titles, which meant litigation.

IV.

AN EAST SIDE PROFILE IN HISTORICAL SEQUENCE

Prepared by: Dr. Juan Gomez-Quinones

Photo Research: Irma Rodriguez, Diversified Data Services, Inc.

Supplemented by: Request for Determination of Eligibility Report, April, 1994.

With the decline of the family ranchos economy, most of the local Mexican origin population became wage laborers. Some moved into **Chavez ravine** which already had a few families. Families from the Plaza area moved to lands in what is now **Maravilla during the 1860's**. A few years later another exodus was to follow. Others who left the pueblo moved to house sites along the **Mission Road** and the **old Camino Real**, later to be named **Whittier Blvd**. As Anglos and European immigrants gained economic predominance, a steady decline occurred in the economic and social status of Mexican Angelinos.

Yet there was a city coalition of sorts, briefly. A sector of old families and wealthier rancheros sought positive relations with the new elite of entrepreneurs, attorneys and politicians. A major effort is memorialized by the **Pico House** constructed during the **early 1870's** as a hotel by **Pio Pico** across from the once central church, la placita, and two blocks from the Lugo residence. Later Pio Pico established his residence in what came to be **Pico Rivera**. At the center of town inter-ethnic contact flickered. La placita continued as the church for Mexicanos and La Plaza remained the fulcrum of public life, commercial and political. Anglo public life moved south along **Main Street to Spring and Broadway streets**.

Besides economic advantage and social legitimacy as requisites for coalition players, Mexican votes were aspects of this coalition and courted by Whigs, Democrats and Republicans. Briefly Mexicans and Anglos were partners in the economic, political and social life of the community, and several Mexicans held office. Major figures in this network were **Antonio Coronel** and **Arcadia Bandini**, the wealthiest woman in California.

Socially the Mexican community comprised early Mexican settlers, often property owners and newer arrivals from Mexico, many being laborers and artisans, but including merchants and a small number of professionals. There were limited economic opportunities. Through the **nineteenth century** repeated efforts occurred to maintain Mexican culture through some two dozen community organizations.

Individuals from the **Coronel and Pico families** consciously supported organized cultural events such as the **Posadas** offered at the Plaza. Moreover they invited classical musicians and opera singers to perform in Los Angeles. Newspapers such as **El Clamor Publico** spoke to the negative conditions of the times. Too often violence and disparagement by Anglos and Europeans directed at Mexicans were part of town life, or directed at other minorities such as Asians and later Blacks. They could also be ethnically mixed enterprises as represented by the sorry incidents of the **race riots of 1856** and the **night of the Red Moon, October 24, 1871**. Mexicans learned the "new" politics meant for them displacement and disenfranchisement. **In 1868 George Hansen and William Moore** surveyed **Paredon Blanco** ultimately for the benefit of **Andrew Boyle** who bought the lands between the river and the bluffs, and named them "**Boyle Heights**".

In many ways, the life of **Andrew Boyle** typified early Anglo migration patterns to Southern California. An **Irish immigrant in 1832**, Boyle soon found himself fighting in the Texas war for independence and narrowly escaped execution following the loss of the Battle of Goliad. In 1851, he was lured to San Francisco, still booming from the gold rush of 1849, and established a boot and shoe business with **Benjamin Hobart**. A former Texas companion, **Matthew Keller**, convinced

Boyle to come to Los Angeles. Keller owned the Malibu Rancho and a vineyard located between El Pueblo and the Los Angeles River and urged Boyle to purchase the "**Old Mission Vineyard**" on the east side of the river. On **April 30, 1958**, Andrew A. Boyle purchased the bluffs of El Paredon Blanco from **Jose Rubio, Petra Barelás, and Francisco Lopez** for **\$4,650** and built his residence atop the bluffs the same year out of bricks manufactured on the site. (The walls, basement, and wine cellar of the residence would remain in the same location at 325 S. Boyle Avenue until May 1987, when they were torn down as part of the expansion of the Japanese Home for the Aged.)

In the **late 1860's** and **early 1870's** larger numbers of **English, German, Italian, and French** speaking new arrivals appeared set on acquiring property in the Pueblo lands area immediately east of the Plaza and east of the river. Many of them were decidedly prejudiced against Mexicans. The practices of **restrictions against Mexicans** date from the **1870's**. These were evident in what streets or sides of streets they could rent or buy, the schools they attended, where they could shop or enjoy recreation. Even distinctions in church attendance appeared within the same denomination. There were Anglo churches and Mexican churches.

These are also the years of the **extension of the railroads** and from these the plotting of former Mexican property into subdivisions. The **Southern Pacific line** led to subdevelopment interest in **Lincoln Heights, City Terrace, east Los Angeles, El Monte, San Gabriel and Alhambra**. The **Santa Fe lines to Anaheim and San Bernardino** led to the naming and organizing of 25 communities among them **Vernon, Downey, South Pasadena**, etc. **Monterey and Montebello** were carved out of lands once belonging to the **Lugo's, Soto's and Sanchez'**. Following **Andrew Boyle's death in 1871**, his property was subdivided into 35-acre tracts by son-in-law **Workman in 1876**. Several hundred Anglo families came to reside in Boyle Heights, decades later followed by Jews. In all of these communities some Mexicans persisted even as those communities exhibited social, commercial and even house construction distinctions.

In **1875**, another portion of El Paredon Blanco which had remained in the possession of Francisco Lopez was subdivided as **The Mount Pleasant Tract** by Lopez' son-in-law **John Lazzarevich**. Another of Lopez' son-in-laws, **George Cummings**, purchased 40 acres in Boyle Heights and planted orchards. In 1875 Workman had built the **first single-horse car line** from the center city, across Aliso Street to Pleasant Avenue in Boyle Heights, assuring easy downtown access. In 1876 Workman also paid the City of Los Angeles \$30,000 to extend water mains to his new subdivision, and Boyle Heights quickly became a **primary residential suburb of the City**. As a result, land in Boyle Heights that Workman had purchased for \$5 to \$10 per acre in 1856 was sold for \$200 per acre in 1876. The **Workman & Hollenbeck Tract** was surveyed in 1883, out of lands owned by Workman and **John Edward Hollenbeck**, founder of the First National Bank.

A consequential fact for generations was the limited extension of the city boundary to the east. It extended to **Indiana Street** but not eastward. This demarcation not of great importance socially or economically was important in relation to Los Angeles city politics and city services. This line, one more boundary, placed some of the eventually growing Mexican neighborhoods outside city politics and services. Other minorities concentrated within the city boundaries.

In 1876, public sentiment began to consider the removal of the city cemetery on **Fort Moore Hill** to the outskirts of town for sanitary reasons. On **August 17, 1876**, the Evening Express editorialized hygienic concerns about the current condition of the Fort Moore cemetery, and the possibility that it was related to the **local scarlet fever epidemic**. Objections were raised about hygiene in East Los Angeles, since it was already partly settled, however the decision was made to relocate beyond Boyle Heights. On **August 23, 1877**, the City Council passed a resolution "granting a burial permit on certain... lands and establishing a cemetery thereon... known as **Evergreen Cemetery...**" The cemetery is located between **First, Lorena, Evergreen, and Cesar Chavez** and still retains [in 1995] the picturesque landscape qualities and curvilinear paths laid out by E. T. Wright. It is also significant for having a section dedicated exclusively for **Chinese burials**. The Chinese population of Los Angeles had become established after the 1849 Gold Rush and escalated with the construction of the Southern Pacific through the city in 1876. The local Chinatown was historically located at the western limits of the project area, but was **razed in the late 1920's** in anticipation of the construction of Union Station.

As Los Angeles developed, particularly railroad work attracted migrants and immigrants. Blacks came to the city in increasing numbers, often settling in the south central part, along **Alameda Street and Central Avenue**, where some Mexicans lived. Besides Mexicans, the Plaza district attracted other immigrants. Some European and Asian immigrants often interspersed in the east central part of the city, along **First, Alameda or north Broadway or east of the river**.

Thus in some neighborhoods along side Mexicans were **Russians, Armenians, Italians, Jews, Germans** and even **French** as well as **Japanese**, and, also, some **English speaking migrants** from other parts of the country. Churches, synagogues and early hospitals or doctors' offices recorded these memories. Residential blocks around **Lincoln Heights and Brooklyn Heights** increased. Prominent were Italians and Jews. Boyle Heights was a polyglot area with modest homes, as well as, in a small part around **Hollenbeck Park**, expensive homes and apartments. In some cases Mexicans were forced out to make way for new comers. For example, as had happened in **the 1860's and 1870's, in the 1890's**, Mexicans living in the blocks adjacent or north of the Plaza left, many going east, while some settled in the **Maravilla area**, due to a solid Mexican presence and the availability of inexpensive lands and rental properties.

The **late 19th century** encompassing the decades from **1880 to 1900** saw the relative demographic low point of a Mexican presence in Los Angeles as a result of social and economic changes. Following the **Southern Pacific Railroad into Los Angeles in 1876**, a series of land booms occurred, concurrent with again significant immigration of Anglo Americans and European immigrants. Mexicans were a demographic minority, out numbered by 10 to one. Both the events of the war between United States and Mexico and the consequences of these were most readily understood by Mexicans in population ratios and discriminatory practices. To be numerically weak was to invite aggression. Mexicans, as was to be the case for several decades, were a numerical minority in a rapidly growing **Anglo/European immigrant city**.

Although growth in agriculture and continued breakup of the ranchos into affordable subdivisions steadily contributed to the growth of Los Angeles in the 1870's, the real estate "boom" became a phenomenon after completion of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway in 1885.

When the Santa Fe reached Los Angeles, the Southern Pacific faced direct competition for the first time and tried to maintain its nine-year old monopoly at all costs. The Boyle Heights area was soon swept up in the enthusiasm and boosterism accompanying the boom. In 1887 William Henry Workman became mayor of Los Angeles and as one of Boyle Heights subdividers and most avid boosters, he was instrumental in construction of the Boyle Heights section of the Los Angeles Cable Railway. George Cummings repeatedly subdivided his property in 1886, 1887 and again in 1892. He then built the first hotel and large brick block east of the Los Angeles River on the foundation of the 1876 Lambourn & Turner grocery at First and Boyle. The Cummings Block/Hotel Mount Pleasant is still extant and his legacy also continues through the street named after him. In 1893 Hollenbeck Park was donated to the City of Los Angeles, a two-thirds portion from Workman and the remainder by Hollenbeck's widow Elizabeth.

Within the city, Mexicans were increasingly segregated by residence in the area around the Plaza or eastward initially to once pueblo lands, or reduced to neighborhoods around the two missions and old ranchos, but most frequently scattered on the lands between the old mission San Gabriel-San Fernando road and **el Camino Real**, as mentioned part of which became **Whittier Blvd**. Often a hopscotch pattern outlined where Mexicans lived rather than large solid zones. For example, along one part of **Brooklyn**, Mexicans were tolerated on the south side but not the north side. At another part of the street this was the reverse. Along **Downey Road** existed a somewhat similar pattern. In any case, there were **ethnic/racial covenants** involving all the white groups directed at Mexicans and also restricted use of facilities in Los Angeles and in all of east Los Angeles for Mexicans. The Plaza area continued as a focal point and its remaining Mexican merchants continued as the leading business sector of the Mexican community. The area deteriorated, the descendants of long resident families with some exceptions left though two or three homes survived.

Low wages, poor housing, family difficulties, inadequate education, as well as segregation and discrimination, were too often the rule and were reflected in violence. Yet Mexican families survived and in some ways thrived. Mexicans continued their own community, social organizations, newspapers and cultural life, which included regular performances by Spanish language theater groups, musicians, and singers. These involved local artists as well as artists newly arrived or visiting from Mexico. These artistic practices also combined conscious retention of the traditional heritages as well as contemporary vogues. There was regular observance of Mexican patriotic holidays, **September 16** and **May 5th**, as is done today, and observances of the **day of the virgin de Guadalupe, December 12th**, and the **Christmas posadas** continued. Mexican office-holding in the larger Los Angeles area ended in the **late 19th century**.

While often ignored by the leadership of the Anglo American community, except as a source of labor or alternately viewed as charming artifacts of a mythical Spanish heritage or as an alleged social problem, Mexican Los Angeles endured, now centered in east Los Angeles. Capital expansion required labor and labor recruitment meant Mexicans persisted to increase again in the **20th century** as the beginning of a new wave of immigration from Mexico provided renewed economic, social and political vitality to the Mexican community.

Changes proceeded. **Aliso Street** as did **3rd Street** had Mexican residents. Some small Plaza merchants established shops on **Indiana and First**. An area known as **Laguna**, off **Downey Road**, and between it and **Indiana and Third Street** and **Whittier**, became populated with small enclaves of whites among them Russians and Jews and with stores along **Downey Road** and later along **Stevenson**. Public services attention was reflected in the building of **Stevenson Library**, **Rowan Avenue School** and **Ramona High School**. Later, **Our Lady of Lourdes Church** would be the major institution in this area. Settlement in **Belvedere**, which encompassed lands that came to be identified with several neighborhoods, including "**Maravilla**", increased because of low property values and the labor needs of the **Davis Brick Company**. **El Teatro Maravilla** exhibited **Spanish language vaudeville** on **Mednik Avenue** and gave its name to a neighborhood. Small wooden houses, minimum facilities and little street paving characterized "**Maravilla**". There, former Plaza dwellers mingled with immigrants, for some the memories blurring that their relatives had moved there from the Plaza.

The **Cable Railway** opened on **August 3, 1889**, and signaled the opening of Boyle Heights to the rest of the City. The **First Street Viaduct** had been built to accommodate the Cable Railway Company's line, and it offered more reliable passage across the Los Angeles River than the old covered bridge at Macy Street. The Cable Railway traversed the city in a manner very similar to the Metro East Side Extension, starting at 7th and Alvarado, along 7th to Broadway, up Broadway to 1st Street and east on 1st Street to Chicago Street. The railway connection sparked further development for a while, but the economic collapse known as the **Panic of 1893** slowed growth and by the time it picked up again, enthusiasm and wealth had turned towards the west.



2. The Pueblo of Los Angeles as it appeared in 1850. Taken from a model. Courtesy of Title Insurance and Trust Company, Los Angeles.

"The Pueblo of Los Angeles, 1850" in R. Griswold del Castillo, The Los Angeles Barrio, 1850-1890, p. 16.



1869: "The Los Angeles barrio, or Sonoratown, in 1869. Our Lady of the Angels Church is at the left and the plaza is in the foreground. Courtesy of Historical Collection, Security Pacific National Bank." (Source: "Chicanos in a Changing Society" p. 105)



1. The last Mexican governor, Pío Pico, with his nieces and daughter. Left to right: Marianita Alvarado, Leonora Pico, Pío Pico, Trinidad Ortega. Courtesy of San Diego Title and Trust Company, San Diego.

"The last Mexican governor, Pio Pico with nieces and daughters" 1870's (?) in R. G. del Castillo, The Los Angeles Barrio, 1850-1890, p. 5.



3. A panoramic view of Sonora Town taken by William Godfrey about 1870. Courtesy of the Los Angeles Museum of Natural History.

"A panoramic view of barrio Sonora next to Plaza 1870's" in R. G. del Castillo, The Los Angeles Barrio, 1850-1890, p. 43.



9. A young teamster hauling wood for the city.
Courtesy of the California Historical Society, Los
Angeles.

"A young Mexican teamster hauling wood for the city" 1870's (?) in R. G. del Castillo, The Los Angeles Barrio, 1850-1890, p. 56.



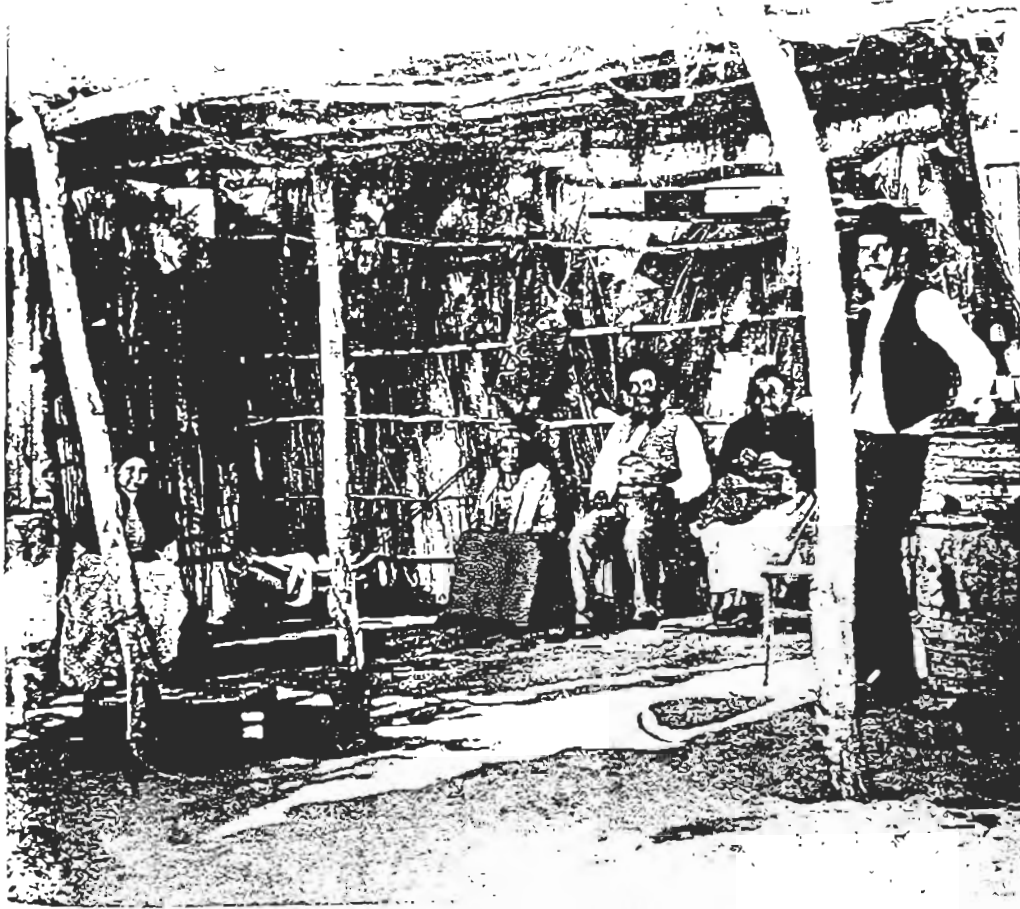
8. Young Mexicanos on an early baseball team. Left to right: Samovar Arguello, Jesús Pacheco (4th from left), José Arguello (7th from left), Miguel Aguirre (10th from left), Carlos P. de la Guerra (13th from left), José Mascarel. Reginaldo del Valle, a future state senator, is the boy with the bat on his shoulders. Courtesy of the Huntington Library.

"Young Mexicanos on an early baseball team," 1870's (?) in R. G. del Castillo, The Los Angeles Barrio, 1850-1890, p. 82.



4. Adobe brick-making. Most of the Sonora Town homes built in the nineteenth century continued to be made in the traditional manner. Courtesy of the California Historical Society, Los Angeles.

"Adobe brick making" 1870's (?) in R. G. del Castillo, The Los Angeles Barrio, 1850-1890, p. 55.



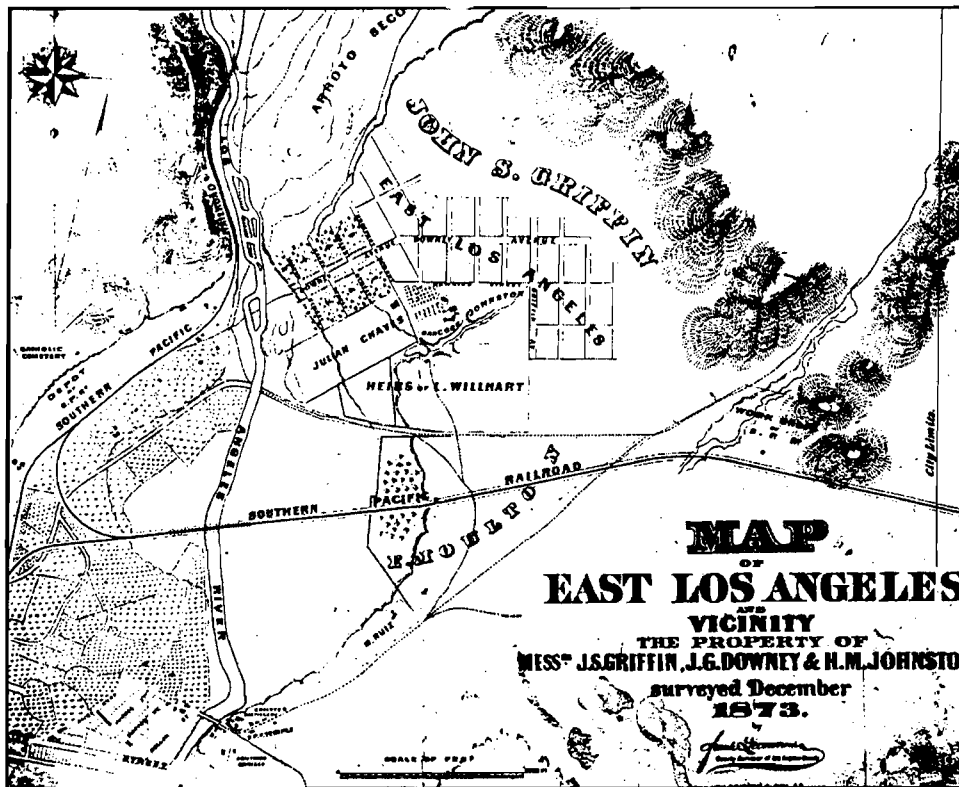
5. A Mexicano family with Gabrielino relatives resting under a *jacal*. Courtesy of Security Pacific Bank, Los Angeles.

"A Mexicano family with Gabrielino relatives," 1870's (?) in R. G. del Castillo, The Los Angeles Barrio, 1850-1890, p. 55.

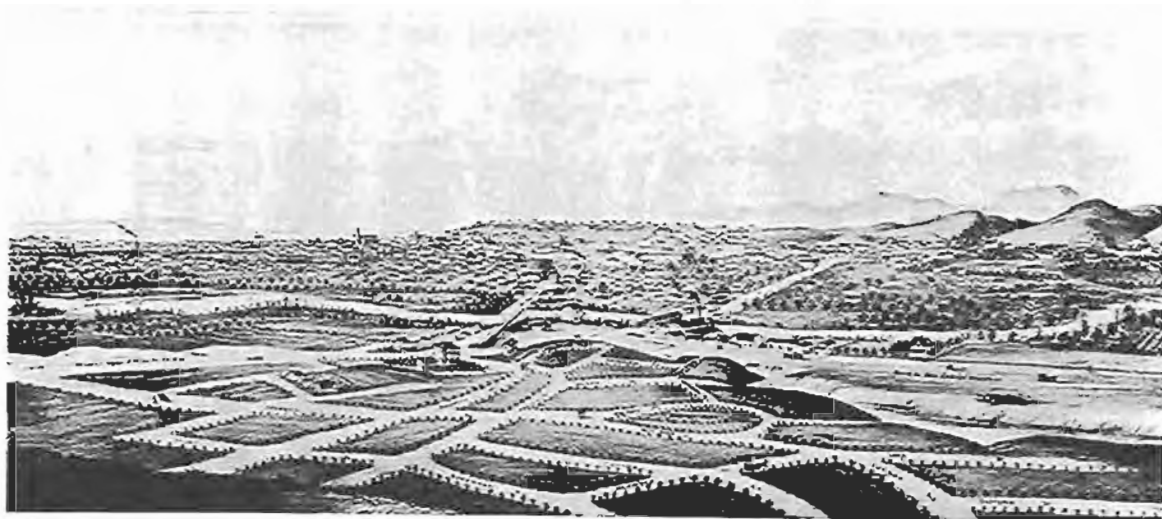


A view of the Plaza looking east, circa 1871, with the Plaza church in the foreground, two-storied Lugo House flanked on the right by the adobe buildings of Calle de los Negros in the background,, and the newly-completed Pico House Hotel at right.

"A view of the Plaza looking east, around 1871" in A. M. Wong Night of the Red Moon, p. 8.



1873: "Map of East Los Angeles. 1873. Until the 1870s East Los Angeles was a sparsely populated farmland. By 1873, however, the middle class suburb of Boyle Heights had intruded on the pastoral area, laying the basis for urban East Los Angeles" (Source: Los Angeles an Illustrated History, p. 42)



1877: Boyle Heights Views, Panoramic - View of Los Angeles from the East-Brooklyn Heights.
Photograph: Security Pacific National Bank Photograph Collection/Los Angeles Public Library.



Boyle Heights Residences (Date not available)
Photograph: Security Pacific National Bank Photograph Collection/Los Angeles Public Library.



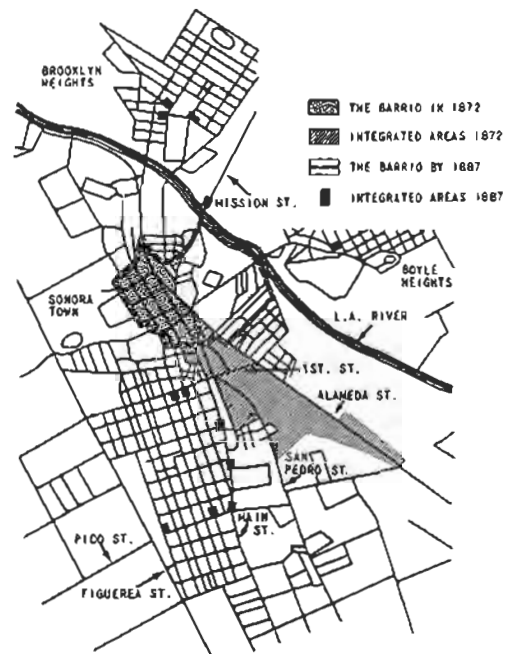
14. The pueblo church, Nuestra Señora la Reina de Los Angeles, east of the plaza in 1875. Notice how the church's architecture has been changed by Anglo-American influence. Courtesy of the Huntington Library.

"The pueblo church, Nuestra Señora la Reina de Los Angeles, 1875" in R. G. del Castillo, The Los Angeles Barrio, 1850-1890, p. 166.



12. A panoramic view of Sonora Town in 1879.
Distant view of Southern Pacific Railroad shops.
Courtesy of the Los Angeles Public Library. .

"A panoramic view of Sonora barrio and southern Pacific Railroad shops in 1879" in R. G. del Castillo, The Los Angeles Barrio, 1850-1890, p. 130.



MAP 3. *Chicano Residence Patterns, 1872-1887.*
 Drawn from original map by H. J. Stevenson, 1876.

1872-87: "Map 3. Chicano Residence Patterns, 1872-1887. Drawn from original map by H. J. Stevenson, 1876." (Source: "The Los Angeles Barrio, 1850-1890" p. 147)



1870: The Batz Family, Boyle Heights.

Photograph: Security Pacific National Bank Photograph Collection/Los Angeles Public Library.



1880: The Batz Sheep Ranch, Boyle Heights.

Photograph: Security Pacific National Bank Photograph Collection/Los Angeles Public Library.



6. A merchant and his family in front of their store on Aliso Street, 1880. Courtesy of the California Historical Society, Los Angeles.

"A Mexican merchant and his family in front of their store on Aliso Street, 1880" in R. G. del Castillo, The Los Angeles Barrio, 1850-1890, p. 56.



1885: "Boyle Heights and east Los Angeles, ca 1885. It was beautiful, it was beautiful everywhere you looked." (Source: "Los Angeles an Illustrated History" p. 42)

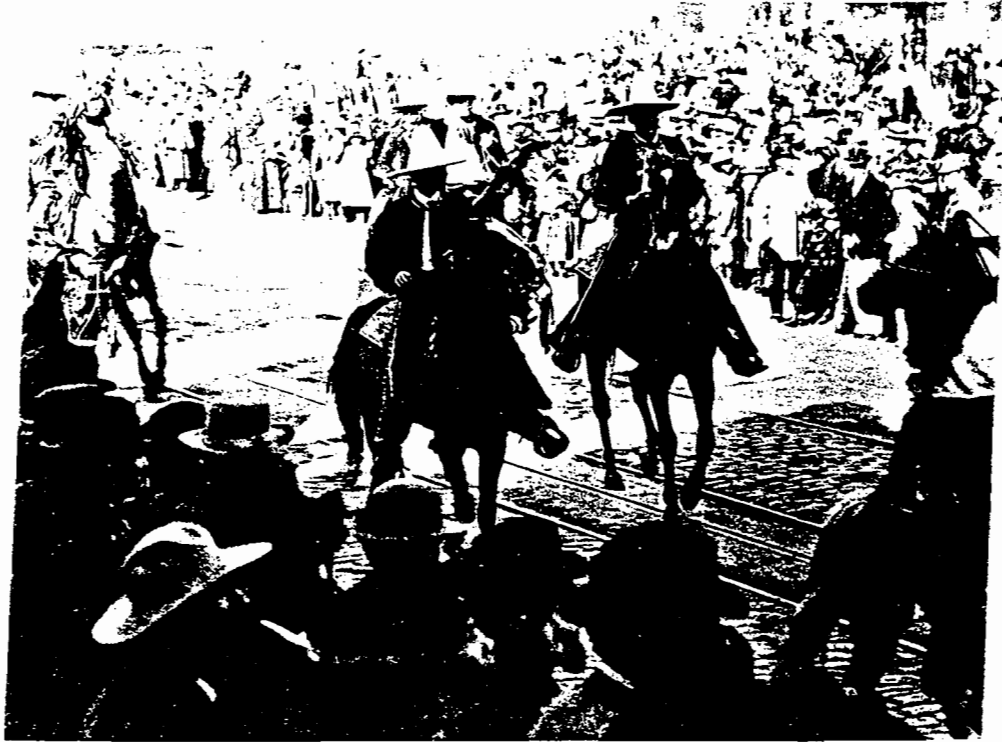


Antonio Coronel demonstrating a traditional dance for author/photographer Charles Lummis (circa 1888). Courtesy of Seaver Center for Western History Research, Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County.

"Antonio Coronel demonstrating a traditional dance, 1888" in Steven Loza, Barrio Rhythm, np#.

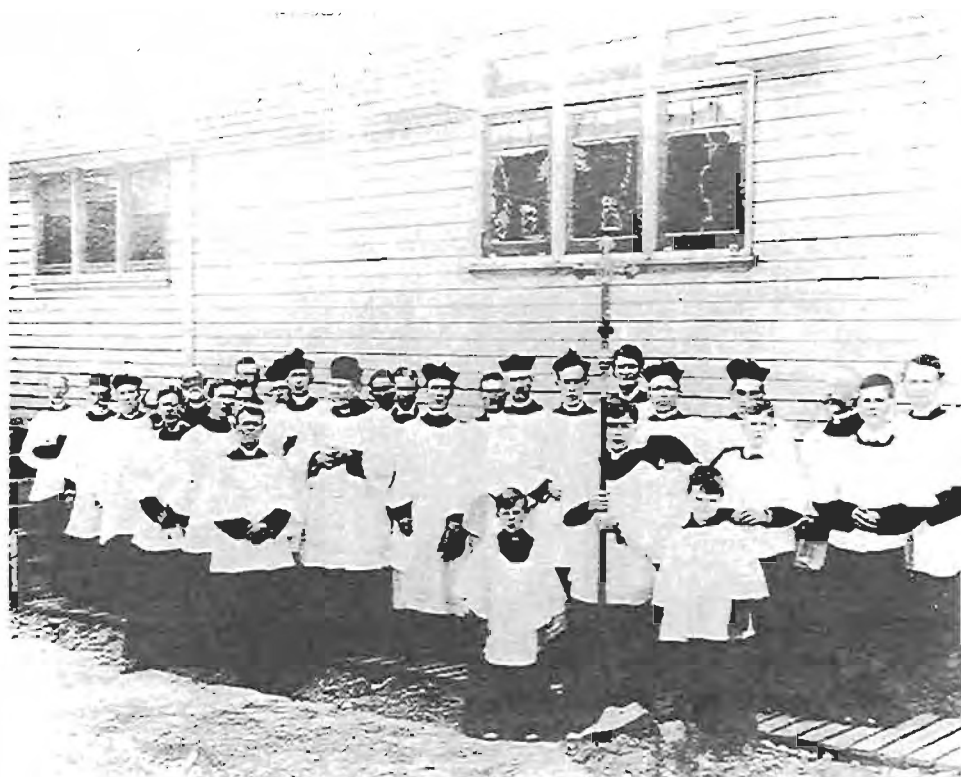


"Mexican Musicians, 1890's" in A. R. Bustamante, An Illustrated history of Mexican Los Angeles 1781-1985, p. 74.



11. Mexicano caballeros parading down Main Street as part of a fiesta celebration, 1895. Courtesy of the Huntington Library.

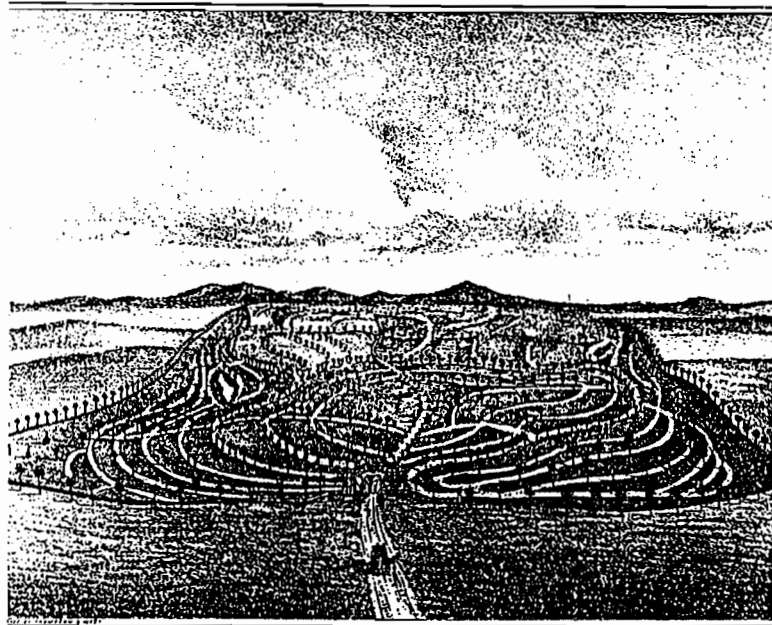
"Mexicans caballeros parading down Main Street during fiesta celebration, 1895" in R. G. del Castillo, The Los Angeles Barrio, 1850-1890, p. 129.



East L.A. Church of the Ascension Episcopal, 414 N. St. Louis Street (Date Not Available)
Photograph: Security Pacific National Bank Photograph Collection/Los Angeles Public Library.

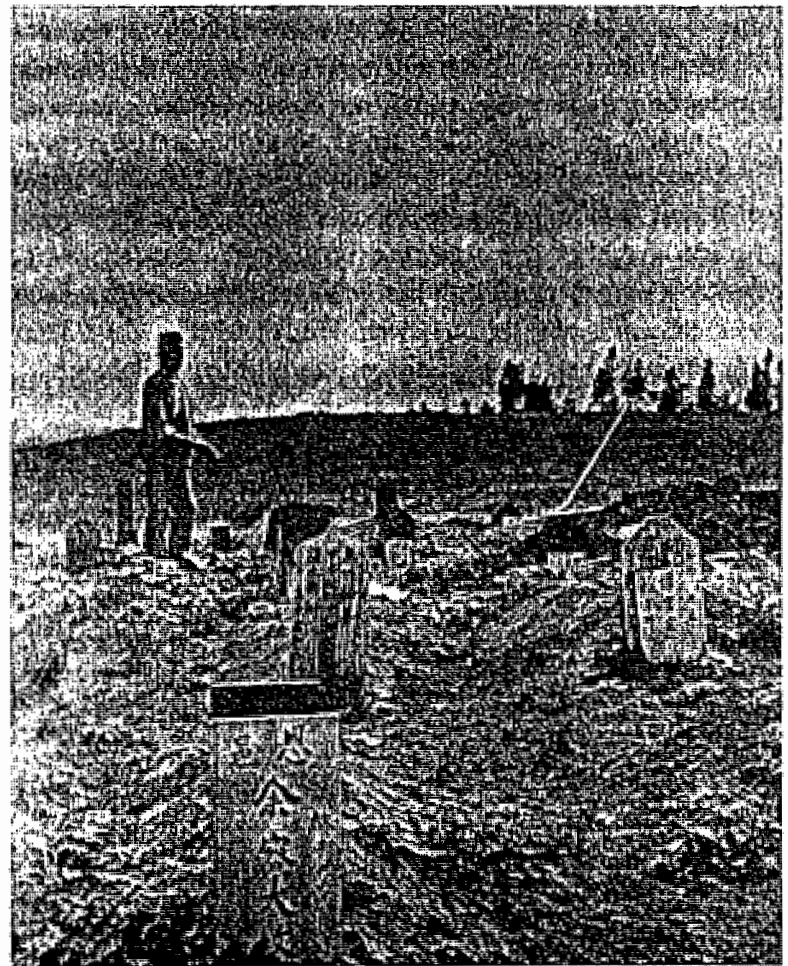


All Nations Methodist Clinic, Library and Club House in Boyle Heights (Date Not Available)
Photograph: Security Pacific National Bank Photograph Collection/Los Angeles Public Library.

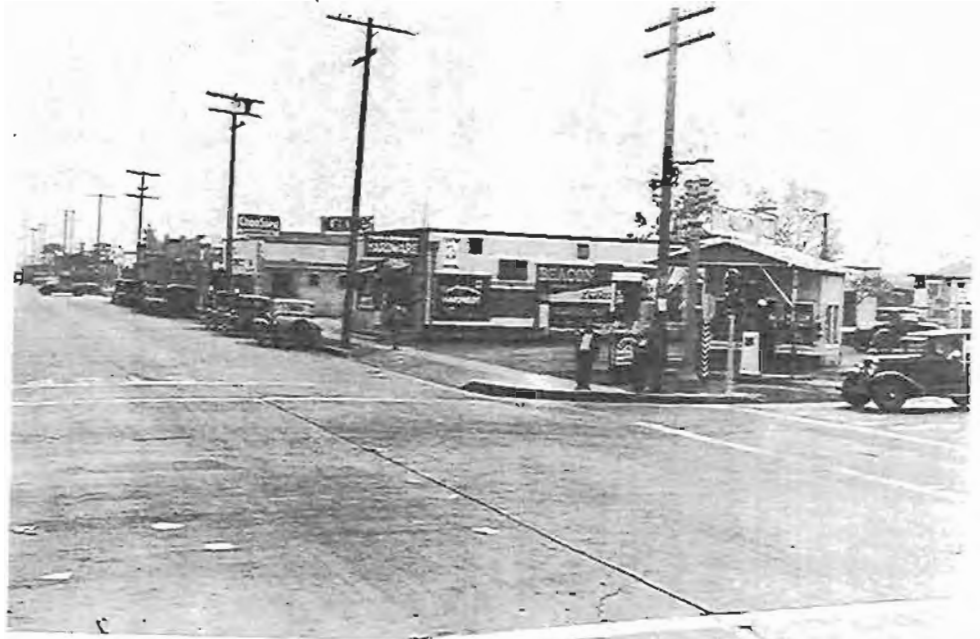


EVERGREEN CEMETERY,
LOS ANGELES, CAL. OWNED BY THE LOS ANGELES CEMETERY ASSOCIATION.

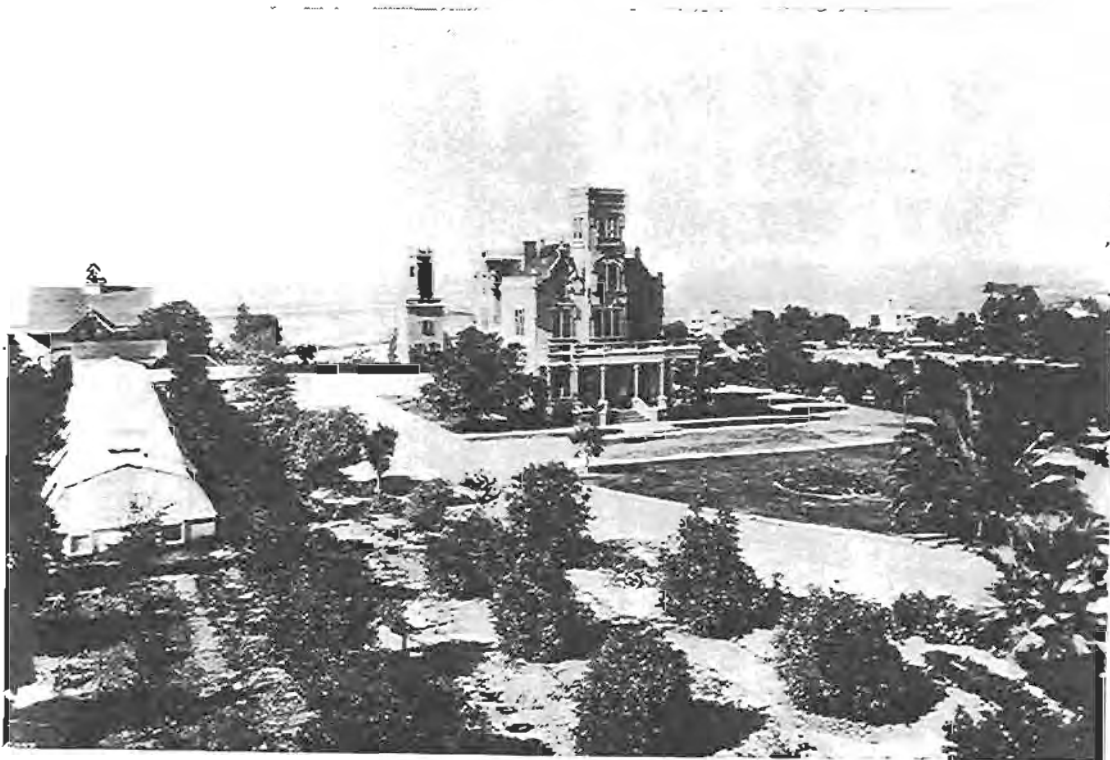
Evergreen Cemetery, from Thompson & West's 1880 Los Angeles county history. Author's collection.



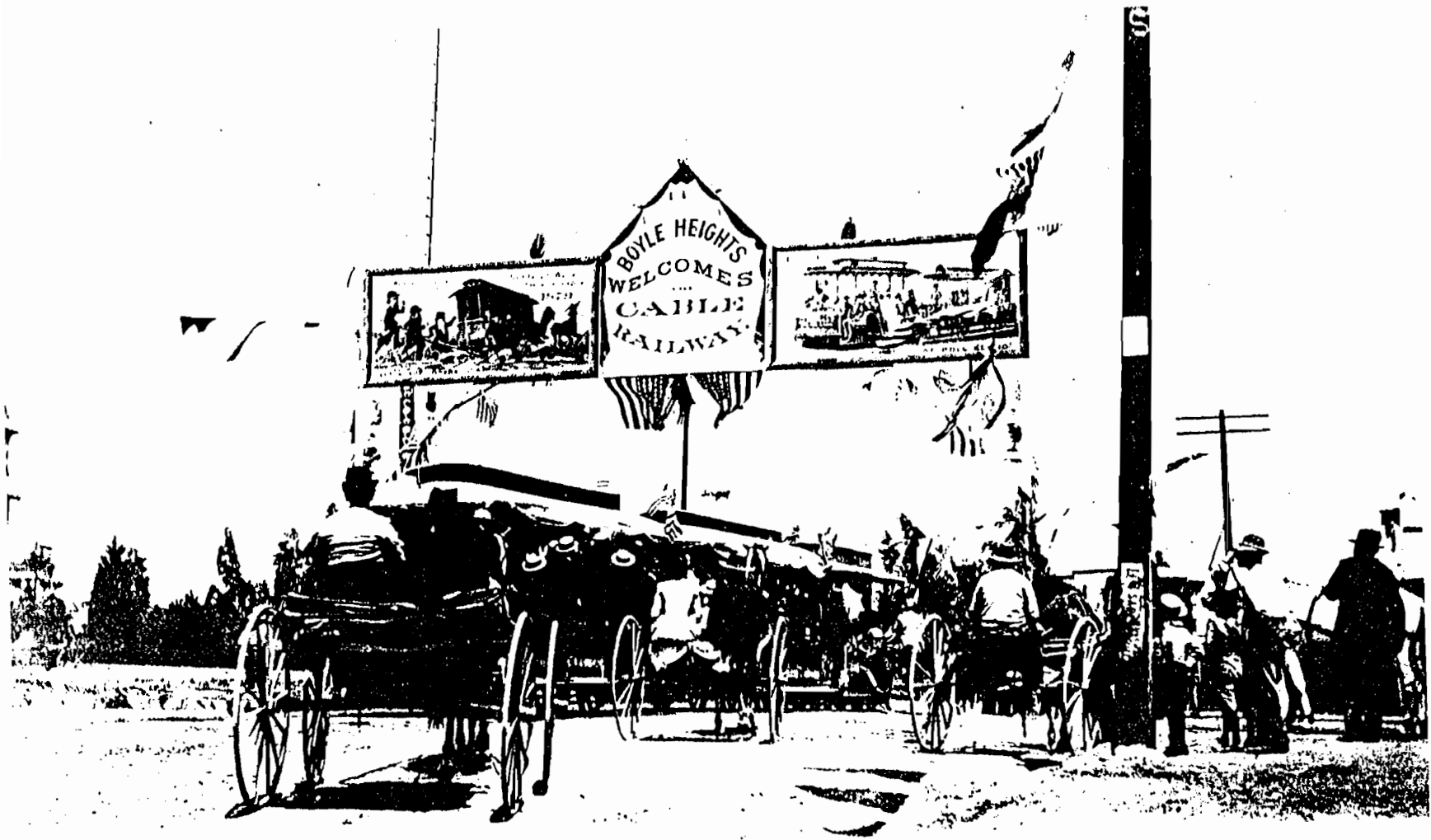
Almost certainly the Chinese cemetery at the east end of Evergreen. Photo by Olive Percival, probably 1897. Huntington Library.



Boyle Heights Streets: Intersection of Brooklyn and Ford Streets, Southeast Corner (Date not available)
Photograph: Security Pacific National Bank Photograph Collection/Los Angeles Public Library.



1887: Brooklyn Heights Residence of Mimie Perry Davis
Photograph: Security Pacific National Bank Photograph Collection/Los Angeles Public Library.



1889: "In 1889, the cable car came to fashionable Boyle Heights, across the river from downtown Los Angeles" (Source: "Los Angeles an Illustrated History" pgs. 52-53)



1895: "This is probably Boyle Heights best known structure, the Cummings Bldg., erected in 1895. It still stands, overlooking downtown Los Angeles, and houses guests as it always has." (Source: Belvedere Citizen)



1896: The Popular East Side Club in Boyle Heights, ca. 1896" (Source: "Los Angeles an Illustrated History" pgs. 67-68)

Cultural Needs Assessment - Metro East Side Extension



Roosevelt High School Spanish Club, Congressman Eddie Roybal, front center. (Date not available)
Photograph: Security Pacific National Bank Photograph Collection/Los Angeles Public Library.



Second Street School, Boyle Heights (Date not available)
Photograph: Security Pacific National Bank Photograph Collection/Los Angeles Public Library.

Regeneration 1900-1945

Turn of the century demographic maps indicate Mexican density highest in the pueblo area, and along the streets of **Alameda, Aliso, First** and edging along what is to be **Brooklyn**. Transportation facilitated mobility and provided work. Electric car lines, going from the center of town to Indiana, encouraged growth in **Boyle Heights** and **City Terrace**. In the second decade electric car lines ran from Indiana to Eastern and from there to Orange County by the 1930's.

From 1900, the rapid growth of agriculture, real estate booms, construction, oil, manufacturing, garment and the transportation, water and gas infrastructure, fueled labor immigration into Los Angeles, including thousands of Mexican workers and their families. An example of this synergy was the **Simmons Brick Company** and its worker housing neighborhood in **Montebello**. Mexican worker immigration was further accelerated by economic and political dislocations as a result of the **1910-1920 Mexican rebellions**, but this event also added experienced articulate political exiles to the small surviving sectors of the previous middle and upper classes.

Consequences of economic and political changes were several. Los Angeles became a significant political and intellectual center for Mexican America rivaling the older San Antonio, Texas. Several newspapers competed, first **El Heraldo de Mexico**, then **La Opinion**, prospered the most. And always the doings of the Mexican consulate focused public attention. The **1918 9th convention of the Alianza Hispanoamerica** met in Los Angeles. **El Club Anahuac** and **El Club Alegria** joined mutual aid benefits with cultural and sports activities. Combining similar activities, **La Sociedad Moctezuma** was exclusively for women. There was now some competition between remaining Plaza merchants and those located east of the river for the business leadership of the community. The **construction of Union Station** and the central post office disrupted the Plaza area.

The community during this period witnessed considerable and diverse labor and political organizational efforts. Several **strikes took place** and attempts at establishing unions occurred. These often involved large public political meetings, usually at the Plaza. Contention existed between pro-radical reform and anti-reform groups, anarchists, socialists and moderates. For a few years, the most influential of these organizations was the **Partido Liberal Mexicano (PLM)** whose leader, **Ricardo Flores Magon**, edited and published the newspaper **Regeneracion** from an office located on **East Fourth Street** in downtown Los Angeles. The PLM had several outstanding organizers, among them **Maria Talavera**. Both the Socialist Party and the protestant churches sought to recruit members from the Mexican community.

In contrast were other efforts. The **Federation of Spanish Speaking Voters** sought to mobilize around the vote and political offices. **La Sociedad Mutualista Mexicana** was among the earliest to call for organizational unity and the **club Pro-Patria** among the earliest Mexican U.S. patriotic organizations formed during **World War I**. The latter for awhile led in the building of **La Confederacion de Sociedades Mexicanas**; later, other efforts reflected a similar unity impulse. The injustice against **Aurelio Pompa (1923)** and **Juan Reyna (1930)**, immigrants falsely accused of murder, energized community activity. Moreover the **Mexican Chamber of Commerce** emerged in 1930, and, in 1931, the **Comité de Beneficiencia Mexicana** formed. These were more east side centered than downtown centered.

However the institutions which impacted the most were the **churches, schools and the sources of employment**, especially the rising manufacturing, processing and packing companies. For many Mexicans and immigrants life meant discrimination and exploitation. For others, the times and conditions meant jobs and business opportunities. **In 1923, Whittier Blvd.** was paved from **Eastern to Montebello Park**. Major cemeteries existed or were planned along **First (Evergreen) and Whittier (Odd Fellows and later Calvary)**. Companies benefited from a property trail leading ultimately from original Mexican private property holders to the **L.A. Creamery, J.B. Whiston, Hellman, Janss, and Simmons** companies. And later companies to benefit were **Pillsbury, Goodrich, U.S. Rubber, O'Keefe and Merit, Continental Can and Sears and Roebuck Co.**

Mexican east Los Angeles increased its population and this growth fueled the Mexican communities, arising from labor camps such as **City of Commerce**, and inexpensive tracts, such as **Maravilla**, and also strengthened older clusters such as those of San Fernando, San Gabriel, and Santa Monica, adjoining or within the demographically expanding neighborhoods of the city. Moreover rail and general labor camps led to **Compton and Watts**.

Especially significant was the growth of the economic bases of the core Mexican barrios in **central east Los Angeles from 1900 to the 1940's** inclusive. Several Mexican owned businesses prospered along east **Brooklyn and First**, among them **Lupe's Ironworks, Ramirez Mortuary, Salas Pharmacy, Prieto's Market and El Bonito Theater**. Anglo and Jewish businesses also prospered from **Mexican trade**. The **City of Commerce** in part consisting of **Bandini property** was organized and plotted to be an industrial zone by **the 1930's** valued conservatively at \$200 million employing 20,000 workers.

While growing, the Mexican community also faced subversion to its cohesion from the increased influence of English speaking associated culture, discriminatory judgments on Spanish in the forms of compulsory English by agencies and schools, and through the new mass media of motion pictures and radio. Underlining these injunctions or attractions was the chauvinist ideological climate of the times which indicted workers, unions, and immigrants. This trend called for immigrant groups to "**Republicanize**" themselves, to abandon their immigrant language and ethnic identity, or be suspect. Frequently, this ideology was promulgated in the schools where Mexican youth faced corporal punishment or suspension for speaking the Spanish language, and where they were inculcated with racist stereotypes about themselves and others. Yet Mexicans **numbered over 100,000** in the county area.

But as in times past a vibrant community social and cultural life continued reflected in festivities, sports events, church life, music, art and the attendance at theater and the Spanish language cinema. Several individual performers and group performers enjoyed popularity. In these years a world class artist, **David Alfaro Siqueiros**, created a major mural at the historic center of the Mexican community, La Plaza, "**America Tropical**". He, **Jose Clemente Orozco**, and **Alfredo Ramos Martinez** painted several murals in the greater Los Angeles area. Radio programs had major impact on the community, an influence to continue for decades. A particularly welcomed program was that of **Pedro G. Gonzalez** which emphasized music and editorial comments on behalf of community concerns. In the **late 1920's and early 1930's** the Plaza area, in particular **Olvera**

Street, was saved from demolition. Favorite music venues sparked and centered some young people's social life, a tradition which continued through music fads and changes as to what were the favorite places through the decades.

Indeed there were favorite commercial entertainments, but social life and social diversion remained predominantly family centered. Religious activity or church centered functions were the predominant organizational endeavors while social mores stressed a work ethic coupled with cultural and family loyalties. By **the 1920's and 1930's** religious processions became regularized as their participants numbered in the thousands. **Our Lady of Guadalupe** dates from **1923** and **Our Lady of Soledad** from **1926**. Annual and biannual parish "jamaicas" enlivened neighborhoods.

The **mass unemployment of the 1930's** had severe impact on the Mexican community, which suffered disproportionately because of both ethnic discrimination and the general high level of unemployment. This situation was aggravated by widespread scapegoating of Mexicans as relief recipients or "aliens" and subversives who should be denied assistance. Supported by the police and utility companies, **Los Angeles County relief agencies** in the **early 1930's** enforced a policy of **repatriation of Mexicans to Mexico**. **Between 1930 and 1935**, Los Angeles County **officially repatriated 13,332**, while as many as **50,000 persons**, including many United States citizens, may have been forced to leave the Los Angeles area.

Depression hardships stimulated community, labor and political organization. Mexican participation included the organizing of nascent **CIO locals, unemployed councils, protest marches** and youth and student groups such as the **Mexican American Youth Conference**. Mexican labor activity particularly in garment and the local agriculture heightened. During **1927** several unionizing calls led to the formation of the **Confederation of Mexican Labor Unions (CUOM)** in December. Frustrated attempts at building Mexican labor locals and confederations occurred through **the 1930's**. A major local event of this period was the **Congress of Spanish Speaking People of the United States**, in part organized by **Josefina Fierro**, held in Los Angeles in **April 1939**, whose closing dance was held at Olvera Street. This was an early attempt to create a national civil rights organization representing Mexicanos and other Latinos in the United States. Stemming from the Congress activities was the unsuccessful but 20th century significant campaign of **Edward Caveatee** for the **Los Angeles City Council**.

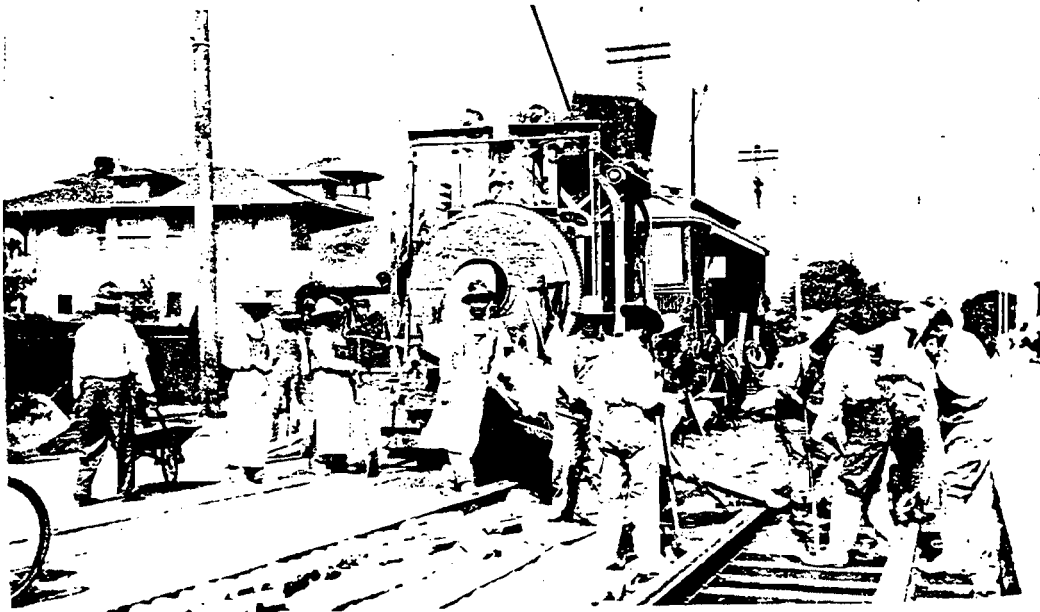
Though a war for democracy, **World War II** fostered pressures which paradoxically heightened racial animosity, initially manifested in the imprisonment of Japanese Americans in "**Relocation Camps**." As in the past, racial scapegoating again shifted to Mexicans when in **1942** a negative campaign in local newspapers against Mexican youth labelled all such youths **wearing zoot suits as Pachucos**, or "criminal elements." This culminated first in the **Sleepy Lagoon frame-up case of 1942**, involving a group of Mexican youths, falsely accused of murder. They were finally acquitted years later after a lengthy defense campaign by community activists and civil libertarians. The Sleepy Lagoon case was soon followed by the **traumatic zoot suit riots of 1943**.

In the middle of a **war against fascism**, mobs of Anglo servicemen and civilian bigots invaded Mexican neighborhoods and the downtown area, brutally attacking and beating Mexican youths and molesting Mexican women, while police and sheriffs officers stood aside. This type of

repression and scapegoating of Mexican youth continued as manifested in the Hollywood gang and bandit movies, the behavior of some law enforcement authorities, and in pejorative news media treatment of immigrant workers.



1900: "Here comes the tramway rounding the corner near First and Chicago in the happy years of 1900. Many a pasajero traveled this way heading towards far downtown Los Angeles" (Source: Belvedere Citizen)



Mexican section-gang workers on the urban electric railway system in Los Angeles, circa 1903. Reproduced by permission of the Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

"Mexicano section-gang workers on the urban electric railway system in Los Angeles, around 1903" in Alberto Camarillo, Chicanos in a Changing Society: From Mexican Pueblos to American Barrios, 1848-1930, p. 214.



Sisters Luisa and Rosa Villa, singers of Mexican songs who recorded for Charles Lummis (1904). Courtesy of the Southwest Museum, Los Angeles. Photo N:35531/P33398A.

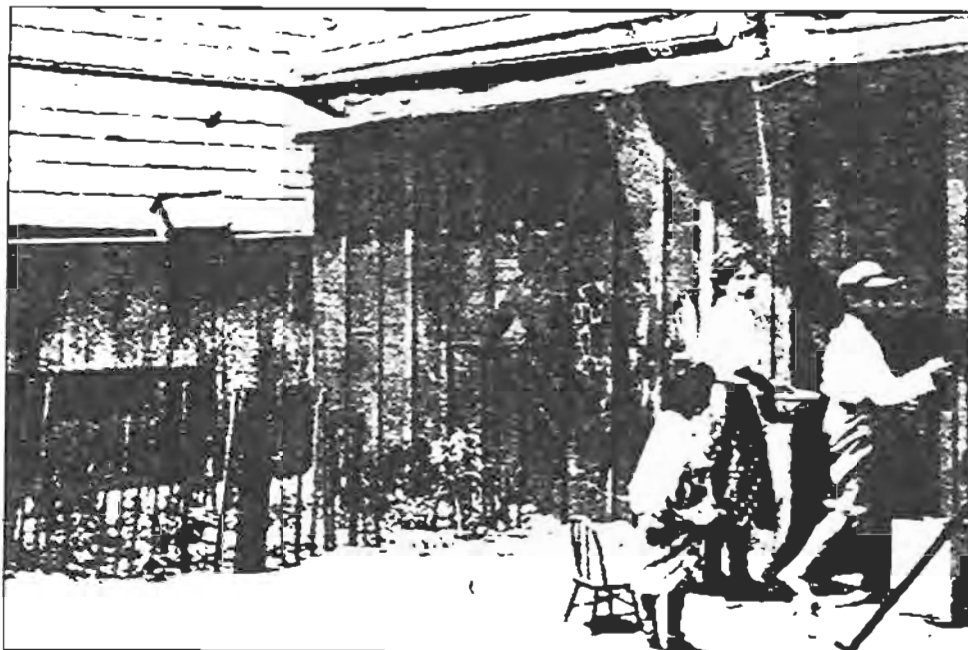
Rosendo Uruchurto recording on wax cylinder for Charles Lummis in 1904. Courtesy of the Southwest Museum, Los Angeles. Photo N:24310.



"Sisters Luisa and Rosa Villa singers of Mexican songs - Rosendo Uruchurto recording, 1904" in Steven Loza, Barrio Rhythm, np#.



1906-08: "The Navarro Street housing court. Boyle Heights. Circa 1906-1908. (Courtesy of Los Angeles Housing Commission) (Source: "An Illustrated History of Mexican Los Angeles 1781-1985" p. 84)

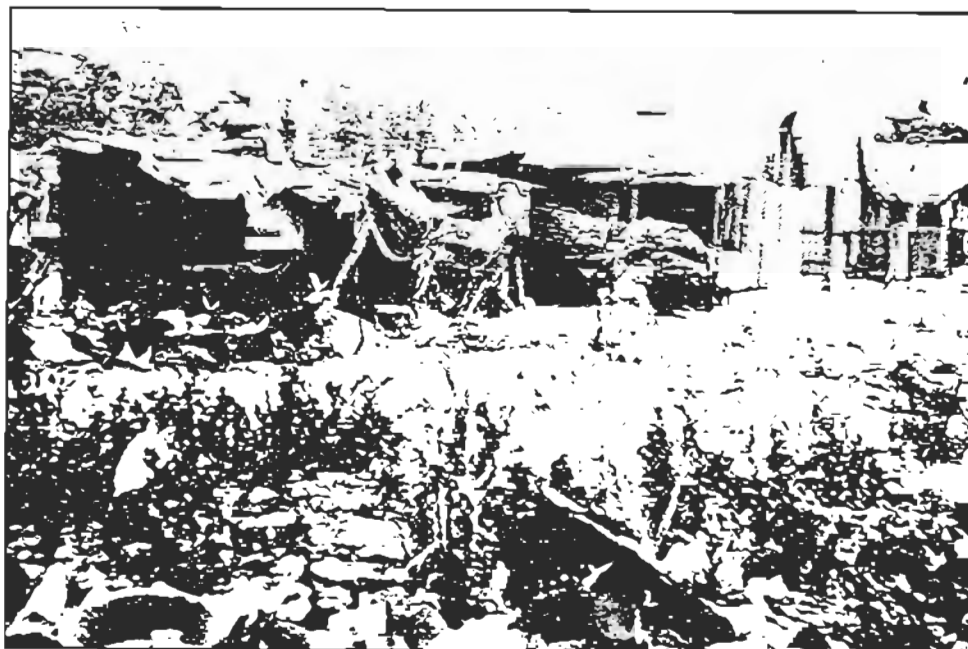


Mexican children near housing court. 1906-1908.

(Courtesy of Los Angeles Housing Commission)

The impending threat of invasion did not deter the growth of Los Angeles. In fact, the city's Mexican population increased considerably during the 1840s. Nineteenth century historian Bancroft once estimated that the population of *gente de razón* rose from 1,800 in 1841 to about 2,000 in 1845. Approximately 1,250 of these people lived in the ciudad and about 750 lived on ranchos or at ex-missions San Gabriel and San Fernando. Bancroft also estimated the total number of ex-neophyte Indians in the area to be near 1,110.

According to the last census of the Mexican period, taken in 1844, the total population of the Los Angeles District (from San Fernando to San Juan Capistrano) was approximately 3,041 persons—1,200 Indians and 1,841 Mexicans.³¹



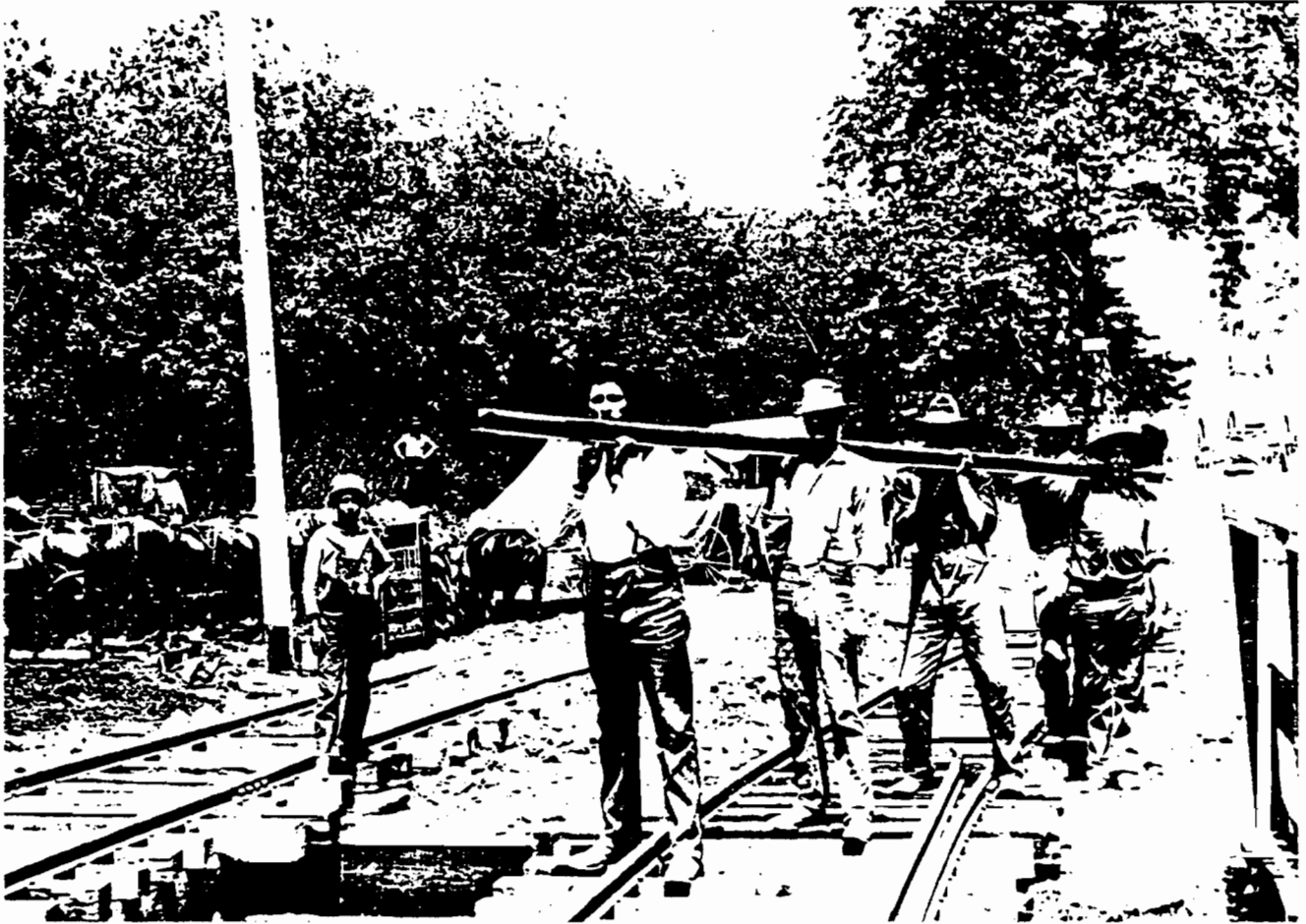
"A typical cholo court."
Poorer housing in a Mexican immigrant community of Los Angeles. 1906.

(Courtesy of Los Angeles Housing Commission)

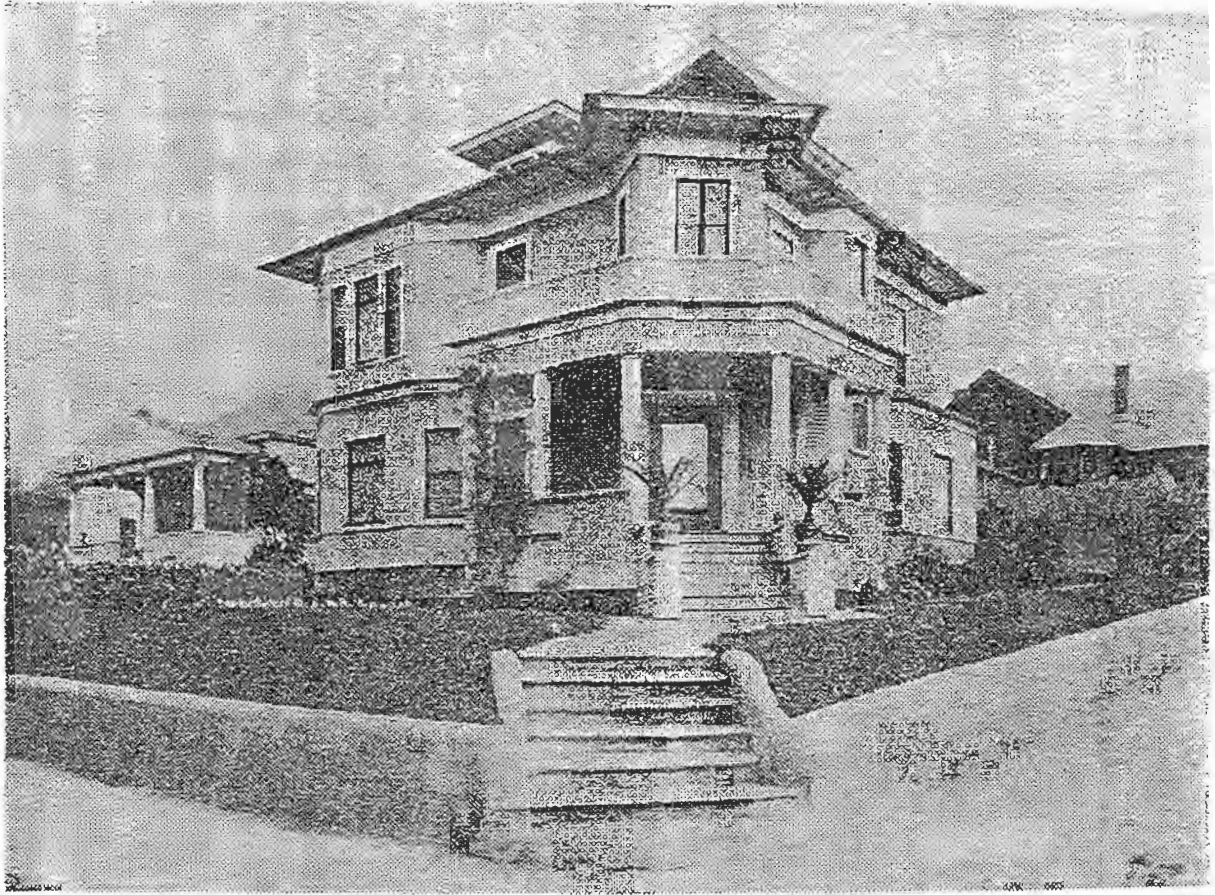
"Mexican children near housing court, 1906-1908" in A. R. Bustamante, An Illustrated History of Mexican Los Angeles, 1791-1985, p. 85.

Mexican workers constructing the Pacific Electric Railroad line. Mexican workers formed a major part of the labor force in the construction and maintenance of the Pacific Electric Railroad Line, by 1900 the largest suburban transportation system in the world.

(Courtesy of Huntington Library, San Marino, California)



"Mexican workers constructing the Pacific Electric Railroad Line, around 1908-1910" in A. R. Bustamante, An Illustrated History of Mexican Los Angeles, 1791-1985, p. 85.



1909: "This magnificent residence at 1831 Pennsylvania avenue in East Los Angeles, was the home of Chester M. Bucks. Its design, in those days, was considered "wild". Photo taken around 1909. (Source: Belvedere Citizen)



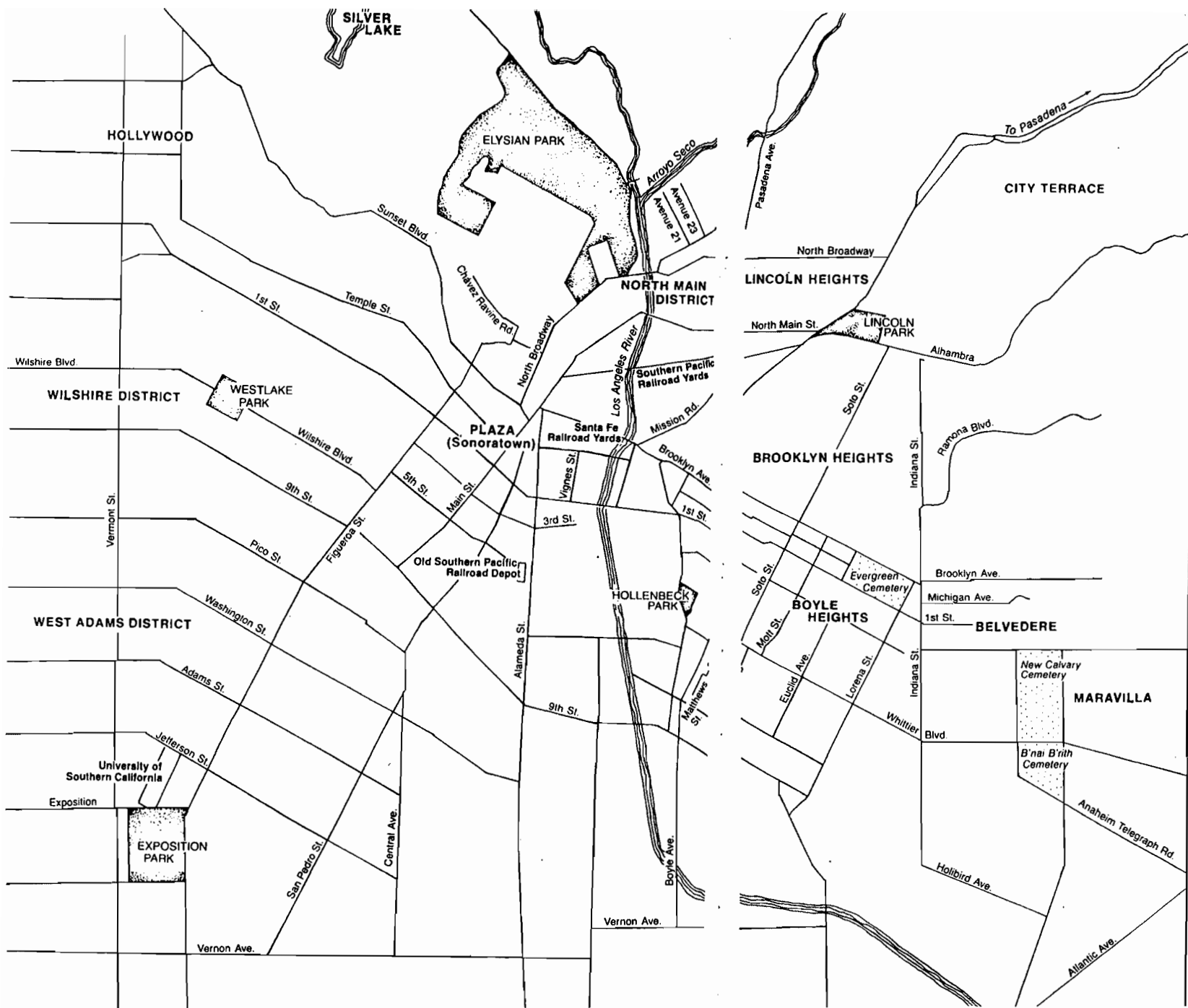
Students at the Vail Street School, Los Angeles, circa 1910. This was a school for children of Mexican families who worked at Simons Brick Company and who lived on the company grounds. Courtesy of Albert and Lydia Caballero.

"Students at the Vail Street School, Los Angeles, around 1910" in A. Camarillo, Chicanos in a Changing Society, p. 226.



Ricardo Flores Magon (1884-1922). An intrepid and progressive essayist, speaker, organizer, politician and one of the intellectual pillars of the Mexican revolution of 1910. Forced into exile in the United States for his opposition to the dictatorship of Porfirio Diaz, he began publishing a radical newspaper, *Regeneracion*, which by 1914 was headquartered in Los Angeles. Convicted of U.S. neutrality law violations and imprisoned, Magon and his brother Enrique languished in Leavenworth Federal Penitentiary where Ricardo died, perhaps by assassination, in 1922.

(Los Angeles Times)



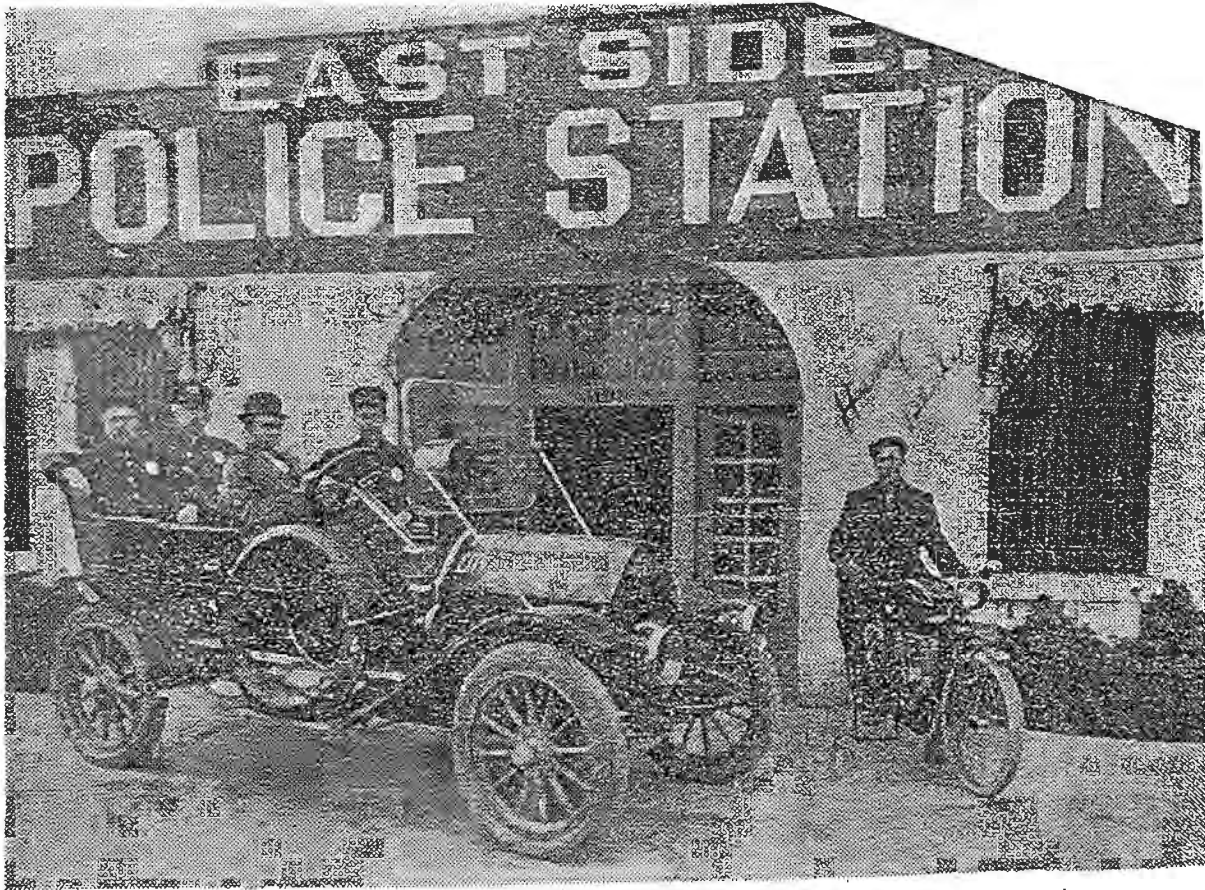
1915-30: "Map 2. Central and East Los Angeles, 1915-1930" (Source: "History of a Barrio East Los Angeles pgs. 14-15)



1916: Corner of Utah/First Street, Lopez Brothers Grocery Store
Photograph: Security Pacific National Bank Photograph Collection/Los Angeles Public Library.



1916: Herlinda Lopez and Verlinda Silva Clark on First Street
Photograph: Security Pacific National Bank Photograph Collection/Los Angeles Public Library.



1920: "The East Side Police Station, then situated somewhere on East First, was always ready to go on call... Photo taken in the early 20's" Article about the East Side Police Department, today called the "Hollenbeck Police Department" which still exists on First Street near Chicago (Source: Belvedere Citizen)

Cultural Needs Assessment - Metro East Side Extension



1920: Community Evening in Armenian Center located at 1620 E. 4th Street.
Photograph: International Institute of Los Angeles



1921: Clinic at the Armenian Center.
Photograph: International Institute of Los Angeles



1920's to 1940's: A&Z Nut Wagon on the corner of Whittier Blvd. and Lorena Street. The cart was used in the "flats" area of Boyle Heights to sell pumpkin seeds and nuts. This store still stands there today.
Photograph: Security Pacific National Bank Photograph Collection/Los Angeles Public Library.



1920's: Portrait of Leticia Lozano and friends taken on Rosalind Street in East Los Angeles. This neighborhood was torn down when the 5 Freeway was built.
Photograph: International Institute of Los Angeles

Pictorial History of



The cozy atmosphere Fire Station No. 2 was enjoyed by these very serious fire fighters. They were serious because of the work they do.

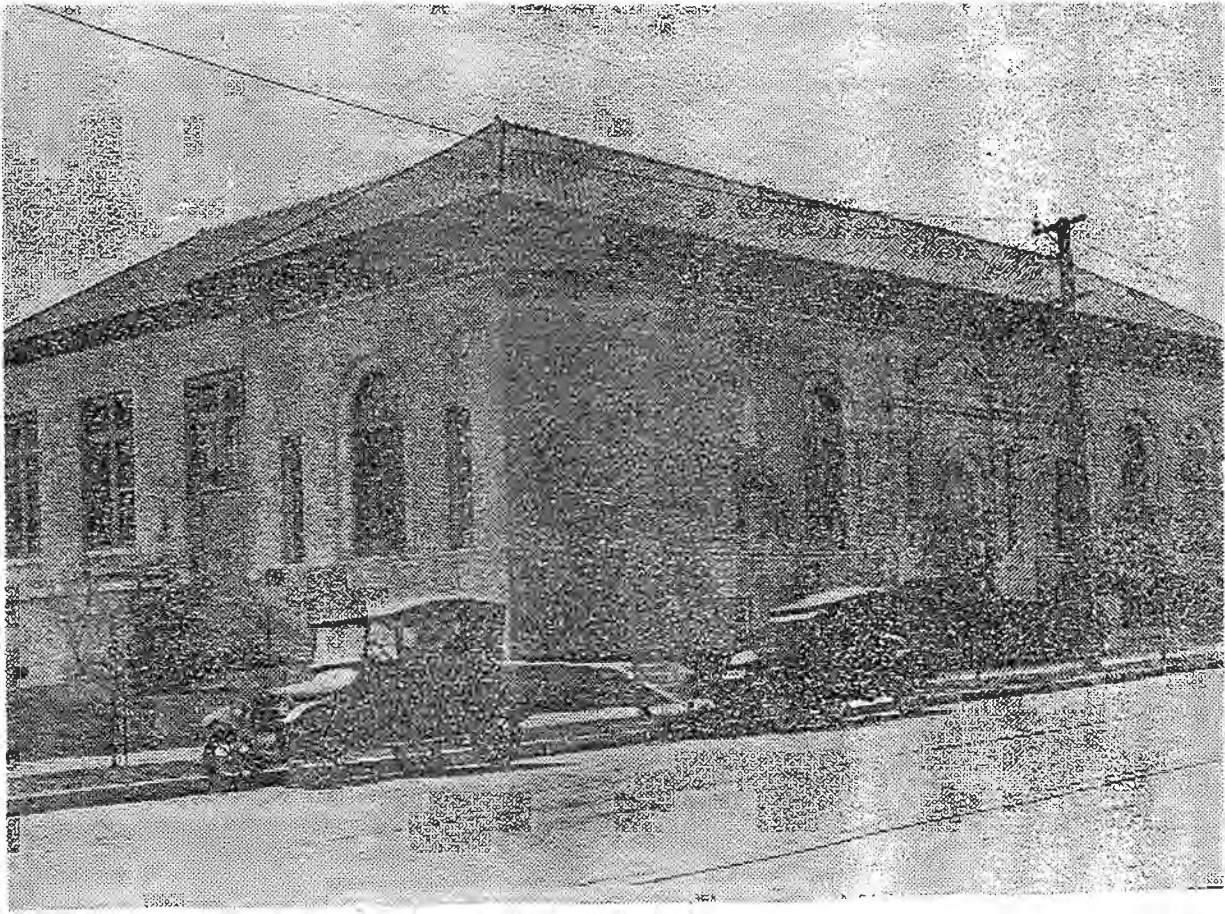
1920: "Venerable Fire Station No. 2, located at First and Chicago as it looked in the 20's" Article regarding the Fire Station on First and Chicago, which does not exist at that location today (Source: Belvedere Citizen)



1922: Korean Women's English Class
Photograph: International Institute of Los Angeles

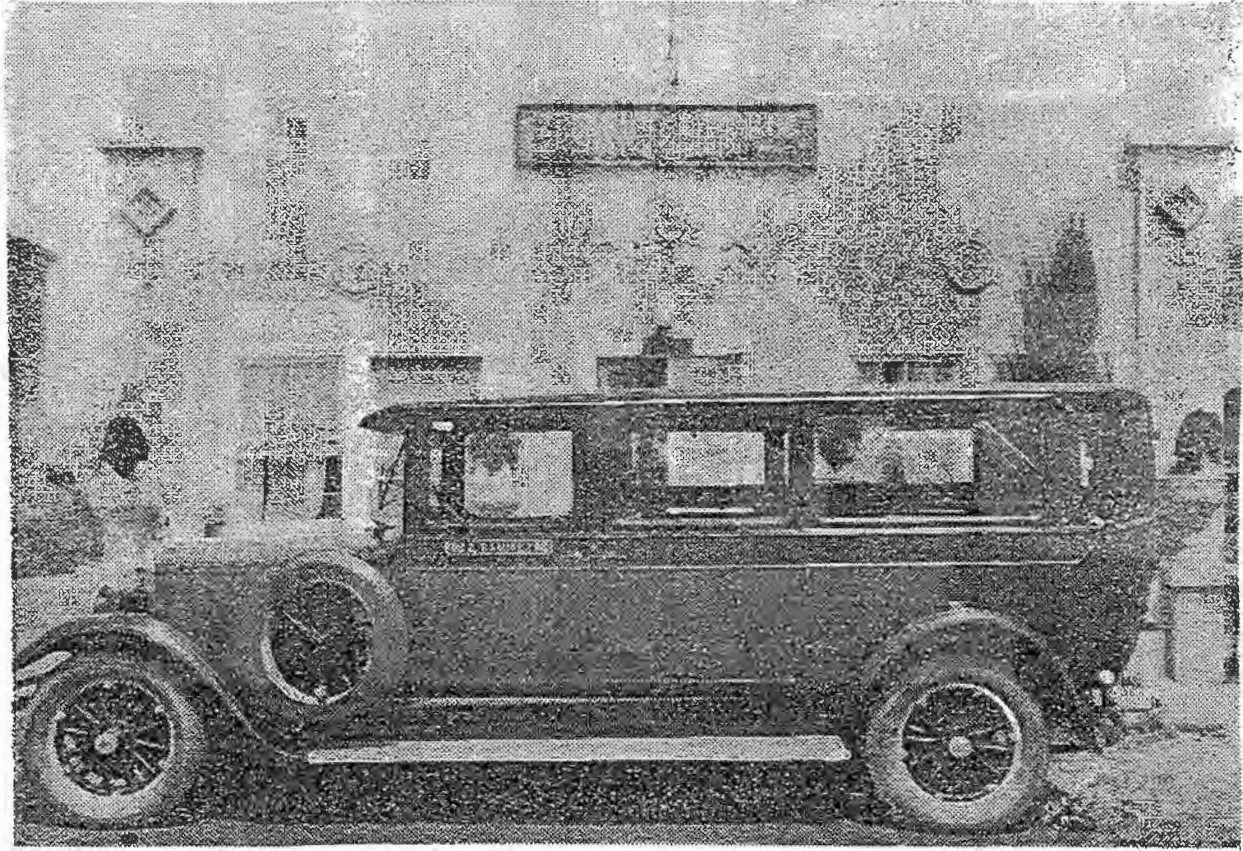


1927: "Mexican children at the Lorena Street Elementary School, 1927. By the 1920's public education had begun to make a significant impact on the Mexican community. Educators regarded schools as a vehicle for Americanization. Teachers often had little sensitivity to Mexican children and Spanish was often banned from the classroom. (Courtesy of William D. Estrada)." (Source: "An Illustrated History of Mexican Los Angeles 1781-1985" p. 175)



1928: No one will ever forget the shiny white facade of the public Library at First and Chicago. It's given way to a new structure. Photo taken in 1928. Notice the "flivvers". Today a library still exists there, called the Benjamin Franklin Public Library (Source: Belvedere Citizen)

Pictorial History of



1928: "The Zeferino Ramirez Mortuary was the best known mortuary at the time. It's still there at 4545 Brooklyn Avenue. Founder Zeferino Ramirez was a civic minded powerhouse. Photo taken in 1928." This mortuary still exists today (Source: Belvedere Citizen)

f East Los Angeles



1929: "The Ferri Min Institute at 3417 Whittier, provided cure for many of its customers. Now, the site houses one of several JonSons markets serving the whole of East Los Angeles area. Photo taken in 1929." Article regarding an institute that was replaced first by JonSons markets and today is replaced by Top Value Markets (Source: Belvedere Citizen)



1928: Street in East Los Angeles, Raquel Sanchez Negrete and sister Carmen Sanchez.

Photograph: Security Pacific National Bank Photograph Collection/Los Angeles Public Library.



*Rogers Air North L.A.
Dec 17-1928*

Flor Cano, airplane passenger at Rogers Airport of Los Angeles (City of Commerce). Airport no longer exists.

Photograph: International Institute of Los Angeles



Alpine Street: Site of the beginning of the Zoot Suit Riots (store front name has changed). (Date not available.)
Photograph: Security Pacific National Bank Photograph Collection/Los Angeles Public Library.



1929: Antonio Sandoval's Barbershop on Ford Blvd. in Maravilla Park, East Los Angeles.
Photograph: Security Pacific National Bank Photograph Collection/Los Angeles Public Library.

William Howard Taft, Chief Justice at this time, was the only in history ever to hold both the offices of President of the United States (1909-1913) and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. Before Taft was president he had travelled extensively in Japan as Secretary of War under President Warren G. Harding. The Treaty of Commerce and Navigation of 1911, which was the basis of this case, was signed during Taft's term in the Presidency. In *Jordan vs. Tashiro*, sixteen years after the treaty was signed, Chief Justice Taft was one of nine judges who interpreted the treaty which was signed during his administration as President and in the preparation of which he was personally involved.

The defendants in error, as the doctors were called, argued through Wright that this was the first instance in which Articles of Incorporation had been denied to Japanese; that their request created a situation which was definitely within the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation; that it was proper for the state to interpret the Articles of Incorporation, and that the meaning of the Treaty should be liberally interpreted. The two lawyers, State Attorney General Webb and Wright, were before the court but were limited to twenty minutes. After some sharp questioning by the Supreme Court justices Attorney General Webb was stopped by the Court before he finished his argument. This was a sign that the appeal was dismissed and that the Supreme Court of the United States had decided in favor of Wright's clients, the Japanese physicians. The official decision was announced about five months later.

There was great rejoicing among the Japanese. Their health care could now be improved. They could have a facility of which they would be proud. The hospital which opened at First and Fickett Street in Los Angeles was a two-story building with twenty-two beds. At the opening ceremony on December 1, 1929, presided by leaders in the Japanese medical field, Prince Kayomi of Japan was present. Marion Wright was an honored guest and the only non-Japanese person in attendance.¹¹ The hospital served the community until 1984.¹²

After this case Marion's services were in such demand that the majority of his practice was with the Japanese who were

SOURCE: SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA QUARTERLY
SPRING 1990

Chicano Resource Center
 East Los Angeles Library
 L.A. Co. Lib. System
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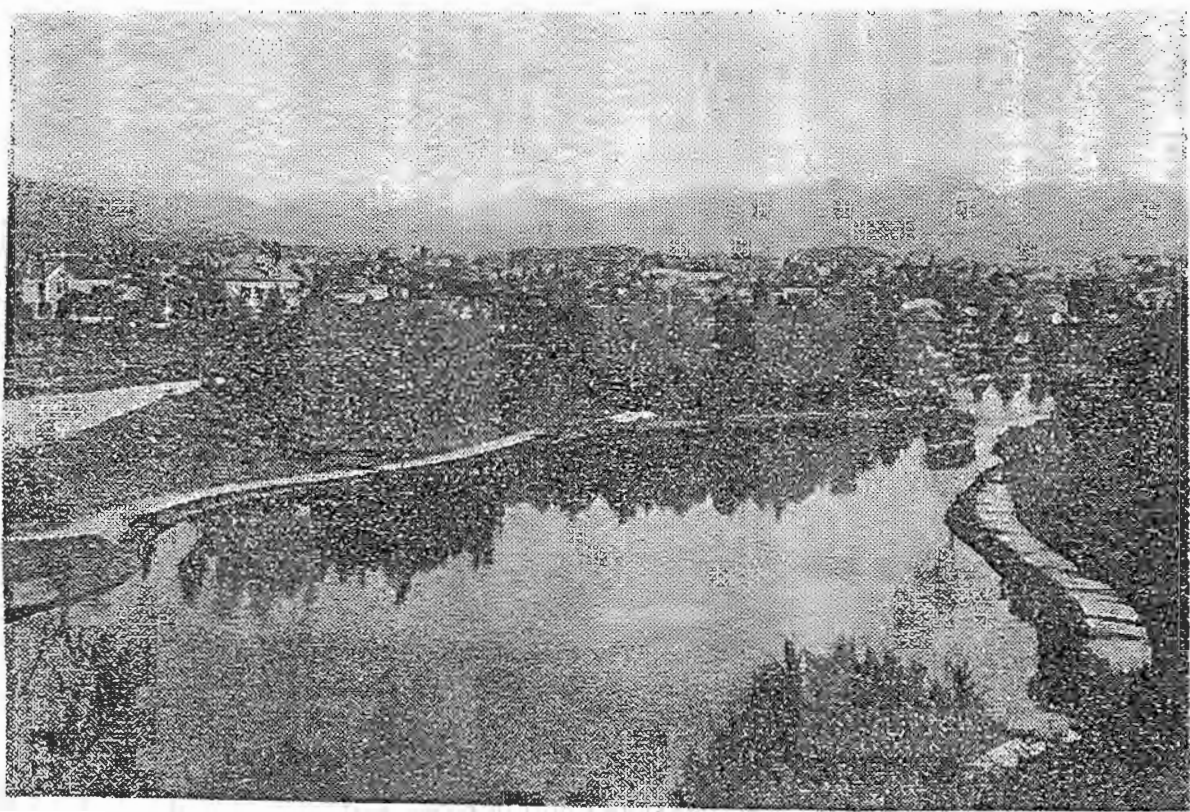
BOYLE HEITZ



*The opening ceremony for the Japanese Hospital at First and Fickett streets, Los Angeles, December 1, 1929. Wright is seated in the center.

grateful to him for his interest in their welfare. Two actions which were fore-runners of Marion's most memorable legal victories were cases of escheat. This legal term has been used since the beginning of old English law. Escheat describes an action in which the governing body, in this case the State of California, takes over possession and ownership of property which the state claims has been illegally obtained by an individual or group.

The state, in the case of *People vs. Nakamura*, filed an escheat action against some farmers in San Diego County.¹³ The defendant, Mr. Shoichi Nakamura, was a citizen of the Hawaiian Islands, a territory of the United States at that time. Intricate legal issues were involved here such as the constitutionality of the provision that persons of Japanese ancestry had to prove citizenship to own land whereas other citizens did not. The key question of the case was whether an escheat was a criminal or a civil action. Wright, acting for the defense, contended that it was civil in form but criminal in substance. Therefore the defendants did not have to testify against themselves. The court agreed with this concept presented by Marion, and the description of escheat as being civil in form but criminal in substance was used as the basis for all further escheat proceedings in California.



1930: "Good old Hollenbeck Park, at Fourth and St. Louis Streets, was in the early 30's probably the most popular picnic area in the whole of East Los Angeles. Today the Park serves well its residents. La Feria de Los Ninos is held there every year" (Source: Belvedere Citizen)



1930's: Eileen and Joe Vega's wedding on Judson Street in Boyle Heights;
from left - A. Vega, Julia Arciniega, Henrietta Arciniega

Photograph: Security Pacific National Bank Photograph Collection/Los Angeles Public Library.



1930's: "Spanish" restaurant on Fourth Street near Evergreen.

During this period the term "Spanish" was used instead of Mexican

Photograph: Security Pacific National Bank Photograph Collection/Los Angeles Public Library.



Reproduced from La Opinión, Los Angeles
Families and friends gathering at the Los Angeles railroad station on 17 August 1931 to bid farewell to *repatriados* departing on the third county-sponsored train

"Families and friends gathering at the Los Angeles railroad station on August 17, 1931 to bid farewell to repatriados" in A. R. Bustamante, An Illustrated History of Mexican Los Angeles, 1791-1985, p. 92.



1930's: "The Strand" was a movie theater on Whittier Blvd.

Photograph: Security Pacific National Bank Photograph Collection/Los Angeles Public Library.



4/19/32: Roosevelt High Girl's Glee Club

Photograph: Security Pacific National Bank Photograph Collection/Los Angeles Public Library



Reproduced from newspaper clipping

On 27 February 1931, *La Opinión*, Los Angeles Mexican daily, carried this front-page photo with the following caption: "The *La Opinión* photographer took this photograph yesterday while the police surrounded the Plaza detaining all Mexicans and other foreigners who were found there. Immigration agents, dressed in plain clothes, examined some of the prisoners asking them for facts about their legal or illegal residency in the United States, while others detained wait their turn patiently. Uniformed municipal police collaborated in the raid. At the rear can be seen part of the crowd that observed the arrests."

"The police surrounded the Plaza detaining all Mexicans and other foreigners, 1931" in A. R. Bustamante, *An Illustrated History of Mexican Los Angeles, 1791-1985*, p. 60.

Was Field Day At Eastside Airport

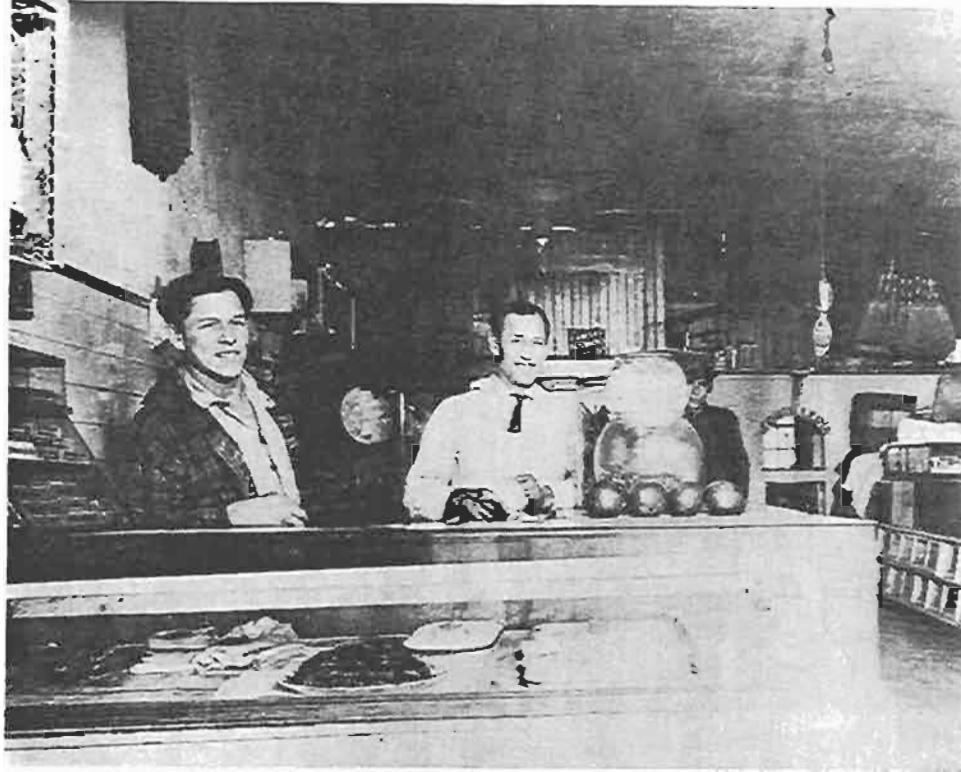
The young ladies who are turning things upside down in their efforts to secure votes for the aviation scholarship which is being offered by Hispano-Americano de Aviacion Club, were very much in evidence last Sunday at Eastside Airport.

A large crowd spent the major part of the day at the field indulging in dancing and a sumptuous lunch.

The following is the standing of the young ladies to date:

María del Carmen Otero
Rosita Dominguez
Beatrice Ramirez
Alicia Ramirez
Alicia Barrios
Carmen Teresa Arriaga
Allestina Armas
María Espinoza
María Martínez
Juana García

06/22/34: "Was Field Day at Eastside Airport" Article regarding an aviation scholarship for women offered by Hispano-Americano de Aviacion Club in the Eastside (Source: Beivedere Citizen)



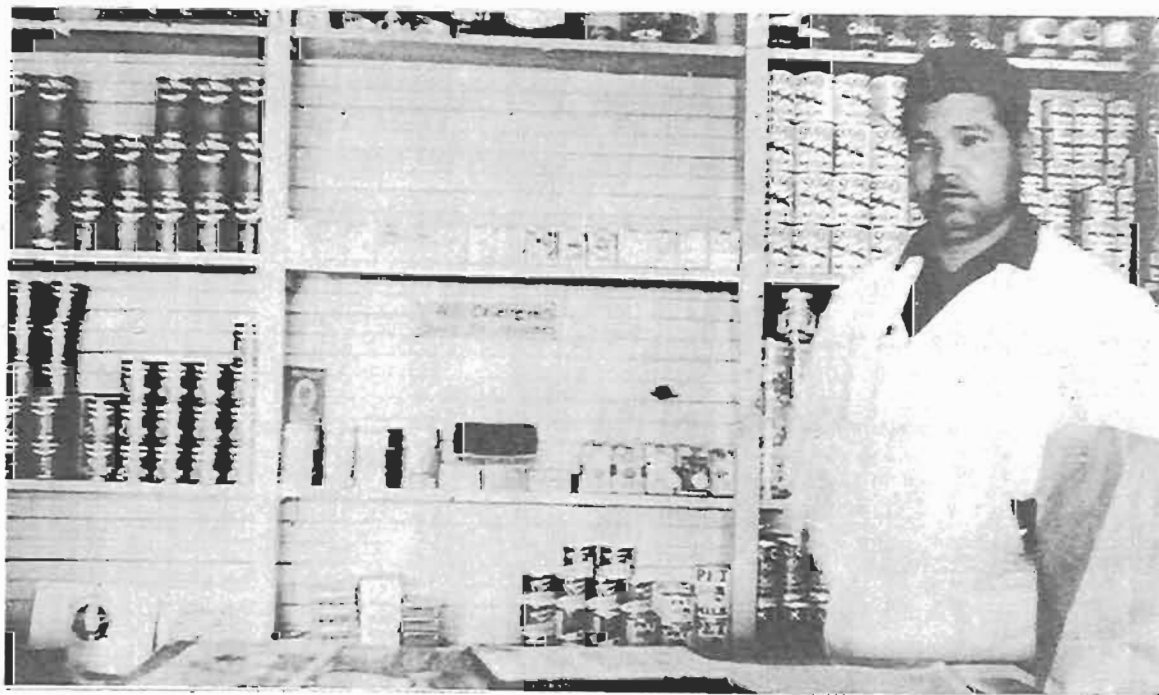
1935: First tortilleria in Los Angeles owned by "Uncle Jose" and Jose Lopez on East Fourth Street.
Photograph: Security Pacific National Bank Photograph Collection/Los Angeles Public Library.



10/35: A Mexican family recently arrived from Texas spends the day with new friends at Exposition Park.
Photograph: Courtesy of George Rodriguez



1937: St Elizabeth Day Nursery, across the Street from Aliso Village
Photograph: Security Pacific National Bank Photograph Collection/Los Angeles Public Library.



1938: Enrique Negrete, owner of La Ciudad de Mexico Grocery Store on Lorena Street in East Los Angeles.
Photograph: Security Pacific National Bank Photograph Collection/Los Angeles Public Library.



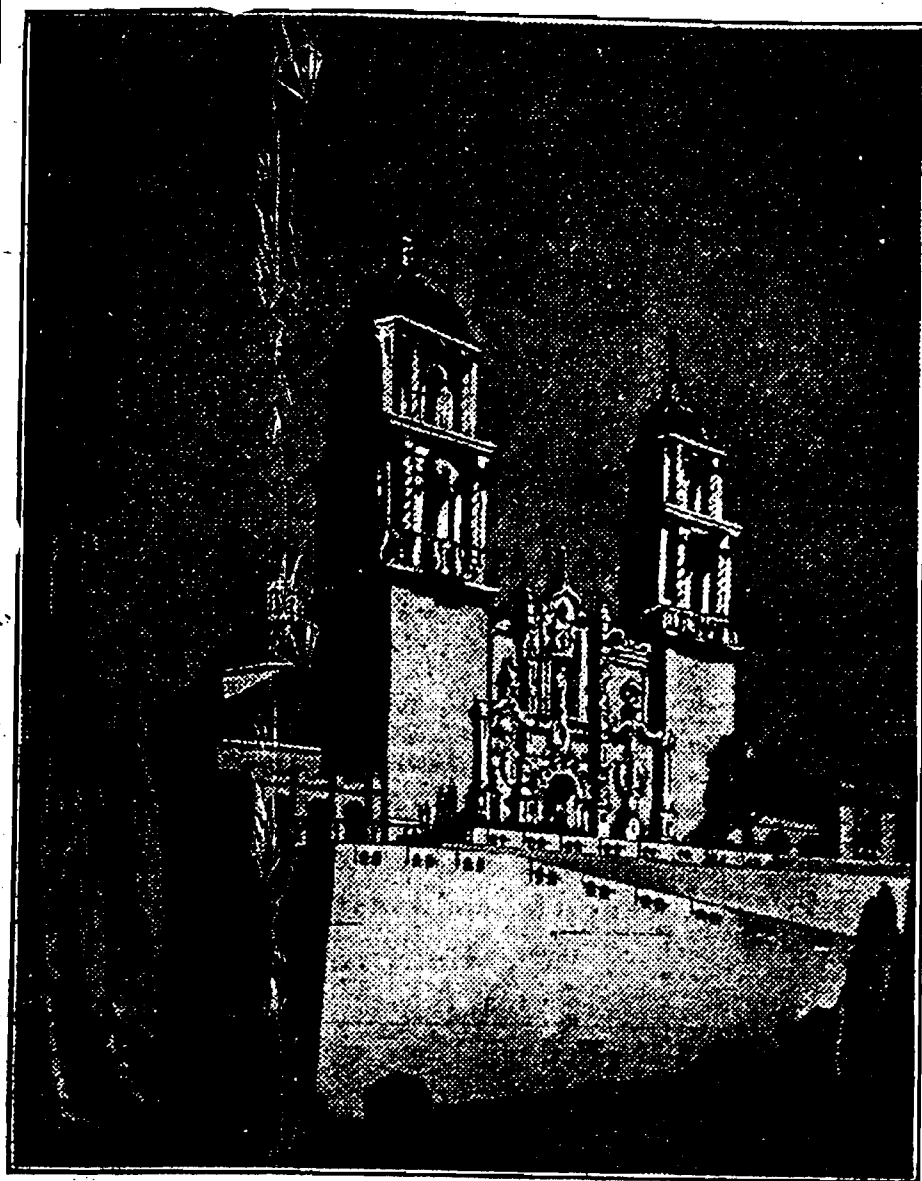
Late 1930's: Carrie's Beauty Salon.
Photograph: Courtesy of George Rodriguez



1939: Al's Shoe Repair.
[Photographer George Rodriguez as a child, on the counter, with his mother, father, Al, and older brother.]
Photograph: Courtesy of George Rodriguez

EAST LOS ANGELES, (Belvedere) FRIDAY, JULY 14, 1939

Drive For Shrine Is Begun By Monsignor Guzman



Great enthusiasm among the Mexican people and Catholics of this area has followed upon the announcement last week of the immediate construction of a national Shrine of Our Lady of Guadalupe in Los Angeles under the direction of Archbishop John J. Cantwell, D. D.

07/14/39: "Drive for Shrine is Begun by Monsignor Guzman" Article regarding the announcement of the immediate construction of a national Shrine of "Our Lady of Guadalupe" in East Los Angeles on Third Street (Source: Belvedere Citizen)

Patterned after the famous original Guadalupe Shrine in Mexico City, the Los Angeles project is destined to take a popular place in the spiritual guidance of the many Latin-Americans of Southern California and the English-speaking Americans.

Preliminary work is also being rushed to completion for the launching of a financial campaign destined to raise the estimated construction cost of \$150,000.00.

"We have reached our goal at last," said Mons. V. Guzman yesterday to his congregation gathered in the modest little church which for the past ten years has served as a pro-Shrine. "Already the architectural draft has been accepted by the building commission," he continued. "The site has been chosen, and from far and wide our people are proffering their cooperation in this tremendous task."

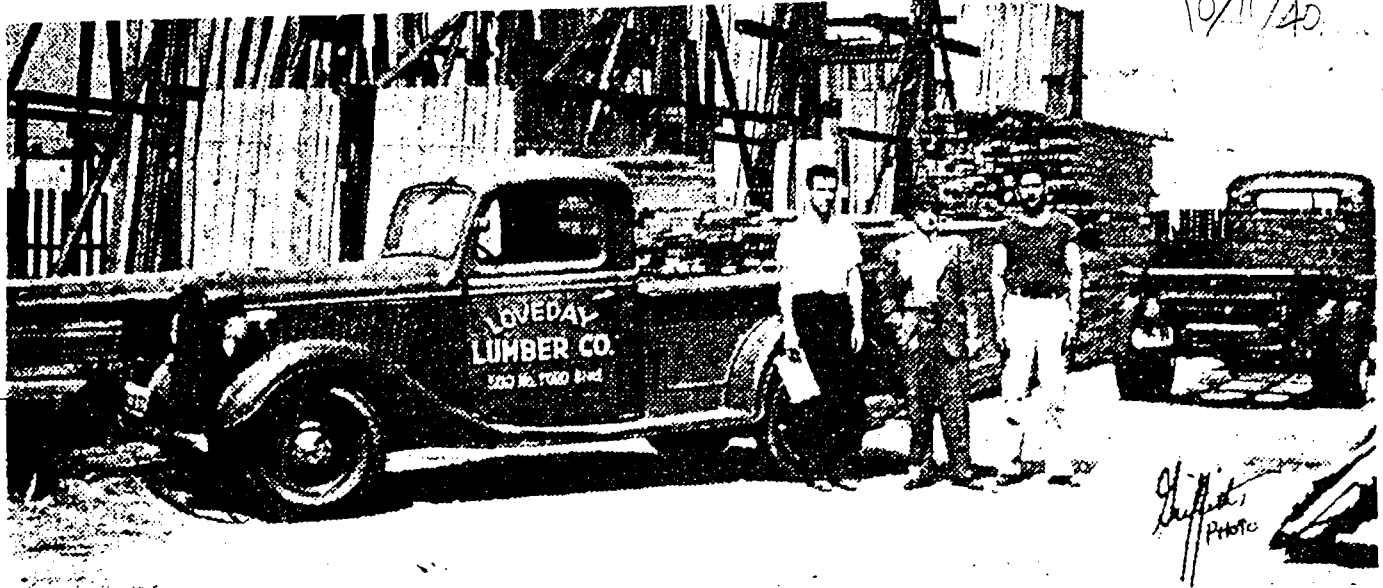
Messages of congratulations and pledges of support have been flooding in from Mexico. Only two years ago the Parish of the Coronation in Mexico City presented a precious gold diadem for the first canonical coronation of Our Lady of Guadalupe in the United States which took place in Calvary Cemetery in the presence of more than one hundred thousand persons of every religion, race and caste. On that occasion, the pro-shrine of Our Lady of Guadalupe was host to the nations of the western hemisphere and twenty-one Latin-American countries sent their delegates to the ceremonies.

The proposed shrine will occupy a prominent site on a hill opposite Calvary Cemetery on Third Street in the heart of the Mexican colony. Ground plans have already been completed and the work of excavation is expected to begin at once.

Committee meetings are being held this week at the Shrine headquarters, 4100 E. 2nd St., and tentative arrangements call for the inauguration of the financial drive within a few weeks.



Late 1930's: Images of Mexican families (clockwise): At Union Station, a Mexican Soccer Team and a recently arrived couple to the Eastside
Photographs: Courtesy of George Rodriguez



R. H. Loveday Of Loveday Lumber Co. Has Built Fine E. L. A. Business

R. H. Loveday, of the Loveday Lumber Co. at 500 N. Ford Blvd., has been in business at this locality since 1921. He came to Boyle Heights from Pennsylvania and has lived in East Los Angeles for 26 years. In this time he has watched its development from bare fields and hills into an unincorporated city which has the greatest population of any such area in the United States.

Mrs. Loveday is a graduate of Stanford University and belongs to the Woman's Stanford Club and participates in all of their social affairs.

Mr. Loveday enlisted in the first World War but did not go overseas. He belongs to the Lumberman's Post of the American Legion. For his amusements he indulges in fishing and golf.

The Lovedays have a son 18 years of age who is attending Pomona College where besides his regular studies he is specializing in aviation. He graduated from the Alhambra High School.

It is interesting to note how many of our businessmen in Belvedere have been located at the same business address for many years. This fact alone would show how reliable our business people are and that is why it is always a pleasure to introduce these business firms and their heads. And so it follows that it is our great pleasure to introduce this fine Belvedere businessman, Mr. Loveday, and his family to Citizen readers.



"El Despertador y Los Chicos," performers on KFOX radio (circa 1932). Left to right: La Prieta Caldera, Víctor Sánchez, Tina León (front row, seated), Beto "El Romántico," host Tony Sáenz ("El Despertador," standing at microphone), Fernando Linares (back row, seated). Others unknown. Courtesy of Zachary Salem Collection.



A *salterio* (psaltery) ensemble of Los Angeles (circa early 1900s). Courtesy of the Southwest Museum, Los Angeles. Photo N:35529/P40035.



At right are Las Hermanas Padilla, popular singers in Los Angeles throughout the 1940s. At center is Mexican singer Pedro Vargas and at left are Las Hermanas Julian (circa 1940, Mason Theater). Courtesy of Philip Sonnichsen Collection.

Pedro G. González, Los Angeles radio personality and promoter during the 1920s and 1930s, (circa 1934). Courtesy of Zachary Salem Collection.





Conductor Sal Cervantes and his big band orchestra perform at the Royal Palms Hotel (circa 1938). Musicians include singer Lily Ramos, Bobby Gil (piano), Ray Ramos (lead alto saxophone), Chico Sesma (trombone), and Paul López (lead trumpet). Courtesy of Chico Sesma Collection.



The La Bamba nightclub, located on Macy and Spring streets, (circa 1946). Lalo Guerrero (with maracas) sang for the ensemble led by drummer Alfonso Fernández. Also performing were Manny Cerecedes (piano), José Salas (trumpet), and Russell De Salvo (accordion). Courtesy of Lalo Guerrero Collection.



Manuel Acuña, active since the 1920s until his death in 1990 as a music arranger and in the area of Artists and Repertoire (A&R) for various record companies that included a Mexican catalogue. Courtesy of Alma A. Lucastic.



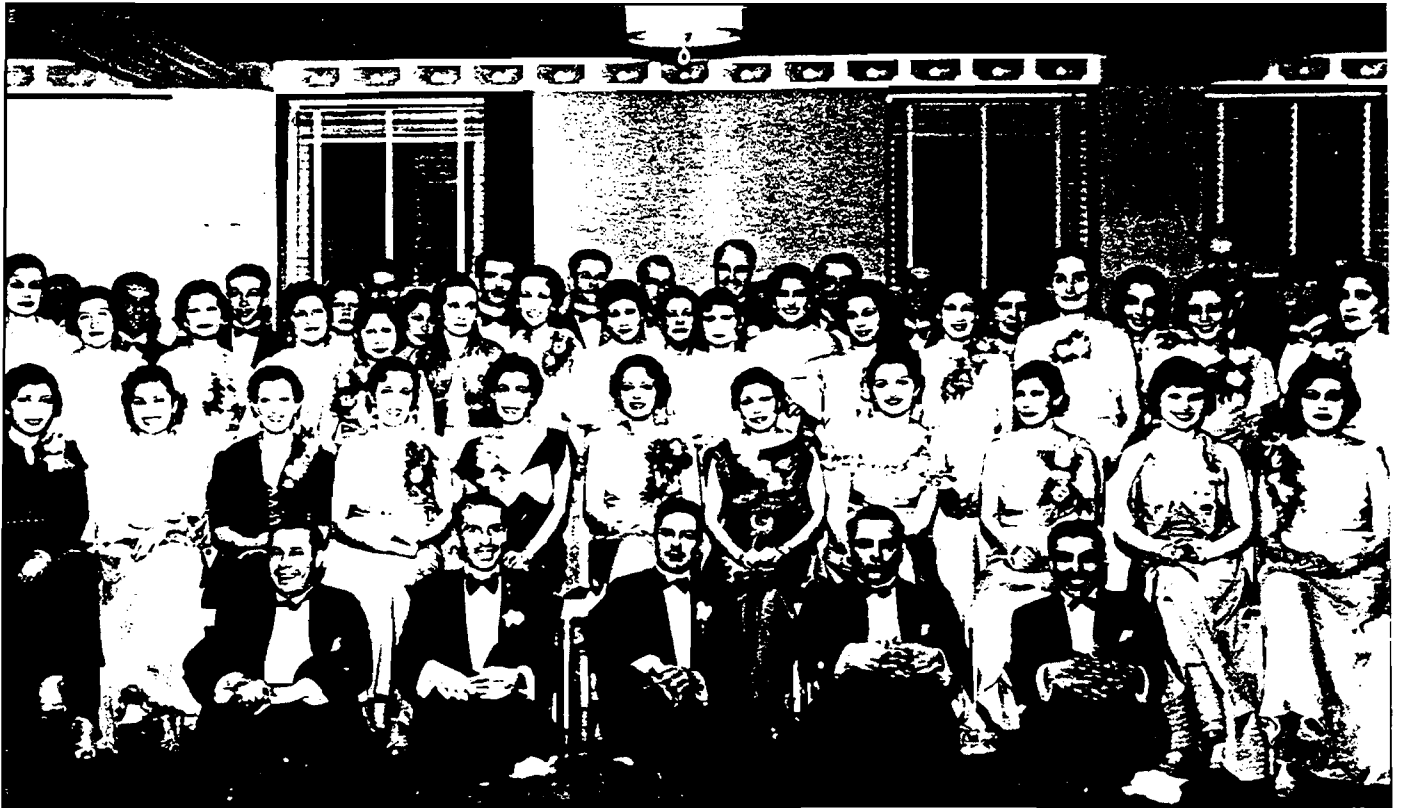
Adelina García performing on live radio for station XEW during the period of her career when she was based in Mexico City. She relocated permanently to Los Angeles in 1938 and made her first recording there (with Columbia) in 1939.

The Spanish-speaking branch of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) in a Labor Day parade. In the 1930s Mexicans in Los Angeles were involved in labor organizations. Mexican women, by now a major sector of garment workers in Los Angeles, played a critical role in the ILGWU and the garment workers' strike of 1933.

(Courtesy of Jaime Monroy)



"The Spanish Speaking Branch of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union ILGWU in a Labor Day parade, 1930's" in A. R. Bustamante, *An Illustrated History of Mexican Los Angeles, 1791-1985*, p. 133.



The Logia 'Juventud Latina' #222 of the Alianza Hispano Americana. Seventh Anniversary. Los Angeles. 1936. Social and fraternal organizations played a significant role in the cultural life of Mexicans in Los Angeles. The Alianza Hispano Americana, the largest fraternal organization in the United States, had over 30 lodges in Los Angeles county in the 1930s.

(Courtesy of Seaver Center for Western History Research, Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County)

"The Logia Juventud Latina #222 of the Alianza Hispano Americana, Seventh anniversary, 1936" in A. R. Bustamante, An Illustrated History of Mexican Los Angeles, 1791-1985, p. 139.



Hollenbeck junior high school
students. 1940.

(Courtesy of Ernesto Collout)

"Hollenbeck Junior High School Students, 1940" in A. R. Bustamante, An Illustrated History of Mexican Los Angeles, 1791-1985, p. 155.

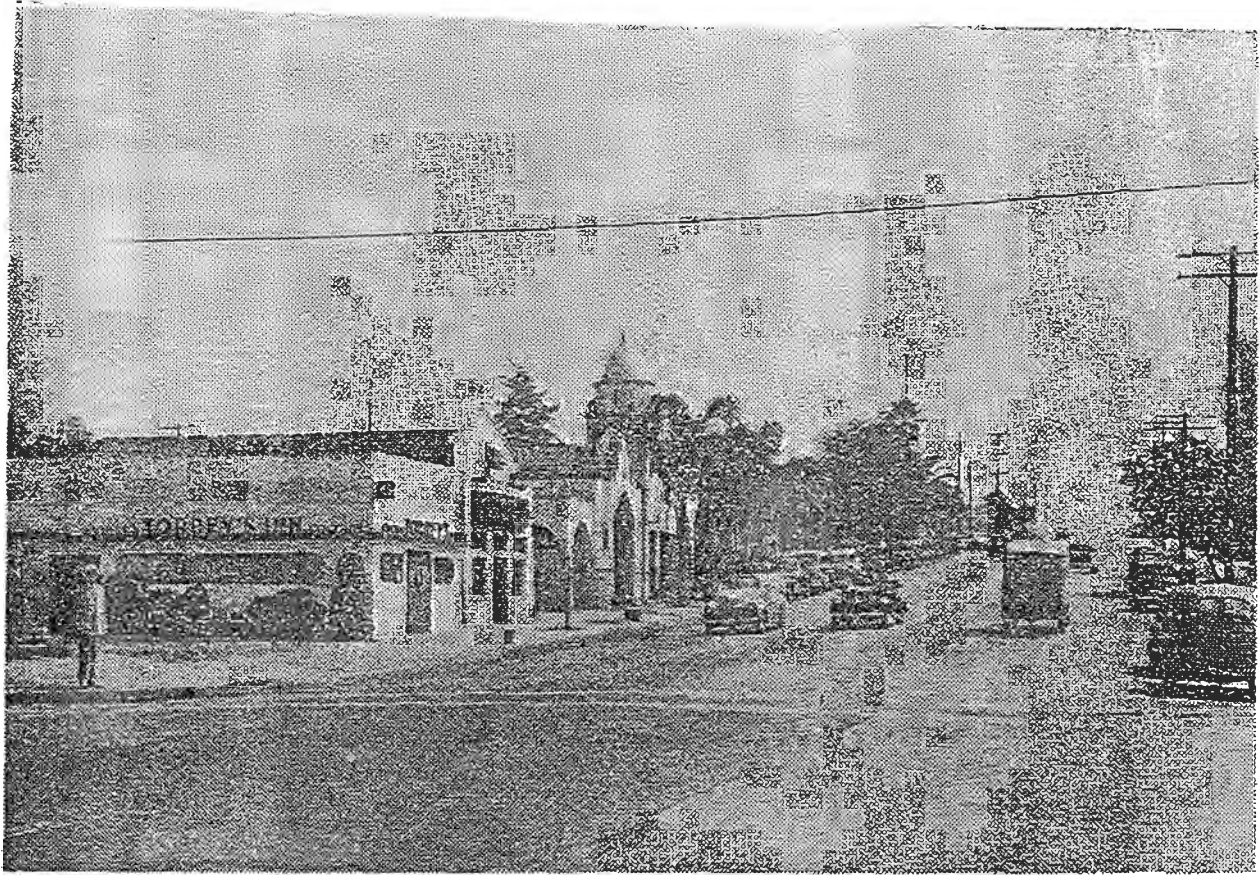


1929: Hollenbeck Park - Hortence Arciniega



10/20/40: Antonio Flores Sandoval and Carmen Martinez Sandoval on their wedding date in East Los Angeles, married at Montage Carmelo Chapel.

Photographs: Security Pacific National Bank Photograph Collection/Los Angeles Public Library.



1940: "Brooklyn Avenue looking east at Indiana in the early 40's. Torrey's Inn night club can be seen at left. The Inn, as everybody called it, was always a favorite for those who loved their night life" Article regarding the portion of Cesar Chavez and Indiana which has changed dramatically. Today, instead of Torrey's Inn is Lucky's Supermarket (Source: Belvedere Citizen)

EAST LOS ANGELES, (Belvedere), CALIF., FRIDAY, APR.

Libby Family Is To Give A Band Concert At The Eastminster Church



Next Sunday evening, April 21, the Eastminster Presbyterian Church presents the Libbey Family Band in a Service of music and evangelism. This ten piece band, which is composed of one family, has played at the Temple of Religion at the San Francisco Fair and for the outdoor services at Yosemite National Park. The program will be at 7:30 and everyone is invited.

04/12/40: "Eastminster to Install New Officers" "Libby Family Is To Give A Band Concert At The Eastminster Church" Article regarding activities at the Eastminster Church on Brooklyn/Gage which today is "Templo Victoria Church" (Source: Belvedere Citizen)

Cultural Needs Assessment - Metro East Side Extension



1939: Gomez Market on First and State Streets in Boyle Heights; store run by Lilia's (shown) mother Catalina Gomez.
Photograph: Security Pacific National Bank Photograph Collection/Los Angeles Public Library.



1943: Senoritas De Las Americas, Christmas
Photograph: International Institute of Los Angeles



1941: "Three students who won first prizes in the Community Chest poster contest... Ruben Holguin, Roosevelt High..." (Source: Herald Examiner Newspaper)



1942: As reported in the Los Angeles Times: "Disrobed and beaten, two young zoot suiters who fell prey to ranging bands of soliders and sailors sprawl on a sidewalk in Los Angeles as curious bystanders stare."

Photograph: Los Angeles Times



1942: "Eight months ago this group of zoot-suited youths faced the line-up in Los Angeles police headquarters following an intergang outbreak. Since its appearance in 1940, the zoot suit has been the uniform of West Coast hoodlums. Sociologists point out that although most young California mobsters wear zoot suits, it does not follow that most zoot suiters are mobsters."

Photograph: Los Angeles Times

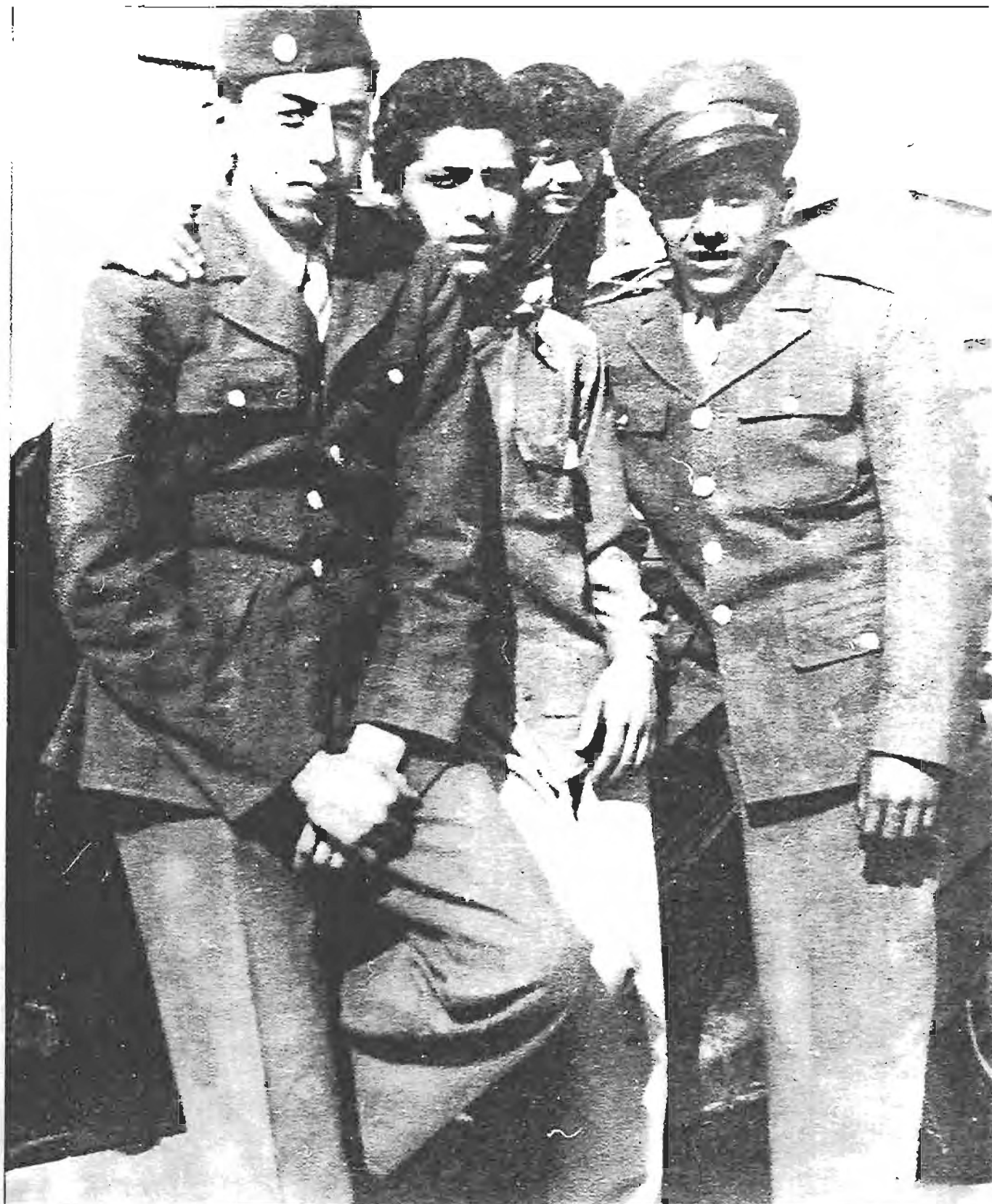


1942: Sleepy Lagoon Defendants.

In 1942, a group of Mexican teenagers were arrested during a frenzy of sensational newspaper coverage about Mexican "pachucos." Accused of murdering another Mexican teenager in a fight at the Sleepy Lagoon, the case quickly became a cause celebre in Los Angeles. After a celebrated trial they were convicted and served two years in jail before they were finally acquitted in 1944.

Photographs: Los Angeles Times





During World War II over 200,000 Mexicans served in the armed forces. Most fought as combat troops, receiving more Purple Hearts than any other ethnic group. While only 10% of the Los Angeles population, Mexicans composed over 20% of the city's war casualties.

(Courtesy of William D. Estrada)

"Mexican enlisted soldiers on leave 1943" in A. R. Bustamante, *An Illustrated History of Mexicans Los Angeles, 1791-1985*, p. 142.

The New Call 1945 - 1975

The **Second World War** signalled major transitions in Los Angeles as a whole and for east Los Angeles Mexican communities. From the first year, tens of thousands of Mexican youth from Los Angeles served in all branches of the armed forces. While Mexicans comprised about 10 percent of the population, they were 20 percent of the names on war casualty lists from Los Angeles. Equally important as a result of the wartime labor shortage, Mexican workers, including large numbers of young women, were able to enter in significant numbers semi-skilled and skilled occupations from which Mexicans had been previously excluded by discrimination and depression era unemployment.

Concurrently, local county agricultural labor needs declined in persistence and many formerly in migrant labor camps settled in Los Angeles barrios permanently. More Mexicans had money to buy property and thus there were sellers. And Mexicans had money to buy goods and stores were willing to sell. Mexicans were also now protesting the more blatant discrimination found in theaters and playgrounds. Instructive as to the persistence of outward forms of discrimination note that in the largest modern urban area of a then somewhat liberal state, these discriminatory practices were battled for 15 years after World War II, **1945-1960**, before they faded to the point that they are not part of the memory of people born after 1970.

The post World War II prosperity meant demographic, geographic, and sectorial expansion of Mexican eastside communities within the expanding metropolis. **East Los Angeles Community College began in 1945** using part of the Garfield High campus, followed by **California State College at Los Angeles**. These positives were concurrent, initially, with a new period of community and political organization and also chauvinist and political persecution of Mexicans. Returning Mexican servicemen and experienced representatives of the community challenged barriers of disparate civil rights characterized by educational and residential discrimination as well as the lack of Mexican political representation. Post-war changes also stimulated the always dynamic Mexican entertainment scene. Stage shows and music performances reached new heights of popularity and profitability.

A generational leadership came to the fore of community affairs. New organizations, such as the **American G.I. Forum, Unity Leagues, the Community Service Organization (CSO)**, now on **First Street**, and the **Asociacion Nacional Mexico Americana (ANMA)** were formed while the **League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC)** from Texas became active in California. Catholic churches joined civic efforts by encouraging citizenship and forming **Catholic Youth Organization** chapters, where a major center was built on Brooklyn. The term, **Mexican American**, coined prior to the war, was advocated by these organizations as descriptive of the demands for first class citizenship. CSO was formed in **1947**, as an outgrowth of the **Unity League's** experience in other Mexican communities and **Edward Roybal's** first unsuccessful campaign for the **Los Angeles City Council**. These activities entailed strong labor and parishioner participation. Primarily intended as a social service group, one of **CSO's major impacts** was the organization of a **voter registration drive** which added 12,000 persons to the voter rolls and led to the election of **Roybal to the City Council in 1949 as the first Mexican since 1881**.

The family of a World War II veteran mourns his loss.



Photographs: George Rodriguez



Nevertheless, the post-war drive for civil rights in the Mexican community was weakened by the **Cold War repression** of liberals and progressives, including Mexican activists. Some activists believed that by supporting the **Independent Progressive Party** reactionary tendencies would be defeated. Minority and labor organization demands for civil rights were viewed with suspicion. Alleged "subversives," community organizers faced both formal and informal political and economic harassment, including blacklisting in employment; and for some, deportation. Incidents of police brutality and dragnet deportations increased.

The **middle and late 1950's** were years of organizational advances followed by retreats for the Mexican community. Organizations were pressured into a defensive stance on civil rights; or to conform to the ethos of the times by professions of exaggerated conservatism and support for the status quo which could not be expected to benefit Mexicans. In east Los Angeles, the **Council of Mexican American Affairs** sought to initiate projects providing youth services and to underscore needs and accomplishments of the community by recognitions at its annual award banquets. Black and white annual dances, prominent affairs for the slightly better off young adults, raised monies for worthwhile causes.

To some in southern California, Mexican communities seemed small enclaves amidst expanding white and Black populations. Further, **urban redevelopment, and freeway construction** impacted on Mexican barrios and was resisted but to no avail. Dislodgement of the historical Mexican community at **Chavez Ravine** occurred and the new freeways crisscrossed the strengthening Mexican neighborhoods between **San Fernando Road and Whittier Blvd.** Moreover the sparse park lands of **Hazard, Belvedere and Hollenbeck** were raided for "public good" needs. One egregious case was the blatant attempt to swap **Hazard Park** for development in exchange for an additional park to serve Westwood residents.

Photograph: George Rodriguez





Freeway construction in the 1950's divided established communities on the East Side.
Photograph: George Rodriguez

The growth of the Mexican population, and the concurrent departure of Anglos and other whites did not mean the decline or recession of greater east Los Angeles. On the contrary, the business strips prospered more than ever and were added to by developments along **Atlantic Boulevard** anchored at **Atlantic Square** and along **Beverly Boulevard** and **Olympic Boulevard**. These prospered even as industrial plants closed in or around greater east Los Angeles. Certainly **Whittier Boulevard** became a mecca for socializing among Mexican American youth. Several outstanding music performers and groups developed from the post-war youth generation and specifically reflected and served their music tastes.

At the **end of the 1950's**, reawakening of social consciousness occurred, an invigoration of public equity opportunity slowly gained. For many in the Mexican community, this perception was epitomized by the **civil rights movement** and the **1960 election of John F. Kennedy** to the Presidency. The renewed enthusiasm sparked a tumultuous welcome for **John F. Kennedy** at a Plaza and Olvera Street rally and fomented an overflow crowd for him at **East Los Angeles College** stadium.

Underlying this consciousness was a paradoxical reality. In Los Angeles, **Mexicans by 1960 were already the city's largest minority group**, a fact noted by the few electoral campaigns which made efforts to gain their votes. However, Mexicans were perceived as the second minority as compared to the increasingly vocal demands and electoral numbers of the Black community which

received much attention as a result by the city power establishment and mass media. Mexican Angelinos were sensitive to this, noting Black organizational efforts to lessen discrimination in housing, employment, education and against police malpractice. **Edward Roybal** was the only elected Mexican official representing the Mexican east Los Angeles community.

In 1959, a group of activists in the **Democratic Party**, headed by **Eduardo Quevedo**, **Edward Roybal** and **Frank Casado** organized **MAPA, the Mexican American Political Association**. MAPA's objectives were to pressure elected officials to respond effectively to Mexican concerns and to work toward electing Mexican candidates to office. After **Roybal**, there was no Mexican representation on the city council or, apart from two one-term assemblymen, in the state legislature. There were two local judges. Concentrating on being spokesperson rather than organizers, MAPA's leaders success was at best modest: in the future, successful or noteworthy political electoral efforts were subsequent to **1960's mobilizations**.

In the **early 1960's**, leadership and organizational vitality grew. Yet the **1964 and 1966 electoral efforts** in east Los Angeles most telling for the future were organized by students or former students through resources provided by presidential and gubernatorial campaigns. A galvanizing influence on Mexican organizations during the **mid-1960's** were the experience of the **War on Poverty**. Available funds and programs were simply inadequate to deal with the magnitude of problems confronting Mexican communities. However, existing inequities were underscored by these programs.

This disillusionment stimulated criticism not only of the covert motivations of government programs, but also of those Mexican organizations or spokespersons which were associated with the Democratic party and its domestic programs. Again the most vocal critics were largely a seemingly new constituency, **Mexican high school and college students**, which reflected the needs and aspirations of a youthful community.

Motivationally, youth were inspired by a sense of mission to change the plight of the Mexican community. They observed the limits of existing organizations, and were influenced by international events, **the student movement in Mexico**, and **the Black civil rights movement**. More immediately, youth were attracted by the efforts of the **Farm Workers Union in California** and the **land grant movement in New Mexico** as well as impelled by world changes. These Mexican youth sought a new strategy around which to mobilize the entire Mexican community. Thus, they formed **Mexican student organizations** on many campuses in the Los Angeles area.



Edward R. Roybal
Photograph: George Rodriguez

As youth energized, experienced activists made renewed efforts toward organizational unity and coalition in the community, including the formation of the **Mexican Unity Congress (1967-1970)**, headquartered at **Euclid and Whittier**. Oldsters and youngsters joined in renewed support for the election of Mexican candidates. Examples of the latter were the **successful 1967 campaign of Julian Nava** for the **Los Angeles Board of Education** and the **unsuccessful but inspirational 1966, 1968 and 1969 campaigns of Richard Calderon** for public office.

The generational insurgence known as the **Chicano Movement**, the sharp political emergence of socially conscious Mexican youth in Los Angeles and the southwest, was sparked in the **mid-1960's**. Meetings were held in which the term "**Chicano**", a contraction of "Mexicano" with populist connotations, was advocated as a positive term of political identification for Mexicans in the United States in contradiction to "**Mexican American**," which was arguably characterized as a passive identification symbolizing alleged acceptance of the status quo by the **generations of the 1940's and 1950's**.

The most consequential component of this growing social movement was that of **women's rights, or Chicanaismo**. To be sure the importance of women organizationally is amply evident historically as are the antecedent efforts emphasizing women equities, contributions and leaders. **In the 1960's and 1970's**, this current became increasingly stronger and influential in its impact and the range of women leadership greatly expanded. (See Appendix A: Chronology of Issues Affecting Women.)

The assertion of Chicano identity and equities and the agitation of community force served as guidelines to promote organizing efforts with significant access to influence public opinion within the Mexican community. Intense arousal of large sectors of the community on issues of recognizable shared concern could and did create the proper conditions for impact to occur. In Los Angeles, the issues of **educational inequities** for Mexican youth gained the Chicano movement the support of Mexican students and parents. There was ready evidence of the **inferior educational conditions** prevalent and the callousness of many staff and administrators. These conditions were epitomized by an appalling **dropout rates** for Mexican high school students. Yet these conditions were also concurrent with some successes among college and professional elements. (See Chapter VIII: Education: An East Side Perspective.)

So too were rising those activists and community members with strong commitment to participate in the arts, to create, to speak, to represent the beauty, the tragedy, the humor of the world as witnessed by those who came from Mexican east Los Angeles. **La Raza** newspaper, **Con Safos** magazine and **Goez Art Gallery** reflected these commitments.

In **early Spring 1968**, the **Los Angeles Unified School District** was struck by the "**Blowouts**" or the **walkout of thousands of Mexican students** from five high schools, supported by Chicano activists inspired by a teacher, **Sal Castro**, and the newspaper **La Raza**. Students were motivated by immediate specific institutional grievances, their generational identity and their awareness of discrimination as Mexicans. The blowouts precipitated a series of public confrontations at the **Los Angeles School Board** and reinvigorated the demands for quality education, bilingual-bicultural curriculum programs for Mexican students, better facilities, and the

the need for Mexican staff in the public schools. A few within the leadership foresaw these demonstrations as galvanizing calls to muster the enthusiasm and numbers necessary to confront public institutions in general and the political structure of Los Angeles itself.

Events of the Blowouts and the aftermath were a prelude, the **growing Chicano movement** in Los Angeles engaged in sequential major organizational drives and a major arts florescence. Police deployment practices and discrimination were also addressed as well as efforts against hard drugs. The **Chicano Moratorium** mobilized Mexican youth and the community against United States intervention in Viet Nam. It was stimulated by the **disproportionately high Mexican casualty rate**. The moratorium movement organized a series of demonstrations in Los Angeles and other Mexican communities throughout the United States. Thirty thousand people attended the **National Chicano Moratorium on August 29th, 1970**. Law enforcement agencies overreacted with a violent attack on the demonstrators in which **three persons were killed**, and scores injured and gassed. Eventually this and several efforts were subverted by police repression, an intent perhaps which stemmed from the success in the mobilization of increasingly visible Mexican protest.



Teacher and community activist Sal Castro.
Photograph: George Rodriguez

The following pages present a photo essay of some of the events which occurred during this very turbulent time on the East Side and the country.



The now infamous day, August 29, 1970.

Photograph: George Rodriguez



Hundreds and hundreds of people protested on the streets of East L.A.

Photograph: George Rodriguez



Down Whittier Blvd... East L.A. was uprising
Photograph: George Rodriguez



Down "El Camino Real", community organizations led the protest, such as Catolicos por la Raza.
Photograph: George Rodriguez



There was a time to organize...
Photograph: George Rodriguez



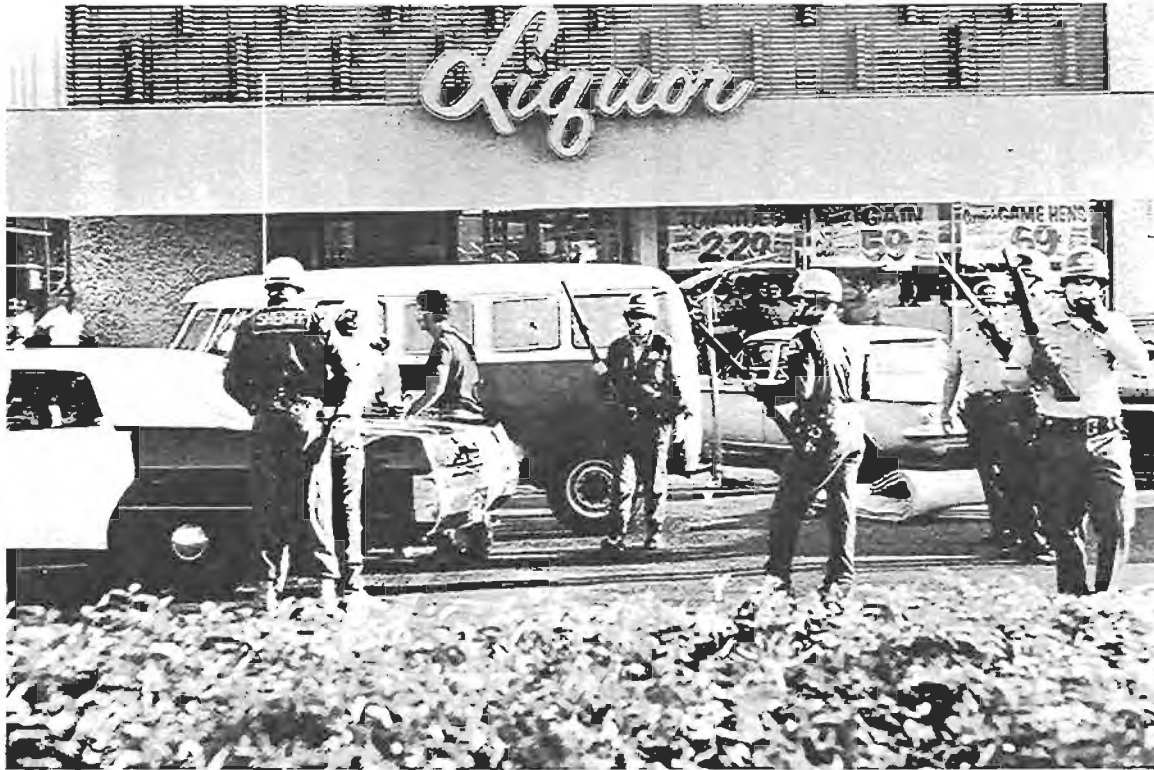
... and a time to rest.
Photograph: George Rodriguez



A constant theme, relations with the police were stretched.
Photograph: George Rodriguez



The protest grew deadly.
Photograph: George Rodriguez



Confrontation after..
Photograph: George Rodriguez



... confrontation.
Photograph: George Rodriguez



A view down Whittier Blvd. shows how the day ended in ruin...
Photograph: George Rodriguez



... and the death of journalist Ruben Salazar.
Photograph: George Rodriguez



The Viet Nam War had a great toll on East Side residents.



UCLA ASB President Rosalio Munoz was drafted on Mexican Independence Day.

Photographs: George Rodriguez



In front of the Army Recruitment office, Muroz' protest took to the streets.

Photograph: George Rodriguez



While many did not, some East Side residents returned home after the war.

Photograph: George Rodriguez



Catolicos por la Raza attorney and activist Richard Cruz.



The young and old paid tribute to Ruben Salazar at Baquez Mortuary.

Photographs: George Rodriguez



The East Side has always honored their men and women who would risk their lives...



... and honored Bobby Kennedy when he was assassinated in Los Angeles.

Photographs: George Rodriguez

An independent Mexican political party, originating in Texas and Colorado, **La Raza Unida** emerged in Los Angeles during 1971. While gaining ballot status in California for several years and running a series of candidates for assembly or local offices, the party aroused an initial following but was unable to expand. Electorally one of its consequences was to make it possible for a republican to be elected in east Los Angeles. RUP potential was explained in large measure by poor public policy attention by city leadership. However voter preference persisted for the Democratic and Republican parties.

A consequence of this inter-party rivalries and confusion was the defeat of the attempt to incorporate east Los Angeles as a self-standing city, the anomaly of a major part of east Los Angeles being without city government continued.

Contrasting with these disappointments, electoral enthusiasm was generated by the election of several Mexican legislators in the mid 1970's, including **State Assemblymen Richard Alatorre and Art Torres** from Los Angeles and eventually **Assemblywoman Gloria Molina** and the appointment of other officials at the local and state levels.

Following the **Moratorium** and local electoral efforts, the next major thrust of the **Chicano civil rights movement** was the organization of support in behalf of immigrant workers, a reflection of the immigrant reality of the Mexican east Los Angeles community. **One Stop Immigration and Center (1970)** was established to assist immigrants. Persistently in the **middle 1970's**, the major organizational focus of the **Chicano movement** was the **defense of undocumented immigrants** in part because their lack of human and civil rights



Now Los Angeles County Supervisor Gloria Molina with Congressman Esteban Torres.
Photograph: George Rodriguez



Los Angeles City Councilman Richard Alatorre.
Photograph: George Rodriguez



Former State Senator Art Torres conferring with HUD Secretary Henry Cisneros.
Photograph: George Rodriguez



Hon. Lucille Roybal-Allard (left), one of the first Latinas elected to Congress from California, with MALDEF President Antonia Hernandez.



The first Latina elected to the LAUSD School Board Leticia Quezada with First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton.

Photographs: George Rodriguez



State Senator Richard Polanco also served as the Democratic Caucus Chairman in the California State Assembly.
Photograph: George Rodriguez

harms the community as a whole. This was reflected in the growth of immigrant rights organizations such as **CASA (Centro de Accion Social Autonoma)**, the most visible Chicano organization in the city during the **1970's** and **La Hermandad**, an older organization which has grown since the **mid-1970's** quartered in San Fernando and Santa Ana. Significantly, for obvious reasons, immigration policy continued to be a major issue for Mexican organizations in Los Angeles.

Some who had participated in community and youth ferment of **the 1960's** believed that **economic development** was central to community material progress and **civic empowerment**. Key to this possible strategy was the enabling of human resources through training or professional schooling coupled with access to capital whether from institutions, government or business. Thus followed conscious efforts to stimulate economic development in various ways through the **late 1960's and 1970's**.

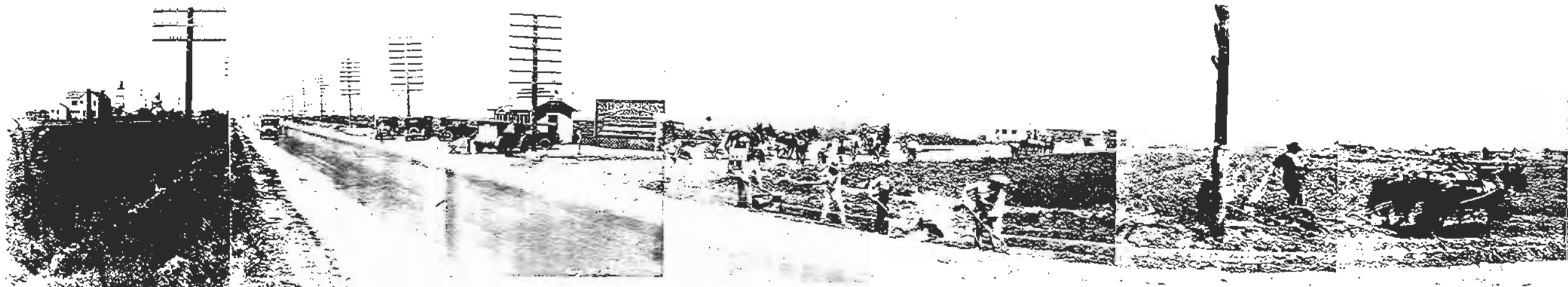
During **the 1970's and 1980's**, the Chicano movement integrated into a now much larger and complex political cultural ambience of Mexican east Los Angeles, in accordance with the interests of an increasingly diverse and educated community. This growing complexity was based in a gradually increasing number of professionals, business persons, artists, elected officials, political leaders, and the development of diverse political and economic constituencies. This political process increasingly was dominated by a **growing Mexican lower middle class** which had arisen in large measure as the result of new opportunities created by the **Chicano movement**. A vitally important area of needs and service not often sufficiently highlighted, community health

drew the continuing efforts of dedicated activists whether through the **East Los Angeles Health Task Force**, **The Barrio Free Clinic**, the **Chicana Nurses Association** or the **National Chicano Health Organization**.

Arts increasingly flourished. Artists and film makers, though deeply frustrated in their creative aspirations because of continuing barriers, nonetheless made some progress underscored by some programs and films in the **early 1970's** and the slowly increasing art showings of the **1970's**. The development of **Plaza de la Raza** in part symbolized the new energies as did **Self-Help Graphics** and the forming of artist groups and networks.



Dia de los Muertos at Self-Help Graphics.
Photograph: George Rodriguez



WHITTIER BOULEVARD
AUGUST 21, 1923



WHITTIER BOULEVARD
EARLY 1940s

East Los Angeles College Opens September 4

All who plan to attend the East Los Angeles Junior College this semester should file application for admission now and arrange to be present for the opening assembly, Tuesday, September 4 at 9:30 a.m. Monday, September 3, is Labor Day, a legal holiday, and all offices of the college will be closed.

The College calendar for the year is as follows:

Registration—Tuesday, Sept. 4, 1945.

End of mid-semester term—Friday, Nov. 9, 1945.

Thanksgiving holidays—Thursday, Friday, Nov. 22, 23, 1945

Christmas vacation—Dec. 19, 1945, to Jan. 1, 1946, inclusive.

End of Semester—Friday, Jan. 25, 1946.

Opening date for Spring semester—Monday, Jan. 28, 1946.

Closing date for Spring semester—Friday, June 21, 1946.

Permission to erect commercial television stations in New York and Boston is sought by Twentieth Century-Fox Film.



Edward R. Roybal campaigning for city council, 1947. He was defeated in this election but won two years later as a result of a grass roots voter registration campaign.

(Courtesy of Congressman Edward R. Roybal)

"Edward R. Roybal campaigning for city council, 1947" in A. R. Bustamante, An Illustrated History of Mexican Los Angeles, p. 164.



Belvedere Citizen

East Los Angeles (Belvedere) Friday, January 30, 1948

44

Service on New Line Starts Monday



Talk on Cycle Change Features Business Men's Ass'n. Meeting

E.L.A. Jr. College Moves to New Location Ceremonies Mark Acceptance New Campus

A student motor caravan with police escort at 1:30 p.m. Thursday, January 29, heralded the moving of East Los Angeles Junior College to its new campus on Atlantic boulevard and Brooklyn avenue, with presentation ceremonies held at 2 p.m.

Maynard J. Toll, president of the Los Angeles City Board of Education, presented the campus, after which Dr. Vierling Kersey, superintendent of schools made the flagpole presentation. In behalf of the college, Dr. Rosco C. Ingalls, director, was accepting official.

An American flag and a California Bear flag was pre-

sented to the college by Arthur Baum, president of the East Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce. Charles Webster, president of the Associated Students, accepted the flags, which were then raised above the new campus for the first time.

Joe Colombo, president of the graduating class made the presentation of a Huskie banner as the class gift to the school.

A complete afternoon and evening of celebration followed with games, eats, a bonfire, and dancing.

At noon the graduating class held its class luncheon on the new campus.

01/30/48: "E.L.A. Jr. College Moves to New Location Ceremonies Mark Acceptance New Campus" Newspaper article after E.L.A. moved to Atlantic boulevard and Brooklyn avenue (Source: Belvedere Citizen)

Social club of East Los Angeles. 1950s.

(Courtesy of William D. Estrada)



"Social club of east Los Angeles, 1950's" in A. R. Bustamante, An Illustrated History of Mexican Los Angeles, 1791-1985, p. 163.



1950's: Francis Guterrez & friend after their graduation from Belvedere Elementary School.
Photograph: International Institute of Los Angeles



1952: Edward Soto, driver and friend on hill climbing on Miller Street in East Los Angeles in front of the Flamingo Motorcycle Club (first Mexican American Club to be Sponsored by the Police Dept.)
Photograph : Security Pacific National Bank Photograph Collection/Los Angeles Public Library.



1953: Women's Citizenship Class



1960's: Nicolas Valdivia's restaurant he owned on First Street in East L.A.

Photographs: International Institute of Los Angeles



Reissued Ritchie Valens LP containing the hits "La Bamba," "Donna," and "Come On Let's Go," among others. Del-Fi Records 1958, 1959. Distributed by Rhino Records Inc., 1981. RNDF200. Used by permission.



Lil Ray Jiménez. Photo in Salesian High School Rock and Roll Show Program, courtesy of Mike Jiménez. Used by permission, Salesian High School.

Publicity photo of Linda Ronstadt promoting her 1988 Grammy Award-winning LP *Canciones de mi padre*, recorded in Los Angeles. Also featured on the album were Daniel Valdez, Mariachi Vargas Tecalitlán, and Los Angeles-based mariachis Los Camperos de Nati Cano, Los Galleros de Pedro Rey, and Sol de México de José Hernández. Used by permission, Elektra/Asylum Records.



Thee Midnites. Courtesy of Minerva Amaro Collection.

"Performance personalities, 1950's-1960's" in Steven Loza, Barrio Rhythm, np#.



1964: 1st International Day held at 435 S. Boyle Street.
Photograph: International Institute of Los Angeles



5/23/68: Opening of "El Mercado" on First Street; Councilman Arthur Synder, center, Mayor Sam Yorty, to the right.
Photograph: Security Pacific National Bank Photograph Collection/Los Angeles Public Library.



Chicano resistance to the Vietnam war began as a defense of our own people, who were being drafted far out of proportion to our population. It reached a climax with the 1970 national Moratorium. 10,000 marched peacefully, with our families. Police attacked on a pretext, tear-gassing and shooting at us. They killed Angel Díaz, Lyn Ward (a 15-year old Chicano) and journalist Rubén Salazar, who was sitting quietly at the Silver Dollar Bar when they shot him. It was "legal" murder again.

La resistencia chicana contra la guerra comenzó como una defensa de nuestra gente que estaba muriendo en una proporción mucho más grande que nuestra población. Llegó a su colmo con el Moratorio nacional de 1970. Ese día, 10,000 de nosotros marchamos en paz y con nuestras familias. Bajo un pretexto, la policía atacó con gas y también a tiros. Mataron a Angel Díaz, Lyn Ward (un chicano de 15 años) y al periodista Rubén Salazar, que estaba sentado en el café Silver Dollar.

LOS ANGELES
AUGUST 29
1970





Enfurecidos por el ataque policiaco, Raza prendieron fuego a Los Angeles. Los días siguientes parecía una ciudad ocupada. Entonces protestamos de nuevo contra la guerra—y contra el abuso de la policía. En una manifestación del 31 de enero de 1971, la policía atacó otra vez. Mataron a un estudiante de Austria, **Gustave Montag** que ni siquiera estaba involucrado.

Angered by the police attack, Chicanos set Los Angeles on fire. For days after, it was like an occupied city. Then we continued to demonstrate against the war—and against police abuse. At a rally on Jan. 31, 1971, police again attacked. This time they killed an Austrian student, **Gustave Montag**, who looked Chicano but was not involved in the movimiento. Again, **MURDER**.

Abajo/below: La muerte de/death of Gustave Montag - Enero/January 31, 1971



A peaceful beginning



• "Chicano Moratorium — 1970" began as a protest against the war in Vietnam and the number

Ruben Salazar didn't

know what was happening.

For many years we were neighbors. Ruben liked to come over and sit under an avocado tree with me where we could

March

09/03/70: "A peaceful beginning for Moratorium march" Article regarding the Chicano Moratorium demonstration which leads to Ruben Salazar's death (Source: Belvedere Citizen)

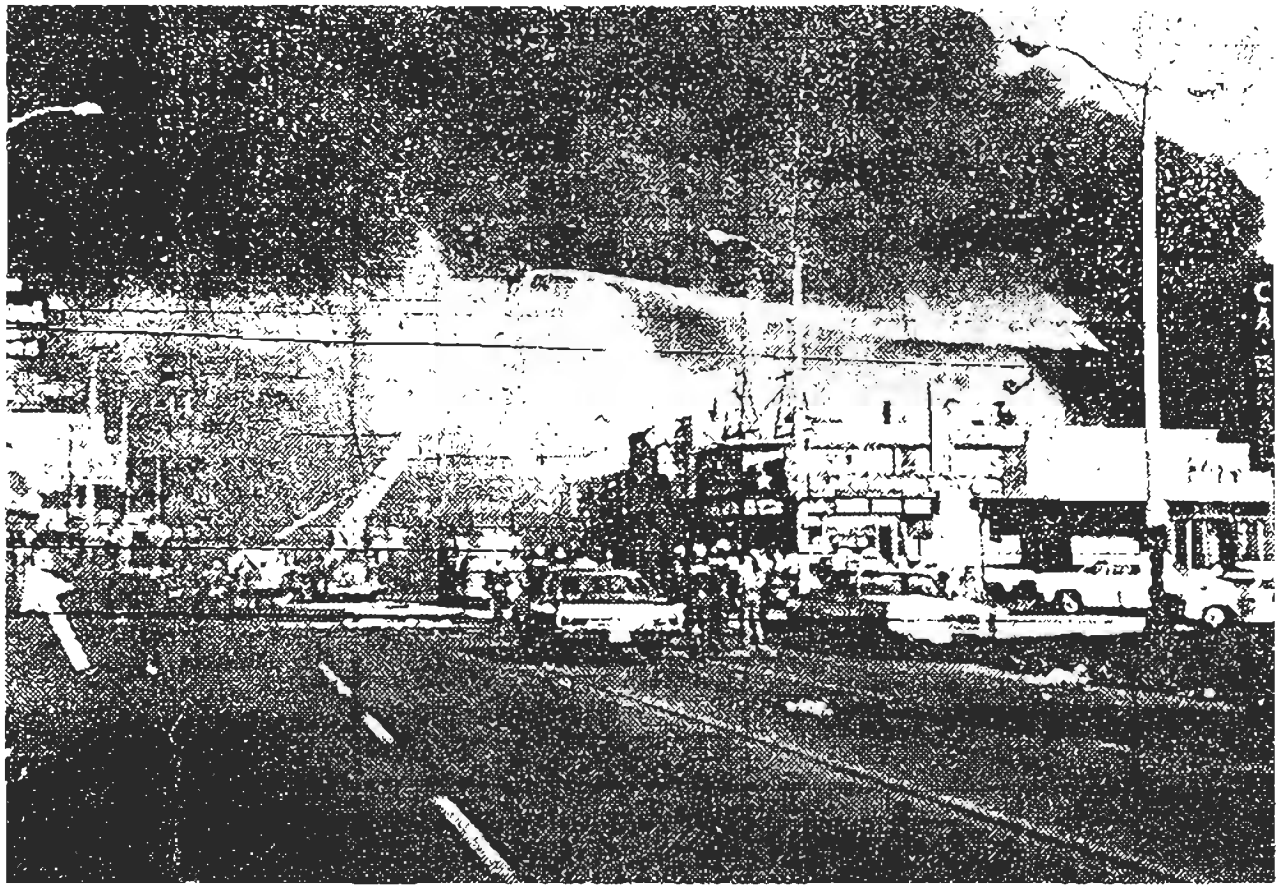
g for Moratorium mar



of Mexican-American deaths and GI's who have died there. The demonstration ended in tragedy.

began with crowd
peaceful, joyous mood

of Mexican-American in their anti-war protest.
at Belvedere. There were many people from



RAGING FIRES — Firemen make a desperate effort to contain fires in the 4900 block of Whittier Boulevard which caused an estimated one million dollars in damage. On the left (white arrow) can be seen the Silver Dollar Bar where journalist Ruben Salazar's body was found. It is likely that at the time photo was taken, Salazar was already dead but undiscovered. — Photo by Frank Gonzalez



tor, at KMEX-TV, as well as a columnist for the Los Angeles Times; will be memorialized by the Ruben Salazar Foundation for Bilingual Education.

His widow, Mrs. Sally Salazar, asked that in lieu of flowers contributions be made to the foundation, in care of KMEX-TV, 721 N. Bronson Ave., Los Angeles, 90038.

April of this year, he began writing a weekly column on Mexican American problems for the Los Angeles Times.

Congressman Ed Roybal (D-Los Angeles) issued the following statement from Washington, D.C.:

"Violence has deprived us of

(Continued on Page 3)

empieza a grabar un programa musical antes sentar a los oradores dos que incluian Cesar Corky Gonzalez y algunos de otros Estados Colgado y Nueva

EMPIEZA EL PROGRAMA EN LAGUNA PA

Despues de la marcha o menos 4 y media milcha en la cual participo de 20 mil personas s formas de las autoridades inicio el programa en e Laguna en donde familiares con sus niños, se el cesped se preparat disfrutar los numeros les, bailables y escuela



WHERE HE WORKED — Sitting in front of the destroyed Bell Plastics building, 4901 Whittier Blvd., is Agusrin Vasquez who was employed there.

Pitchess gives

By Ridgely Cunn

County Sheriff Pitchess appeared before county supervisors Tuesday to turn over a check for \$100,000 resulting from settlements on fines and to urge by county Ernest Debs the sheriff to discuss the East Angeles riots of last week.

Debs discussed the newsman Ruben Salazar of the Los Angeles Times columnist and news director for Spanish-language television, and said he had all county flags at Debs called Salazar friend and said he if Pitchess has promised investigation but should tell the news about it.

INQUEST

Said Pitchess: "The tragic death of Salazar is regrettable."

09/03/70: "Where He Worked" Article regarding the burning down of a business "Bell Plastics" during the 1970 Chicano Moratorium at 4901 Whittier Boulevard (Source: Belvedere Citizen)

Labor Department adopts term "Hispanos" to identify Latins

The U.S. Department of Labor has coined a new name for Mexican-Americans and others whose native language is Spanish. The department calls them Hispanos.

Last week the department

issued a news release pointing with pride to the large number of Latins or Hispanos who have good jobs in the department. The article follows:

Hispanos are playing a major part in helping the Department of Labor carry out its responsibilities for improving employment conditions and opportunities for all Americans.

VARIOUS JOBS

At the headquarters in Washington and at field offices throughout the Nation, Hispanos are holding important jobs in such vital areas as manpower development and training, equal employment opportunity, and general workplace standards.

They hold posts ranging from Deputy Director of the Job Corps to a regional director of the Office of Federal Contract Compliance, the division charged with insuring equal employment opportunity on Federal and Federally-assisted contract work.

Newly appointed Deputy Di-

(Continued on Page 2)

01/28/71: "Labor Department adopts term 'Hispanos' to identify Latins" Article regarding the switch from Latins to Hispanics by the U.S. Department of Labor (Source: Belvedere Citizen)



SEMI-WEEKLY

EASTSIDE SUN

27th Year



ABE LINCOLN

God must have loved the common people—he made so many of them —

27th Year — VOL. XXVIII No. 47

Sunday, January 23, 1972

Published every Thursday and Sunday

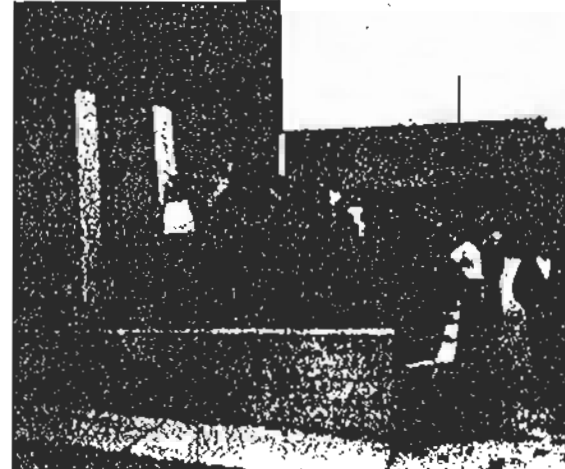
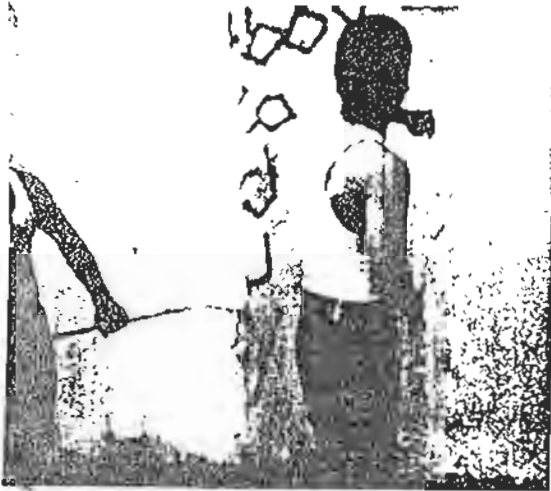
319 N. Soto St., Los Angeles, Calif. 90012



TEATRO CAMPESINO—El Teatro Campesino, directed by Luis Valdez, presented a free performance Jan. 21 at East Los Angeles College Auditorium. Teatro Campesino (The Farm Workers Theater) presents plays based on contemporary themes of theatrical techniques

are bilingual, so it is not necessary to speak Spanish to understand the performance, Valdez reports. "We strive to create life images of our own people on stage. Our characters, situations, bilingual speech, all reflect the daily life of the urban and rural workers of the region."

Painting walls at Estrada Court



By Cora Salazar

Estrada Courts is a painting project in which with the stone type bricks and that a house is being built.

Last Saturday, the youth of the area and their parents helped to do something about it. The idea was among the residents for

some time but only after a few days of work and the help of a lot of paint from the Housing Authority in the area.

The youth of the boys and girls from the projects were what many of the residents of. That was painting over the scribbles and names that so

many of the youths were "works" art. As some of them put it: "We're tired of our homes looking like psy-cho-b posters and we're going to do something about it." Saturday evening and so they did.

In one of the play areas in their set-up tables to serve the working youths

sodas, coffee, hot dogs and some goodies. Some of the fathers helped supervise and from time to time they could be seen pushing a roller or paint brush too.

However, credit must be given to the youth of Estrada Courts, they had the idea and they put it to work. The beauty of the whole thing

though, is that this wasn't a thing in which the youth had no say so. The generation gap didn't exist in Estrada Court last Saturday. Parents were with their kids Saturday. Now we can start calling Estrada Courts a Barrio Unido (United Community).

Felix Ontiveros, Field

Representative for Councilman Lindsay, of the 9th District, was present at the event and was very impressed with the community effort and is going to fight for government funding for worthwhile community efforts such as this.

Mr. Ontiveros added: "I will fight to give these youths

a Recreat Office

During 27, East/N Cities Manic Development Task the employ which are

06/08/72: "Painting walls at Estrada Courts" Article regarding the painting project of Estrada Courts by both boys and girls from the projects (Source: Belvedere Citizen)

ONE

R. Hernandez

fine food establishments is Gar-Duno's Atlantic Square, 1935 S. Atlantic (next to Shakey's). Specializing in tacos de carne asada and antojitos Mexicanos, the new facility also features all your favorite American food specialties.

Rick Esparza, your host, invites all his friends and neighbors to stop in and sample the delightful delicacies offered there. Rick, a friend of the community for several years, is a past member of the ELA Jaycees, the Lions and the Toastmasters.

Monte Rey West

Tiny, Paul, and Tony of now very popular Monte Rey West on Atlantic near Whittier Blvd., have added to the fame and importance of the busy intersection (which could be termed ELA's Hollywood and Vine) by bringing in big name bands and talent to entertain at the plush night spot. Performing other nights of the week are favorite Al Mesa and The Latin Four with their patented soulful Latin rhythm and masterful rock.

Stop in and enjoy one of "The West's" famous cocktails and the great brand of hospitality offered there.

Hasta luego.



GRAND OPENING — Rick Esparza is the host of the new Gar-Duno's in the Atlantic Square area at 1935 Atlantic Blvd. The location features tacos, burritos, carne asada and a variety of Mexican antojitos. Esparza invites local residents to visit them during their grand opening celebration this week. He reports the Gar-Duno chain of restaurants now numbers in excess of 18 units through the Eastside and San Gabriel valley areas.

06/29/72: "Grand Opening of The Original Gar-Duno's" Article regarding the opening of Gar-Duno's in the Atlantic Square area which still exists today (Source: Belvedere Citizen)

Answers 1975-1995

The significant impacts of the mobilizations of the 1960's and 1970's into the 1980's and 1990's were several. Varied catalysts stimulated a large sector of public opinion in the community to support a stronger positive public assertion of Mexican identity, and more aggressive actions for Mexican educational, political and economic advancements. In the process, public officials were encouraged to address issues of concern to Mexicans. Unlike decades past, in the 1980's and 1990's, the council, supervisory, assembly, senate and congressional seats of greater east Los Angeles were held by Mexicans. Mexican community based reform movements did not slacken, rather, new forms emerged such as **Mothers of East L.A.** or **United Neighborhood Organization (UNO)**. Unionizing drives energized anew.

Perhaps most significant were repeated challenges to educational, economic and political discrimination, to at least force partial concessions arguing affirmative action, requiring agency, corporate and professional programs, to create opportunities for the emergence of a younger, larger Mexican middle class. Concerted efforts to empower women whether in the neighborhoods, on the job, in the professions and in politics were continuous. Amidst these signs a stronger consciousness of history and cultural aesthetics arose. One was spatially centered, the drive to enhance the **Plaza and Olvera Street** as a cultural and commercial pivot through lobbying and mobilization. The other was the general advocacy for cultural enhancement by highlighting the talents and contributions of **Mexican and Latino arts**.



La Opinion Publisher Jose I. Lozano presents then U.S. Senator Pete Wilson as MALDEF President Antonia Hernandez looks on.
Photograph: George Rodriguez

Increased political representation, better schooling, and improved public services and living standards were the most widely shared concerns. Also held in common were the beliefs in the need for clarity of goals, effective leadership, mobilized numbers, adequate organizational resources and access to the Los Angeles elite.

Concurrent with cultural, political and social manifestations were the economic ones. Mexican-owned businesses increased as did their employees, their worth and their profits. Though not the largest, emblematic of these changes was the establishment of the **Pan American Bank**, the unprecedented flourishing of **La Opinion**, and the organizing of **The East Los Angeles Community Union (TELACU)** stemming from 1960's and early 1970's labor-based efforts. Social, political and economic changes in east Los Angeles were concurrent with citywide and regionwide economic changes as the region adapted further to the post-industrial era.

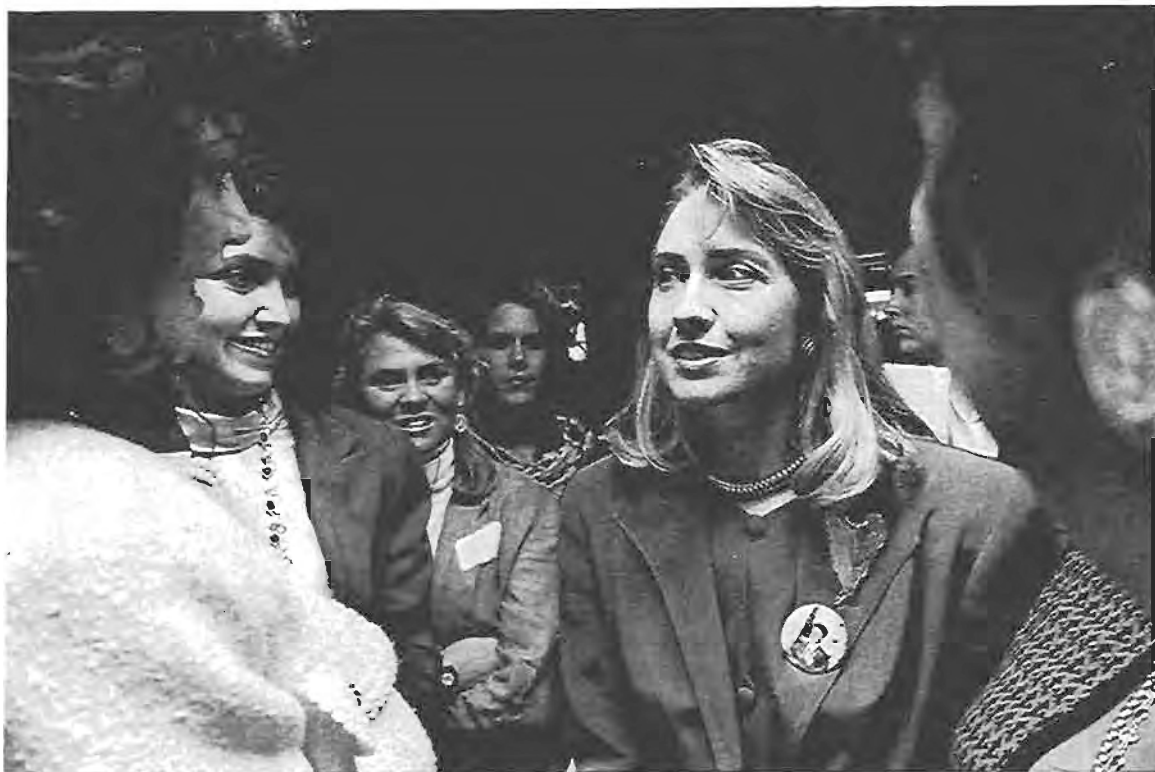
Amidst difficulties and hopes, the main business and social thoroughfares of greater east Los Angeles (**Brooklyn Avenue, First Street, and Whittier Boulevard and those of Atlantic, Beverly and Olympic Boulevards**) evidenced ever stronger vitality, while other parts of the city declined. An outsider might have thought the most notable feature of these were the number and charm of restaurants. There is much more than this. Social strength is what gives vitality to these streets and the charm, if so wished, is but a part of a larger living community aesthetic. Spanish language predominates for merchants and clients, activists and their audiences. **These streets are pre-eminently people streets, music is heard more often than shouts, and children outnumber adults.**



Children with pinatas along Avenida Cesar E. Chavez.
Photograph: George Rodriguez

The greater east Los Angeles community did not experience physical dislocations during the economic-ethnic protests in 1992 and it had not during those of 1965. However, since the late 1960's through the 1990's it has been the base and site for the largest and most frequent organized protests in Los Angeles. To consider only the 1990's, note the mobilizations of the **Mothers of East Los Angeles**, the commemoration of the **1970 Chicano Moratorium**, the **defense of Olvera Street**, the **advocacy of Chicano Studies** and the **several pro-immigrant actions**. The march of **Fall 1994** in behalf of immigrant rights threatened by **Proposition 187** included over **150,000 participants**. Today, as yesterday, churches, unions, social clubs, and community-based organizations are the groups which draw the most local participation. The traditional public events -- the secular ones of **May 5th** and **September 16th** and the religious one, **December 12th** -- draw tens of thousands, as they have historically

In the **50 years since the end of World War II**, the east Los Angeles Mexican community has undergone numerous changes which have encouraged diversity and created paradoxes. The large size of the Mexican community has made the impact of these changes all the more greater, and the paradoxes all the more obvious. There has been the attempt to incorporate into the style and voice of middle America, yet at the same time this has been in sharp contrast with community cultural assertion and the continued concentration of the Mexican population in ever larger urban centers, "**mega-barrioization**".



On the campaign trail in the Eastside, now First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton.
Photograph: George Rodriguez

Indeed, the Mexican community's desire to be accepted and allowed to partake fully civically and economically is concurrent with a growing pride in being Mexican, much of this initially invigorated by the **militant cultural movement** of the 1960's but continued since then through the 1990's. These occur at the same time **anti-Mexican feelings** are continually agitated as happened in the **state elections of 1994**.

The Mexican community has gone from one which was continually being pushed aside, or ignored, to one which now has the means to **exert influence and participate more fully** in the city as a whole and has greater awareness of inequities or rather is able to communicate this awareness better. Contemporary Mexican east Los Angeles reality in **the 1990's** underscores the change taking place, diversity arising, the new era beginning and the concurrence of new and old forms and issues. **This is part of the post-modern world birthing.**

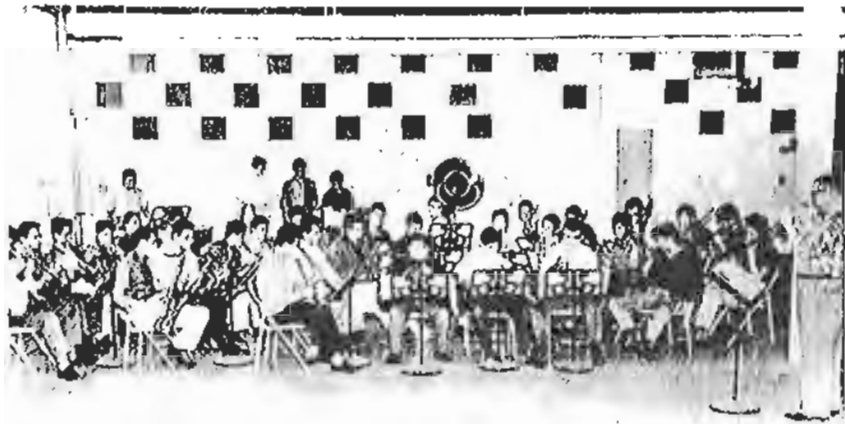
Cultural Needs Assessment - Metro East Side Extension



1976: Dedication of the sculpture Aztec Goddess-Coyoloqui at City Terrace; shown are (l to r): David Moreno, Ramon Torres, then Assemblyman Art Torres, then Assemblywoman Gloria Molina, and Larry Gonzalez.
Photograph: Security Pacific National Bank Photograph Collection/Los Angeles Public Library.



1978: Groundbreaking ceremony for Senior Citizen Center in Boyle Heights; third from right is Councilman Art Snyder with members of community.
Photograph: Security Pacific National Bank Photograph Collection/Los Angeles Public Library.



Salesian High School yearbook photo (1962) of the school's Mustang Band directed by Bill Taggart. Courtesy of Tony Garcia Collection. Used by permission, Salesian High School.



Acc, one of the most active bands in the 1970s eastside circuit (circa 1975). Courtesy of Salesian High School.



Front cover of *Golden Treasures, vol. 1: West Coast East Side Revue*, the first of two volumes produced by Eddie Davis and Rudy Benavides and released through Davis's Rampart Records label (1966, 1969). Used by permission, Eddie Davis.

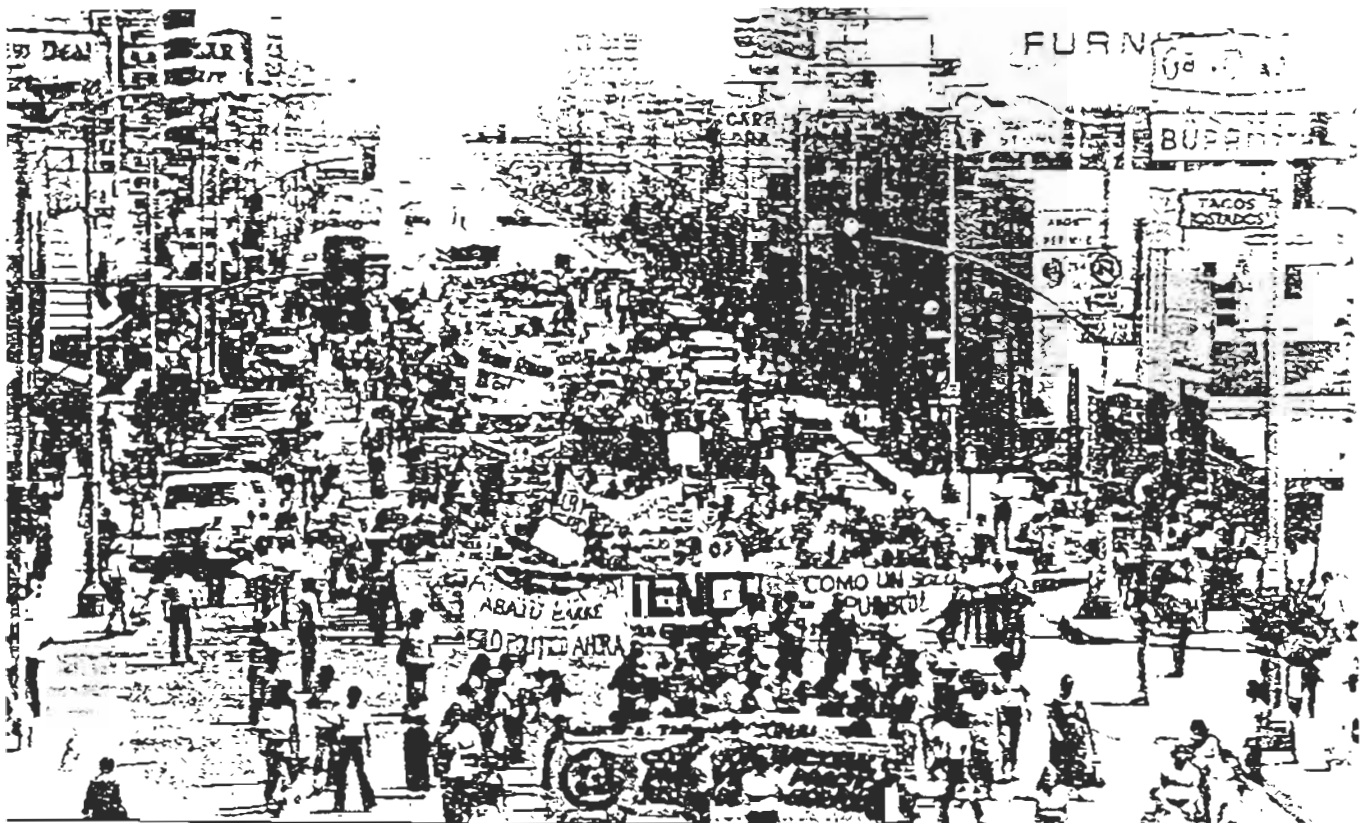
"Eastside bands, around 1970's" in Steven Loza, Barrio Rhythm, np#.



Día de los Muertos (Day of the Dead) is a centuries-old Mexican tradition. The dead are honored by fiestas, processions, and offerings of food and decorations, and friends exchange decorated sugar skulls.

(Courtesy of José Cuellar)

"Día de los Muertos commemoration around 1970's" in A. R. Bustamante, *An Illustrated History of Mexican Los Angeles, 1791-1985*, p. 183.



Demonstration against Carter immigration plan. August 29, 1977.

(Courtesy of Los Angeles Times)

"Demonstration for immigrant rights, 1977" in A. R. Bustamante, An Illustrated History of Mexican Los Angeles, 1791-1985, p. 175.



1978: Dedication of the Aliso Pico Multi Service Center, across the street from the Aliso-Pico Housing Project.
Photograph: International Institute of Los Angeles



10/22/79: Cesar Chavez is joined by Mario Obledo at Hispanic Celebration at East LA College
(Source: Los Angeles Public Library (Downtown) Photo Archives - Herald Examiner)

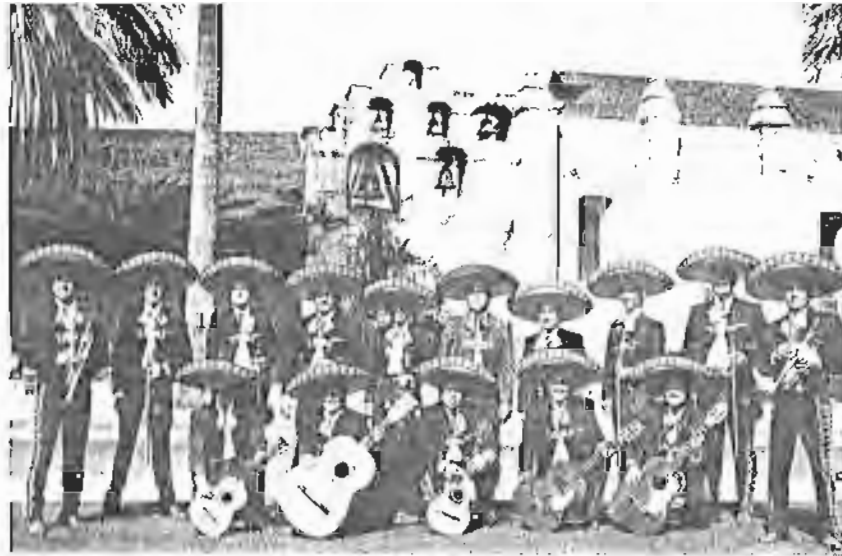
Los Camperos de Nati Cano



Mariachi Los Camperos de Nati Cano. Courtesy of Nati Cano, La Fonda Restaurant.



Mariachi Sol de México de José Hernández. Courtesy of José Hernández, Cielito Lindo Restaurant.



Mariachi Los Galleros de Pedro Rey. Courtesy of Pedro Hernández, El Rey Restaurant.



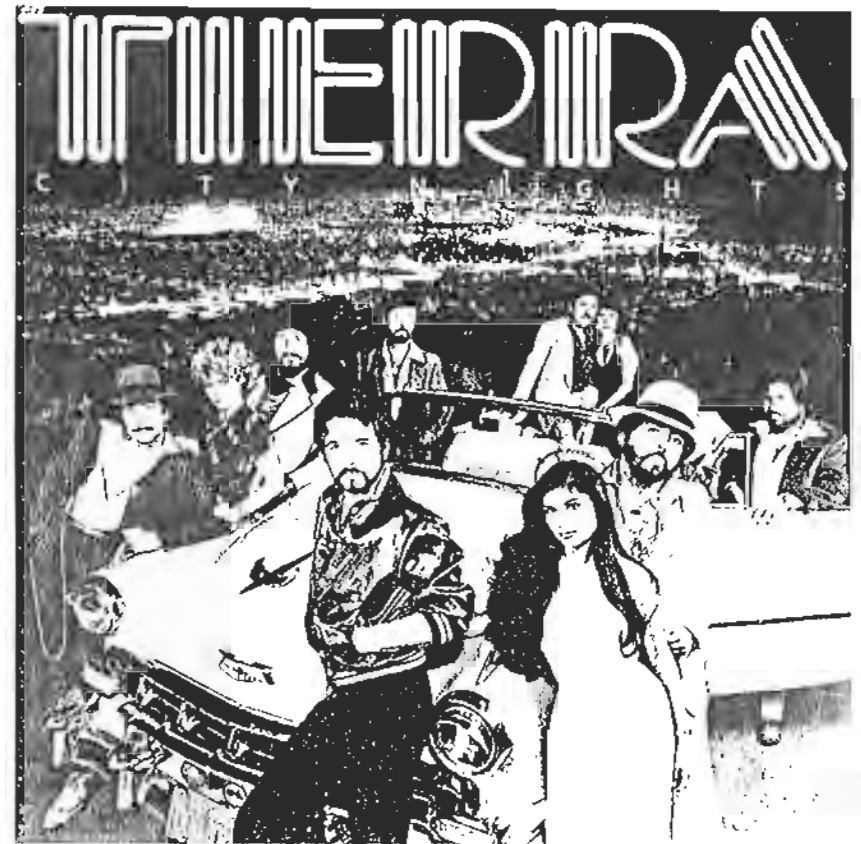
Mariachi Uclatán de Mark Fogelquist. Juan Manuel Cortez, musical director. Courtesy of Mark Fogelquist, El Mariachi Restaurant.

"Acclaimed Mariachi groups of greater Los Angeles, 1980's" in Steven Loza, Barrio Rhythm, np#.



El Chicano. Courtesy of MCA Records.

El Chicano LP featuring the hit title track "Viva Tirado" (1970). Used by permission, MCA Records.

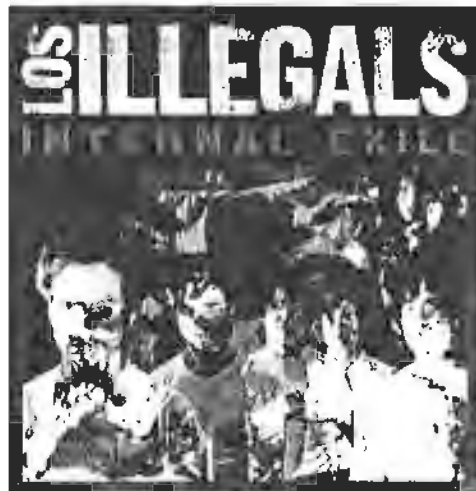


Tierra's 1980 *City Nights* LP, which included the platinum record single "Together." Used by permission, Christopher Whorf, Art Director. Boardwalk Records, Inc., FW 36995. © 1980.



Los Illegals, 1984. Courtesy of Willie Herrón.

Album cover of Los Illegals 1983 *Internal Exile*. Heavily laden with social themes of immigration and intercultural conflict, the LP represented an innovative admixture of diverse urban and intercultural expression. ©1983, A&M records; used by permission.



Los Lobos' first LP, consisting of Mexican and other Latin American folk styles; it was released in 1977 on a local label. New Vista Records; used by permission

Los Lobos' album *How Will the Wolf Survive?* (1985). An interesting music video with an immigration theme adapted to the title track song enjoyed substantial national success on cable and network television. Used by permission, Slash/Warner Brothers Records. 25177-1.





Lalo Guerrero and José Lupe Fernández. Photo taken in 1939 in front of Cafe Caliente on Olvera Street. The duo serenaded outside the restaurant now known as El Paseo. Courtesy of Lalo Guerrero Collection.

Lalo Guerrero in a publicity photo issued by Imperial Records (circa 1955). Courtesy of Lalo Guerrero Collection.



"Lalo Guerrero (1950's), Teresa Covarrubias, The Brat (1980's)" in Steven Loza, Barrio Rhythm, np#.

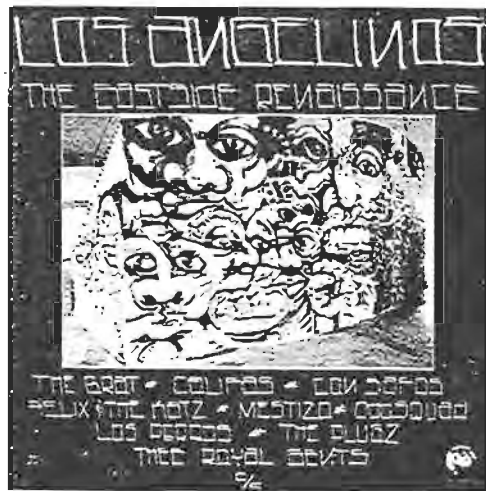


State Assemblywoman Gloria Molina's victory celebration, June 1982. Molina (top row, 6th from left) is the first Latina to be elected to the California state legislature. A founder and past president of Comisión Femenil Mexicana, she has held a number of significant political offices and is a long-time political activist.

(Courtesy of Rosemary Quesada-Werner)

"State Assemblywoman Gloria Molina's victory celebration, 1982" in A. R. Bustamante, An Illustrated History of Mexican Los Angeles, 1791-1985, p. 184.

Rubén Guevara, producer, musician and writer. Courtesy of Rubén Guevara.



Album cover of *Los Angelinos: The Eastside Renaissance* (1983). Produced by Rubén Guevara on the Zvanya label, the LP included the music of ten diverse Chicano groups active in eastside Los Angeles. Used by permission, Rhino Records. RNLP 062.

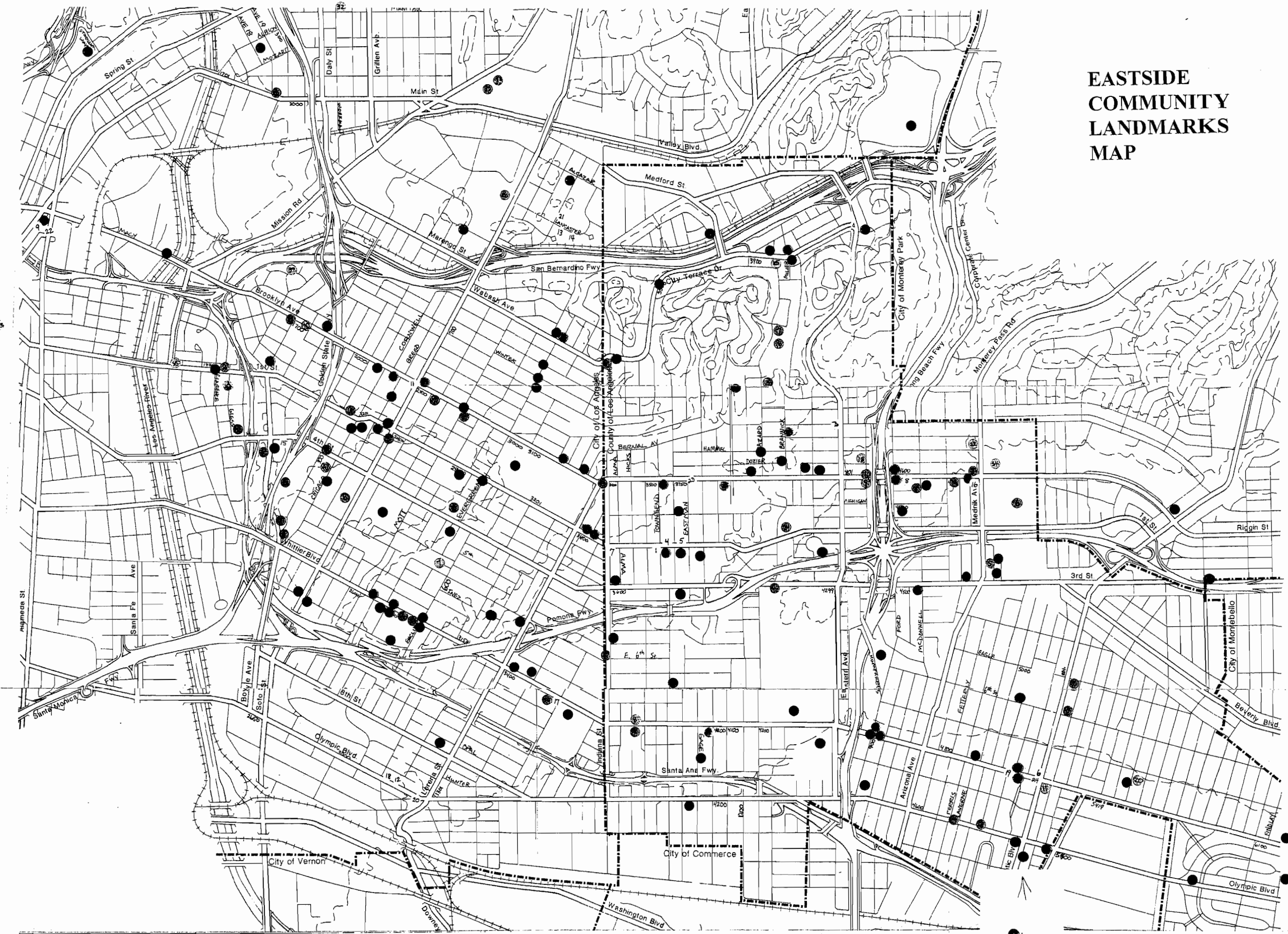
"Ruben Guevara, producer, musician, 1983" in Steven Loza, Barrio Rhythm, np#.

Teresa Covarrubias. Courtesy of Teresa Covarrubias. Photo by Kevin Dahling.



Cover to a 1984 issue of the *L.A. Weekly* containing a Darcy Diamond article that assessed the new musical movements within the young popular culture of East Los Angeles. Pictured is the group The Brat with Teresa Covarrubias at center.

**EASTSIDE
COMMUNITY
LANDMARKS
MAP**



LEGEND

GREATER EAST LOS ANGELES COMMUNITY CULTURAL LANDMARKS: BOYLE HEIGHTS, LINCOLN HEIGHTS, CITY TERRACE AND EAST LOS ANGELES

The Community Cultural Landmarks map includes significant places in the Eastside community. It is both color-coded and referenced by number. The color codes are as follows:

Red:	Restaurants, bars, ballrooms
Green:	Tortillerías, bakeries, other private business
Blue:	Housing, parks, community centers
Coral:	Schools, libraries
Yellow:	Murals, art schools, art centers, galleries, media
Tan:	Religious centers, churches, mortuaries, cemeteries
Orange:	Hospitals, health services

Red: Restaurants, Bars, Ballrooms

1. Acapulco
2. Chelo's Bar
3. Ciro's Restaurant
4. El Moctezuma Cafe
5. El Rinconcito del Mar
6. El Siete Mares Restaurant
7. El Tepeyac Cafe
8. La Carioca
9. La Golondrina Restaurant
10. Lalo's Bar/Restaurant
11. La Parilla Restaurant
12. La Quebradita (business)
13. Nayarit Restaurant
14. Paramount Ballroom
15. Rudy's Pasta House
16. Silver Dollar Bar
17. Tamayo's Restaurant
18. La Zona Rosa

Green: Tortillerías, Bakeries, Private Business

1. Community Development Commission
2. El Gallo Bakery
3. El Mercado
4. El Mercado
5. El Mercado Hidalgo
6. El Pavo Bakery
7. First Street Store
8. Gonzalez Bookstore
9. Guerrero Tortillas
10. Homeboy Industries
11. Ixtlan Tortillería
12. Joe Gallo's Ranch Market
13. La Favorita, Tortillería
14. La Gloria Tortillería
15. La Luz del Día Bakery
16. La Mascota Bakery
- La Quebradita (no number)
17. La Zacatecana Produce

Green: continued

18. Lornburn & Turner Grocery/Hotel
Mount Pleasant
19. Los Pericos Tortillería
20. Lupe's 12 Kinds of Burritos
21. Pan & American Bank
22. Paseo Alameda
23. Prieto Market
24. Ramirez Pharmacy
25. Salas Drugstore
26. TELACU Industrial Park
27. United Artists Theatre

Blue: Housing, Parks, Community Centers

1. Aliso-Pico Housing Project
2. Aliso-Pico Multipurpose Center
3. All Nations Community Center
4. American Legion
5. Atlantic Blvd. Park
6. Belvedere Park
7. Casa de Mexicano
8. Casa Esperanza
9. Casa Maravilla
10. Catholic Youth Organization Center
11. Centro Joaquin Murieta de Aztlán
12. Centro Maravilla
13. Chicano Service Action Center
14. Cinco de Mayo Masonic Lodge
15. City Terrace Community Center
16. City Terrace Park
17. City Terrace Park Social Hall
18. Cleland House
19. Community Service Organization
20. Eastmont Community Center
21. Eastside Boys and Girls Club
22. El Rebote
23. Euclid Center
24. Eugene Obregon Park
25. Evergreen Playground
26. Hazard Park
27. Hispanic Urban Center (no number)
- Hollenbeck Home

Blue: continued

28. Hollenbeck Park
29. Hollenbeck Youth Center
30. International Institute
31. Kennedy Hall
32. Lincoln Heights Recreation Center
33. Lincoln Park
34. Maravilla Housing
35. Mariachi Plaza
Mexican American Opportunity
Foundation (no number)
36. One Stop Immigration and Educational
Center
37. Plaza Community Center
38. Plaza de La Raza
39. Prospect Park
40. Ruben Salazar Park
41. Salesian Boys and Girls Club
42. Santuario de Nuestra Senora de
Guadalupe
43. Veteran's Memorial
44. YMCA
45. Hispanic Urban Center

Coral: Schools, Libraries

1. Albion Elementary Street School
2. Alfonso Perez Special Education
Center
3. Anthony Quinn Public Library
4. Belvedere Branch Library
5. Belvedere Elementary School
6. Benjamin Franklin Public Library
7. Brooklyn Avenue
8. Cantwell High School
9. Cathedral High School
10. City Terrace Elementary School
11. Dolores Mission School
12. East L.A. Community College
13. East L.A. Public Library
14. East L.A. Regional Library
15. East L.A. Science Center (LAUSD)
16. Eastman Avenue Elementary School

V.

A SOCIAL CULTURAL PROFILE:
THE THEMATIC BEAT AND RHYTHMS
OF A HISTORY AND CULTURE

Prepared by: Dr. Juan Gomez-Quinones



Coral: continued

17. Euclid Avenue Elementary School
18. First St. Elementary School
19. Francisco Bravo Medical Magnet Senior High School
20. Ford Blvd. Elementary School
21. Garfield Senior High School
22. Hammel Elementary School
23. Harrison St. Elementary School
24. Humphreys Avenue Elementary School
25. Lincoln Senior High School
26. L.A. California State University
27. L.A. Public Library
28. Mariana Avenue Elementary School
29. Murchison Elementary St. School
30. Music School
31. Ramona Senior High School
32. Robert Louis Stevenson Public Library
33. Roosevelt Senior High School
34. Rowan Avenue Elementary School
35. Salesian Senior High School
36. Soto St. Elementary School
37. Stephenson Branch Library
38. Sunrise Elementary School
39. Wabash Public Library

Yellow: Murals, Art Schools, Art Centers, Galleries, Media

1. Belvedere Citizen
2. Bilingual Foundation of the Arts
3. Buenavista Television Station
4. Eastern Publications
5. Goez Studio
6. Golden Gate Theatre
7. L.A. Music and Art School
8. Mechicano Art Center
9. "American Tropical"
10. "Broadway Mural"
11. "Corrido de Boyle Heights"
12. "Dreams of Flight"
13. "Ghosts of the Barrio"
14. "La Adelita"

Yellow: continued

15. "Mujer del Este de Los Angeles"
16. "Our Lady of Guadalupe"
17. "Tome Conciencia"
18. "We are not a Minority"
19. "La Danza de las Aguilas"
20. Estrada Court Murals (inclusive)
21. Ramona Gardens Murals (inclusive)
22. Olvera Street
23. Self-Help Graphics and Art, Inc.
24. Vega Building

Tan: Religious Centers, Churches, Cemeteries, Mortuaries

1. Bagues Mortuary
2. Baptist Seminary
3. Boyle Heights Presbyterian Church
4. Calvary Cemetery
5. Church of the Assumption
6. Church of the Epiphany
7. Congregation Talmud Torah
8. Evergreen Cemetery
9. First Molokan Christian Church
10. Grace Church
11. Home of Peace Cemetery
12. Iglesia de la Santa Cruz, Christian
13. La Purísima Church
14. Minonite Church
15. Odd Fellows Cemetery
16. Our Lady of Guadalupe Church
17. Our Lady of Lourdes Church
18. Our Lady of Talpa Church
19. Prinera Iglesia Bautista
20. Resurrection Church
21. St. Alfonsus
22. St. Lucy's Church
23. Seventh Day Adventist Church
24. St. Mary's Church

Orange (white): Hospitals, Health Services

1. Altamed Health Services
2. Bella Vista Hospital
3. City Terrace Hospital
4. East L.A. Doctors' Hospital
5. Edward R. Roybal Comprehensive Health Center
6. Lincoln Hospital
7. Mount Sinai Clinic
8. Santa Fe RR Hospital
9. Santa Marta Hospital
10. White Memorial Hospital

A SOCIAL-CULTURAL PROFILE: THE THEMATIC BEATS AND RHYTHMS OF A HISTORY AND CULTURE

Historically greater east Los Angeles is recognized as the social, economic, cultural, and political center of the heterogeneous Los Angeles Mexican community which in turn is the **largest Mexican center** among other centers of this population in the United States. In subcomponents, it could be described as comprising **Boyle Heights, City Terrace, Bella Vista, Mara Villa, Belvedere, Lincoln Heights, El Sereno, Monterey Park, Montebello and City of Commerce**. Or as the area east and northeast of the Plaza whose population is over 50% Mexican. Ultimately, it is a place of individuals and families whose lives often share common punctuations, youth, work, age and beauty.

Although the Mexican east Los Angeles population has grown and changed, still there remain many of its inequitable circumstances that were prevalent in the **1850's or 1950's**. This paradox can be attributed to **four main trends**: 1) the **uneven economic access and distribution** of Los Angeles economic benefits, 2) **adjustment patterns of the native Mexican** origin population to economic changes and social impositions, 3) **continuing immigration** patterns of the last 50 years, and 4) **social prejudices** of the dominant society.

In examining the history of Los Angeles, it is clear that the Mexican community experienced **discrimination** from the arrival of overempowered Anglos. At that time, ethnic nationality distinctiveness translated into **class segregation** and eventually meant multi-faceted discrimination. This pattern continued from the 1850's well into the 1900's and still exists for newly arrived Mexican immigrants.

Today in total numbers, more persons suffer discrimination than previously. For example, more immigrants entered California in the 20-year period after World War II than entered in the previous 100 years. This impelled growth through immigrants along with the growth of native Mexican origin people meant a rise in the entire Mexican ethnic population and the total number impacted by inequities in east Los Angeles.

Demography

Every generation, every family builds a life and seeks a home. Mexican Americans nearly are over 20 percent of the State's population. The larger number reside in 10 southern counties, with the largest concentration found in Los Angeles. The largest subgroup in 1990, within a few years **Mexican Americans will be part of the Latino majority in Los Angeles**. Youthfulness of the population is important to the growth as is fertility. Already half of Los Angeles school children are Mexican Americans thus Los Angeles is slowly going from its past state as an Anglo dominant to a Mexican and Third World city. Metropolitan geographical expansion and massive population growth have shaped the development of Mexican east Los Angeles in the late 20th century. This means housing needs, child care and youth recreational needs.



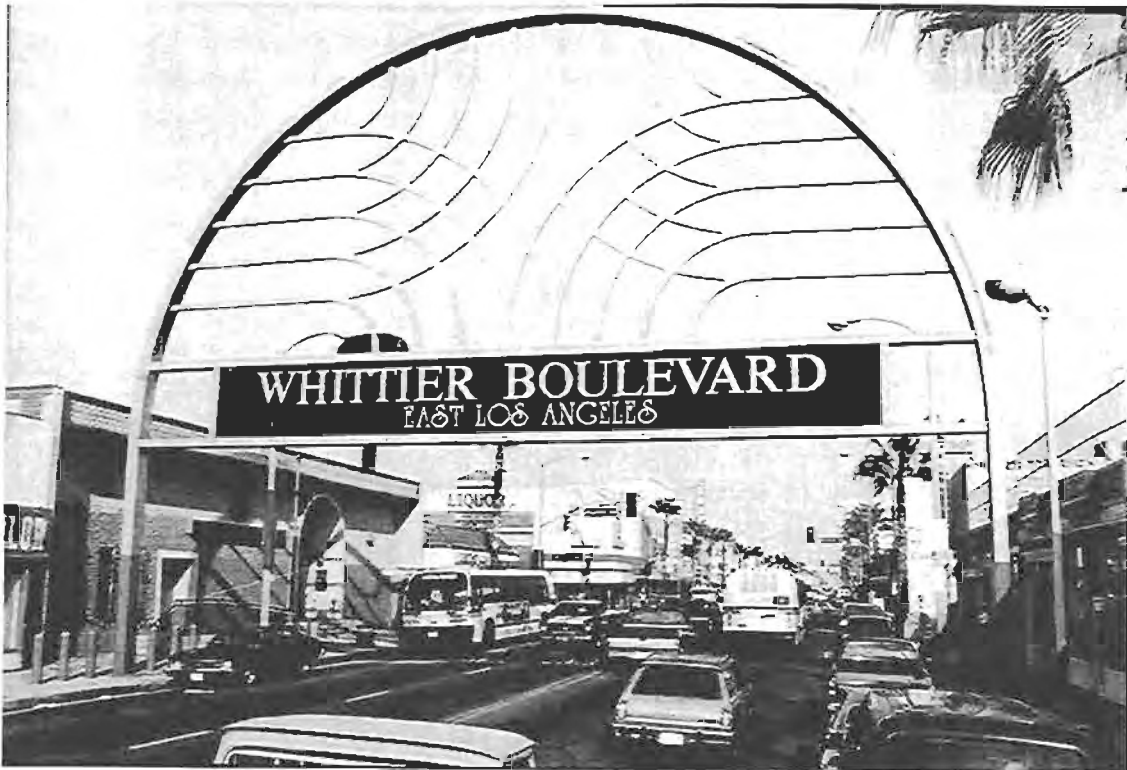
Mexican Americans will be part of the Latino majority in Los Angeles.

Photograph: George Rodriguez

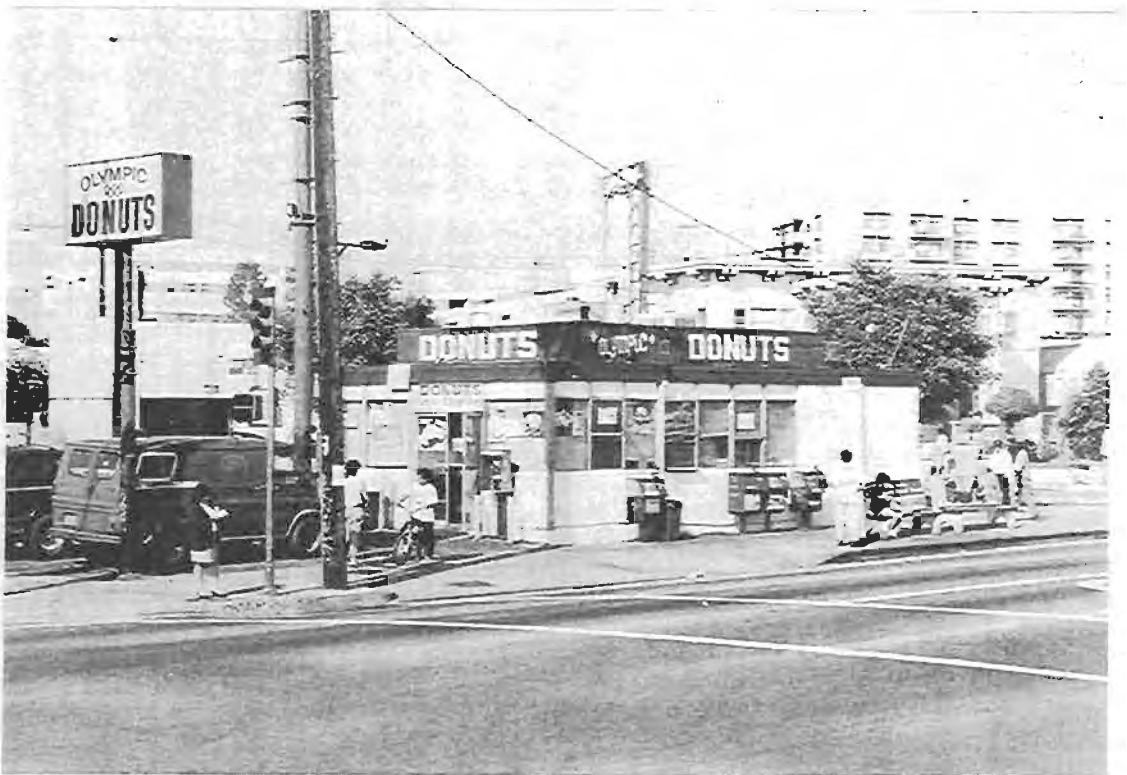
As one indicator demographically, Mexican east Los Angeles is defined both by size and distribution. As urban and residential zones grew and the city incorporated new areas, outlying Mexican communities were increasingly interconnected in a complex social network. Yet, as this movement happens, many **Mexicans live outside the traditional major barrios**. Thus, they are recurrently dispersed and suburbanized, and sometimes reconcentrated -- all of these contradictorily indicating both growth and stability. College graduates move, some return to work as professionals. The meaning of "enclave" is always changing. **Housing scarcity** and **housing discrimination** have been stark realities. Numbers impact on housing and housing is affected by finances.

As in the past, Mexican east Los Angeles in the late 20th century is thus more than a single Mexican community; rather, it is the **aggregate of many Mexican subcommunities**. Each of these subcommunities has **its own social economic characteristics** and development differing somewhat from the others. Some date from the churches and homesteads of the Mexican period while others grew from the "colonias" or labor clusters, others arose from inexpensive residential tracts, while others are affluent, the result of middle class expansion. All are interlinked with the neighboring ones and with the total network which is Mexican Los Angeles. Yet Mexican east Los Angeles is still a **network of discrete neighborhoods**.

A striking evidence of growth is the **renewed Mexican presence in downtown Los Angeles** generating profits and wages linked to east Los Angeles. This growth is also reflected in the continued symbolic significance of the area of the original Pueblo around the Plaza which is not only a historic symbol, but also a vital area of cultural and religious life for the Mexican



Whittier Boulevard has historically been a major transportation and commercial corridor of East Los Angeles. Its hallmark arch is a visual testament to its vibrant commercial district. Photograph: George Rodriguez



The Donut Shop at First and Lorena Streets is a small-scale business representative of many Eastside businesses. It will be the future site of a Metro Station and Mariachi Plaza, a redevelopment of the area saluting the local musicians and culture. Photograph: George Rodriguez

community. Moreover, the vitality is amply visible by the **Mexican-Latino-ization** of much of the downtown shopping area, especially along **Broadway**, where stores and Spanish language theaters provide service and entertainment to tens of thousands of people from many subcommunities.



East Los Angeles has historically had a central link to Downtown Los Angeles.

Photograph: George Rodriguez

While downtown Los Angeles continues as a central link in this social network, numerous Mexican subcommunities are also brought together by eastside major commercial streets. Among the most prominent being **First Street, Avenida Cesar E. Chavez (formerly Brooklyn Avenue), Whittier, Atlantic and Beverly Boulevards** in the greater east Los Angeles area and in recent years defining itself is the Olympic Boulevard artery of an emerging mega-barrio stretching from east Los Angeles to Santa Ana. These streets and the services and recreations they offer are the concrete arteries which give substantial life to Mexican east Los Angeles.

To be sure Mexicans have expanded into other parts of the city, such as the **Pico-Union area**, into the immediate west area of downtown, and along **Sunset Blvd.** toward **Echo Park** above **La Plaza**, what also used to be at one time pueblo lands. These localities seem to resemble a reproduction of **San Juan de Letran** street of Mexico City on a Sunday. In fact, they are not a reproduction of a thing but a life and are thus **their own originals**.



Whittier Boulevard and Kern Street.
Photograph: George Rodriguez



Avenida Cesar E. Chavez and Breed Street
Photograph: George Rodriguez

In the period from 1970 to 1990, Mexican population showed a near 100% increase in California. In addition, Los Angeles County alone had **2.5 million** Mexican origin people according to the **1980 census** and **3.1 million in 1990**. This is an increase over the 1 million of 1970. Clearly the size of the Mexican origin population has increased at a continuing rate. Equally, the community continues segmented, reflecting the new, economic activities in Los Angeles and despite the subsequent increases in the Mexican middle class, which also has several segmented subcomponents.

Economy

East Los Angeles Mexicans create economies and contribute to the general economy. They have also struggled for economic equities. Penalized by low wages, the community has continually suffered from **lack of credit, locally-based financial institutions** and, of course, capital. **Mexicans are part of the work force, they are not an underclass.** The economy of Mexican east Los Angeles is the productive economy of the general city and is also the economy based in and addressed to the community. In addition, the community is a major market for a variety of sellers based in the city or elsewhere. There are in these phenomena historical patterns.



Meat laborers in the 1960's.
Photograph: George Rodriguez

The **post-war economy** had significant consequences for the Mexican origin population. As agriculture declined in Los Angeles, new industries increased such as **manufacturing, construction, and aerospace**. This change allowed war veterans of Mexican descent to enter

into **skilled and semiskilled occupations**. At this time, many second generation Mexican American natives began to infiltrate relatively higher paying occupations and the middle class, as services, media, and investment and international commerce increased.

Despite this upward movement by a small portion of the Mexican descent population, in the economic changes of **the 1980's and 1990's**, new immigrants and less educated natives remained predominantly in **low wage, unskilled labor positions**. They predominated in the dwindling industrial and manufacturing sectors. These persons also moved to services-related work more or equally disadvantaged than the dwindling sectors.

Nevertheless, the movement of **recurrent second generation natives** allowed third generations to enter white collar professional positions in **the 1970's** in relatively larger numbers. This growth and upward movement is often obscured by aggregate data which shows approximately **60% of Mexican workers in blue collar positions**. Indeed, this aggregate figure is in large part due to employment segregational patterns, however, it does not negate the progress in the economic distribution of Mexican Americans. Approximately **30% are service and clerical workers and 10 percent are white collar and professional**. Today Los Angeles Mexicans comprise part of a **market of \$25 billion** in California and the average annual income is **over \$16,000**. As in the past, however, the average income among Mexican households supports more people on that income than is the case for Anglo households.

Historically, whether small or growing, given the importance of the private sector in the society, the **Mexican east Los Angeles business sector** exerts a share of leadership today as it did yesterday. Mexican business investment is in retail and wholesale trade, some in manufacturing and services, and some in local media, ethnic foods, and real estate, but also in the promising areas of new technologies and professional consulting services. Moreover, Mexican professionals are slowly increasing in the **mainstream business world** of Los Angeles as the number of university graduates increase. Thus, there are several **Mexican predominated business and professional organizations** and chambers of commerce.

The scale of the **Mexican Los Angeles economic network** is unique among other Mexican communities in the United States. Indeed, its influences extends to them. The east Los Angeles network is a major part of the overall network. This attraction is reflected in a high number of community leaders, business people, and professionals who continually visit from other states. Mexican Los Angeles' network is also increasingly international in respect to present and potential future relations of the city with Mexico and Latin America.

Investments, trade and sales with Mexico are important to Los Angeles as a whole and to east Los Angeles. For decades, the fact that Los Angeles has had the second largest Mexican population of any city, following Mexico City means some degree of always **ongoing economic exchange**. While Mexican Angelinos have always maintained ties with Mexico, today these ties take on new significance. One manifestation is reflected in **investments by Mexican companies**, attracted by an annual **\$10 billion Latino market** in the greater metropolitan Los Angeles area centered in greater east Los Angeles. The most visible of these investments to date are the formalized investments in television, real estate, import-export firms, and other interests. As is

appreciated, east Los Angeles is a major market for Mexico's films, videos, records, and entertainers.

Labor

East Los Angeles Mexicans are a working people, their **labor participation is high**, however their **wages are generally low**. Mexican native and immigrant labor continually have heavily impacted the course of Los Angeles. The Mexican community is largely a laboring community. **Light manufacturing and services labor** are areas in which Mexican workers are particularly important. Though associated with the agricultural sector, Mexicans are much more numerous as labor in the garment shops, assembly line factories, as domestics and small fruit stand vendors, restaurant cooks, and waiters, and in the auto parts industries. **Blue collar, service and clerical workers comprise nearly 60 percent of the Mexican work force.** Income of Mexican workers is as much as 50% less than Anglos for similar work.

Though the Los Angeles white elite has historically been hostile to organized labor, **Mexicans have participated in unions from the first.** Unions are an important aspect of work and community life. Approximately **20% of the labor force is organized** and Mexicans are members of all unions though **concentrated in industrial and service unions.** There is a Los Angeles chapter of the **Labor Council for Latin Americans Advancement**, a confederation of Mexican and Latino labor officials with continuous organizing and advocacy activity. A few unions are making a special outreach to Mexican workers.

Mexican workers generate great sums of financial revenue to government and private enterprise in various ways. And in addition they pay for benefits through city, county and state



While modest, a young shoe shine boy earns his wage in the late 1960's.
Photograph: George Rodriguez

taxes from which **they do not receive service but do contribute**. Many do not collect their rightful earned income tax returns. Clearly, many local businesses as well as national ones based in Los Angeles are sustained by these Mexican Angelino workers. Contrary to popular belief, that Mexican people receive undeserved social public services and assistance, many Mexicans in fact, contribute to supporting these services for others. **Current Mexican residents are as much builders of Los Angeles as the founding "pobladores" were.**

Labor growth has continually given shape to Mexican east Los Angeles. The barrios have become much larger and areas such as **Boyle Heights, Lincoln Heights, City Terrace, Monterey Park and Montebello** have become much more dense because of **increased labor presence**. This means the barrios also spread spatially. A **strong birthrate** has contributed to the increase in the Mexican labor pool. This is to the mixed advantage of the Mexican community, **growth increases resources but also strains them.**

Mexican labor participation has been high since the early 20th century as the expansion of agriculture, transportation, the development of light industry and services created a need for abundant labor. At the same time, periodic labor shortages meant that many Mexicans were able incrementally to enter the skilled and semi-skilled work force in production and services. The combination of these developmental needs along with the poor services, social discrimination and police discrimination which barrio residents encountered provided the energy and direction needed by the Mexican society in **continued pursuit of its civil rights.**

The continuance of a strong, defiant cultural and ethnic community with a **list of grievances as well as accomplishments** arguably may be seen as a result of continued labor expansion, encountering a slow economic and political response on the part of the once dominant majority. Labor presence and immigration are, of course, interrelated.

Immigration

Los Angeles has been an **immigrant city since the mid-19th century** and among all immigrant groups have been individuals with and without documents. Since the end of World War II, immigration continues as a major phenomena for Los Angeles but especially for the Mexican origin population. In part, the contemporary wave dates from **the 1940's war needs** and the arguable businesses repeated practices to access **the lowest cost labor possible**. Moreover, many employers prefer temporary undocumented workers rather than permanent regularized immigrants. The usefulness of documented and undocumented immigrants to powerful business interests coexists with the general societal discrimination which they faced.

Mexicans are the one ethnic group in the United States that **faced mass deportations**, particularly in east Los Angeles. The historical prejudices and the numbers of new immigrants during the war and the post-war period led to **Operation Wetback** in the city **during 1953**. Efforts were made to deport thousands of immigrant workers and was mostly fueled by **racial prejudice**. Once again in the **late 1960's and the 1970's**, the immigration of Mexicans was seen as a serious problem and thus efforts were announced to restrict immigration, often targeting parts of east Los Angeles. Yet chauvinism has not stopped the economic utility of immigration up to

the 1990's. Immigration continues to be for east Los Angeles a major reality and also a continually debated public policy issue.

Los Angeles County has nearly **40% of all of California's Mexican immigrants.** For native east Los Angeles, Mexican immigration poses a particular bitextuality. The native population identifies culturally with the immigrants and many are related to them. They are also affected by them in various ways. Mutually advantageous business is one way. In many cases, both face labor, schooling and housing disadvantages. Given the periodic economic crises in Mexico and Latin America, immigration will continue to occur and impact the United States. During **the 1980's,** approximately several hundred immigrants arrived a month, and many settled in east Los Angeles. The immigrant labor population growth is **significantly altering the spatial social geography** of Los Angeles.

Labor restructuring, immigration, economic development, post industrial changes, and urban realignments are interactive elements which shaped and change the community. As a result **"mega-barrios"** are continuing realities cutting across city and county lines. Throughout the city of Los Angeles, barrios are interlocking and increasingly socially complex.

Social Structure

Historically **repeated calls for unity** are reflections of the awareness of diversity in the east Los Angeles community as well as a reflection of some common circumstances. The heterogeneous complexity of Mexican east Los Angeles is the richness of its social structure and it mirrors historical development more vividly than physical landmarks. **People mean more than bricks.**

Mexican Los Angeles, and east Los Angeles are composed of classes and subclasses. Income, education and employment are key but also significant are family employment background, cohesion and positive values. Effective middle class status means political and educational access, of course, as well as relative economic well being. About 10% of the east Los Angeles Mexican income earners are in the middle class with an income of \$40,000 or over, 20% make over \$30,000 a year, and 40% have an average income of \$19,000. But 20% are at or just below the poverty line of \$10,000 annual income. The jobless may be approximately 10% year-round. As mentioned the largest sectors are the skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled laborers and among these are distinct subgroupings.

Changes in the social and economic status of the east Los Angeles Mexican community from **the 1950's to the present have been incrementally complex.** Continued investment stimulated employment levels, consumer demand, and to an extent schooling followed by periodic recessions. Relative to the pre-World War II period, **Mexican Angelinos maintained and expanded economic, occupational, and schooling gains.** This was reflected in a relative increase in educational, income levels and in improved housing for some members of the community. However, relative to the greater social, economic and educational gains made by Anglo Americans, **the actual economic gap between the two groups continued.** For a sector of the Mexican community, the gapeven increased during the 1980's.

From the turn of the century through World War II's returning veterans to the present, several generations have worked and gone -- many used family savings or public programs to enroll and graduate the siblings from college, become professionals, lawyers, doctors and educators. These occasionally served as role catalysts but in some instances either "faded" into the background, excluding themselves from the barrios and community civic life. Their attention was absorbed by the dominant society. **Thus, too often the Mexican community loses its most educated and affluent members.** However, as mentioned there is the contrasting example that many others center their activities in greater east Los Angeles.

Social organization of the Mexican origin community in east Los Angeles has historically exhibited **levels of disparity**. Native Mexicanos occasionally **discriminated against immigrants** and a few tried to separate themselves socially from the more culturally Mexican sectors. This was in part a reaction against the dominant discrimination which made no tangible distinction between Mexicans from Mexico and native born of Mexican descent anyway. Thus some natives isolated themselves from newly arrived Mexicans and were themselves often isolated from Anglos and other whites. Socially, **native generations are often in a bicultural dilemma**. They retain some of their ethnic culture but some marry or have their primary social relations outside the ethnic community. In contrast to many others, they have relatively higher social and job positions, and live in less ethnically distinctive communities.

Within the east Los Angeles Mexican community, internal social stratification occurred between those sectors who were able, for varying factors, to make economic gains and the larger ones whose situation remained relatively static or even worsened comparatively. While not absolute, the major variables for Mexican social mobility centered, in large measure, around an **individual's education and social adaptability to schools, employers and institutions** because these determined income possibilities.

In everyday life, these meant that in practice, those Mexicans whose physical manner, cultural characteristics and educational level most closely approximated Anglo Americans had access to greater opportunities than other Mexicans. At one extreme, assimilated, educated lighter Mexican Americans had the best access to socio-economic mobility, while unassimilated non-English speaking darker Mexican immigrants suffered the worst discrimination which was understood in practice by both Anglos and Mexicans and frequently denied by both. This contradiction was to partially promote the political mobilizations of the late 1960's and 1970's. Furthermore, anti-Mexican chauvinism continues and is readily apparent in the media or work places.

Despite adversity, there have been positive continuing economic changes impacting on some families. These in turn impacted on increasing educational attainment in particular increasing the number of college graduates and professionals. **With increased education has come an increase in Mexican professionals and entrepreneurs** who are steadily moving integrally into the realm of Los Angeles professional life. In conjunction with demands for private sector access, professional support networks are used. There are Mexican versions of the "network" offering inspiration, support and access in the business and professional world. Periodically because of fluctuating conditions in Mexico, there is a slight increase in modestly

prosperous professionals as immigrants from this country.

Politics, education and economics are so intertwined so that progress and success in one, requires progress and success in all three. In turn, these are often premised on values or perceptions stemming from the family situation.

The Culture

A shared culture defines membership in a community; this is a code of conduct for the particular and the general which subsumes heterogeneity. Culture is expressed in individual and family social life and also the endorsed public community life. It refers to ethnic identification, values and life practices.

Within the generalized northern Mexico-southwestern United States Mexican culture, there is a range of Mexican subcultures according to depth of generational presence, economic and educational levels, family origin, and family structure. This general culture ideally emphasizes family, religion, cultural pride, and work ethics. As a consequence of the changes in the economic structures and the opportunities which have become more available, the **Mexican community has undergone change in the area of social organization**. These occurred not without ambivalence and inter-generational differences, and with these further changes in culture and lifestyles.



A Brown Beret wedding in the late 1960's.

Photograph: George Rodriguez

The growing middle class and those in the younger generations who have been born and raised in the United States, in some cases for generations, have **different attitudes than immigrant generations**, which often do not speak English and are much more Mexicano in public and private orientation. Among the younger group are some invariably more Anglocized, speak English and many do not even comprehend spoken Spanish. When they enjoy comparative economic success, and the fact that they do not perceive themselves as vulnerable "foreigners", or otherwise excluded, **have meant less reliance on an extended family**. Often they emphasize more a primacy to the nuclear family, or to a circle of professional close friends and **less an attachment to idealized cultural loyalties**. They may evidence more willingness to consider a variety of lifestyles and gender/sexual preferences.

Mexican public culture is regularly visible in Los Angeles. Highlighted by major holiday festivities, festivals, religious gatherings, theaters, social activities in parks, organized sports and the ever popular theaters and dances. Even political gatherings are cultural affirmations as are types of public and commercial rhetorics. Mexican commercial entertainment impacts heavily in Los Angeles, and is a part of self identification, family life and social styles for many.

The Family

The east Los Angeles Mexican community has generally remained **family centered** and socially somewhat **ostensibly conservative**. Average family size is four to five and social relations are maintained with relatives. Two-income families are increasing and single-women-headed households gradually increase.



Four generations.

Photograph: George Rodriguez

There is a range of family types and practices. Though male authority is important, it is not entirely dominant in many families and appears to be less so as times change. And, of course, there are families without a senior male. Significantly, more females are increasing in educational levels and entering the professional work force. This has changed some attitudes regarding gender roles and responsibility and these are causing major changes within the basic institution, the family.

Family life as well as economic life and other social practices have been endangered by **violent practices of individuals or groups**. The historical record indicates both outsider and insider violence. Divorce and desertion are also aspects of family reality. To be sure, the conventional family is supported by another institution, **churches**.



The proud "abuelita."
Photograph: George Rodriguez

Religion

The Los Angeles Mexican community has **strong religious sentiments** as a whole but its institutional affiliations have been increasingly diverse. This diversity has increased rather than lessened religious participation in comparison to the general population.

Mexican parishioners, whether Protestant or Catholic, have invested major amounts of their social energy into strengthening or building their churches. And many have very strong social as well as religious loyalty to these.

This community, remains in the majority Catholic and a minority is conservative in religious values. The role of the Church has changed periodically in what is a predominantly Catholic community. Anglo clergy are often less equipped to deal with its members than other Latinos and the **prominence of Latino clergy** is more prevalent in the 1970's, 1980's and 1990's. Perhaps disillusionment of members with church practices or positions has led to a decline in Church involvement for some families.

Protestant affiliation has steadily increased and Protestant churches have benefited from their proactive community involvement as well as their greater institutional flexibility. Mexicans participate in all the Protestant denominations and are represented within Protestant leadership. Protestants of today unlike the turn of the century ones are much more sensitive to cultural preferences.



In 1971, a young girl makes her First Communion.
Photograph: George Rodriguez

Education

Apart from family practices, education is encompassed in three general settings: youth, college and adult. **The importance of education has been recognized since the 19th century.**

Youth education receives more attention, but at all levels education is equally important and increasingly demanded. Average years of schooling over the years has ranged from three to 10. One result of progress in education, however, is that the professional educator sector is one of the largest professional groups. In the field of education, services and attainment have improved for Mexican east Los Angeles but only in comparison to the past. Realities are that **greater numbers have completed high school and attended college.** There are other realities.

Among the youth in the 1960's, there was a 50% drop-out rate and **in the 1990's high drop-out rates continued.** Schools have been overcrowded, achievement scores low and bilingual programs misunderstood, underfunded, and continually vulnerable. These programs have been implemented on a limited basis with mixed reviews. Presumably more Mexican children are speaking English at an early age, which it is argued will facilitate them success in the general society. More programs and a **continued emphasis on K-12 education** are called for by community groups. Mexican east Los Angeles has long recognized these needs, but improved updated education has not yet been made a reality for all.



A young girl in the late 1960's from Malabar Street Elementary School.
Photograph: George Rodriguez

College education has been a goal for many but a resource for too few. Affirmative Action programs and the increase in Mexican females attending college have been positive changes, but still **only one-sixth of the Mexican community attends college** which puts many of them at a disadvantage in securing well paying jobs. The Mexican community has not impacted on colleges in relation to its aspirations or its political equities despite the large number of colleges in the area. **The ones with the highest Mexican enrollments are East Los Angeles Community College and California State University, Los Angeles.**

Adult education is the educational sector with the most immediate benefits and possibly the most important to the future given its applicability to the adult population for immediate access to employment. High schools and special training schools or programs are notably used by persons over 18. Adult education for past generations was seen as a means to secure basics missed in childhood, or to achieve language proficiency and certification expectations. **The needs are now higher, adults want updated job related skills.**

Given the population changes, education policies have been changing too slowly to fit the needs. In fact, historically the Mexican population has one of the lowest averages in school years completed and in obtaining a high school and college diploma. Discriminatory funding, negative educational institutional experience, inadequate policies and regulations have contributed to less

than optimum educational benefits for the Mexican. However, since the sixties educational issues were part of the growing political consensus which is still current. Education is a major community concern.

Youth

Youth literally are the future and aspirations for their welfare repeatedly stated goals. Youth are an important demographic sector of the community. Low wages and high labor participation for adults impact the quality of life for youth. Mexican youth have been and are in need of many recreational services and programmatic services. **Most in east Los Angeles have not received these.** Yet some individuals and groups have generously devoted themselves to youth work. Related to family unity and educational attainment is the fact that the Mexican community is a **youthful one needing youth centered services.** Among youth the overwhelming majority are non-delinquent and only a small minority engages in delinquent activity.

Gangs continue to be an institution in Mexican east Los Angeles. Gangs are social organizations for some youth among a minority which is discriminated and poor. The violence of these groups has in fact increased. There are programs which seek to resolve their incidence of violence by providing counseling and leadership training. Youth as well as the community at large is impacted by media as a subject and an actual or potential audience.



A senior citizen walks by the vivid signs of gang activity in his neighborhood.
Photograph: George Rodriguez

Media and the Arts

Mass media is an integral catalytic part of industrial society and post industrial society. Successive advents of large audience print, visual, and audio technologies, and now computers impact all communities. Mexicans of greater east Los Angeles have felt and dealt with these changes. Recall the several early newspapers of the 19th century.

Media

Strengthening common historical and cultural identity for many, is an expanding network of social communication, including print and electronic media, centers of recreation such as parks, shopping districts, social service agencies, college and university programs, the Catholic and Protestant churches, sports activities and a growing diversity of organizations ranging from the political to the social. Indeed this network is facilitated by the communications media. However media and media participation is more generic across the Los Angeles market as a whole than the particulars of business locations or electoral representations based in specific parts of the city.

Media voices, images and messages, the positive and the negative are continually integrated into community discourse. In the **pre-1970 period**, when the Mexican community had limited access to the general mass media, newspapers such as **La Opinion** and Spanish language radio provided information of events from the perspective of the Mexican community.



Two young boys from East Los Angeles playfully show their opinion of the news headline of that day.
Photograph: George Rodriguez

This original nucleus of media serving the Mexican community has expanded to include three county-wide television stations, one local cable station; seven radio stations; seven local weeklies published by **Eastern Group Publications, Inc.**; and other weekly and monthly publications in English and Spanish. However, Mexican targeted newspapers and magazines are numerous though often shortlived. Further much of this Mexican targeted media complex is not Mexican owned.

Significantly, the **general mass media**, which until the **late 1970's** virtually ignored the community outside of scurrilous news, has added some Latino staff and now devotes periodic coverage to news and other programming of interest to or concerning Mexicans. The print media in Los Angeles has slowly come to the realization that it could increase profits through advertising aimed at the Mexican community and thus it has increased its personnel and coverage.

The electronic media has incrementally changed in its representation of the Latino and Mexican communities. Formerly, an all white domain, the television news media now occasionally covers issues and **events relevant to the Mexican community** and the electronic media has seen a modest rise in its Latino employees. On any given night television channels will have Latinos, reporting, though not often anchoring. Media attention has accentuated sensitivity of and by the Mexican community.

Arts

General arts and media reflect that despite important generational differences, the dominant Anglo society continues to view this ethnic community as an aggregate, a collection of stereotypes, though to a lesser degree than in previous times. This can be seen by the less than satisfactory quality of participation in media and the arts offered Mexicans whether immigrants or natives.

Professional persistence and success are yardsticks of acceptability. In music, those who have had commercial successes like **Tierra** and **El Chicano**, have not been able to endure beyond a moment. Others have, whether an **Andy Russel**, **Lalo Guerrero**, **Vicki Carr**, or **Los Lobos**. Similarly in theater the commercial successes of **Luis Valdez'** "**Zoot Suit**" and "**Badges**" are as yet not frequent, though overall theater productions have increased.

In addition those professionals who are successful in their professions often confront the problem of being the token Latino or of **portraying a negative stereotype**. This pattern is visible whether in the uneven successes of **Cheech and Chong** or local newscasters. Ultimately some Mexicanos are faced with a choice of acceding to the demands of producers or on insisting on their independence as artists or professionals. Presently, not many professionals have found a professional satisfactory middle ground not because of lack of talent but because of the limits of the producers.

The Los Angeles Mexican art and media world, which encompasses more than graffiti and the token announcer is faced with the difficult task of trying to be successful in appealing to a wide audience while avoiding the risk of being indifferent to the community. **Social commentary and**



El mariachi.
Photograph: George Rodriguez



Los músicos.
Photograph: George Rodriguez

public responsibility has been a part of Mexican art, but in some cases at the cost of popular success. In too many instances today's artists face making decisions on privileging social responsibility or professional employment or trying to reconcile the two provided this is tolerated.

The east Los Angeles Mexican community's articulation in the arts as in media is historical, but previously not as quantitatively strong as it became in the 1970's and 1980's. Artists and arts activities are severely undersupported but also exhibit remarkable vitality and often unnoticed diversity.

In music, the **traditional Mexican and Latin** styles continue to be popular but young singers and musicians have come to develop a more contemporary trends and mainstream sounds. Though the lyrical content may be in Spanish or deal with Mexican issues, the sounds are very much in step with modes current in the larger society but with a definite Latino and even Los Angeles, or east Los Angeles flavor. Classical music is practiced but classical musicians do not receive great publicity, their presence also has a history dating to the nineteenth century.

Among the artists those in **cinema are the most cohesively organized**. As to be expected, Los Angeles is the major place for "**Chicano**" cinema but the circle of practitioners is limited. The current "Latino" thrust was antedated by the Mexican actors and production staff dating from the early years of Hollywood. This sector encompasses **directors, actors, technicians** and others many from east Los Angeles. Among the artists, this sector is the most vocal and perhaps the most supported.

Of all the arts, the **theater** has remained the more relatively successful in popularly depicting actual varieties of Mexican life and giving Mexican artists pre-eminent space and recognition. Los Angeles has been a center for Mexican theater with companies encouraging playwrights and actors. The most successful productions staged in Los Angeles have combined music or comedy with



The Latin Beat: Belvedere Park has been a traditional musical entertainment center.
Photograph: George Rodriguez



A popular eastside mural near the corner on Soto Street near Avenida Cesar E. Chavez.
Photograph: George Rodriguez



A work by Eastside muralist George Yepes.
Photograph: George Rodriguez

social intent, while the most successful repertoire theater is based in east Los Angeles, the **Bilingual Foundation of the Arts**.

Dance, folkloric, modern and classical has devotees in the community. **Folkloric dance** is, of course, the most visible and receives the most support and participation by both adults and youth but perhaps is the more limited in innovation. **Classical dance** is not readily accessible and **modern dance** does not have the recognition it deserves but it is these dances which will be important in the future.

There is a relatively wide community of **graphic artists** increasingly recognized as part of the eventually world-acclaimed dynamic Los Angeles art scene. The range of **visual art** is striking. **Chicano muralism** flourished in the **late 60's** and the **early 1970's**. East Los Angeles is dotted with murals. Their content and quality vary notably even within one overall mural setting, **Estrada Courts** for example. Murals within the group, Mexican tradition are the most noted but the most promising work is that of **individual iconoclastic artists** who work in the full range of post-expressionist public styles.

Writers probably are the largest group of Mexican artists in the greater Los Angeles area. The best known among the general public, **John Rechy**, is the least known in the Mexican community. Two contrasting authors have captured best distinct periods of east Los Angeles like communities or specifically the east Los Angeles community: **Mario Suarez**, the **pre-1960's**, **Oscar Zeta Acosta**, the **late 1960's** and **early 1970's**. There is no major east Los Angeles poet publicly pre-eminently acclaimed comparable to **Alurista**, **Gary Soto** or **Lorna Dee Cervantes**, or playwright prolifically comparable to **Carlos Morton** or **Estelle Portillo**, but there are scores of aspiring poets, novelists and other writers. Several gifted women writers are among the most acclaimed.

Mexican east Los Angeles is an **ongoing cultural evolution**. Though there may be uneven changes, the ever strengthening of the community arts means cultural Mexican east Los Angeles will continue. A **revival of the arts**, a cultural endeavor of the highest importance, highlighting theater, music and art, has been occurring with increasing strength. The mega-barrios means a new reality to which artists as well as politicians have to address as have businesses and Mexican-owned corporations. This, in turn, will be valuable in the success and even flourishing of the arts. **Mexican east Los Angeles has a vast reservoir** for artistic development, as it is for political and economic developments based on increased education and the size of the population and the rate of economic growth.

Politics and Organizations

Mexicans in east Los Angeles have been a **modest or significant political force** over the years. Mexican east Los Angeles electoral candidates have been successful through the community electorate and **without having to renounce their ethnic identity**, but seldom securing support outside the community. The community has an organizational history and has also been **under organized**. What may interact with success is that the **diversity of the community may decrease**



Charras.

Photograph: George Rodriguez

the radius of unity within the community, while Mexican candidates may not yet have achieved success without the community. Indeed, electoral disunity has occasionally happened.

The Mexican community has come full circle – it was once **the majority political group** in Los Angeles, and then decline or eclipse followed and by the **end of the 20th century**, it is again important. Politics means using organizing concepts and numbers effectively for individual and group improvement in various ways. Elections are only one way. Members of the current generations have shown that it is possible to impact on general politics while maintaining an ethnic base.

The role of politics has been fundamental in the gains and lack of gains in securing public resources by the Mexican east Los Angeles community, but **politics itself has been a changing reality in Los Angeles**. Through much of the 20th century, the Mexican population has had little or no representation and was thus vulnerable to the policy whims of outside officials and their constituencies. **Before World War II**, the Mexican descent population was politically dependent and often **abused in their civil rights**. **After World War II**, despite their relatively significant numbers, they were **not able to significantly penetrate** the ranks of Los Angeles government officials and business leaders. With the **New Deal, World War II** and the **Great Society programs**, the Mexican community became **more politically viable**, but its dramatic rise in population did not mean it was a major force until very recently.

But changes did follow World War II, underscored by the **1949 and 1959 Roybal elections**. These elections represented the preliminaries precursory to recent governance participation for the Mexican origin community. Beliefs and facts fuel the efforts current **since the 1960's**. Mexicans feel they have been loyal to the Democratic party but had not received significant benefits. This sense of unfair treatment continually stimulated and stimulates efforts. This has provided a readily understood complaint and the demonstrable reason for the need to have issues of the community addressed by their own political leaders.

Movements of **the 1960's, 1970's, 1980's and 1990's** placed community issues on the agendas of local and state governments more so than in the past. However the Mexican origin population still **suffers objective political discrimination and minority vote dilution** by the Los Angeles and California elite. On one level, this objectively hinders the progress and participation of Mexicans in all echelons of government and, on the other, it stimulates efforts.

Nevertheless, though inequitably, electoral politics has been an area in which **Mexicanos have made some measurable progress**. Success is visible in numbers of elected officials participating forces and numbers of voters. Mexican leaders have been elected and appointed to office through the more traditional channels. Leaders such as **Edward Roybal, Art Torres, Richard Alatorre, Gloria Molina, Leticia Quesada, Lucille Roybal-Allard and Richard Polanco** have been elected to state and local offices and others have led effective mobilization movements.

Among 100 Latinos, 30 are below the age of 18 and cannot vote, 30 are ineligible because they are not citizens, 16 register, 12 vote and the other eligible 12 do not. To be noted is that there are those who register and vote. **The numbers participating in electoral politics have grown slowly** and different political circles and networks have developed. In east Los Angeles, historically **80% are registered Democrats**, eight percent have no affiliation and 12 percent are Republican. However, **Republican registration and voter preference have risen** to over 20% and in some elections for some offices exceeding 30%. Recent **youth and citizenship gains** boost prospects for electoral figures in the future.

Community activists, churches, labor leaders, business, elected officials and professionals and civic organizations have been and are the main forces. Organizing, fundraising, lobbying and electioneering are major activities. The base of these is the community.

In electoral politics, voters are what count, in advocacy mobilization what counts is consciousness. Though many Mexicans, on the east side, are not citizens and cannot vote, the Mexican electorate has grown large and continues growing. Potential numbers were only modestly tapped in the voting during efforts for a more balanced representation in Los Angeles and in California during the 1970's, 1980's and 1990's.

The major public policy-related political issues have focused on increasing opportunities, and **educational, economic and immigration needs**. Specific representational issues are county representation, increased council and county representations, the judiciary, commissions and administrative appointments. The articulation of political priorities has stimulated ethnic feelings

and created **some generational divisions** between legal immigrants, older Mexican Americans and members of the first and second generation, and the more successful third and fourth generations.

Further, what had before been a widely shared goal to secure Mexican officials elected has changed as those officials who are now in office have found that they themselves and diverse community spokespersons are not in agreement on everything. A new category of issues can be added: **political infighting** and **diversity** within the growing Mexicano political structure. Moreover, for many at issue are **accountability and unrecognized equities** in a range of public services.

Mexican east Los Angeles is a strong center of **women's activity**. Most importantly, a women's organized force arose during the **early 1970's: Comisión Femenil**. This was followed by other efforts. Direct familiarity with east Los Angeles community-organizing readily underscores the importance of ongoing women participation, and the several Mexican women elected officials substantially demonstrates support for female leadership. (See Chapter X: A Chronology of Issues Affecting Women.)

As in the past in the spirit of the historical "mutualistas" social and political organizations have continually sprouted or re-sprouted during the post Vietnam periods. New organizations such as **United Neighborhood Organization (UNO), Southwest Voter Registration Educational Program (SWVREP), National Association of Latino Elected Officials (NALEO), Mothers of East Los Angeles**, and older ones such as the **Community Service Organization**, the **American G. I. Forum**, **League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC)**, and the **Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF)** continue active in setting up networks, providing citizenship classes, information regarding voting rights. These organizations also have brought forth civil rights cases some of which won court compensations.

Other organizations set precedents for popular, progressive and agitational organizing goals. So have those devoted to unionization, women's rights, immigrant rights, civil rights campaigns and other issue mobilizations. Yet the fact is the community suffers from a **resource limited organizational infrastructure**, organizations in nearly all cases do not have the resources to adequately serve or represent their constituencies.

Another side of electoral politics is institutional access and advocacy. Several institutional fulcrums exist. There are two aspects to this, one pertains to service, the other to participation in the composition and in the decision-making bodies of these institutions. At least, if not more equal to electoral politics, the **elite circles of banks and corporations** are a perennial force as are the delegated administrative representatives of government agencies, particularly the county ones, and those of the justice system. **Access and advocacy to be successful require media, church and trade union support and the tolerance of the police.**

While the **1980's and 1990's** have occasionally been called the "**Decades of the Chicano, and the Hispanic**," in both Mexican and the general media, these have offered less opportunities and more challenges than the rubrics suggest. These challenges have included the need to achieve

effective political representation equitable with Mexican population growth and to narrow the gaps in income, education and housing. In sum, **to achieve equality with that of Anglo Americans.**

Effective leadership is a requirement. The ability of the growing Mexican east Los Angeles leadership in politics, business and the professions to effectively represent not only the economically mobile Mexican middle class, but also the blue-collar medium and lower income majority of the community is being tested. They also have to be effective for Los Angeles interests as a whole.

As Los Angeles strengthens its position as a world city, a segment of Mexican east Los Angeles society is increasing its influence through institutions, professions and agencies, asserting its voice to articulate Mexican interests before major economic and political interest groups in the city, state and country.

Present Civic Issues

The east Los Angeles Mexican origin population faces many needs and issues of importance in order to increase the viable survival of the community. One is the promotion of **greater community civic consciousness.** This subjective or ideational need must explicitly be addressed by a range of private and institutional parties to create the vision and enthusiasm necessary to achieve resolution of the more material issues. Equities are due in all public areas.

Urban economic structures and employment, the way Los Angeles basically redefines itself is the major concern. **Business development** in east Los Angeles is the most immediate way to create employment for east Los Angeles residents. Indeed higher wages and better employments are related to enhanced business development in east Los Angeles. These are also related to **improved worker organization** across the county.

By increasing the ranks of the well educated and well paid, Mexicans can increase their effective participation in this society and insure that issues which are important to their social and cultural reality are addressed with appropriate policies and actions.

Arts are socially and economically important whether this is understood widely or not. Civic leadership must address the strengthening of all the arts, and public culture; this requires both public and private support. Without support, arts and all they contribute for the community, the communities' future will be the poorer.

Education is the recurrent major issue for the community. The link between education and **family environment** is obvious and the community must address the problem of low education levels through its own self generated actions. To increase college enrollment, there must be a concerted effort to keep teenagers in high school through graduation. Though not fully appreciated, library support and technological communication skills are major needs concurrent with education. Mexican leadership should take the initiative and develop the appropriate educational goals and institutions.

Unionization is a major issue given the fact that the largest work force concentration will be in **services, and in skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled manual work**. Trade unionism is a sanctioned vehicle for economic democracy and social rights. However, unions are weak in Los Angeles as well as elsewhere – the main reason by now should be clear, the unions' inactivities and current laws. Policy to strengthen unionization possibilities is necessary but it must be in concert with reform of unions.

Both **youth and senior citizen needs** will require more attention than in the past as the total population grows. Importantly the needs of the incarcerated and ex-incarcerated population need attention; they too are a sector of Mexican east Los Angeles. The quality of life for individuals may be addressed by strengthening the possibilities for **family security** and well being. Possibilities for **homeownership** must be facilitated. Policies addressed to strengthening family cohesiveness are needed which deal with the multiple types of families and micro social group living arrangements. Also needed is greater understanding and toleration for **diverse lifestyles**.

Undocumented immigration needs must be positively resolved. Protective civil rights and non-discriminatory practices are a minimum, but undocumented immigration requires attention to multiple needs. Among them is regularization of status, family unification and civic education services as well as access to basic education. Continued and improved **voter registration and electoral participation** are major needs. **Naturalization of legal immigrants** must be pursued concurrent with efforts to raise their civic awareness.

Surely **elected political representation** must be further increased. Political inclusiveness must be upheld. The Mexican American community must use its numerical resources in order to have a more effective voice to pursue the requisite public and private avenues for its enhancement. Without a stronger rate of political participation, the large Mexican population will continue to have its potential strength diluted. Multiple strategies for effective political representation at all levels and offices for the varied interests of the community.

Demonstrable equities will be the strongest argument for the meeting of community needs. The Mexicano people of east Los Angeles have contributed to the overall success of the city, more than what is acknowledged. Even though many Mexicans have been at the bottom of the socio-economic-educational ladder, they have contributed in all aspects. Mexicans have produced workers, artists, capable politicians, business persons, educators, health professionals, scientists, attorneys and athletes. Mexicans have made efforts to improve educational attainments, attempting repeatedly to expand educational expectations. Mexicans have struggled against an almost impregnable politically and economically white dominated arena and are slowly gaining some positive results.

By examining the demographical and geographical expansion of the community as well as recent political inequities one can see how, as much as Mexicans may try to the contrary, they are often, victims of imposed circumstance which must be overcome. However, on too many occasions, Mexicans weaken themselves instead of strengthening. The constant infighting, petty jealousies, rancor and hypocrisy seems to at times permeate Mexican local political society. The numbers and circumstances demand better than in the past from Mexican leaderships.



As their children move out, many senior citizens choose to remain in their home East Los Angeles.
Photograph: George Rodriguez

Future Trends

East Los Angeles will remain Mexican for the next three generations as it has been in the past. Demographically, the community will continue to grow and diversify. **The seniors will be of growing importance and visibility**, as the generations of the 1960's and 1970's age. The fact will also be that the east Los Angeles Mexican community will be only one among several mega communities, the others will be South Central, San Gabriel, San Fernando and the Santa Ana corridor. Within the city, **the majority of Mexican Americans will increasingly be raised and live outside the historical barrios.**

Economically, the total income of the eastside community and its **attractiveness as a market will continue to increase** but the absolute number of persons with **low income and educational levels in the community will also increase.** Further, the economy of Los Angeles will change technologically even faster than in the past impacting on incomes and social sectors.

Labor needs will change accordingly with new technologies but the demand for **service labor will remain high.** Unless there is a dramatic conscious reversal, the trade unions will be concentrated in the legally privileged public sector and in select transportation, manufacturing and service enclaves.

Nuclear two generation English speaking families will continue to increase. The role and perception of women will continue to change. After a peak, **Spanish language usage will lessen.** The number of **single parent and divorced families will increase.** **Intermarriage** with all other ethnic groups will increase. Persons with different lifestyles will be more numerous and visible.

Educational disparities within the community will be in sharper contrast than those between the community as a whole and the larger society in the future. Quality **adult and post-college education** will be of greater importance because of accelerated changes elsewhere. **Delinquency and violence among youth will continue.**

Arts and media will continue to be prominent in the Mexican community but increasingly dependent on the private sector and market, and integrated with general arts activity across the city.

Voters will increase regardless of what the politicians do and city and countywide politics will be of more importance than state local district politics. **Minority coalitions** will not be stable and as a whole the community will engage in short term operational coalitions with non-minority blocks on specific issues and candidates.

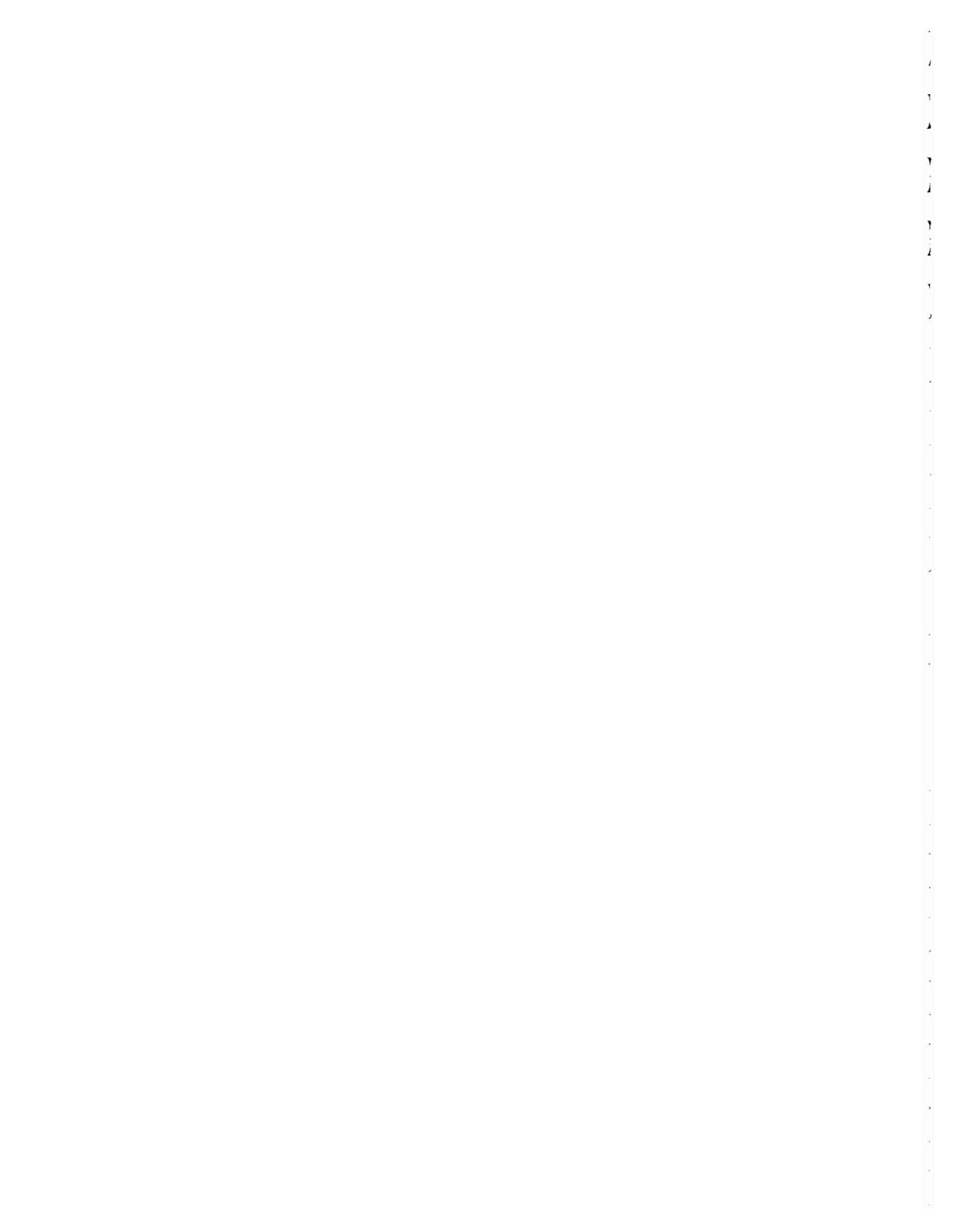
Other Latino nationalities from Central America and South America will be increasing in east Los Angeles. There is a potential for greater political factionalism given that these too have strong group feelings and are frustrated in their quest for equities and recognition.

Despite the repeated recessions, the **economic and social expectations of the Mexican community continued to rise**. The major political question of these decades was the extent to which these expectations could be satisfied, whether the closing years of this century will be ones of a new florescence for Mexican Los Angeles or a new period of disillusionment, as those which stimulated past protest mobilizations. Mexican east Los Angeles has never been better positioned to influence its future than in **the 1990's** yet these years unlike the 1960's are years of **rising conservatism** across the country.

VI.

BOYLE HEIGHTS:
A JEWISH HISTORY

Prepared by: Judy Branfman



BOYLE HEIGHTS: A JEWISH HISTORY

The Metro Eastern Extension study area includes some of the key historic sites and neighborhoods in the roughly **155 year old life of the Jewish community** of Los Angeles. The people who lived in these different areas were influential in shaping many aspects of the city, from its political and business climate to its cultural and physical landscape. While the history of the entire Jewish community of Los Angeles has its beginnings in and around the original pueblo located in this study area, this report follows the proposed subway line, starting with the original Jews of the downtown area and tracking the newer arrivals who moved eastward into Boyle Heights and adjacent areas.

Early Los Angeles

The Pueblo of La Reina de Los Angeles early on displayed the diversity that has since become its hallmark. The census showed that its **3,530 residents** included 2,319 native Californians, 512 from 29 different states and 699 born in 28 different countries, 518 being born in Mexico. There were 650 laborers, 138 farmers, 68 ranchers and overseers, and 32 merchants.

The census lists **eight Jews**, all merchants who lived above or behind their stores on **Bell's Row**, at what is now **Aliso and Los Angeles Streets**, just off the Plaza. It is possible that other Jews had arrived much earlier from Mexico (as they did in other southwestern states) escaping the **Inquisition**, many with their Jewish identity and traditions concealed. But **Jacob Frankfort**, a merchant and tailor, was the first known Jew to arrive, reaching Los Angeles with the **Workmen-Rowland party in 1841** to find a dusty, sunbaked village framed by green vineyards growing at the river's edge. The surrounding hills rolled towards the mountains a few miles away.

The other young Jewish men were **Felix Bachman, Philip Sichel, Arnold Jacobi, Morris Michaels, Morris L. Goodman, Augustin Wasserman, and Joseph Plumer**. Two were from Poland and six from Germany, as were many of the earliest settlers. Of them **Morris Goodman** was elected to the first **City Council in 1850**, just after the U.S. annexed the territory, **Jacobi** became a Councilman in **1853**, and **Sichel** served on the **Council and Board of Supervisors in the 1860s**. Throughout this period **Spanish was the common language**, which the Council minutes attest to.

As people flocked to California drawn by the **lure of gold**, the population of Los Angeles soared from **11,000 in 1880** to roughly **100,000 in 1900**. The peaceful pueblo turned into a notorious boom town. The Jews who came learned Spanish and became part of the "**frontier brotherhood community**" that developed. The Jews were notable for their involvement in community efforts and participation in developing numerous community associations. Many of them became prominent citizens including:

Isaias W. Hellman, who as a dry-goods merchant held customers' money in his safe between their trips to the city and eventually started the **Farmers' and Merchants' Bank**, later a branch of Security Pacific Bank; a major financier and partner to **Henry Huntington** in developing the **Pacific**

Electric Railway "Red Car" system, which encouraged the expanding urban sprawl. He was the president of the **original B'nai B'rith Synagogue** for many years and later donated a third of the land that became the **University of Southern California**;

Harris Newmark, dry goods merchant and major land developer, a founder of the L.A. Public Library and L.A. County Museum, founder of the L.A. Water Company (later the DWP), instrumental in luring the Southern Pacific Railway to the city, and at this point most remembered for writing "**Sixty Years In Southern California: 1853 - 1913**;"

Joseph Newmark, acted as **first lay rabbi** for the Jewish community upon his arrival in **1854**, provided ritual supervision for the baking of Los Angeles' first matzo (baked by a Catholic), and was an active member of L.A.'s first charitable organization, the **Hebrew Benevolent Society**, which acquired land for a cemetery, gave charity to destitute Jews and gentiles, and raised funds to send to Jews in the "Holy Land." He was the first president of the B'nai B'rith Synagogue. His wife, Rosa, led the women's committee formed to raise funds for L.A.'s first college, **St. Vincent's College**, renamed **Loyola University in 1918**;

Joe and Mike Goldwasser (Americanized to Goldwater), who arrived in **1861** and in **1909** built the first garment manufacturing factory in Los Angeles; the company eventually became COLE of California and Mike Goldwater eventually became Barry Goldwater's grandfather.

There were a number of other prominent Jews - many were merchants. And conversely, a majority of the merchants were Jewish. When Jewish businesses closed on Yom Kippur of 1867, a Los Angeles newspaper reported that "so many of our stores were shut that it looked like Sunday in a New England village."

In spite of L.A.'s reputation for its acceptance of its diverse residents, there was discrimination directed at the Native Americans and Mexicans, and anti-Semitic incidents occurred. In **1858** the California state legislature passed a **Sunday closing law**, creating a debate that quickly focused on the Jewish community. House Speaker William Stow attacked the Jews as undesirable citizens who came to California only to make money and proposed taxing them so highly that they would essentially be forced out of business. Editorials against the bill were published in the Los Angeles Star: "Such bigoted views show an intolerance entirely adverse to the spirit and character of our institutions..." The bill was passed, but no effort was made to enforce it, and it was **eventually repealed in 1883**.

That same year, **1858, Andrew Boyle**, an Irish immigrant bought the "**Old Mission Vineyard**," becoming the first American to move to the east side of the Los Angeles River. He also bought the unirrigated hill land above the river bluffs, the core of what would become Boyle Heights, and built the first brick house on the east side of the river fronting Boyle Avenue. The hills were green during winter rains but too barren even for sheep during the dry season.

Boyle was joined in this venture by his son-in-law **William Workman**, who later served on the City Council from **1872 to 1879** and as Mayor from **1887 to 1889**. He was instrumental in bringing water to **Boyle Heights** as he prepared to subdivide the area in **1876**. Drinking water came

from the city's extended water mains and Workman also convinced the city to build a 14-mile aqueduct from further upriver for agricultural purposes. No graded streets existed until he developed a **single-horse car line** from **Main Street down Aliso Street to Pleasant Avenue**. Later he put in a broad gauge street car line from **1st and Spring Streets down East 1st to Evergreen Cemetery**. The area only had roughly 40 homes when the horse-drawn line was installed. Ridership increased dramatically though in **1878** when a **series of baseball games** was held at a diamond on East 1st near State Street, drawing overflow crowds.

Eventually the bulk of the Boyle Heights area was sold to **Louis Lewin** and **Charles Jacobi** who formed the "**Pioneer Lot Association**," subdividing the land into small building lots which could be affordable to working people. They even offered these lots on "time," which was unusual for the period.

During the **late 1880s** the **Santa Fe railroad line** to Los Angeles was completed, setting off a **land boom**. Jewish businesses prospered. **Isaias Hellman** established a street railway in **1883** that later became part of **Henry Huntington's Pacific Electric Railroad Company** and **Herman Silver**, who became treasurer of the Santa Fe Railroad and president of the City Council in the 1890s and for whom the **Silver Lake Reservoir was named**, built a cable car line to Boyle Heights. The first Jewish newspaper, the **B'nai B'rith Messenger** (named after the main Jewish congregation in the city - today's Wilshire Boulevard Temple), started publication in **January of 1897**. It helped the small Jewish community develop a sense of itself and the larger Jewish world.

From the **1850s until the 1880s** Jews were active in pueblo life and were involved in starting most of the early institutions in the city, including the **Los Angeles Water Company** (now the DWP) and the first City Council. **Emil Harris** became Police Chief in **1878**, the only Jewish law enforcement chief until Sherman Block was elected L.A. County Sheriff; he was honored by the Chinese community for helping to avert a massacre of the Chinese. A large influx of mid-westerners in the **early 1890s** shifted the population from a heterogenous Spanish-speaking mixture of foreign and ethnic groups to one dominated by a new, largely Protestant-dominated, English-speaking majority. **Social isolation** became a fact of life for the Jewish community and they were excluded from elected office from the turn of the century until the **end of World War II**.

While the Jewish population had grown to **330 in 1870**, representing 6% of the population, by the turn of the century **Temple Street** had become the Jewish "**Main Street**" and the number had increased to **2,500**. By **1910** Yiddish-speaking newcomers from Eastern Europe and the east coast caused the Jewish population to jump, marking the beginning of a spectacular growth that would make it the largest Jewish community in California. About two-thirds of these immigrants were living in the area bounded by **Los Angeles Street, Commercial Street, East Sixth Street, and Central Avenue** - the Jewish quarter that developed after the **1880s** as these poorer, less welcomed Jews arrived in the city. As the population increased the living conditions grew crowded and inadequate.

Moving East

The wealthier, more acculturated Jews started to move to the western reaches of the city, spreading out to the **Temple Street/Bunker Hill/Central Avenue areas** and later to the **West Adams/Crenshaw neighborhood**. But most of the Jewish population, the majority recent immigrants, crossed the river to Boyle Heights and neighboring communities, creating the largest Jewish enclave in the west between the World Wars. Moving to "**the Heights**" kept people close to each other and jobs downtown, while providing more room for growing families, opportunities to buy homes, and a healthier environment with sea breezes and mountain views. In 1908 there were just two Jewish families in the area, but by 1929 there were over **10,000 Jewish households** and by the end of the depression there were more than **70,000 Jews** in Boyle Heights.

Who Were They?

The explosive immigration that brought hundreds of thousands of Jews to the United States began in the **late 1800s** and lasted through the **1920s**. Most of the Jews who settled on the east side of Los Angeles came from **Eastern Europe**, the majority from the **Pale of Settlement** which, 100 years ago, contained the largest Jewish community in the world (roughly five million). In 1791 Jews had been confined by law to the "Pale," 300,000 square miles of Russian Poland, Byelorussia, and much of Lithuania and the Ukraine.

By **1825** the czars began to deal with "the Jewish problem" with cycles of "repression and relaxation" and in **1891** all Jews were **expelled from Moscow**. Jews were allowed to live only in selected cities and towns except by permit, unable to own land and limited in occupations. Within the isolated *shtetls* (small villages) that developed their strong connectedness and dependence on each other would form the basis for ongoing comradery as they moved "beyond the Pale" into the new world. Artist Marc Chagall's work visually reflects his love for his home village, Vitebsk, and deep roots in the Jewish life and humor of that period.

Religious customs and traditions were at the center that *shtetl* life revolved around. Jews' strong emphasis on education and study meant that every boy would get a Jewish education in the *cheder* (Hebrew school). The traditional bias against a serious education for women combined with the Russian quota on Jews in their schools meant that women's studies were overlooked for the most part. But for most Russian Jews a secular education remained a dream.

Yiddish

Yiddish was the language of the Eastern European Jews. It was formed over many centuries as the Jews were pushed across Europe and melded elements of different languages together to fit their unique culture and needs. Written from right to left it uses the letters of the Hebrew alphabet. Its main components were assorted dialects of medieval German, with Rabbinic Hebrew, Laaz (the Jewish dialects of Old French and Old Italian), and later various forms of Slavic mixed in. Of the many vernaculars Jews have developed over the centuries, **Yiddish flourished most successfully** and during the **1920s** roughly two-thirds of the Jews in the world could understand it. Still the German Jews considered it a vulgar "jargon," and the Hebraicists, who were trying to revive Hebrew as a

modern spoken language, hated it as the pitiful language of the masses and considered it the demeaning symbol of their ghetto history.

For many Jews in Europe and later in the U.S., Yiddish and Jewish were synonymous but the language itself became a cultural battleground in the struggle over the future of the European Jews beginning in earnest during the **19th century**. While repression against the Jews in Europe grew, various groups developed visions for the perpetuation of the Jewish people. Simply put, the **Zionists wanted a separate Jewish state**, which would revive **Hebrew** as its language. The socialists promoted worldwide revolution that would make the world a more liveable place for everyone, including Jews. And the **Bund** (General League of Jewish Workingmen formed in **1897**) developed the idea of "national cultural autonomy," using Yiddish as a defining factor in obtaining national rights for Jews inside Russia. While the Zionists' predominant goal of forming a Jewish state was finally realized years later in 1948, the Bund organized the Jewish workers to address their grievances, initiating the Jewish labor movement, and advocated for the expansion of Yiddish language, schools, and literature, all of which became synonymous with Yiddish culture through the present.

Jewish writers also heatedly debated the issue. Despite radically varying views Yiddish literature evolved and expanded, if for no other reason than it being the language most Jews communicated in. With the publication of anthologies by two outstanding Yiddish writers, **Sholom Aleichem** and **Mordecai Spektor**, the flowering of modern Yiddish ("our national treasure") and Yiddish literature began. These writers, along with **Y.L. Peretz** and others became "national treasures" themselves as their stories became a mirror through which the Jews could



Anna Stromberg on the porch of her Michigan Avenue home, now a parking lot for White Memorial Hospital, 1937-38. Photograph: Courtesy of Margaret Shifrin

contemplate their changing lives in the *shtetls*. The Yiddish writers at the turn of the century wrote lovingly, but critically, about *shtetl* life and the conflicts that were gradually putting it out of existence. As the Jewish community spread throughout the world, they took with them these stories and their unique brands of humor and irony.

The immense range of feeling expressed by Yiddish is one of its unique characteristics. Probably for this reason a number of words have been absorbed into the English language: *shmoos*, *yenta*, *chutzpa*, *nosh*, *kvetch*, *megillah*, etc. Adding **-nik** to the end of a word to refer to a adherent of something (peacenik, no-goodnik) is also a Yiddish "invention." Yiddish also has an abundance of words for character types, including *shmo*, *shlemiel*, *nudnik*, *shlump*, *shmendrik*, *kibitzer*, *boytchik*, *shlepper*, *shnook*, *bulbenik*, and so on and on.

Proverbs were also invented for every turn life took or didn't take. For example:

- *Hobn tsu zingen un tsu zogn* translates as "To have to sing and to say," but means "To have no end of trouble"
- *Az men fregt a shayle, iz treyf* translates as "If you ask permission, the answer will be 'forbidden'" but means "if you ask permission the answer will be no - so maybe it's better not to ask."
- *A nemer iz nit keyn geber* means "a taker is not a giver."

DO NOT MOCK YOUR MOTHER TONGUE

by Chaim Schwartz (1904-1995)

He who mocks his mother tongue
sins against his race; our language
is alive, nor shall it vanish.
It's our own, like our own young.

All my mother sang at night,
every teardrop that she shed,
rooted in my heart and head
through my hearing and my sight.

In my moments of regretting,
in my moments of despair,
Yiddish teaches me to bear,
keeps my sun of hope from setting.

Don't mock it, don't throw mud!
Of your mother tongue be proud:
with their sweat a people plowed
and they sowed it with their blood...

Such a reaping -- full and fair!
Every age brought forth its treasure:
wide the barn-door -- beyond measure,
harvests heaped -- no need to spare!

Time won't kill it; it grows better;
deep the lovely roots are driving;
from deep roots the sap is rising
like my mother's pearl-bright letters;

Like the words we used to get
from our dad across the sea --
words of dress-shop drudgery,
words that tasted of hot sweat;

like a message from my child
winging from the far Atlantic --
every character clear-handed
in a pure and graceful style.

Mocking Yiddish with a smile
is a sin beyond forgiving.
For our mother tongue is living:
it's our very own, our child.

1984

Pogroms, violent raids on Jewish villages, took place throughout the **1800s** and increased as Ukranian and Russian nationalists battled the new revolutionary government. Between **1918 and 1920**, in the Ukraine alone, 887 major pogroms and 349 smaller ones took place. Over 100,000 Jews were killed there. Partially as a result, Jewish emigration from the former Russian Empire shot from less than 5,000 in 1919 to roughly 225,000 between **1920 and 1923**. Of these **187,000** came to the U.S., joining thousands more from throughout Europe and Eastern Europe as they settled in New York, Cleveland, Detroit, and other eastern cities. U.S. immigration laws were tightened in **1924**, establishing quotas on Eastern Europeans, and the "window of opportunity" for European Jews closed. This eventually cut off the American community from the source of their rich culture and encouraged the process of "Americanization."

Their **families were large** - four to nine children wasn't unusual. It could take years between the time the first family member left to make their way to the "golden land" and the time the entire family was reunited in the U.S. Sometimes it would be the children who left to **seek a better life**, never to see their families again.

"I remember when my father disappeared from home [in 1907] - and then finally we got a letter. He had gone to America! It was common - the men didn't want to tell the women. My father had [four] sons and the sons had to go to the Czar's army. So the real motive was to keep his sons out of the army... He came to Canada but he emigrated to Ohio... America was the golden land. A lot of men didn't write - they wanted to disappear...My father was in big debt by the time we all got here. I remember he used to have us all [nine] line up. Maybe that's what he had in mind - to see if it had been worth it.

At night my father would read to us. We got a Jewish paper in the mail - the Forward - and he'd read us stories of women looking for their husbands who had come to America - and my mother would cry... " M.S.

The following poem, "Shlof, Mayn Kind," one of the few poems by the famous Yiddish humorist **Sholom Aleichem** that was put to song, was first published in **1892**. Included in the first major collection of Yiddish folk songs assembled by **S. Ginzburg** and **P. Marek** in **1901** as an anonymous song, it has remained popular. It became a source for many parodies, including a song from the period of the unsuccessful **1905 Russian revolution** where a mother sings about the father in Siberia:

*Shlof mayn kind, mayn treyst, mayn sheyner
Shlof zhe, lyu-lyu-lyu
Shlof mayn lebn, mayn kadish eyner,
Shlof zhe, zunenyu*

Sleep my child, my comfort and beauty
Hush and go to sleep
Sleep my life, my only "kadesh"
Sleep, my little son.

*Bay dayn vigl zitst dayn mame
Zingt a lid un veynt
Vest a mol farshteyn mistame
Vos zi hot gemeynt*

At your cradle sits your mama,
Sings a song and weeps
Someday, you may know the reason
And what was on her mind.

*In amerike iz der tate
Dayner zunenyu
Du bist nokh a kind lesate
Shlof zhe, shlof, lyu-lyu*

Your daddy's in America
Little son of mine
But you are just a child now
So hush and go to sleep.

*Dos amerike iz far yedn,
Zogt men, gor a glik,
Un far yidn a gan-eydn,
Epes an antik.*

America is for everyone,
They say, the greatest piece of luck,
For Jews, it's a garden of Eden,
A rare and precious place.

*Dortn est men in der vokhn
Khale, zunenyu,
Vaykhelekh vel ikh dir kokhn
Shlof zhe, shlof, lyu-lyu.*

People there eat "khale" in the middle of the week
Little son of mine,
I'll cook chicken broth for you -
So hush and go to sleep.

*Er vet shikn tsvantsik doler,
Zayn portret dertsu,
Un vet nemen, lebn zol er,
Undz ahintsutsu.*

Dad will send us twenty dollars
And his picture, too,
And he'll send for us, God bless him,
And bring us there to him.

*Bir es kumt dos gute kvitl,
Shlof zhe, zunenyu.
Shlofn iz a tayer mitl,
Shlof zhe, shlof, lyu-lyu.*

But til it comes, the magic letter,
Hush, and go to sleep,
Sleep is a precious cure,
So hush and go to sleep.

Boyle Heights

Many, including **tubercular Jews** from the eastern sweat shops for whom clean air and a dry climate was their only hope for a cure, gradually found their way to **Boyle Heights**. It offered a place, as the Los Angeles City Directory claimed, with a "pure sea breeze, unadulterated by any impure contact with the city" and "free from malaria, fog, and on this score is not surpassed by any place in the world." In addition "the land is not more than half as high-priced in Boyle Heights as in Los Angeles, at the same distance from the business center."

They brought with them their language and traditions and strong connections to their communities of birth and the American cities to which they originally came. Whereas *shtetl* life had often been based on class or occupation, Jews who came to New York and other east coast cities affiliated with *landsmanshaftn* (**people from the same village or area in Europe**) and developed hundreds of associations that acted as burial societies and fraternal support networks. Even manufacturers or contractors sought workers from their home town.

But on arrival in L.A. new associations such as the Cleveland and Detroit Free Loan Societies sprang up as immigrants strived to help each other make the transition to a new city and now also identified with their American city of origin. Street and shop names reflected recent uprootings: Michigan, St. Louis, Brooklyn, Cincinnati, Houston, Mott, Chicago, etc.

Geographically the heart of the community stretched north from **1st Street to Wabash Avenue, and from Cummings Street on the west to Evergreen on the east**. From there it started climbing up the incline northeast into the **Wabash/Evergreen area** and up over the hillside into **City Terrace**. It was primarily single family wooden houses, with some newer duplexes and apartment buildings sprinkled in. Spectacular views of the **San Gabriel Mountains** could be had in parts of the area.

City Terrace (northeast of Boyle Heights) was one of the later subdivisions in the area, remembered as the place where the "wealthier" Jews moved to build a home. Known for its fields of **mustard grass** and **goats** grazing on the vacant lots, there were already a number of Jews living on the terraced hillsides in 1924. The **B'nai Zion Synagogue**, offering religious services and a Hebrew School, was the first to be built in that neighborhood, followed by a series of other cultural and social institutions including the **Menorah Center**, run by the **Jewish Educational Association**, the **City Terrace Cultural Center**, run by the left/progressive **Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order**, and the **City Terrace Folk Shul**, with a zionist orientation. This grouping of organizations point to the political and social "framework" of the community that had its roots in the old country.

Brooklyn Avenue

Brooklyn Avenue was the heart and soul of the community. Yiddish was the language of the street and bargaining was part of daily life there, a dynamic and noisy scene both day and night. (See Brooklyn Avenue map at end of this Chapter.)

"Shopping on Brooklyn Avenue with my mother, among the pickle and herring barrels, the lively butcher shops full of ladies waiting their turn on solid wooden benches. The serious task of choosing the right plump chicken, from among the stack of large cages filled with squawking white and brown birds on the Brooklyn Avenue sidewalk.

I think the people made Boyle heights unique...with an abundant drive, energy, joy, and lots of "chutzpah." The barber on Brooklyn Avenue near Mott Street, who when he didn't have a customer would sit at his easel placed in the window and paint. He wore an artist's scarf around his neck and his hair was worn sort of like Einstein's. A lot of older men of artistic penchant wore their hair that way - the artists, the writers, the poets. There were many creative people living in Boyle Heights." M.F.

Brooklyn and Soto was the main intersection, crowded with stacks of newspapers and the cry of the newsboys hawking papers, bus traffic, **Curries Ice Cream**, and the continual foot traffic. It wasn't unusual for a preacher to set up on the corner and exhort Jews to "come to Jesus." Eventually they set up the **Hebrew Christian Synagogue** a few blocks away and erected a neon



Map Reference No. 31: Canter Brothers Delicatessen, established in 1931 at 2323 Brooklyn Avenue.
Photograph: Courtesy of Margaret Shifrin

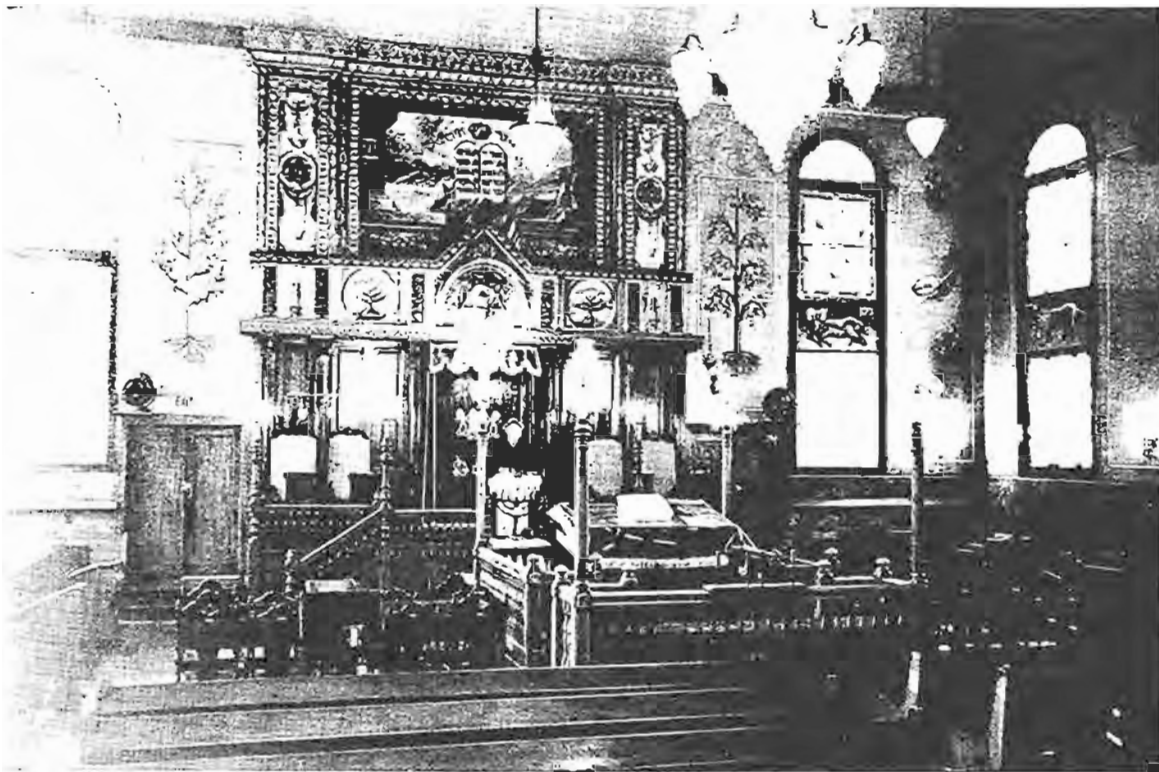


Map Reference No. 31: Interior of Canter Brothers Delicatessen with two of Canter brothers, Ben and Ruby, and Ben's daughter Selma, in 1932, the year after it opened. Photograph: Courtesy of Canter's Delicatessen



Map Reference No. 22: Congregation Talmud Torah (Breed Street Shul) in 1995.

Photograph: Judy Branfman



Map Reference No. 22: Interior of the Breed Street Shul in 1976.
Photograph: Security Pacific Collection/Los Angeles Public Library



Map Reference No. 39: B'nai Jacob Synagogue (Fairmount Street Shul) on Fairmount at Evergreen in 1995.

Photograph: Judy Braufman



Map Reference No. 18: The Monte Carlo Bathhouse, a gathering place since the 1920s, is now being prepared to house homeless and disabled community members. Photograph: Judy Braufman

sign saying "Jesus the Messiah Is The Light Of The World" in English and Yiddish - causing more than one Jew to ask them "Can you make from a fish a chicken?" Neither was it unusual to hear political debates or see kids hanging out on street corners or playing in vacant lots.

"On the southwest corner of Brooklyn and Soto one could find the solutions to all of the world's ills (from the Depression to the impending World War II, and finally the war in Korea). Every evening men (mostly garment workers, etc.) would gather to discuss (sometimes hot arguments) all the issues..." D.H.

"In the summer our family walked from 1st and Cummings to Brooklyn and Soto in the evenings (over a mile). Sometimes if we had some extra money, we purchased an ice cream cone at Curries." S.C.

Extending east and west were blocks of stores catering to the Jewish community. Half a block down Brooklyn from Soto, the original **Canter's Delicatessen**, established in 1931, sold 7,000 pounds of corned beef a week. The delis - **Canter's** and **Woloshin's** were the best - and bakeries are the first to be remembered, places where people could come and eat traditional Eastern European Jewish food - such as the sour kosher pickles made without vinegar - and hang out. Memorable also was the "international" branch of the **Bank of America** on Brooklyn Avenue, the "only one in L.A. where they had someone who spoke Yiddish." And then there was the **Famous Cafe**, "where the elite went to eat" and an occasional treat for the less wealthy, with tablecloths and waiters and a 10 course meal for \$1.25.

The **Warsaw Bakery** immigrated to Brooklyn Avenue in 1933 with its owner, master baker **Louis Felhandler**, from its original location in Poland. It was run by **Louis Horowitz** and both families lived above the bakery. As one of the larger businesses in the area, it had eight master bakers at its peak, who were all members of the **Jewish Bakers' Union**; apprentices stuck union labels on the bread bags. But in 1942 **Louis Felhandler** refused to meet the union's demands and the reign of the Warsaw Bakery ended.

The *shvitz*, or **bathhouse**, was another renowned gathering place. Few Jews could afford a bathing place of their own in the old country, so bathhouses had been a widespread institution, mainly for men. The **Monte Carlo Bathhouse**, the **Pecan Street Bathhouse**, and others, took on that role in Boyle Heights, a place for men - and women, and even children - to gossip, play cards, and tell stories.

The Jewish dream of "making it in America" was reflected in the street scene. For most Jews this consisted of setting up small businesses in the Heights: **Feinberg's Grocery**, **Fryerman's Taylor Shop**, **Ginzburg's Vegetarian Restaurant**, **Lillian's Butcher Shop**, **Scheinholtz Jewelry**, etc. Roughly 50 mom-and-pop type grocery stores sprang up in the 1920s. A number of the proprietor families lived in attached living quarters, either above or behind the shop, contributing to the ever-present action on the main streets. Of course there were those who really "made it" such as Max Factor, whose original cosmetics factory was on Brooklyn Avenue near Soto. But more often the community was made up of more ordinary people, many of them fascinating in their own ways:

"Not many people that I knew became prominent . The most memorable character I can recall was the red-faced grey haired man who had a walrus mustache. He pushed a two wheel cart made of sheet steel formed into an oven. He roasted chestnuts, yams, and sweet potatoes. He was always smiling as he called out his products. He parked on Breed Street just south of Brooklyn Avenue. Often a dray horse and wagon were parked next to him, waiting for a hire." R.G.

Even through the 20s and 30s, and into the 40s, some families kept a horse and cart in their back yard. Peddlers, some taking on the role of the first 20th century "recyclers", would come through the neighborhoods buying metal scraps, bottles and rags, or hawking vegetables or fish laid out on ice.

"It was so different. We would never lock the door...When we'd go away on a Sunday we'd get home and Uncle Dave and aunt Jeannette would be there or some others... We did a lot of walking - we were always walking everywhere...We had a car off and on but my mom never drove. Every day she'd take a walk to get food for the night. They stopped and chatted or talked with the shop keepers. It was much more personal." M.K.

"My father had a horse and a goat, and when he would go out to peddle with the cart and he'd be at State and Michigan [two blocks away] - that goat knew he was coming. How did she know? But she did. She would do whatever goats do - yell for him..." R.P.

Religion

The religious, mainly **Orthodox**, formed a diverse array of congregations within walking distance of their homes. The **Congregation Talmud Torah** founded in **1905** on **Rose Street** downtown moved to Boyle Heights in **1912** and by **1923** had built a beautiful Eastern European style synagogue, the **Breed Street Shul**, just down from **Brooklyn Avenue**. With its high arched roof and stain-glass windows, it became the largest orthodox congregation on the west coast and until the earthquakes of the last decade made it unusable, the original wood building in the rear was the oldest still-used synagogue in Los Angeles.

But even in the **1930s** when the Boyle Heights population peaked at **70,000 to 80,000**, there were only about **25 synagogues** in the area, some storefront *shtieblach* (little places). Synagogue attendance was "never anything to write East about" but during **Prohibition** a number of new worshippers appeared when local authorities gave synagogues permission to have wine for Sabbath services. Clearly the majority were secular Jews, consciously expressing their Jewishness in non-religious ways, or felt their Jewishness was adequately expressed through their day to day life in such a Jewish environment.

"Although my family was not religious, I remember feelings of comfort and warmth because of the Jewish make-up of the area." S.C.

"My family's religious involvement was non-existent other than my father's paid professional singing in various synagogues during the High Holidays... Although my parents came from Europe and were raised in a religious atmosphere, they were basically part of the 'revolt' against structured religious leanings of the early 1920's."
D.H.

Even so the Jewish community had a myriad of ways they related to Jewish religion, with its dozens of holidays and rituals, and Jewish traditions. *Shabbat*, the weekly Jewish "holy day" of rest, begins at sundown on Friday and ends Saturday evening. For the Orthodox, life would come to a slow halt; they refrained from many normal activities, strolled the streets in their best black suits, and attended *shul*. But even many of the immigrant non-religious Jews would follow the tradition of lighting candles at sundown on Friday, perhaps even saying the Kiddush prayer over the wine, and have large family dinners.

There are two primary groups of holidays in Jewish tradition. The main one is the **High Holidays**, which includes Rosh Hashonah (the Jewish New Year) and Yom Kippur (the atonement period at the end of the High Holidays) and usually occurs towards the **end of September**. Coming just before the onset of winter at harvest time, these holidays allow for introspection, review of the previous year, repentance, and looking forward to a sweet new year. The High Holidays were (and are) the holiday that draws Jews together more than any other - and in Boyle Heights, as elsewhere, less religious Jews took part in the services, perhaps for the only time all year.

The **Pilgrim Holidays**, which include *Pesach/Passover* (celebrating the Jewish exodus from Egypt and the first fruits of spring with a highly ritualized family feast called a "seder") and Sukkot. This takes place during spring and usually falls in **April**.

"Our family was Orthodox and we observed the Sabbath and all the holidays. My mother raised her own poultry and made her own pickles and wine, participated in most Jewish philanthropies, and we had an "open house" on Friday nights - all the relatives and friends came over. We had singing and dancing...We thought the whole world was Brooklyn Avenue." M.C.

"We were not a religious family . But we were 100% Jews. How to explain this is still a major intellectual and philosophical exercise in the Jewish world...Was I bar-mitzveh'd? Of course, religious or not...again, if ever any doubt, the stillness, the "holy" quiet which descended onto our neighborhood during the Passover, Rosh Hashonah and Yom Kippur holidays dramatically marked the area. The area was 'normally' so busy, so filled with ethnic 'noises'...so vibrant, that the silence of the holidays was indeed dramatic." I.A.



The Seymour Rosen family at their Passover seder, 1933.
 Photograph: Jewish Historical Society of Southern California

Social Services in the Heights

Beginning in the 1910s a range of Jewish facilities from older parts of the city started moving eastward and new institutions were initiated or expanded. When Los Angeles passed a law prohibiting the treatment of tuberculosis patients within the city's boundaries, the **Kaspere Cohn Hospital** moved just beyond the city line to **Stephenson Avenue**, now **Whittier Boulevard** (after changes in name and location and a merger, it eventually became the **Cedars-Sinai Medical Center**). The **Mount Sinai Home For Incurables** opened in 1920 during a flu epidemic and by 1930 it was able to house 50 people. Mount Sinai also opened a comprehensive clinic on **Breed Street** to make medical services accessible to the working class.

In 1913 **The Hebrew Sheltering Home**, a facility for homeless and "wayfarer" Jews, was moved to Boyle Heights. By the time it moved to the beautiful **Gless Estate at 4th and Boyle**, the name had been changed to **The Jewish Home For The Aged**, shifting its purpose to housing the aging members of the community. It became a fixture in the community, attracting wealthy donors, and even after its move to Reseda has continued serving aging Jews who once lived in Boyle Heights.

The first Jewish burial ground (established in 1855) in Chavez Ravine were moved to the **Home of Peace Cemetery** when it opened in 1902. Alongside many of the earliest Jewish settlers such as **Emil Harris**, are buried well-known Jews including **Fanny Brice**, the **Warner brothers**, and **Rabbi Osher Zilberstein** of the Breed Street Shul.

Diversity in the Heights

The Jews shared Boyle Heights with other ethnic groups. The **Armenians** had come around the turn of the century, followed by the **Molokan Russians**, who lived primarily in the "flats" between the Los Angeles River and the Heights. The majority of the large **Mexican community** lived south and east of Boyle Heights, but many lived throughout the area. **Japanese** and **Italians** were also part of the mix. The **Malabar Branch Library Report of 1924** "notes that patrons... are using books in Armenian, French, German, Hungarian, Italian, Russian, Polish, Serbo-Croatian, Spanish and Yiddish." At its height in the **1930s** the neighborhood was **50 to 90% Jewish** (depending on which streets you included), but it is remembered by almost all as a diverse community where "there was a **beautiful respect for each other.**"

"When the Japanese had to be relocated they were given tremendous support. Many people helped them, a few took some of their businesses on a temporary basis and gave them back...very few. We tried to give them moral encouragement. Those at Santa Anita were visited by Roosevelt High School alumni...Recently at the 50 year reunion they received diplomas they never got at the time." A.V.

"Boyle Heights was a wonderful community. We pulled together. We were all races and mixed well. Prejudice didn't seem to exist. Nobody had anything because of the times and we lived comfortably. If we didn't, we didn't know the difference!" R.F.

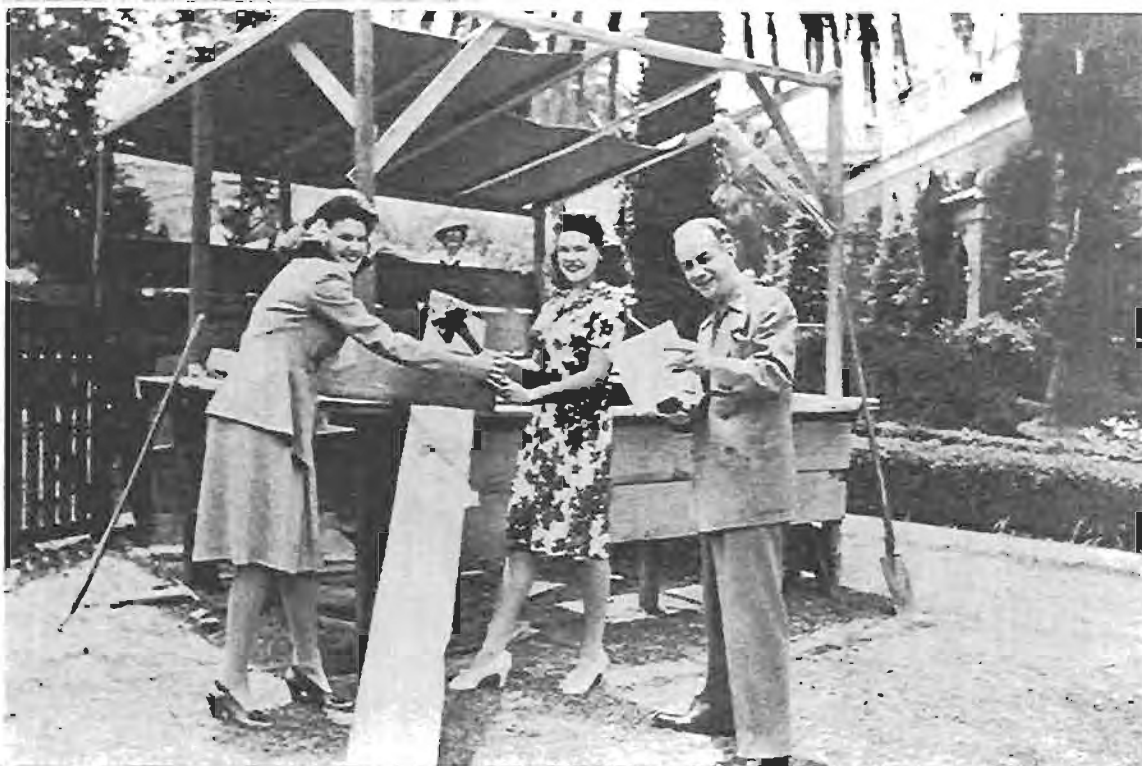


Map Reference No. 12: Winter 1932, this group of students from Hollenbeck Junior High School illustrate the diversity of the community.
Photograph: Jewish Historical Society of Southern California

Diverse it was, even within the Jewish community. A complex and vibrant web of Jewish organizations grew, including organizations from the east and midwest that set up branches in Boyle Heights, fraternal and cultural organizations, clubs, and political organizations representing the full spectrum of Jewish viewpoints. Each different political and social group had within it a diversity of opinion.

"There were four categories of Jews: the orthodox, the Socialist/Bundist types, the Left/Communists, various Zionists - and then there were lots of unaffiliated too...and each group had different kinds. The Zionists had the Yiddish Zionists, the Hebrew Zionists, and the religious Zionists and so on..." S.B.

The community was a socially aware and highly politicized one. Local life reflected the political ferment of the times - debates and demonstrations on the street and in the halls, lectures by political reformers traveling the lecture circuit. The political dynamics were far from static. In **1909 the Workman's Circle (*Arbeiter Ring*)**, a large Yiddish cultural and political group founded in 1900 in New York, established the **Vladeck Center** in Boyle Heights. A national political disagreement within the organization in **1926** resulted in a split and the establishment of the **Jewish People's Fraternal Order (JPFO) of the International Workers Order (IWO)**. The JPFO, also Yiddishist, in turn built the **City Terrace Cultural Center in 1948**, the home for much community activity. These political differences were taken seriously and had real repercussions in the community, causing ruptures in families and between friends.



Map Reference No. 9: Members of the Picnic Committee prepare for the annual fundraising picnic at the Jewish Home for the Aged, 1943.
Photograph: Jewish Historical Society of Southern California

Anarchists, socialists and the **Communist Party** also had active and visible presences in the community:

"Both of [my parents] attended meetings and social events at a center on the corner of Brooklyn and Mott. It was I think owned by the Communist Party. Downstairs a bakery and a restaurant and upstairs meeting rooms and an auditorium. Lots of concerts in the auditorium, the Freiheit Gesang Farein, the Mandolin Club, and of course many lectures." M.F.

"A notable image of the area was the actions of the L.A. 'Red Squad,' a sort of early version of McCarthyism, in the form of the infamous 'Red' Hynes - as the sirens came racing towards the Mott Street and Brooklyn center of 'radicalism'...where the left-wing groups held forth. For a kid it was all part of the excitement." I.A.

In 1909 the **Merchants and Manufacturers Association** pushed through the enactment of an ordinance limiting the right of **free speech**, with the goal of halting the growing labor movement. This of course had a strong impact on the union organizing and political activities of Boyle Heights residents and, over the next 20 years, many, particularly the communists, participated in an often violent struggle to open up the city again for political activity.

"We demonstrated for free speech - it was a real free speech fight. We did it at the Plaza because it was downtown and there were people there... We wanted to open up free speech for everyone, so people could picket, could gather or demonstrate. Otherwise it was illegal and they could put you in jail. You couldn't hold public meetings outside. You could try and rent halls if someone would rent to you...or they would rent to you and at the last minute back out. We had a hard time finding places. Nor could you use the newspapers much - they just wouldn't take your ads. For those who put themselves on the line, they got beaten up... There's no comparison now - anyone can organize a meeting or a march and get a permit. We couldn't." Y.S.

Fundraising for all the various causes and social services was a way of life, particularly for the women. While the wealthier Jews in other parts of the city felt an obligation and were active in supporting charities and services in Boyle Heights, local residents were constantly planning events, picnics and other activities.

"My mother, active in Hadassah and Consumptive Relief Organization, would have her women friends over to cook huge amounts of food (gefilte fish, blintzes, etc.). And then the next day we would haul it to Hollenbeck Park, where they held their luncheons. I think the luncheons cost 25 cents. The food supplies were obtained by the women who went to the fish wholesalers or dairies and *shmorred* for it - so all the proceeds went for charity." S.L.

We Were Poor in Our Pockets - We Were Rich in Our Culture

Jews participated in creating the city's general cultural life but there was also a dynamic **cultural sphere** that was entirely Jewish. The creative and accomplished cultural activity in Jewish L.A. was in Yiddish, where politics, and culture were woven tightly together. Cultural life was an integral and vital piece of the ongoing fabric of community life.

The **separation between the various groups** served the purpose of multiplying the quantity of cultural activity. Each organization or group had a range of similar activities that they sponsored - reading circles, concerts, lectures, choruses, theatre groups, Yiddish or Hebrew schools, and even summer camps.

"My mother was one of the leaders of the *leinkreisn* (reading circles). She started in Chicago. There were many different ones - you know how it was, there were so many different organizations and each one probably had a reading circle: Zionists, Workmans Circle... These reading circles served the purpose of Jewish women self-educating themselves. They would read Jewish literature and American literature. They would get together and read to each other... or have a book review...for some it served the purpose of bringing them into intellectual pursuits, which they had never had the opportunity to do before." L.K.

"People have lost sight of the fact that many of the immigrants were intellectuals...There is an assumption that if you speak with an accent you were automatically ignorant. These were not ignorant people... Many had studied and read in Europe and they had a rich cultural life." S.B.

A report from the city's library system indicated that "**Jews read more than any other racial group in the community...** on the whole a very high level of non-fiction. There is a Yiddish circulation of approximately 2,000." In 1935 the Malabar Branch Library stated, "...In 1926, some 200 people in the district signed a petition to request more books in Yiddish at Malabar; but it wasn't until 1931 that a permanent collection was housed at the branch itself." In the meantime Malabar published a listing of books "by Jews or relating to them" during the 1920s.

"Pa spoke English but he couldn't read it. And we never learned to write Jewish. So I'd go to the library and get the same book in English and Jewish...so my father and I could talk about a book together...I got the book, Ivanho, once and he got it in Jewish." R. P.

Even throughout the **Depression** cultural activity flourished. While there had only been **five serious Yiddish poets** in Boyle Heights at the end of **World War I**, by the **1930s** there were **75**. The first Yiddish magazine in California, **Marov** ("West" in Hebrew), was published by 12 Boyle Heights writers in **1925**. Ten leather bound copies were produced to raise funds for the magazine; they cost five dollars each, payable over one year. Four or five more magazines appeared soon after, although several were short-lived.

Singing was another important facet of community life. Although dating back to the 1400s or earlier, the Yiddish folk and popular songs were first "collected" at the turn of the century. They reflected Jewish life and concerns, telling of love and family struggles, pogroms, war and revolution,

work, personal tragedies, lullabies and children's stories, and migration to America. No meeting or gathering was complete without singing, and families often had a musician among them.

"What would happen in our house was when they'd get together for a party on a Saturday night they'd play tunes to accompany the singing. There would be two or three mandolins..." S.B.

Of the approximately five folk choruses in Los Angeles with professional directors, one or two were based in the Boyle Heights area. Each year they would give their annual concerts, sometimes using the **Embassy Auditorium** downtown. In **1938 the Workman's Circle** chorus gave their annual concert at the Workman's Circle summer camp about 30 miles from L.A. - and over 500 people came. But there were also a number of more informal singing groups throughout the years, based at various community and cultural centers.

During the **1930s the Los Angeles Folks Bienh** (People's Theatre) came into being. For 30 years they performed dramatic works by famous Yiddish authors, including **Sholom Aleichem, Y.L. Peretz, Jacob Gordon, and Mendele Mocher Seforim**. Other cultural centers developed theatre groups as well. At the same time Yiddish theatre companies from New York, the "mecca" of Yiddish theatre, were traveling the world and periodically performed in Los Angeles. **The National**, a movie theatre on Brooklyn Avenue, featured Yiddish films two nights a week, where long lines of people waited to get in.



Folk Shul celebrating Purim, 1928
 Photograph: Jewish Historical Society of Southern California

"I recall...being taken to Jewish "live" shows at the Poppy Theatre. Often they were lively musicals, lots of antics - all in Yiddish. I loved them. What kid wouldn't? And then there were the dramas, the tragedies, *The Golem*, etc. Scary, lots of weeping in the audience. The Poppy was the oldest and certainly the smelliest theatre..." I.A.

With the blossoming of **Hollywood's motion picture industry**, which included many Jewish producers, directors, actors and actresses, artists and technicians, a number of theatres opened throughout the Heights. "The **Berman** and **Lasher** families, along with **Harry Popkin**, were the dominant Boyle Heights cinema entrepreneurs. Between them they owned **the Meralta, the Joy, the National**, as well as **the Vern, the Wabash, the Terrace and the Jewel.**" **The Brooklyn and the National** were located on **Brooklyn Avenue**. The movies played a memorable role in the life of youth and exposed them to worlds outside their own, often for the first time. In addition, many of the Jewish writers, actors, and artists who might have taken a more active role in Jewish cultural life were absorbed by the burgeoning Hollywood film industry.



Map Reference No. 27: National Theater, Brooklyn Avenue.
 Photograph: Jewish Historical Society of Southern California

Growing Up in Boyle Heights

The very young immigrant children and first generation youth were **tugged from both the new country and the old**. Despite their parents' passion for Yiddish, they often made their children speak English at home to make it easier to get a good education and fit into America. For the immigrants, who attended night school to learn English after 12 hour work days, **education was a life-long endeavor**.

The high value placed on education and the need to keep Jewish culture alive meant that many boys and some girls had to go to public school as well as attend a *cheyder* or *kindershule* (youth school) after school several days a week or on Saturday. These schools "cut into valuable playing and fun time," but were an important way for students to **learn Yiddish or Hebrew**, absorb Jewish music and history, and continue a tradition that had always been a unifying feature in Jewish life. Many of these schools had a variety of cultural activities and were community "hang-outs." The

Yiddish Folk School on Soto and the **Breed Street Shul** had the largest afternoon schools during the 1920s. Later a variety of secular "kindershules" grew in size and number.

The majority of Jewish youth did not attend Jewish schools of any type and the Jewish community became increasingly concerned with providing a wholesome environment in which they could prosper. The **Modern Jewish Social Center**, later called the **Soto-Michigan Jewish Community Center** and then the **Eastside Jewish Community Center**, was formed in 1924, the city's first community center not based on the settlement house model. In 1931, a study by the **Federation of Jewish Welfare Organizations** determined the need for a cultural and recreational youth center in the **Wabash/City Terrace** area. To combat concerns about juvenile delinquency, proselytizing by the Hebrew Christians, and contact with "radical" youth groups, the **Menorah Center** was dedicated.



Map Reference No. 19: The Soto-Michigan Jewish Community Center, 1930.
Photograph: Jewish Historical Society of Southern California

Both became dynamic community centers, catering primarily to hundreds of neighborhood youth ranging into their 20s. There was ongoing concern in the community that the centers were not Jewish-centered enough and were actively "Americanizing" the children, but they became some of the most popular institutions for young people.

"My school was one block away from the Eastside Jewish Community Center. I used to go there every day after school. Most of my friends would walk over there with me. Even after I started fifth grade at Sheridan School I'd still walk over there. I'd meet my sister there and we'd take classes or just hang out. She belonged to a teen club - the "teenettes" or something. They had a gym downstairs. Upstairs there was a room for dancing with a nice wooden floor. I'd always wait anxiously for modern dance classes with Ruth Zahava. I loved it - and she liked the way I danced.

I used to go to Camp J.C.A. every summer. The community center sponsored that in the San Bernardino Mountains. I became a junior counselor, then a counselor, and then I was an arts and crafts instructor one summer... Later [during the 1960's], I actually taught in a child care program at the Menorah Center." M.K.

Everyone from Boyle Heights remembers dances, meetings, and debates at the **Soto-Michigan Center**, and a range of programs at the **Menorah Center** including child care and citizenship classes. Activities were attended by a **broad cross-section of the community**, even if it wasn't people's primary association. **Social clubs** sprang up, many of them **athletics-based**.

"I still have a memory of the small crowd gathered across from our property on Brooklyn Avenue in front of a radio-appliance store listening to the exciting 9th inning drama of the 1929 World Series... That historic game sort of symbolizes the way baseball confirmed the "American Dream" for the many immigrants who came from a world where freedom and opportunity were an almost hopeless dream... Ma and Pa were old country folk. What was "baseball"? was a sort of judgmental question my father would ask. In his 10-12 hour work day world what Jew played sports? Yet, as evidence of Americanization and the gap between generations and culture, Boyle Heights was a beehive of intramural athletic activity, via a highly organized club program of the Jewish community organization." I.A.

In addition there were many social or social/athletic clubs, based at centers and playgrounds. The most prominent boys clubs were **the Jasons**, who met at the **Wabash/Evergreen playground** and **the Saxons**, from the **Wabash area**. The Jasons banded together in **1928** to play ball, and remained a strong group of friends through **World War II**, when they sent out a weekly newsletter to their servicemen members, and up to the present, as they continue their tradition of weekly dinners together.

The **Saxons** joined forces in the **1930s**. They still have annual dinners and make donations to the **Malabar Library** and other organizations with the goal of keeping the neighborhood a good place in which to grow up. **The Searchers, the Junior Eagles, the BBG (B'nai B'rith Girls), the AZA (the Zionist boys club)**, and many others served the social needs of Jewish youth and cemented friendships that lasted whole lifetimes.

Political youth groups also flourished, among them the **Labor Youth League** and the **Young Pioneers**. In **1922** the first branch of the Young Pioneers, the Communist youth group, was formed. Within a year there were 350 members, mostly teenagers from Boyle Heights. They shared their families' alienation from the mainstream Jewish community, and created an active recreational and educational alternative. Their discussion groups used "learning by doing" techniques far ahead of their time.

Hollenbeck Junior High School and Roosevelt High School were predominantly Jewish up until the 1940s, but always had a rainbow of other ethnic and religious groups.

"Hollenbeck - was it ever Jewish! We came from Erie, Pennsylvania in 1921 and it was *goyish* there...I liked being around so many Jews." Y.S.



Map Reference No. 13: In January, 1931, when this picture appeared in the Los Angeles Times, Roosevelt High School was predominantly Jewish, although the teachers were not. During a year of political upheaval at the school, this picture illustrates efforts to rid immigrants of their foreignness and raise students out of the working class and politicized milieu in which they lived. The caption that appeared in the newspaper read: "Meetings of the school's teas, dances and parties are held in the house where, under supervision of teachers, the students gain experience in being 'perfect hosts and hostesses' for the time when they have their own homes. This photo shows an afternoon tea. Left to right: Max Levine, Ruth Epstein, Dorothy Steinman, Rudolph Katzenberger, John Gilmore, Jack Freeman, Margaret Barton."

Photograph: Herald Examiner Collection/Los Angeles Public Library

The **public schools** were both important social centers and places where the students were acculturated. **Very few teachers were Jewish** until the **1940s** and the student bodies were increasingly diverse.

"I sincerely believe the teaching staff at the elementary schools were overall... helpful but... somewhat insensitive to the Jewish kids, especially during the Christmas season. We all had to sing Christmas carols (which I happen to love to sing)..." D.H.

"I remember leading a 'revolt' against singing religious Christmas carols at Malabar. I got all the Jews not to sing." P.R.

Roosevelt High School earned the name "**League of Nations**" for its diversity and had numerous **ethnic student clubs**.

"I went to a *yeshiva* [an elementary school with both secular and religious education] with a half day in Hebrew and a half day in English...When I went to Sheridan School [in the 1950s] that's when I noticed that the community was mixed - Japanese,

Mexicans, Jewish...But it was really when I hit Hollenbeck Junior High that there were very few Jews left. They had all moved to the west side." M.K.

But in **1930**, with the start of the **Depression**, activist students ran into trouble at Roosevelt. The school's concerns seemed irrelevant in the face of the overwhelming problems of unemployment and poverty and the **Young Pioneers** started to publish an independent newspaper, **The Roosevelt Voice**, with articles critical of school policies and attitudes. While the principal denied that the suspensions that followed were the result of "radical thought", he demanded that the students sign a **loyalty oath to the United States**.

"Three of us at Roosevelt High, they wouldn't give us our diplomas. We wouldn't sign the "yellow dog contract" saying that we'd give up our political activities. We graduated but couldn't get our transcripts or recommendations to go on to college... They had the Red Squad stationed at the door of the graduation not to let our families in, it was so humiliating - and I was an honors student! They wouldn't forward my transcripts. Finally five or six years later Chapman College permitted me to enter."
MS

Arbit/Work

The community still had strong ties to downtown, where community members regularly went, via the **Yellow Car down 1st Street, 4th Street or Brooklyn Avenue**, to shop, participate in cultural or political activities, read in the beautiful downtown library, and most importantly work. According to a **1935 article**, "Boyle Heights is purely a **residential and small merchants community**. With the exception of the clerks in the stores, the workers in a handful of garages and furniture repair shops, two or three bakeries, most of the Boyle Heightniks are employed in the garment factories and millinery shops... or in the mercantile establishments and offices of downtown Los Angeles."

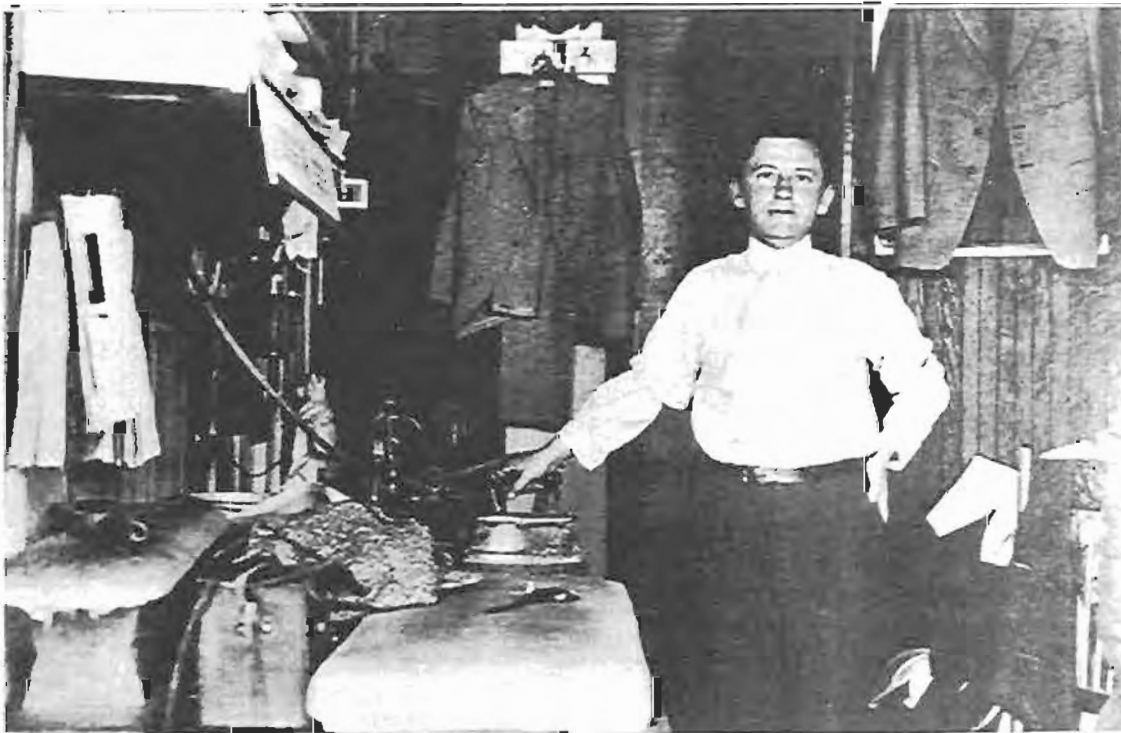
Nineteenth century Jewry had been almost exclusively involved in retail or wholesale businesses, either as proprietors or clerks. This changed radically with the influx of Eastern Europeans. By **1920** 40% were in white-collar work, 22% were managers or proprietors, 30% were artisans and workers, 5% were professionals, and only 3% were peddlers, probably because the city was too spread out for travel by cart. The wage earning class in Los Angeles was still small and paid substandard wages, partly in a successful attempt to undercut San Francisco's unionized workplaces. In spite of the opposition, **several traditional Jewish trades** were visible at the turn of the century, among them the **unionized cigar makers**.

Many of the immigrants came to Los Angeles with their **tailoring skills** to be part of the burgeoning sportswear and clothing industry. Likewise, the industry grew because of their presence. While their numbers were increasing, the industry, primarily owned by Jews, was still relatively small; even by **1929** only 2.9% of women's clothing jobs in the country and 1% of men's were in Los Angeles.

Wages were 25% less than in the rest of the country and workers in all trades had to fight southern California's long and ferocious tradition of anti-unionism. The **open shop concept** was aided by the ongoing immigration of garment workers who ignored the unions' pleas to stay away from southern California.

Those who came to L.A. brought with them the Jewish experience of oppression and a tradition of fighting for the "**rights of working people.**" Many Jews moved into the leadership of new unions that were forming, particularly in the garment industry. These organizers were key in developing the trade union movement in Los Angeles.

The Jewish tailors first joined the **International Ladies' Garment Workers Union (ILGWU)** and later the **Amalgamated Clothing Workers (ACW)**. Despite strikes in the 1910s, it was not until the 1920s that the unions organized a general strike and won. Unfortunately the settlement was lacking in specific details and was soon cast aside. Jewish locals of the baking and butchers' unions were more successful, but they too struggled against extreme opposition. Their demands included "Sabbath observance" and "Jewish holiday pay on the job."



Map Reference No. 37: Israel Simon's tailor shop, 1930s.
Photograph: Jewish Historical Society of Southern California

The Depression

Los Angeles was especially hard hit by the 1929 stock market crash; by 1931 the **unemployment rate was 16.9%**, one of the highest in the country, and people were losing their businesses and homes. It was a very difficult time for the residents of Boyle Heights. At least 60% of the Jewish carpenters were out of work - and it became apparent that the Jewish organizations attempting to assist the community were **struggling against the tide.**

"During the Depression the synagogues were not equipped to take care of social needs. My brother almost died at age 21 of pneumonia. My father lost his business and our wonderful home and he died one week before I graduated from Roosevelt High School in 1933. Times were real tough..." M.C.

Neither was the federal government willing to step in, claiming "prosperity around the corner." There was no social security, no unemployment insurance, no welfare departments, and local Jewish charities attempted to supplement feeble county assistance. Cries for "immediate emergency appropriations and for a permanent system of social security" were accompanied by the shouts for "Bread or Wages" and "Jobs or Relief." **People organized into unemployed councils**, while at the same time still struggling for the **right to demonstrate publicly**.

But the depression also brought with it a time of immense **social ferment and activism**. It was a time of resurgence for the unions, who had continued organizing through the bleak conditions of the previous period. The dressmakers of the **ILGWU**, now mainly Mexican women working at 175 unorganized sites in the garment district, **struck in 1933 and won through arbitration**. Five years after their seeming extinction, they had contractual agreements with **112 manufacturers**.

By **1935** the most well organized branch of the garment trade was the cloak workers, mainly Jewish men, while the non-Jewish women of the cotton dress and underwear line was first organized that year. The **Fur Workers** also became unionized, with its progressive and Communist leadership and largely Jewish workforce. The Los Angeles labor movement made a major leap forward during this period and by the **early 1940s**, when **World War II** caused the garment industry to expand, **garment workers were better organized** than most workers in the area.

Women were also organizing within the community. The lead story in the **March 28, 1935, Eastside Journal** announced "Housewives United To Strike To Bring Meat Prices Back To Normal." Over the next few weeks new stories outlined the drama unfolding on **Brooklyn Avenue**: "**11 Butchers, Strikers To Clash**: Meat Markets Plan To Re-Open Saturday Evening With Police Guards: Downtown Red Squad Will Protect Butchers Against Strikers and Pickets In Effort To Re-Open Business on Brooklyn Avenue"; and on **April 18**, "Agreement To Lower Prices Reached: Conference O.K. Butcher Re-Opening: Those Who Don't Sign Agreement Use Police For Protection."

Jewish immigration continued throughout the **1930s**, as people continued to pursue their dreams of prospering in sunny California. This surge in population was boosted by refugees **escaping from Nazi Germany**, including a sizeable number of intellectuals, artists, scientists and other professionals. The Eastern European Jews coming from the east coast often settled in Boyle Heights but **newer Jewish neighborhoods**, primarily in **Fairfax** and other **westside areas**, attracted most of the new immigrants and grew at a rapid pace.

World War II

Kristalnacht (the **November night in 1938** that Nazis first rampaged the streets of Germany, breaking windows of Jewish businesses and destroying synagogues) sparked a series of demonstrations on **Brooklyn Avenue** and attempts to help family and friends escape, to organize against the rising tide of fascism, and to send support to Palestine and those they could reach, started in earnest.

The Jewish community in all its diversity joined the war effort in full force. Jasons, Saxons, and most other community institutions saw their **members join military service**. Organizations donated hundreds of pints of blood, participated in the sale of War Bonds, raised thousands of dollars to send to European Jews, and started relief projects. **Groups competitively raised money** to pay for fighter planes that were named after their supporting neighborhood, "**The Spirit of Boyle Heights**" and "**The Spirit of City Terrace.**" Songs were written and sung about war and peace.

Russian war relief became a battle cry for many of the Eastern European Jews as the war ended. Seeking to help their remaining friends and family members in the Soviet Union, they collected tons of food, clothing, and shoes and raised thousands of dollars for various development projects, such as new hospitals and clinics, etc. Fraternal organizations focused on the towns and cities of their birth: Svihil, Zhitomir, Ekaterinoslav, and other towns in Russia and the Ukraine.

The 1950s

When the children of Boyle Heights returned from military service to L.A.'s booming economy, they could buy a home with help from the **G.I. Bill**. Some initially lived in the multi-racial public housing built in Boyle Heights just before the war, and **Aliso Village** and **Estrada Courts** became fertile organizing ground for the activists.

But **Boyle Heights** had become an industrialized area, with over **26% of its area used for manufacturing**. While these factories were providing jobs that attracted new ethnic groups to the community, the young upwardly mobile Jews wanted a different life. With housing tracts spreading in every direction, the pull of a new home in the suburbs drew most of these newly married couples to the still relatively rural landscapes of the **San Fernando Valley**, **Westchester** and the **westside**, and **Monterey Park** and **other towns on the eastside**.

By now it was clear that the demographics of the Jewish community had changed. During the **1940s studies** were done that showed the Jewish population of the Beverly/Fairfax area had finally surpassed that of Boyle Heights. With the growth of Jewish Wilshire/Westlake, Pico-Robertson, Hollywood, and Beverly Hills/Westwood, "**the West Side...has become the natural center for the so-called community activities.**" Every week students would show up at their Boyle Heights schools and announce their families were moving - "to Fairfax!"

In spite of this the Jewish community was still flourishing. In **October, 1948**, the **Jewish People's Fraternal Order** opened the **City Terrace Cultural Center** and it immediately became a center of left and liberal Jewish life. A singing group, *kindershule*, theatre group, classes, and the



Map Reference No. 27: Protest against Nazi persecution following Kristianscht, 1938.
Photograph: Jewish Historical Society of Southern California



The Swill and Vicinity Relief Committee collected and sent to the Swill area " 1,000 parcels of food, amounting to \$2,250 – three tons of clothing and 800 pairs of shoes, and \$1,000 in cash towards the erection of a hospital in Zitimir, Ukraine" between 1945 and 1946.
Photograph: Courtesy of Harry Bronfman.



The Workman's Circle/Arbeiter Ring and the Jewish Labor Committee sponsored clothing campaigns to lessen the suffering of World War II survivors; this one on Wabash Avenue was run by natives of Ekaterinoslav, now Dnepropetrovsk, 1946.
Photograph: Jewish Historical Society of Southern California.



Bond Drive Celebration Parade, 1943, St. Louis and 1st Streets.
Photograph: Jewish Historical Society of Southern California



Map Reference No. 47: Ground breaking ceremony for the City Terrace Cultural Center, May 9, 1948.
Photography: Southern California Library for Social Studies and Research

well-known **Heights Cooperative Nursery School** were based there, and many weddings, meetings, and community events took place. It remained an important Jewish center on the eastside of L.A. until it was taken by eminent domain for a freeway off-ramp.

In 1947 Boyle Heights residents organized their first meetings to oppose the **House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC)**, which over the ensuing decade would profoundly expand the **anti-Communist sentiment** acted on by the "**Red Squad**." The reputation of Boyle Heights as a haven for left-wing activists made the community and its residents a target of anti-Semitic and political attacks. Tensions mounted amid a national "witch hunt" and the Jewish community came under strong pressure to purge the so-called "radicals." Among many victims of this effort, **Joseph Esquith**, the well-liked director of the **Soto-Michigan Community Center** was moved (by the Jewish Centers Association) to a position out of Boyle Heights for his commitment to a policy of keeping the center open to all members of the community, regardless of their politics.

By the 1950s Boyle Heights had become "a sociological fishbowl." On **Brooklyn Avenue** **Jewish delis** were interspersed with **Mexican and Chinese restaurants, Spanish and Japanese movies, and Buddhist temples**. When the \$32 million **Golden State Freeway** was proposed to run right through the western side of the community, the **Anti-Golden State Freeway Committee** that formed to oppose it represented the striking diversity of the area: "Mexican, Japanese, African-American, and "Anglo" groups, leading Republicans and Democrats, the two community newspapers, all legislators from the district, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Volunteers of America, the Catholic Church, the International Institute, the Jewish Home For The Aged, businessmen's associations, the Episcopal Church, the Santa Fe Hospital, and the Seventh Day Adventist White

Memorial Hospital." In spite of their valiant efforts, Boyle Heights was eventually divided up and surrounded by five freeways, even shaving a section off beautiful Hollenbeck Park:

"The freeway was put in at the end of our street. It was depressing - it changed the neighborhood quite a bit. The neighborhood was already in change. We were hoping they would take our house so we could move out, but they didn't." M.K.

The Jews played a central role in working to **create ethnic understanding** in a changing community. The **Eastside Jewish Community Center**, which had started serving Mexican youth in the **1940s**, made a major effort to "acquaint the various cultures with each other's contributions." They sponsored lectures, films, plays and art exhibits from each of the various cultural groups and sponsored an "**American All**" week, involving thousands of neighborhood residents. In addition, many in the Jewish community ardently and successfully supported a **Mexican-American, Ed Roybal**, over a local Jewish businessman for their City Councilor in **1949**.

But the community continued its exodus. The closing of the **Menorah Center** was an indication to the remaining Boyle Heights residents that the larger Jewish institutions **would not continue to invest in the community**. As the early immigrants sold their businesses and retired, they moved - north to the **Valley**, west to **Fairfax** or to the growing enclave of "senior citizens" at the **Ocean Park/Venice beachfront**. In **1970** **Canter's Deli** closed their shop and only a few other Jewish businesses remained on Brooklyn Avenue: **Zellman's Menswear**, **Shoenholtz Jewelry**, **Philips Music**. In **1995**, **Zellman's** is the only active Jewish presence on the street that was once the heartbeat of a vibrant Jewish community.



In the backyard of home on Miller Avenue in City Terrace. 1951: note the open hillsides looking east above Van Pelt Avenue.

Photograph: Harry Bronfman

"Boyle Heights became special because of the feeling of 'community' that developed. Our special feeling of Jewish life created a bonding...so much so that a great percentage of the friends I have today are those with whom I grew up in the Heights."

"Even those of us who didn't grow up in Boyle Heights can celebrate what occurred there - both the history that was made there, and the lessons of community and getting along with our neighbors...We shouldn't lose that even if we didn't live there." S.S.

The 1990s

Over the past few years two issues have again focused the Jewish community's attention on Boyle Heights. The **rapid deterioration of the Breed Street Shul**, assisted by the Whittier Narrows and Northridge earthquakes, has created a conflict between the Rabbi who claims authority over the building and other members of the Jewish community.

Since the two or three elderly remaining members gave up going to services in **1993**, the **beautiful building**, with its stained-glass windows, ornate woodwork, and hand-painted murals, has been **abandoned**. Many members of the community think of the **Breed Street Shul** as a valuable and unique reminder of L.A.'s Jewish heritage. A number of ideas for its use have been suggested, ranging from a **museum for the history of Jewish L.A.** to a building housing a **museum on the history of immigration in L.A.** combined with community services of various kinds - and offers have been made to do a formal structural analysis. **Los Angeles City Councilor Hal Bernson and County Supervisor Zev Yaroslavsky grew up in Boyle Heights** and they, along with the **Jewish Historical Society of Southern California**, have been vocal in their opposition to potential demolition of the building. The City Council voted 14-0 to designate the Shul as **Los Angeles Historic-Cultural Monument #359**.

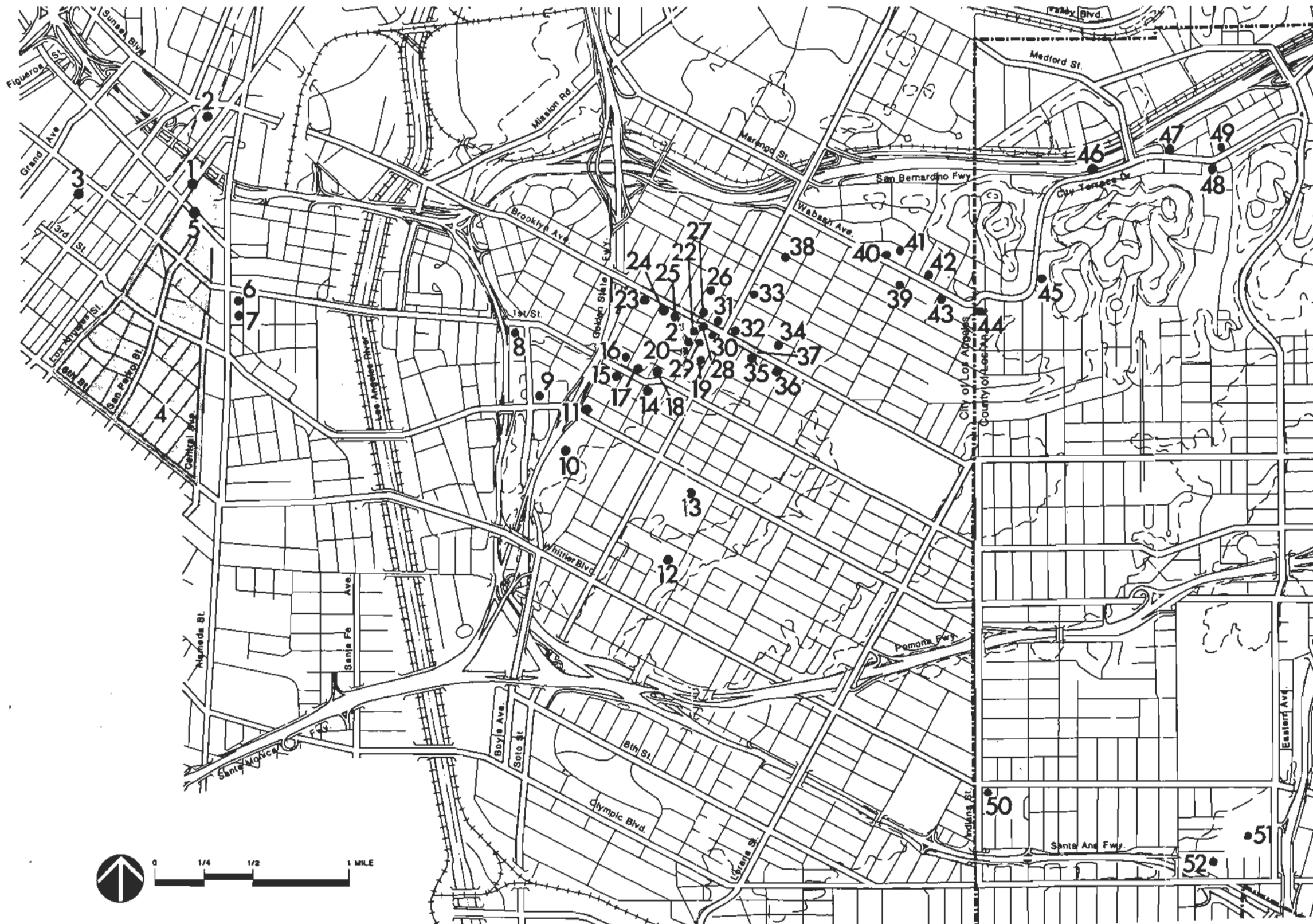
Breed Street Shul Rabbi Mordecai Ganzweig insists that the Orthodox synagogue would be "desecrated" if put to non-Orthodox uses. He believes that he has the duty to protect the building's sanctity even if it means destroying it. An escalating if unresolved debate continues among various Jewish community members and organizations as the building continues to disintegrate.

Brooklyn Avenue Revised

In **1993**, the death of **United Farm Workers leader Cesar E. Chavez** prompted Latino leaders and elected officials to search for a way to honor him. The decision to concentrate on **Brooklyn Avenue**, which runs from downtown L.A. through the heart of the Latino community to **East Los Angeles Community College**, and rename it Avenida Cesar E. Chavez was one that raised a **complex array of issues for the Jewish community**. The majority of the Jews who spoke on the issue agreed that Chavez more than deserved the recognition and celebrated the idea. After all, his work with immigrant workers seemed like a continuation of struggles, social causes, and organizing that Jewish Boyle Heights was involved in earlier in the century. But there was still a strong sentiment that **Brooklyn Avenue represented an important piece of history**, both for the Jewish community and for Los Angeles as a whole - and that honoring Chavez should not come at the cost of burying another immigrant history.

A number of people, preservationists included, commented that the name represented an early piece of history that even preceded the Jewish community, since it was named when Workman originally laid out the subdivision plan. Names such as Brooklyn and Chicago were assigned to attract people from the east coast and make them feel "at-home." But the majority of the people signing petitions to oppose the name change were Hispanic. As resident Julia Ramirez told a New York Times reporter, "**Brooklyn Bridge made New York famous and Brooklyn Avenue made East Los Angeles famous.**"

On **March 31, 1994**, Avenida Cesar E. Chavez was formally opened with cheers. While there was also sadness and resentment, no one could deny the Boyle Heights community the recognition they, and Cesar Chavez, deserve. As part of the name change the section of the old Brooklyn Avenue **between Cummings and Fickett** will become the **Brooklyn Avenue Historic Neighborhood Corridor**, meant to remind the city and community of its rich ethnic and immigrant past.



JEWISH COMMUNITY LANDMARKS MAP



Los Angeles County Metropolitan Transportation Authority

METRO RED LINE - EASTERN EXTENSION

Cordoba Corporation

Barrio Planners Incorporated

Myra L. Frank & Associates

JEWISH COMMUNITY LANDMARKS MAP

Legend

Downtown

1. Bell's Row, now Los Angeles Street near Aliso; first Jewish residences in Los Angeles.
2. The Plaza: First Masonic Lodge located on the Plaza;
St. Vincent's College opened in 1855 on the Plaza;
Free Speech Zone during the 1920s and 1930s.
3. Congregation B'nai B'rith, 214 S. Broadway between 2nd and 3rd; a small plaque in the sidewalk commemorates the site of the first synagogue in Los Angeles, opened in 1896.
4. Boundaries of the Jewish neighborhood at approximately the turn of the century
5. Temple Street, the Jewish "Main Street" during the 1910s.
6. Rose Street Shul, 1904-1912.
7. The Hebrew Sheltering Home, founded in 1905 on Rose Street and later moved to Boyle Heights.
37. **Brooklyn Avenue Historic Neighborhood Corridor:**
23. Warsaw Bakery, 2101-04 Brooklyn Avenue; currently a panaderia, but original white tiled floors and walls have been retained (built 1933). Among the other bakeries in the area were the Chicago Bakery, the Union Bakery, the Detroit Bakery, and Rosner's.
24. Woloshins Delicatessen, 2100 Brooklyn at St. Louis.
25. The Famous Cafe, Brooklyn Ave on the south side near Cornwall
28. "Free Speech Zone" during the 1930s and 1940s, Breed Street adjoining Brooklyn Avenue.
30. Terrazo tile work (from the 1930s) at the entrance of the following stores:
Zellman's Menswear 2306 Brooklyn (the last Jewish business remaining in the area)
The Thrift Shop 2314 Brooklyn; now a clothing store
Solnit Bootery 2316 Brooklyn; now Aguirre Shoes.
31. Canter Brothers Delicatessen, 2323 Brooklyn Ave; established 1931.
32. Curries Ice Cream, Soto Street and Brooklyn Avenue.

Synagogues and shuls:

22. Congregation Talmud Torah (The Breed Street Shul), 247 Breed Street; originally built on Rose Street downtown (1904-1912); then rented space at 1st and Breed Street from 1912 to 1915, when it moved to present site, built the wood-frame building in rear of the property, and drew in Rabbi Neches from the Olive Street Shul; the brick building was completed in 1923 and became the "queen of shuls;" City of Los Angeles Cultural Historic Monument #359.
26. B'nai David (Cornwall St. Shul), 340 N. Cornwell; demolished for expansion of the Sheridan St. Elementary School.
33. The Folk Shul, 420 N. Soto; now occupied by a painters' union local.
34. B'nai Yacov (Cincinnati St. Shul), 2530 Cincinnati St; now the home of the Variety Boys and Girls Club.
38. B'nai Israel (Houston St. Shul), 2446 Houston Street; currently occupied by La Iglesia de Dios.
39. B'nai Jacob (Fairmount St. Shul), 2831 Fairmount at the corner of Evergreen; on a double corner lot, this building with its large recreation hall is now occupied by a missionary group.
43. The Wabash Kindershul, southeast corner of Wabash and Stone used during the 1940s.
45. B'nai Zion (City Terrace Shul), 3364 City Terrace Dr. currently occupied as a church.
48. Beth Abraham (Miller Street Shul), Miller Ave. just off City Terrace Drive (no longer in existence).
49. City Terrace Folk Shul, on the 4100 block of City Terrace Avenue.

Community Centers and Gathering Places:

16. The Vladeck Center, 126 N. St. Louis; the cultural center of the Workman's Circle.
18. The Monte Carlo Bathhouse, 2201 East 1st Street.
19. The Soto-Michigan Jewish Community Center (previously the Modern Jewish Social Center and later called the Eastside Jewish Community Center), 2317 E. Michigan.
36. The Cooperative, Brooklyn at Mott Street; the Communist cultural center with the Center Cafeteria on the ground level.

44. The Menorah Center, 3218 Wabash Ave; currently occupied as the Salesian Boys and Girls Club.
47. The City Terrace Cultural Center, 3875 City Terrace Avenue; (demolished to make way for a 10 Freeway off-ramp).

Libraries

14. Ben Franklin Library, corner of 1st Street and Chicago Avenue, the first branch library (Branch #1) of the Los Angeles Public Library System.
40. Malabar Branch Library, 2801 E. Wabash; The building was designed in 1927 by William Lee Woollett and is housed in a rectangular shaped, unreinforced masonry building designed in a revival style reminiscent of rural Latin America. Los Angeles Historic-Cultural Monument #304.

Theatres

15. The Meralta, 1st and St. Louis; billed as a "first-run" house and the most expensive.
17. The Joy, almost across the street from The Meralta; budget movie house with a weekly "chapter" (Flash Gordon, Dick Tracey, etc.).
27. The National, Brooklyn Avenue; also featured Yiddish films and Yiddish stage plays.
35. The Brooklyn, Brooklyn Avenue; with several rows of overstuffed loge seats.
42. The Wabash, Wabash Avenue near Evergreen (now destroyed).
46. The Terrace, City Terrace; taken for the 10 freeway.

Social services

8. The Hebrew Sheltering Home, 131 S. Boyle; established at this location in 1913 but later moved and became the Jewish Home For The Aged.
9. The Jewish Home for the Aged, established at 4th and Boyle, the former Gless estate in 1914; moved to Reseda in 1974.
11. Jewish Orphans Home, 2033 E. 4th.
20. Mt. Sinai Clinic, 207 Breed Street.

29. Julia Ann Singer Pre-school, Breed Street just south of Brooklyn in what is now the Social Security Administration building and parking lot; established as a day care center for working mothers in the 1930s; the organization has evolved into the Julia Ann Singer Pre-school Psychiatric Center.
50. The Kaspare Cohn Hospital, 3800 Stephenson/Whittier Blvd.
51. Home of Peace Cemetery, 4334 Whittier Blvd.
52. Orthodox Jewish Cemeteries: Agudath Achim, Beth Israel, and Mount Zion; adjacent to Home of Peace Cemetery.

Schools

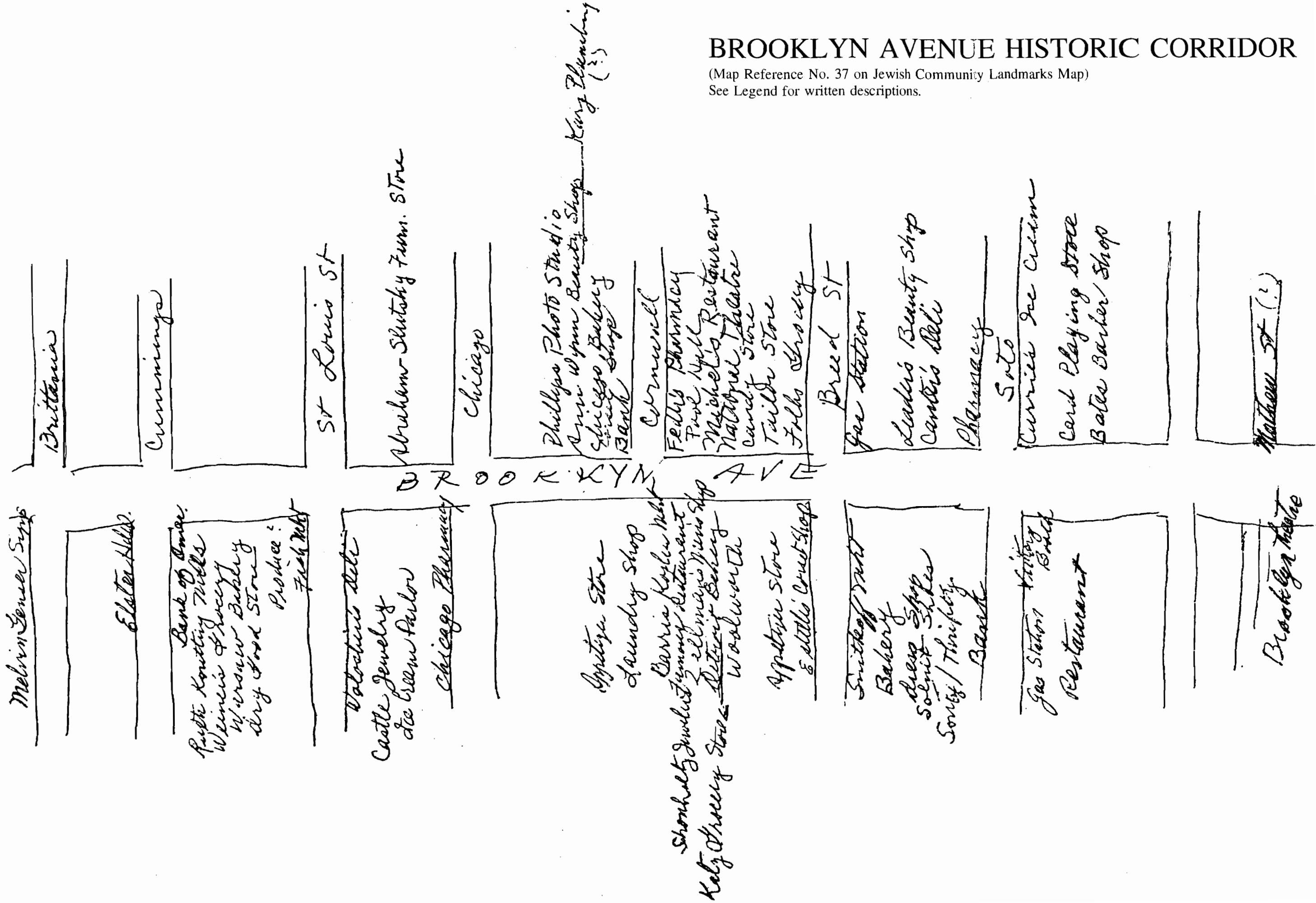
12. Hollenbeck Junior High School
13. Roosevelt High School
21. The Cheder/The Learning Center, two doors south of the Breed Street Shul; built to house The Los Angeles Jewish Academy; founded by Rabbi Neches in 1933 as the first Jewish day school in Los Angeles.

Parks

10. Hollenbeck Park; former site of statue of Haym Solomon, Revolutionary War financier.
41. Wabash/Evergreen Playground.

BROOKLYN AVENUE HISTORIC CORRIDOR

(Map Reference No. 37 on Jewish Community Landmarks Map)
See Legend for written descriptions.



Melvin Genser Synagogue

Elster Alley

Bank of America:
Ryeite Knitting Mills
Weiner's Grocery
Warsaw Bakery
Dry Food Store
Produce
Fish Market

Watochin's Deli
Castle Jewelry
& Ice Cream Parlor

Chicago Pharmacy

Aptiza Store
Laundry Shop

Shomahat Jewelry
Katz Grocery Store
Smithoff's Deli
Bakery
Dress Shop
Solut's Shoes
Songy/Thompson Bank

Appetite Store
& Little's Candy Shop

Smithoff's Deli
Bakery
Dress Shop
Solut's Shoes
Songy/Thompson Bank

Gas Station
Factory
Restaurant

Brooklyn Theatre

Brittan's

Cummings

St. Louis St

Abraham Slutsky Farm. Store

Chicago

Phillips Photo Studio
Ann Wynn Beauty Shop
Chicago Bakery
Bank
Cornwell
Fed's Pharmacy
Pool Hall
Michael's Restaurant
National Tailor
Candy Store
Tailor Store
Falco Grocery
Breed St
Gas Station
Leder's Beauty Shop
Canter's Deli
Pharmacy
Soto
Curries Ice Cream
Card Playing Store
Bates Barber Shop

Malham St (?)

Melvin Genser Signs

Brittania

Elster Hardware

Cummings

Bank of America
Ruth Knitting Mills
Weiner's Grocery
Warsaw Bakery
Dry Good Store
Produce?
Fish market

St. Louis

Woloshin's Deli
Castle Jewelry
Ice Cream Parlor
Chicago Pharmacy

Abraham Slutsky Furniture Store

Chicago

Appetizer Store
Laundry Shop

Phillip's Photo Studio
Ann Wynn Beauty Shop
Kary Plumbing?
Chicago Bakery
Corset Shop
Bank

Barris Kosher Mkt.

Cornwall

Famous Restaurant
Shonholtz Jewelry
Zellman's Mens Shop
Detroit Bakery
Katz Grocery Store
Woolworth
Appetizer Store
Estelle's Corset Shop

Fedh's Pharmacy
Pool Hall
Michael's Restaurant
National Theater
Candy Store
Tailor Store
Folks Grocery

Breed

Smitkoff Market
Bakery
Dress Shop
Solnit Shoes
Thrifty
Bank

Gas Station
Leader's Beauty Shop
Canter's Deli
Pharmacy

Soto

Gas Station
Victory Booth
Restaurant

Currie's ice Cream
Card Playing Store
Bates Barber Shop

**BROOKLYN AVENUE
HISTORIC CORRIDOR**
(Map Reference No. 37)

Typewritten version

Brooklyn Theater

Mathew Street?

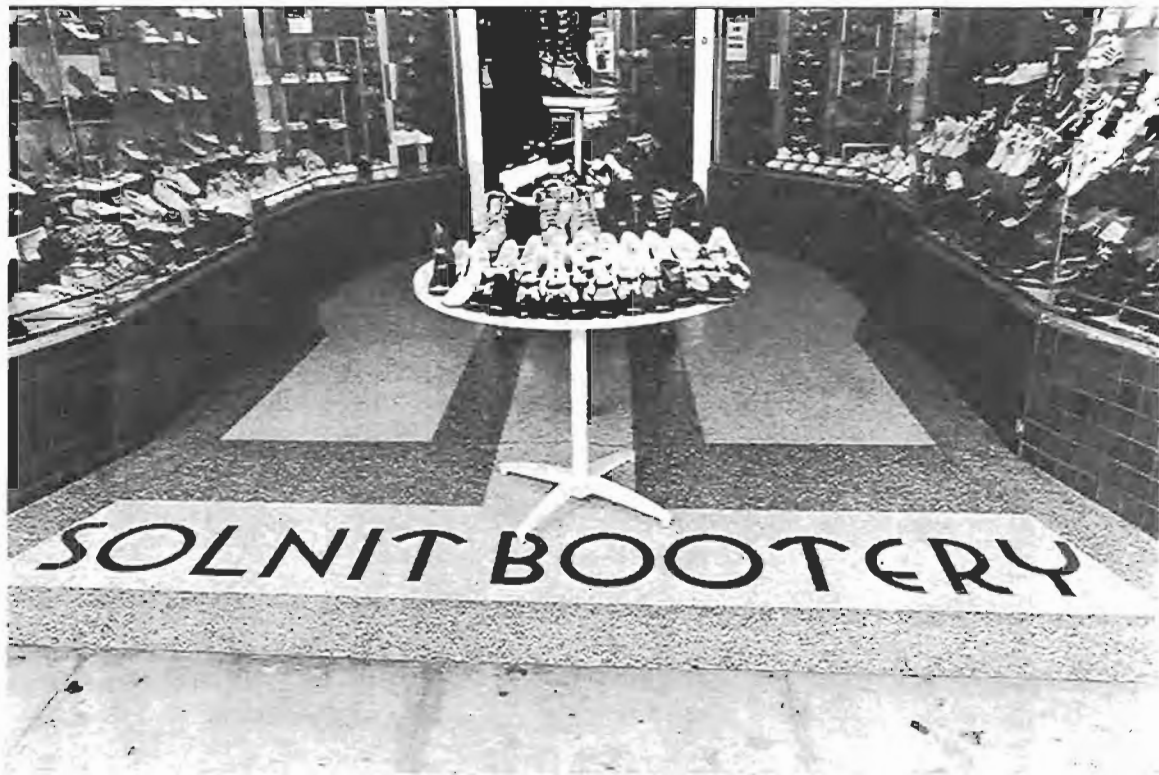
Courtesy of:
Jewish Historical Society
of Southern California



Map Reference No 6: Rose Street Shul



Map Reference No. 30: Zellman's Menswear, 2806 Brooklyn. The last Jewish-owned business remaining in the area.



Map Reference No. 30: Solnit Bootery, 2316 Brooklyn; now Aguirre Shoes.

The following are select articles and documents illustrative of the history of the Jewish community in Boyle Heights.



Jews and non-Jews gathered on Brooklyn Avenue in 1939 to protest persecution in Nazi Germany.

Jews of East L.A.

■ The Boyle Heights Project will include a documentary and interviews with more than 100 former residents, as well as photographs and yearbooks from the 1920s to the 1950s.

By MARY ANNE PEREZ
SPECIAL TO THE TIMES

Dr. Pauline Furth remembers a bathhouse in Boyle Heights that was the center of the community when she was growing up there in the 1940s. Her mother would take her to the bathhouse on ladies nights, and the women would sit around playing rummy and other card games while wrapped in sheets.

Emanuel Zellman remembers the Cleveland Free Loan Society and the Chicago Loan Society and other institutions that lent money to people who had moved to Los Angeles from Midwestern cities. He recalls working for his



A clothing drive in front of a Wabash Avenue store was one of many local efforts to help World War II survivors.

father as a child and living in back of their first menswear store in Boyle Heights.

As recently as 40 years ago, the Eastside neighborhood that is now mostly Latino was predominantly Jewish. Their stores, temples and offices now are the Mexican restaurants, *tortillerias* and shops that cater to the Latino community.

Furth and Zellman are among those contributing their memories of Boyle Heights to a history project of the Jewish Historical Society of Southern California.

The Boyle Heights Project includes a documentary and audiotape interviews of more than 100 people, as well as photographs and yearbooks from the 1920s to the 1950s. In the 1940s, the Jewish presence started declining as shopkeepers and residents moved to the Westside and other parts of Los Angeles, said society President Stephen Sass.

The project centers on Boyle Heights and nearby City Terrace, where the old Menorah Center now serves as the Salesian Boys and Girls Club.

Furth, 76, has practiced family medicine in an office at 1st and Soto streets since 1954. She has seen the changes in the ethnic backgrounds of the area's residents and in some

local landmarks, such as the bathhouse, which is now condemned.

The Menorah Center on Wabash Avenue in City Terrace once held special ceremonies and was a gathering place for the Jewish community, she said.

The Breed Street Shul, or synagogue, is on the city's list of historical monuments but has been partially closed because of damage from the 1987 Whittier Narrows earthquake. Although the two-story frame building at the rear of the property is used for services about three times a week, there is disagreement in the Jewish community about whether to preserve the front structure or spend the money elsewhere, Sass said.

It is the people who have lived in the neighborhoods and taken up shop where the Jewish merchants once did business—as well as a sense of familiarity—that have kept Zellman and Furth in an area that others abandoned long ago.

Zellman, 73, still spends his days at the store, but his son, Dean, now owns the business. He said he often suits up the grandsons of men he knew growing up and it gives him the chance to share memories with the younger ones.

Please see HISTORY. 4

HISTORY: Memories of Boyle Heights

Continued from 3

"People come up to me and say, 'You're still on Brooklyn Avenue? How can you still be there in that neighborhood?' " Zellman said. "To me, this is home. I have no regrets."

Furth, whose daughter, Julie Korenstein, serves on the Los Angeles Unified School District Board of Education, speaks fluent Spanish to converse with her mostly Mexican patients. The area has long been home to a large Mexican population, but when she was growing up there was also a mix of others, including Jews and Anglos, she said.

"All my life, I've been with Mexican people, and I like them and they like me," she said. "It's like my home. I'm comfortable there. I love my patients."

Filmmaker Ellie Kahn has logged 25 hours of oral history, which she will whittle down to one hour for a documentary about Boyle Heights. The historical society plans to hold an event this spring to screen the film and display the photos.

Some of the people she has filmed who were born in the 1920s and 1930s talk about their Communist Party activities and their social lives as immigrants in a new country.

"It was a real immigrant community," Kahn said. "There were a lot of Yiddish-speaking people and



Canter Bros. Delicatessen, a Heights landmark, closed in 1975.

a lot from Eastern Europe."

Like many cities, Los Angeles has neighborhoods—such as Boyle Heights—that have become home to a stream of immigrant groups over the years for many reasons, Sass said. Families provided support to newcomers who then set up their own homes down the street.

"People want some familiarity in the languages and the customs and a sense of comfort that living together provides," he said. "I think that is what happened in Boyle Heights."

The people also had the sense that other parts of the city were off-limits to minority groups and they would not be permitted to buy land there, he said.

The documentary includes other

groups who lived in Boyle Heights during what is considered the Jewish heyday there, Sass said. The project, he said, could provide some insight into today's immigrant communities.

"The Jewish aspect of the neighborhood is our primary concern, but aside from that, Boyle Heights was a point of entry for many people," he said. "There was a Jewish community, a Japanese community, a Mexican community, Russians and then there was Little Italy not too far away."

"There were all of these ethnic communities that flourished and most of Los Angeles didn't know about them—and from the way people described it, it seemed like they got along."

The Times.

Sunday

EIGHTH YEAR.

LOS ANGELES, SUNDAY, AUGUST 4, 1890.—TWELVE PAGES.

PRICE: Single Copies 5 Cents

THE HEIGHTS

Elevate Her Horn of Rejoicing

The Cable Line Opened with Great Eclat.

AND ALL LOS ANGELES IS HAPPY

Rains and Streets Thronged with People.

ARBEQUE IN THE POWER-HOUSE

Including with the Usual Toasts and Speech-making.

TO BOGGLE OR ACCIDENT,

but Everything Runs Like Melted Wax.

MANAGER ROBINSON'S CARE.

Something About Boyle Heights and the People Who Founded It and Have Built It Up.

over the world moved and on these passes above, beneath the mighty uplift of Sierra wall, have seen the weary horses come did crawl like cars on wheels on their limbering way, as unloosed great steam doth now hold its sway, a long, strong cable stretched past our feet, up nearly above of a mighty sun, showing the aspect of immensity and calm.

and citizens of the heights, who had gathered to give greetings to the projectors of the great cable system and their invited guests. The dumbo contained the same flow of music kept up a continuous flow of music during the entire time the people were waiting for the doors of the handsome car-room to open and white successive carloads of people arrived.

THE BANQUET HALL.
On entering the place where the banquet was spread for 1500 people, one could not help being struck with the magnificent manner in which the room had been decorated with flowers and evergreens. Seven long tables ran lengthwise of the room, and at the far end a long table was placed transversely for officers of the cable system.



First street viaduct.

the city officials and members of the Boyle Heights Board of Trade. Over this table was worked in evergreen, "Boyle Heights Welcomes the Cable Railway, August 3, 1890." From the time of arrival, until nearly 2:30 p.m., the vast crowd surged through the power-house inspecting the ponderous engines and boilers as they plodded along with their newly-undertaken and long-to-be-continued task. Everything about the establishment was as neat as wax and in apple-pie order, betraying no signs of hasty or partial preparation.

THE BANQUET.

Two Thousand Hungry People at Tables.

At 2:25 o'clock the doors of the car-room were thrown open and several thousand people, who had been patiently waiting for the banquet to open up made a rush for the doors. Of course there were a number who did not get in, as it was impossible for all



only a one-horse car line. Today, as if by magic, we saw in its stead a most magnificent cable system. Truly Boyle Heights has in the cable company a fairy godmother of the sudden time, and full well we know by experience that they would not have done this transforming power strong arms days of Cleveland.

What great credence in the future of our city must have inspired those who came to our aid as strangers, for the purpose of undertaking and completing so enormous a work. Los Angeles cannot know a greater benefit than the result of this trust in her, for her cable system is synonymous with progress, La Jolla.

But if credit is accorded those who devoted time and trouble to the best interests of our city, how can I neglect to mention those public-spirited men who respecting the necessity of the eastern portion of the city, obtained for us these splendid steel structures that now span the once formidable Los Angeles River? If it were not for the viaducts naught could have been ac-

complished, for railroad-crossings and riverbeds fail to tempting to the wary traveler. To us now the river is a thing of the past; for who among us deigns to look down from the viaduct upon the sandy waste that for so many years separated us from the city proper? Who ever casts a glance at the advancing train? For danger is now a thing unknown even to the most cautious.

To the many present here today Boyle Heights owes more, extends her heartfelt welcome. Your presence is most fitting on the day of her triumph, and it is not by any means the least of the factors that contribute to make this day one ever to be cherished in the hearts of the people as the grandest in her annals.

The audience then proposed three cheers for "Uncle Hille's Workman, and the immense audience entered into the cheering process with a spirit which showed that they meant every word of it.

THE TOAST.

The first toast was "The Los Angeles Cable Railway Company," and was proposed by Judge R. H. F. Vattel who happened to have a seat at the banquet table in a distant part of the room.

Chief among those was our esteemed fellow-citizen Mr. J. F. Crank. With him were associated Judge Hubbard, Mr. I. W. Hallinan, Mr. Foreman, Mr. ... With confidence in the future and prosperity of this city, they formed the present corporation, the Los Angeles Cable Railway Company, conveyed all their car lines and franchises to it and communicated them all under one general management.

With the assurance of their convictions they commenced the construction of the cable road ... Boyle Heights the last day of May, 1890, but the work moved very slowly at first. At this time the tide had passed its full and was slightly on the ebb. Public confidence in the permanency of the boom and hence in the cable, was not of Los Angeles, and with us and for us, was against us; and this latter class included almost every other great Western city, most of which were in the hands of the ...

And shortly after this conclusion was reached an arrangement was made whereby Mr. Crank obtained an option for the disposal of the greater portion of the stock of the corporation, and he then went to Chicago and laid the enterprise before a number of prominent capitalists of that city. They listened to his seductive arguments, carefully looked the ground over, and through the dark clouds of depression which overshadowed our horizon thought they

"Saw a vision of our future and all the glory yet to be."

They recalled the memory of half a dozen similar booms (in the history of Chicago and many other great Western cities) that they had seen suddenly arise to a great height, and temporarily subside for a short period, only to be followed by a stronger and more vigorous rise; and they saw what so many of our own citizens, during the past two years, often questioned and doubted, namely, that our city had not yet reached the highest point of all her greatness; and recognizing the force of that soundest maxim of political economy, "that the best time to make profitable and permanent investments," they forthwith were convinced of the wisdom of this course of action; and large purchases of the stock of the corporation was made by them. This was followed by a reorganization of the board of directors in the interests of the new enterprise; and it is to be regretted that it is not possible to give a complete "justification of their faith" in our city's future by their words; there, the new members of the company, representing the wiles of the Chicago stockholders, went to organize, to direct, and to dispatch the great enterprise a gentleman whose name and greatness were known to be recognized from the first day he took the active charge of affairs. It is needless to say that I refer to the superintendent of the road, Mr. J. C. Robinson.

Under the management the work has been steadily driven forward until it has now almost reached its completion. A few weeks since, when with loud acclaim the seventh and spring street station was formally opened, you witnessed the first act of this great enterprise; today you saw the certain rung down on the second act; and a few days hence, in the opening of the Downey avenue section, you will witness the third act of this somewhat stupendous drama. The great work is still going on, but the company had in com-

pleted the construction of the viaduct and foundation

pleted the construction of the viaduct and foundation for the cable system. The cable system which it has inaugurated is a masterpiece of engineering. The standard of excellence set for it at Boyle Heights is a high one, and it is our duty as citizens of this city to be congratulated upon the success which it has achieved. How far we have succeeded in our aspirations is for you, the numerous and faithful of this noble city, to say.

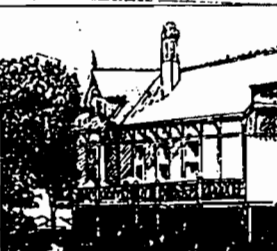
Without referring to details connected with the construction and engineering features of the part of our system so grandly celebrated by you today, I may perhaps now even be allowed to say that the present occasion may be considered an important event, not only in the history of the company, but in the history of the development and progress of Boyle Heights. It marks a new era not only in the char-



Power-house - Main entrance.

acter of our city, but is interesting to all who are concerned in solving great social and political questions. The difficulty of providing clean and decent houses for the increasing masses of this growing metropolis of Southern California is so overwhelming that the advent of this section of our rapid transit cable system is at least welcome as a factor in helping to solve the problem, as by its agency opportunity is now offered of really reaching the beauty and delightful homes.

Until today the outlying districts of Boyle Heights appeared in the stranger as an isolated and unattractive as any ordinary suburb. There was seemingly little or no touch of sympathy with the nervous and energetic life of the present day; now Boyle Heights is an integral part of the great city of Los Angeles, and I am glad to see that you that it is so.



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On the top of last June the first completed section of the Los Angeles Cable Railway Company's cable line was opened with great pomp and ceremony and amidst universal rejoicing on the part of the people of Los Angeles and the strangers within their gates.

Yesterday the second completed section, from First and Spring streets to the power-house on Aliso Avenue, Boyle Heights, was opened to the public as the first. The new line is about three miles long, but in conjunction with a part of the first completed line, furnishes a continuous run of four miles in the automobile route to the eastern terminus. The route remains nearly completed, and which will doubtless be opened for traffic within a month or two. The Los Angeles Cable Railway Company, which was organized by Mr. W. H. Workman, a resident of Boyle Heights, was organized in 1901, and has since that time been engaged in the construction of the cable line.

The City of Los Angeles, its first and future, proposed by J. Roberts a well-known speech and responded to by Hon. H. H. Stanford. The project was approved by the Board of Public Works, and the contract was awarded to the Los Angeles Cable Railway Company. The project was approved by the Board of Public Works, and the contract was awarded to the Los Angeles Cable Railway Company.

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THE BOXED HEIGHTS CABLE.

What is and How it Was Constructed. The Boyle Heights section of the cable system runs from the intersection of Spring and First streets on West to the power-house on Aliso Avenue. It is the longest piece of road from street to street in the city. Its construction has involved the work of a professional engineer, which has been a most interesting and valuable experience for the people of the city.

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GOING TO THE CELEBRATION.

Triumphant Trip of the fastest women cyclists were prominently featured along the line of the box track. The box track, which was built for the purpose of the celebration, was a most interesting and valuable experience for the people of the city.

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Arrival—First Ride.

To enter, or even standing room, but so fast as one could had dispersed their quantum of the lunch they tucked their way out and were the quickest to get to the grand stand that had been reserved in one corner of the room, and during the meal it played several times. The lunch was plentiful and appetizing, having been prepared by the ladies of Boyle Heights, who had been invited to contribute to the celebration.

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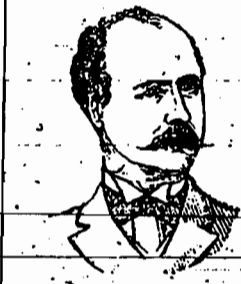
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level, the road is quite level to the street-viaduct. There are some slight curves and the road crosses the viaduct, which was quite a difficult piece of work, but compared with the problems at the viaduct it was quite easy construction.

The viaduct is the only one of such length, being about 1700 feet long, the world where the cable-road construction and that of the bridge proceeded simultaneously. The problems to be solved here were very difficult, they consisted of the building of the bridge at an acute grade, handling it on an skewer surface, and this on an acute, narrow curve on the viaduct. At the approaches to the viaduct a series of depression pulleys was fitted to overcome the tendency of a cable to lift up, owing to the acute grade. These pulleys are ingeniously arranged and serve as a check for a long time as a stabilizing-block in the cable-railroad building.

with the cable of any that he has ever had anything to do with.

Mr. Robinson is a gentleman of



wonderful intouity, and the record of his life is not only one of crowded business achievements, but it is a fascinating story. As he says: "I have made cable-road building the study of my life." The success he has achieved in it is an instance of the power that one man may possess of projecting himself by tireless energy and intelligent effort into any field of labor or conquest.

While yet a young man, Mr. Robinson has been directly concerned in the building and creation of more cable and street-railroads than any man in the world. He began his life work when 13 years of age, at Birkenhead, England, and it was there that George Francis Train, who is characterized as "the enthusiastic but impetuous promoter of tramways," obtained leave to lay down one of his primitive "step-rail" lines, and Mr. Robinson was one of his first disciples. For some years he worked away at Birkenhead, and then went to America. Returning to England, between 1870 and 1875, he was picking up that fund of information and knowledge that has given him such a rounded character. Between those years, he was in Liverpool, London, Dublin and Cork. He was afterwards appointed general manager of the Bristol tramways. He was there for over seven years, and the record of his service is thus given by the company:

During the seven and a half years in which Mr. Robinson was connected with the company he had the organization and development of the company's system, and, in addition to proving his thorough knowledge of every detail of tramway work, he displayed great skill and energy in the management of the concern.

In 1873 Mr. Robinson was made general manager and secretary of the Edinburgh street tramways, and brought order out of chaos in their management. He had the management of the whole tramway system, embracing over 30 miles, requiring about 700 employees and over 900 horses to work it. By his energy and intelligence he inspired an amount of enthusiasm in all departments that could scarcely be exceeded.

After this Mr. Robinson was specially selected to organize and complete the introduction of the cable system at Northfleet, London, from which he went to Birmingham as the general organizing manager of tramways and street locomotion.

day, and the citizens of Boyle Heights are now within less than five minutes' run of the very heart of the city. In connection with this matter, it might not be out of place to give a brief history of the Heights and its father, Hon. William Henry Workman.

Mr. Workman and his father-in-law, A. Boyle, took up their residence on the eastern banks of the Los Angeles River in 1847. At that time there were but few houses of any kind on Boyle Heights except a number of shanties, and no one believed that the place would ever amount to much. But Messrs. Boyle and Workman thought they saw what would be, in a few years, the most magnificent residence portion of the city. Both of them bought large tracts of land, and Mr. Workman began improvements which have made for him one of the most beautiful homes in Southern California. In honor of Mr. Boyle, Mr. Workman named the spot Boyle Heights, and it has been known by that name ever since.

completed a fine \$20,000 residence near Councilman Wirsching's residence on Rutland avenue. Mr. Rees came to this State from Pittsburgh years ago, and 14 years ago he located on Boyle Heights. He and Councilman Wirsching formed a copartnership in the wagon and agricultural implement business, which existed until a short time ago, when Mr. Rees retired from business. His residence stands on a commanding eminence in the center of 17 acres of the best land on Boyle Heights. He is just beginning to lay out his grounds, and in the course of a few years he will have elegant surroundings. His residence was built by competent architects, and contains all of the modern improvements. He manufactures his own gas, which is used for cooking purposes in the kitchen, and also to supply lights for the whole house. The interior of the house is handsomely furnished, and great taste has been displayed in selecting the furniture and paintings, which are considered among some of the finest in

business man, as any one will see at a glance by passing 500 West 16th street. He has accumulated quite a fortune, but does not feel like retiring from business. He is a son-in-law of Hon. L. J. Rose. For some time he has been an active member of the Boyle Heights Board of Trade and has done a great deal to build up the Heights. His house is one of the handsomest on the Heights and his grounds are well kept, and show that Mr. and Mrs. Sanborn have a great deal of taste. The interior of the house is richly furnished and is so arranged that the family can get the maximum of comfort out of it.

DR. GEORGE W. CAMPBELL

The subject of this sketch owns one of the finest residences on Boyle avenue, just north of Mr. Workman's



R. Chandler's residence.

ing the finances of the city on a sound basis. It was this Council which did so much to reduce the city taxes. During his term of office he never lost a chance to do Boyle Heights a service, but in all his experience he never lost sight of Los Angeles proper, and every action received its share of his time. He was very active in securing franchises for street railroads for Boyle Heights, and helped very materially in getting the cable road over there. He has a wife, but no children. He came to Los Angeles in 1878.

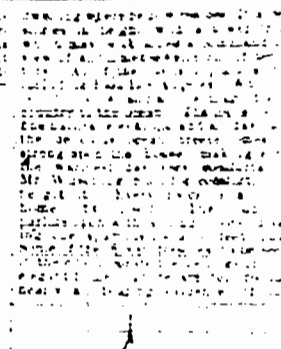
DR. GEORGE W. CAMPBELL

Dr. Campbell was three years in Trinity Medical College at Toronto, and spent one year in the medical college of this city. He came to this city three years ago, and at once took up his residence on Boyle Heights, where he quickly identified himself with the interests of the people. He became an active member of the Boyle Heights Board of Trade, and did a great deal



Dr. George W. Campbell's residence.

to build up that section of the country. He also took a deep interest in street-car lines, and has spent a great deal of time and money in bringing about the state of affairs that now exists. He has built a fine brick block on East First street, in which station "B" of the postoffice is located. The building cost \$10,000, and is one of the best business blocks on Boyle Heights. The Doctor is one of the firm of Powers & Campbell, grocery men. He also has his office upstairs in the same building, and engages in the practice of medicine. He is an active member of the Boyle Heights Board of Trade, and never misses a chance to give his part of the city a boost. He is very popular among his neighbors, and all who know him and would be a most useful man in any community.



R. E. Wirsching's residence.

builder's taste and the artist's skill. An air of domestic happiness pervades everything, from the rich, beautiful parlors to the cosy library on the second floor. Mr. Wirsching has always entertained a great fondness for Biblical stories, and on the library ceiling has painted a beautiful fresco picture of "Abraham at the Well." The interior of this model home is finished in hard woods, and the walls are painted in a perfect imitation of brown granite mantelpiece. In the cool, inviting dining-room are suggestive paintings, calculated to attract the eye and to make one wish to become a member of the happy family.

CHARLES W. ATWOOD

has been in this city four years and has made a good deal of money in the real-estate business. He is now in business at 315 East First street and has a complete stock of boots and shoes. His business is in a flourishing condition and is growing rapidly under his personal management. He has a beautiful little residence at 115 East First street, just opposite his



Charles W. Atwood's residence.



General Perry-Davis residence.

From this brief outline of the nature of the work necessary in building the cable, it can be seen that it is a very arduous and one that is not to be undertaken without a very large staff of men through which a variety of any kind. And not only that, but the ability shown by Andrew Fraser, the constructing engineer, is well worthy of special mention. The immense engines that pulled the first car over the road have the same record. When started up, they went to work as if it was an old story, and not a thing was wrong about engines or cable.

The present company began work on the Boyle Heights section last December, and after a few days had been started, but Mr. Robinson would not permit any of that already done, and would have the whole thing



Samuel Rees's residence.

One of the greatest drawbacks to the Heights was its great distance from the main part of the city. There were no bridges across the river, except the old covered bridge, and in the winter season it was almost impossible for Boyle Heights people doing business in town to get home. Even after a bridge was built at Aliso street, the people had great difficulty in going back and forth. It was at this time that Mr. Workman and others conceived the idea of building a horse-car line from Main street to the Heights along the line of Aliso street. The road was built and a number of pretty cottages and stately residences were erected at once, and Boyle Heights put on the face of a flourishing suburb. Handsome gardens were laid out, and the work of improving streets was begun.

As the city has advanced in growth and beauty, so has Boyle Heights, for it is there that the choicest residence sites are located. It is elevated so as to give a magnificent view of the picture that gently slopes from the Sierra Madre range to the sea, and which is broken here and there by the rolling hills and valleys that are so well arranged, and the view from the



The Hollenbeck mansion.

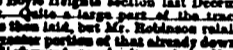
place. She owns 70 acres of the most desirable land on the bluff, a large portion of which is highly cultivated. Mr. Hollenbeck's residence is a perfect palace, and is furnished with a taste that is seldom equalled in this country. The lady's life is quite an eventful one. Her husband had accumulated quite a fortune and they made up their minds to come to California and spend the rest of their lives in the Golden State. About 13 years ago they took up their residence on Boyle Heights and joined hands with Mr. Workman in building up this beautiful spot. Up to the time of Mr. Hollenbeck's death, four years ago, he never lost sight of Boyle Heights' interests, and his widow has kept up the good work with a determination that is seldom met with in her sex.

DR. N. C. DARRER

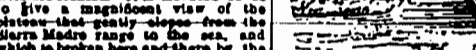
came to this city three years ago. He saw an opening in Boyle Heights for an energetic physician, and he built up a practice that any one might be proud of, for he has among his patients some of the best people in the city. He stands very high among his medical brethren, and is medical examiner for the Union Central Life Insurance Company, and also for the A.O.U.W. He has been professor at the medical college in this city, and is one of three physicians who receive poor people at the college and treat them free of charge. Last year he treated 1000 of



Dr. N. C. Darrer's residence.



Small illustration of a building.



Small illustration of a building.

BOYLE HEIGHTS

History: Andrew Boyle headed south from San Francisco purchasing the "Old Mission Vineyard" east of the Los Angeles River, the first American to move to that side of the stream. He paid \$.25 cents an acre for parts of the land considered worthless, and \$3,000 for the vineyard. Mr. Boyle built the first brick house on the east side of the river, fronting Boyle Avenue.

The family history is significant, beginning with *William Workman* who arrived in 1841; his brother William Henry Workman followed in 1854. Andrew Boyle, from the other side of the family, came in 1851. His daughter, Maria, married William Henry Workman. Their eldest son Boyle wrote a fire book on L.A. history. The Workmans and Boyles are still active in city government.

Historic Landmarks: *Andrew A. Boyle Home*, 1858/1910/1975 (Japanese Retirement Home) 325 South Boyle Avenue, Boyle Heights. 213-263-5301. This remarkable home, built by the founder of Boyle Heights, was only recently "rediscovered." Built in 1858 on part of a 22 acre site when the area was still grazing land. After Boyle's death in 1871 his daughter Maria and her husband, William H. Workman, stayed in the home. Mr. Workman became a city councilman and mayor. In the 1880s he subdivided the area naming it in honor of his father-in-law. In 1910 the home was reconstructed by William Workman, Jr. He hired Robert Farquhar to add a second floor and a red tile roof. It eventually became a *Japanese Retirement Home* and only recently has its earlier history been revealed.

Historic Homes: *Paradise House*, 1890. 1411 Pleasant Avenue, Boyle Heights.

Private Residence, 1890s. #102 C.H.M. 1030 Macy Street, Boyle Heights.

Private Residence, 1905. 603 Gillette, Boyle Heights.

Victorian Home, 1890. 1530 Pleasant Avenue, Boyle Heights.

Victorian Home, 1890. 1519 Pleasant Avenue, Boyle Heights.

Collins Residence, 1888. #266 C.H.M. 2930 Whittier Blvd., Boyle Heights.

Cottage, 1885. 914 Michigan, Boyle Heights.

Cottage, 1889. 327 State, Boyle Heights.

Private Home (Neighborhood Music Center), 1890. 358 Boyle, Boyle Heights.

Home, 1882. 2018 East Second Street, Boyle Heights.

Home, 1887. 2123 East Second Street, Boyle Heights.

Residence, 1890. #262 C.H.M. 2700 Eagle Street, Los Angeles.

Home, 1890. South Side Euclid Place, Boyle Heights.

Home, 1886. 3050 East Fourth Street, Boyle Heights.

Home, 1884. 3407 E. Fourth Street, Boyle Heights.

Home, 1890. 2533 E. Michigan, Boyle Heights.

Home, Southside 2nd St. west of Mott, Boyle Heights.

Historic Churches: *St. Mary's Church*. 407 S. Chicago, Boyle Heights. 213-268-7432.

First Hebrew Christian Church, 1905. Northeast corner Michigan & Chicago. Boyle Heights.

Source: Los Angeles County Historical Directory

By: Janet I. Atkinson

WILLIAM HENRY WORKMAN.

In the most important period of Los Angeles' municipal history, beginning about 1870, during which the city made its first real progress in the direction of public improvements, the name of William H. Workman stands out in sharp outline and is entitled to a leading place in the permanent annals of the city.

For over sixty years he was recognized as one of the community's most substantial and dependable citizens. As an able and successful business man, he was one of the most effective agents in promoting the city's improvement and upbuilding; with rare judgment and foresight he secured for Los Angeles transportation, water and other facilities which greatly stimulated its growth, while as a private citizen, neighbor and friend he possessed those qualities and attributes which gained for him confidence and esteem.

Mr. Workman was born in New Franklin, Howard county, Missouri, January 1, 1839, son of David and Nancy (Hook) Workman. His paternal grandfather, Thomas Workman, was a native of England, while his maternal grandfather, John Hook, of Virginia, served as a soldier under General Washington. William H. Workman received his early education in the public schools of Booneville, Missouri, and completed his studies in the F. T. Kemper Collegiate Institute, after which he learned the printing trade.

When about fifteen years old he started with his parents for California, making the long journey across the plains from Booneville, Missouri, to San Francisco, and thence by water to San Pedro and Los Angeles, the entire trip requiring about six months' time. They arrived in Los Angeles October 17, 1854. Mr. Workman secured a position with the *Southern Californian*, and later with the *Los Angeles Star*. He then became a clerk for the Banning Transportation Company, and later was made a mounted messenger for the com-

pany between Los Angeles and San Bernardino, on which trips he frequently carried large sums of payroll money.

Ambitious for an independent career, he and his brother, Elijah H. Workman, established a manufacturing harness and saddlery business at 76 Main street. This venture proved a success and in the course of time, keeping pace with the growth of the city and vicinity, it developed into one of the leading business establishments. The Workmans acquired a valuable reputation for the high quality of their products and their fair dealing, and supplied the southern part of the state with high grade saddles and harness, through which Mr. Workman became a man of considerable means.

Though busy in his individual affairs, Mr. Workman found time to take an active interest in matters affecting the welfare of his city and early became a leader in the launching of various enterprises in the way of public improvement. He was particularly effective in promoting the transportation lines which proved probably the greatest stimulus to the growth of the city. In 1872 he aided the Southern Pacific railroad to enter the county and city of Los Angeles, with a depot at River Station, and subsequently was instrumental in getting the road to extend its line along Alameda street, through Wolfskill orchards, with the proviso that the road would build the Arcade station, which it did.

In 1875, in order to combat the interests then in control of freight hauling between San Pedro harbor and Los Angeles, he aided in the construction of the Los Angeles and Santa Monica independent line. Mr. Workman gave marked evidence of his sagacity when, in 1888, he obtained for the Santa Fe railroad the right to enter the city provided it would construct a levee along the west bank of the Los Angeles river to the passenger station. Later, realizing that the city's future prosperity depended largely on its securing more trans-continental facilities, he secured the entry of the Salt Lake road into this city. To be sure of the feasibility of this project, he made a journey from Los Angeles to Salt Lake City by buckboard, investigating the best route, both topographically and with regard for the traffic possibilities, and at the same time getting the people into the right attitude toward the proposed road.

After satisfying himself as to the practicability of the scheme, he went to St. Louis and laid the proposition before United States Senator Richard C. Kerens and his associates, who were convinced by Mr. Workman and agreed to build the road. Mr. Workman secured the road's entrance into Los Angeles on the same terms as were given to the Santa Fe road, to levee the east bank of the Los Angeles river. He served as a member of that road's first board of directors and contributed much to the development of the road's facilities. He was thus directly instrumental in securing or aiding the construction of every steam line which entered the city, and was also a pioneer in street railway transportation.

In 1875 he built the single-horse car line from Main, Spring and Temple streets, then the business center of the city, east on Aliso street to Pleasant avenue, in Boyle Heights, crossing the river on a surface bridge, and eleven years later he secured a franchise and built at his own expense a broad gauge street car line from First and Spring streets east on First street to Evergreen cemetery. This remained a two-horse line until purchased by the Los Angeles Cable

Company. In 1888, while mayor of the city, Mr. Workman operated the first electric car of the Pico Heights Electric Railway on the day service was inaugurated. In 1894 he constructed the Cummings street extension in Boyle Heights and two years later he secured the franchise for the East Fourth street line to Evergreen cemetery, in Boyle Heights. He was also the leading person in securing the construction of the Fourth street bridge. For this project he secured fifty thousand dollars, twenty-five thousand dollars of which he donated himself. In 1909 he bid in the franchise for the East Seventh street line and induced the Los Angeles Railway Company to assume the franchise and build the line, which ran out Stephenson avenue, east of the river.

Aside from the successful mercantile business with which he was identified for so many years, Mr. Workman was also financially interested in various development projects which contributed directly to the upbuilding of Los Angeles, and in these he derived a very satisfactory profit. In the early 70s he and his father-in-law, Andrew A. Boyle, purchased the land on the bluffs east of the river, comprising what later became known as Boyle Heights, which Mr. Workman named in honor of his partner. In 1876 he prepared to subdivide the property and in order to secure water for domestic purposes he paid the city of Los Angeles thirty thousand dollars to extend the water mains across the river to the new subdivision. Now that water for residential purposes was assured, Mr. Workman turned his attention to the securing of water for irrigating the hill section of the land which had been sold off in small farms and which lay too far back from the river to obtain water. He proposed the construction of an irrigation aqueduct, to be built from a point fourteen miles up the river, from which point a sufficient gravity fall could be obtained to carry the flow to the high ground behind the hills of East Los Angeles.

After many arguments with other members of the city council, that body was finally persuaded to make the investment for the returns in water rentals and increased taxes, and the aqueduct was built. Up to this time the impression had generally prevailed that the land back from the river was not cultivable. To demonstrate its fertility Mr. Workman planted vineyards and orchards, securing cuttings of all varieties of grapes and other vines, as well as of various plants and deciduous fruits. Putting in a private reservoir and a pipe line system, he proceeded to cultivate his land and proved that his belief in the productivity of the soil was well founded; Boyle Heights eventually becoming a veritable garden spot and one of the most popular and attractive sections of the city. Andrew A. Boyle erected the first house in this subdivision, and Mr. Workman built a spacious mansion, in which his children were born and reared and which remained the family home for many years. In later years Mr. Workman became interested in banking and organized the American Savings Bank, which eventually became a branch of the Home Savings Bank.

Mr. Workman rendered appreciated service to his city in several public capacities, accepting office because of the opportunity it gave him for aiding in the civic advancement of his city. For eight successive terms, 1872 to 1879, inclusive, he served as a member of the city council, and was one of its hardest and most conscientious workers.

In 1887 he became mayor of the city, serving two years, and it was during that period that he missed his greatest opportunity for increasing his wealth, as that was the high tide of the great real estate boom which made so many millionaires, but in which he could not participate owing to his official position. He served three terms, 1901-1907, as city treasurer, later also serving as park commissioner and a number of terms as a member of the board of education. He made his two-year term as mayor an eventful one in the municipal improvement program. When he became mayor the city, which had a population of about thirty thousand, had no paved streets, no electric lights, nor parks, nor electric street cars. The city hall was not worthy of the name and in other ways the city was far behind other cities of its size. So progressive, energetic and capable was Mr. Workman's administration that when he retired from the mayoralty the city had all of these things and had made a decided step forward in the way of public improvements. The city had not had a charter and to meet the need for a proper basis for city government Mr. Workman initiated the movement which resulted in the election of the first board of freeholders, of which he was a member. The board formulated a charter which governed Los Angeles for many years, caring for many times the population which its framers had in mind.

Mr. Workman started the movement and signed the contract for the erection of a new city hall, a splendid structure for its day and which did service until the completion of the present magnificent city hall. He was one of the organizers of the first Chamber of Commerce, of which he was the first vice-president, and was one of the founders of the Sixth District Agricultural Park Association, also a member of the first board of directors. He was an earnest advocate of public parks and gave generously to the end that the city might have a park system worthy of the name. He donated two-thirds of the land and secured the donation of the remainder for Hollenbeck park, on Boyle Heights, and later he was active in securing Westlake park, South park, Central park, Eastlake (now Lincoln) park and Echo park. He also induced council to appropriate a definite amount of money annually for the care of the city parks. He was always a strong advocate of paved streets, and was unselfish in this, as he was the owner of much real estate, but he was willing to bear his share of the assessments in order that the paving of streets might go on. He was chiefly instrumental in securing the erection of the first bridge over the Los Angeles river, at Macy street, the wooden bridges at Aliso and First streets, and later he induced the Santa Fe railroad, the Los Angeles Cable Company and the city to build the first viaducts over the river at First street and Downey avenue, each bearing one-third of the expense. In addition to his donation toward Hollenbeck park, he gave five church and many school sites.

In the early 70s, while a member of the board of education, he assisted in the organization of the first high school, and aided in the construction of the building. While city treasurer he warmly supported the Owens River Aqueduct project and, in conjunction with the city attorney, went to New York city and sold the bonds. While serving as treasurer he sometimes had as much as two and a half million dollars in the city's vaults, which he was compelled to guard at

his own expense, as the state law did not permit its deposit in banks. Through his influence, the State Legislature enacted a law permitting the city to deposit its funds at interest with banks giving the proper security. Mr. Workman's name was several times suggested for high political office, his friends urging him to run for governor and for United States senator, but he declined to make the race in each instance.

Mr. Workman was distinctively constructive in everything to which he gave his attention, and to his progressive spirit and great initiative and executive ability Los Angeles is today greatly indebted. His dynamic energy enabled him to accomplish much and all that he did bore the marks of thoroughness, for he was not of the type which leaves anything half done. In the broad retrospective view of his life and its activities he stands out as a public benefactor in the truest sense of the term, for he was constantly taking the initiative and pushing to successful conclusion projects which contributed in a very definite measure to the welfare of the city of his day and the development of the metropolis of the present day.

His death, February 21, 1918, was regarded as an irreparable loss to the city which he had loved and served, and which had given to him its respect and confidence. In 1867 Mr. Workman was married to Miss Maria E. Boyle, daughter of Andrew A. and Elizabeth (Christie) Boyle, of Los Angeles, and they became the parents of seven children, namely: Boyle, who was president of the city council in 1919-1921; Mary; Elizabeth; William H., Jr., president of the Morris Plan Bank; Charlotte, Gertrude and Thomas E.

"Uncle Billy" Workman, as he was affectionately known among his friends and associates, was of rugged strength of character, but was kindly and agreeable in his social relations, and all who came into contact with him were impressed with his sincerity and genuineness.

He "stood four square to every wind that blows," and was never found wanting in any of the essential attributes of true manhood and good citizenship. No resident of Los Angeles had a greater number of warm and admiring friends and his memory rests as a blessed benediction on all who knew him.

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months thereafter their feathers are cut. A few days after cutting, the stubs, which have become shriveled, are removed without hurting the bird. Each bird produces about twenty-five very fine feathers at a picking, besides a large number of less valuable ones. The male and female both give the finest feathers white—the male's poorer feathers are black, the female's gray. The ostrich does not reach maturity till four years old, when they first lay eggs. It is not known to what age an ostrich attains. Dr. Sketchley saw a pair of fine birds with a flock of young ones—their own—known to be over eighty years old.

Our space forbids our enlarging on the habits of the ostrich. One of the most beautiful birds in the world, and one of the few from which money can be made. Southern California owes a debt of gratitude to Dr. Sketchley for introducing this industry in our midst, as well as for giving us and our children an opportunity at so small a cost of spending a delightfully pleasant and instructive day so near to our homes, when multitudes would gladly pay largely and travel many miles to enjoy the same sights. The time will come, we sincerely hope, when the gentlemen who have so lavishly spent their money to make a resort for the people of Los Angeles will reap a rich and lasting harvest.

BOYLE HEIGHTS.

There is scarcely a square mile of territory in this county which does not possess some attractions and some special advantages peculiar to itself. It is the richest, most prolific and prosperous county in Southern California. It has a wonderful variety of soil and climate, has attracted wide-spread attention on account of its unrivaled resources and superior climate, consequently is increasing in wealth and population more than any other section of the State. This magnificent growth throughout the county has operated like magic upon the city of Los Angeles. What was a few years ago a poor Spanish town, sleepy, dull and filled with discouraged people, her streets lined with adobe buildings and here and there a wooden shanty of no architectural pretensions whatever. Now what have we? A metropolitan city, whose streets are lined with buildings as fine as those of San Francisco or Chicago; whose churches and schools, whose stores and residences are as fine as any other city on the continent of its size. A city that five years ago had not above 12,000 people, but which now has nearly if not quite four times that number. On every side Los Angeles is spreading out, her real estate has taken a boom that has made it hard for a poor man to get a footing in many parts of the city. The suburbs are filling up, and beautiful, costly residences are rising as if by magic on every hillside and valley. Orange groves and vineyards are being cut up for homes in every direction, and now and then a grand scheme is announced by which a new "colony" or "addition" is thrown open to settlement.

Turkish, Russian and Medicated Baths, 74, 76, 78 S. Main

Of all the suburbs or surroundings of Los Angeles the elevated tract of land east of the river is in many respects the most desirable. The improvements made in the Boyle Heights was in 1877, when Mr. W. Workman bought the property and named it Boyle Heights, after a relative of Mr. Workman's wife. Mr. Boyle was the first American who settled on the east of the river near this suburb. In 1877 Mr. Workman, with others whom he succeeded in interesting in the site, got a line of horse cars in operation and had the city water introduced into the town. It may be said the town was really not commenced till 1880.

About this time the 3,000 acres of land in Boyle Heights was assessed at \$10 an acre, making a total of \$30,000. Last year the assessment reached \$1,250,000.

On the usual basis of estimate the Directory of this city for 1884-85, the canvass being made late in 1884, would show a population in East Los Angeles and Boyle Heights of 2,650 people. The canvass, which was a careful one, made in March, 1886, on this Directory, shows a population in the same territory of about 7,500. The school census, taken in May, 1886, in Boyle Heights, shows that the population has doubled within a year.

Now, no place will double its population every year unless there is some good reason for it. Let us see why Boyle Heights is increasing faster than her sister suburb, East Los Angeles, and very much faster than the metropolitan city of Los Angeles.

First. The tendency of business men all over the country is to get away from their business where, when they are at home, they can have plenty of space for recreation, a healthful residence for their families, with fruit and vegetables, etc. Boyle Heights fills this bill better than any other place in the county, for it is within fifteen minutes' ride of the center of the city; it is healthy beyond dispute; free from malaria, fog, and on this score is not surpassed by any place in the world.

Second. The land is not more than half as high-priced in Boyle Heights as in Los Angeles, at the same distance from the business center.

Third. The drainage is perfect, so that purchasers of property need not have that question and an abundant water supply question settled over.

Fourth. It has now a horse railroad running through the town; it has the city water supply and the electric light; it will, within a month or two, have an electric railway between this city and itself—the first in California—the rails for which are on the way here and the capital all expended to complete the road. In addition to this, the Second-street road—the first in Southern California—is to be extended down the street across the river and up through Boyle Heights, passing Hollenbeck's place and Mr. Benedict's property.

Fifth. It has the pure sea breeze, unadulterated by any impure contact with the city. A glance at the map shows that the breeze from the ocean could not by any possibility blow from Los Angeles to Boyle Heights, as the current striking Los Angeles would carry any impurities in a direct line much to the west of Boyle Heights.

It is impossible to do justice to Boyle Heights without taking the time to visit this beautiful suburb, and with him visiting some of the elegant

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residences and inspecting the grounds. We shall therefore take a hasty glance at a few of the most beautiful places, simply calling attention to others, which in some respects are quite as fine as those more elaborately described.

W. H. WORKMAN.

As we have already said, this gentleman is the founder of Boyle Heights. For over a score of years he was a busy, successful merchant in the city, and when he had secured what he considered a competency he retired from business and invested heavily in land on the east side of the river. When he purchased what is now Boyle Heights Los Angeles itself was a very different place from what it is to-day, and it required faith in the future to see when and how he was to get a return for his money. But by patient and courageous work, by liberal sowing, he has now the satisfaction of gathering a liberal harvest.

Mr. Workman's residence is on Boyle avenue. It will be noticed as a large house with almost a small village surrounding it. The house is elegantly finished on the outside and as sumptuously furnished within. From the roof, which is reached by easy stairs, a view in richness, variety and extent greets the eye almost unsurpassed by any in this part of the country.

Mr. Workman is a workman in earnest. He has fifty acres of orange trees and 100 acres of the finest kinds of grapes, from which, on his own farm, he makes some dozen or two different kinds of wine. His cellars contain about 250 large casks of wine. Riselin, Blau Elben, Zinfandel, Berger, Mission, Port and Angelica are among the leading brands. His wines bring prices fully up to the highest obtained for pure California wines. He keeps thirty to forty men employed.

Mr. Workman has a park containing fifteen acres of his choice land, laid off in elegant style. The trees are of all kinds of choice fruits, nuts and shade. The fountains and ornaments are attractive, and when his plans are matured it will be one of the finest private parks in America. We are glad to add that the public are freely admitted, under reasonable restrictions of abstaining from acts of vandalism.

Another expensive luxury, although a necessity, is a massive reservoir capable of holding 400,000 gallons of water, which is supplied by the city water works, and carried from the reservoir over Mr. Workman's immense tracts of land in 10-inch iron pipes, which alone has cost about \$30,000 to lay down.

In his home Mr. Workman has the cordial cooperation of a large and affectionate family. His wife has a beautiful idea of floraculture and a perfect paradise of flowers surround the residence. In one enclosure being seventy-five varieties of roses, nearly all of them in bloom. A magnificent inlaid billiard table furnishes innocent pastime for the boys, tending to strengthen their attachment for home.

H. P. BENEDICT.

When Los Angeles was laid out it was platted into blocks of city lots to the block, each lot containing thirty-five acres and being 1,200 feet

square. Mr. Benedict owns two of these lots in Boyle Heights, consequently he has seventy acres of land, and as good land as lies out of doors to-day.

On one of these lots is his house, barn and other buildings. The house is a neat and handsome structure, as finely arranged on the inside as elegantly furnished, as it is pretty and attractive on the outside. Occupying a corner fronting north and west is his beautiful garden or park, literally filled with ornamental trees and shrubbery, fruit and flowers. The site is a very fine one and the view magnificent. The whole thirty-five acres is improved, and he has one of the finest vineyards, with the most even stand of vines about five years old to be found in the county. A remarkable feature of this vineyard is that it has never been irrigated, or any water used except in setting the cuttings, and the grapes are of extra quality and bring extra prices, as containing more sugar than where irrigated. Part are Missions and part Muscats.

The remaining thirty acres are unimproved, and it is Mr. Benedict's intention to open streets, set out trees, give abundant water supply, and divide the tract into building lots and in proper time to place them on the market. There is no more beautiful residence property in the vicinity of Los Angeles than this property will make, within fifteen minutes of the center of Los Angeles, with an electric line of cars, a cable road and a line of horse cars in the immediate neighborhood. With gently undulating hills and valleys, it is the very beau-ideal of fine residence property.

MRS. J. E. HOLLENBECK.

This is perhaps the most elegantly laid out grounds, the finest site and the most attractive home in all the beautiful suburbs of Los Angeles. It has spacious drives, the rare trees and plants and flowers that adorn the lawns and arbors in every direction, the fine banana grove from which the fruit is ripe, sound and well flavored is gathered every season, the elegant mansion and spacious out-buildings, all betoken that the mind who planned and the hand who executed these artistic things belonged to no ordinary individual, but was the work of genius, and the product of conscientious thought. To the visitor this place must possess great attractions; but to the resident who knew the owner, it stands as a sacred spot, the work of one whom everybody knew, and whom none ever knew but the owner. It is now the residence of Mrs. Hollenbeck, and is cared for by her daughter, her faithful and competent business manager.

GEORGE CUMMINGS.

This is another of the beautiful places in Boyle Heights. Noticeable as being the first handsome place after crossing the bridge, and is on or near Boyle avenue, First street and Aliso avenue. Mr. Cummings owns a very valuable tract of about forty acres, most of which is highly improved, and in every respect is as good as the best land in the town. Mr. C's house is one of the comfortable kind, built for the solid comfort of a home more than for show, yet attractive enough to please the most fastidious. The fruit raised by Mr. C. is very fine, and he is a

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Jewish Student Militancy in the Great Depression

The Roosevelt High School Blowouts of 1931

By ABRAHAM HOFFMAN

The "blowouts" and demonstrations that occurred spasmodically at Theodore Roosevelt High School in Los Angeles after March 1968 were not unique in the school's history. Although none of the students or faculty in 1968 knew anything about it, and none but a few old-time residents of the area might recall it, during the Great Depression Roosevelt High School appeared in newspaper headlines that read much the same as those of 1968. "Student 'Riot' at Roosevelt," "School Principal . . . Blames Entire Affair on Students Involved," "Students Suspended for 'Free Writing.'" These headlines appeared in Los Angeles newspapers in 1931, not 1968 or 1970.

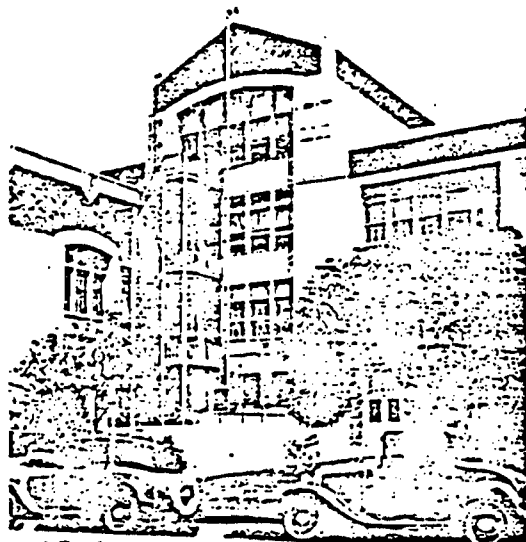
Many of the issues involved in both sets of student disturbances were surprisingly similar, as if the school had not moved with the events of almost forty years. Yet there were differences: the ethnic group was different, the students in 1931 lacked community support, and the earlier demonstrations failed to accomplish tangible results. The full outcome of the more recent "blowouts" is yet to be determined, but the Eastside Community's Chicano activists have a long-buried precedent for their grievances, one articulated by Jewish militant students a generation earlier.

In 1931 Boyle Heights, the Los Angeles community supplying most of the students who attended Roosevelt High School, contained a large Jewish element, though the school also had a rainbow of other ethnic and religious groups. As winter passed into spring that year, the economic depression that had paralyzed the country showed little indication of ending, despite President Herbert Hoover's optimistic predictions. Franklin D. Roosevelt, the New Deal, the unique California panacea of Upton Sinclair's EPIC movement, federal relief programs — all were in the future.

For the present, the Communist party had been sponsoring a series of meetings and calling for "Red marches" on the Los Angeles City Hall to protest the failure of local welfare officials in meeting the needs of the city's poor. Attempts to coordinate relief work had bogged down amid bureaucratic red tape and rhetorical platitudes, and the best the city could offer its unemployed was the idea of a clearing-house for jobs, a work-sharing program of sorts, and an endorsement of a deportation drive against Mexican aliens.

As the students at Roosevelt High School pursued their education, the world outside promised little for them; and the usual rhetoric of school journalism seemed irrelevant in the face of the greater problems of unemployment and poverty. Some students were dissatisfied with the world within the school as well as the greater one beyond the school's grounds. Rules seemed arbitrary and autocratic; the food in the school cafeteria presented a persuasive argument for bringing one's lunch, however meager its contents, from home; and the use of corporal punishment was a long-standing grievance of those who had been on the receiving end of a yardstick or paddle.

With 1930 drawing to a close, several students decided to express their dissatisfaction with the state of affairs in school, and the world in general, through publication of their grievances in an independent newspaper. This paper, *The Roosevelt Voice*, was published by the Young Pioneers, a youth organization avowedly pro-leftist in its sympathies. The student action was triggered by an editorial that had appeared in the Roosevelt *Rough Rider*, the official school paper, in which Soviet Russia had been condemned. The U.S.S.R., outside the pale of diplomatic recognition



THEODORE ROOSEVELT HIGH SCHOOL

since the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917, seemed to attract the sympathy of young people in much the same fashion as Castro's Cuba captured the imagination of the New Left of a later generation.

The anti-Russia editorial prompted a sixteen-year-old student, Victor Goertzel, to write a rebuttal that was to appear in the *Rough Rider's* student opinion column. When the article was not accepted for publication, Goertzel wrote another article, and it was this second article that appeared in *The Roosevelt Voice*. Goertzel did not confine himself to a defense of Soviet Russia. He also criticized the *Rough Rider*, claiming it was "used by the board of education to put over anti-working-class propaganda." The student opinions favoring Soviet Russia were suppressed, Goertzel argued, only because of the political views.

Principal Thomas Elson summoned Goertzel after the article had been published. When the student admitted writing the article, the principal suspended him. Elson, who had previously clashed with several other students over the issue of the Soviet experiment in Russia, notified Goertzel's father of the suspension. He charged the youth with having "assisted in the publication of malicious and untruthful statements concerning Roosevelt high school faculty members and administrative officers for the purpose of making trouble and stirring up insubordination of

students who attend the school." In Elson's view, the articles "were in my opinion decidedly disloyal utterances for any student of an American educational institution to make." At the same time, Elson denied he was punishing the students for their opinions. "No one has ever been expelled from Roosevelt high school for radical views. We want students to think."

Another student, a sixteen-year-old girl named Aida Handler, admitted she had provided information for another article in the same issue of the *Voice*. This second article attacked overcrowded classrooms, lack of typewriters in the typing classes, and poor cafeteria food. Although the girl readily admitted providing details for the article, she denied writing it. Like Goertzel, the girl was suspended. Elson accused her of "impudence" to school authorities.

Suspension of the two students occurred on December 31, 1930, and was to last until January 7, 1931. In the interval the school administration expected the students to apologize for their actions, after which they would be reinstated. When neither student agreed to make amends, the suspension was extended, and Elson ordered Goertzel to Jacob A. Riis High School, a disciplinary school that was a long streetcar ride away from Boyle Heights. Goertzel's parents retained an attorney who requested reconsideration of the transfer, but the request was denied.

As Roosevelt High planned its mid-year graduation exercises, pressures increased on Aida Handler and two other girls to retract radical statements. Although the Handler girl had been permitted to re-enter school, her refusal to compromise led Elson to deny her and the other two girls their graduation diplomas. Elson insisted that his decision was based not on the girls' opinions, but on their attitudes.

The stand taken by the girls was a daring one, for the consequences of their decision were considerable. "Last week when I was reinstated," Aida Handler informed the press, "the authorities informed me I would not be given my diploma." The central issue was the *Roosevelt Voice* article, and her differences with Elson over it, according to the girl, provided the principal with the reason for charging her with impudence. As a result, "They are not only going to deny us our diplomas but

they are going to ignore our applications for recommendation to college. They have taken no action on these applications but have asked us to wait until we are called for."

Unlike Miss Handler, a second girl, Martha Tillin, did not belong to the Young Pioneers, but she viewed with sympathy the arguments in *The Roosevelt Voice*. The daughter of Russian immigrants, she reported that Elson had asked her for a statement of total loyalty to the United States, but that she felt "a good citizen should take an interest in his government and see its defects." Miss Tillin stated that Elson promised the diploma would not be granted until she affirmed her loyalty to the United States.

The third girl, Miriam Brooks, was a straight-A student who considered herself "a good American." She felt the school's interpretation of the situation in Russia was "only one side of the question," and that she "was trying to get the other side." Ironically, although she was being denied her diploma, Miriam Brooks did receive the customary fountain pen awarded students for scholarship excellence by the California Scholarship Federation.

It is impossible to determine the degree of originality in the thoughts and expressions of these dissenting students. They were all above-average in their school work and seemed to have no problems with school authorities other than the issue of citizenship and loyalty arising from the *Voice* article. The Boyle Heights Community consisted in large measure of East European immigrants and their American-born children, and these children seemed to possess an unusual degree of sensitivity to the difficulties presented by the Depression. Dissatisfaction with local governmental attempts to deal with the Depression's problems was widespread. In the week during which graduation ceremonies took place in the city's high schools, hundreds of demonstrators descended upon the City Hall in a Communist-inspired "hunger march," to be met there by police and fire hoses. When the Young Pioneers distributed a circular to Roosevelt students and the general public attacking the Board of Education and the Roosevelt faculty and administration, it was thus done in a period of social dissatisfaction and unrest.

Elson felt it necessary to issue a lengthy rebuttal to the Young Pioneer circular.

Elson's statement appeared in the January 26, 1931, issue of the *Los Angeles Record*, under the headline "School Principal Tells Why Diplomas Refused/ Blames Entire Affair on Students Involved." He reviewed the circumstances surrounding the suspensions and explained why the diplomas had been denied. In Elson's view, the central issue was one of school discipline. The students had claimed they were being unfairly harassed for having dissenting opinions, and they refused to discuss the matter with Elson unless their attorneys were present. This standoff had resulted in Victor Goertzel's transfer, but Aida Handler had agreed to have her mother meet with the principal. However, according to Elson, neither Aida nor her mother "would admit the facts upon which the suspension was ordered or agree to any sort of restitution."



THOMAS ELSON, Principal
Theodore Roosevelt High School

Aida Handler was an outspoken girl, and her comments had clearly angered Elson. She and her mother readily admitted the girl's membership in the Young Pioneers. "Membership in this or any other organization was not a basis for any actions in these cases," insisted Elson, "but it seemed

evident that their subscription to the tenets and philosophies of these organization [sic] were dominating these young people in their violent opposition to the spirit as well as the letter of Americanism." Elson accused the students of "insolence and unpatriotic utterances," and it was for these reasons that they had been suspended.

Elson also remarked that Mrs. Handler had been active in radical affairs for at least five years. He accused the Communist organizations of escalating school problems into major controversies. The Brooks and Tillin girls had become involved as a result of Young Pioneers demonstrations. No compromise with the students had been possible, although Elson had hoped "to secure in a simple form some statement to indicate that these girls were at least not opposed to those principles which Americans, who take some pride in their heritage, look upon as a test of loyalty. I failed utterly to secure anything but bitter criticism."

Despite Elson's disclaimers, it is difficult to see the distinction he made between attitude and activism, or his declaring that he encouraged independent thought but opposed disloyalty. Articulation of independent thought provoked problems that were safely buried if the ideas were left unspoken. Such a view by the school could only contribute to an already tense situation. With the start of the spring semester, further incidents were not long in coming.

On Friday, February 20, Joe Lutsky, a sixteen-year-old who was a member of the Young Communist League, was suspended by Elson after the youth refused to salute the flag. Apparently late to school, Lutsky was stopped by Elson while the school's R.O.T.C. band participated in the flag-raising ceremony. Elson ordered the boy to salute the flag in the band's presence. Lutsky refused to do so, arguing that he could not perform such an act while the country suffered from the harshness and inequities of the Depression. According to Lutsky, Elson then ordered him to get down on his knees and when he refused, the principal struck him. He was later summoned to the principal's office and officially suspended. Elson denied the boy's version of the incident. The International Labor Defense, a Communist-sponsored organization, undertook Lutsky's defense. A

month later, however, the suspension remained in effect.

The next incident, and the most serious of the confrontations, occurred about three weeks after Lutsky had been suspended. Two fifteen-year-old girls, Bertha Goldstein and Dora Smelansky, were suspended for distributing pamphlets protesting an anti-Soviet speaker invited by Elson to give a presentation at a school assembly. The girls, both Young Pioneers, were ordered to appear before the Board of Education on Wednesday, March 18, for further questioning as to their actions. Sympathetic students spent the week distributing a mimeographed paper around the school grounds, protesting the latest round of suspensions. On Thursday, March 19, the demonstrators, including some of the previously suspended students, were met by a group of students who did not share the views of the Young Pioneers or the Young Communist League. A fight ensued, with the "vigilance committee," as the faction supporting the school was called, emerging the winner. They confiscated several hundred copies of the protest newspaper and brought the demonstrators to the principal's office, where they were held against their will until finally released. Two adults, Louis Shapiro, age 42, and Samuel Garborg, age 74, were arrested on suspicion of criminal syndicalism by Captain William Hynes, leader of the Los Angeles Police Department's controversial "Red Squad." Elson denied knowledge of the fight or the bringing of the youths to his office. He did, however, suspend four more students.

One more incident remained before the demonstrations at Roosevelt High finally ceased. It involved a student named Sam Schatz, who had been observed misbehaving between classes. The student court found him guilty and sentenced him to ten demerits and five "swats." Roosevelt High School at this time operated under a demerit system whereby thirty demerits received in one semester could result in expulsion. Swats were administered by a physical education teacher who ordered the offending student to grab his ankles, forcing him to bend over, as the Los Angeles Record put it, "at a convenient angle. Then the paddle descends upon him from the rear."

Schatz had received corporal punishment once before, and he had no desire to take it again. His protest reached both the newspapers and the offices of the Board of Education. Deputy Superintendent J. B. Monlux declared, "The swatting system is not recognized by the board of education. The board's rules provides that corporal punishment may be applied only with a light switch or strap." He went on to state that "Swatting is outside the rules of the board. If it is done, it is done without the authority of the principal, the superintendent or the board." Unfortunately, Monlux did not comment on the interesting detail that sentences of corporal punishment were being handed down by a student court.

Monlux's disavowal of the theory of swatting, or his failure to recognize its existence in fact, coupled with the *Record's* optimistic prediction that "Roosevelt high school's 'swat system' of corporal punishment may be near its end," may bring cynical grins to Roosevelt alumnæ who felt the sting of the paddle clear into the 1960s. Elson, out of the city for a week, could not be reached for comment. Schatz's protest had little to do with political ideology, but his complaint was one that had been included among the grievances cited by the student militants.

The two men arrested at the March 19 demonstration were brought before Municipal Court Judge Ellis Egan on April 20. The charge had been reduced from criminal syndicalism to disturbing the peace, and the judge quickly disposed of the case by dismissing the charges because of insufficient evidence.

Demonstrations, outbursts, blowouts—whatever they were, the protests subsided after the headlines describing Schatz's revolt against corporal punishment. To learn of the later involvements and allegiances of the protesting students would take a considerable degree of detective work after the passage of over four decades. The Eastside neighborhood underwent a period of transition in the 1940s, accelerating after World War II until by the mid-1950s the ethnic composition of the community had radically changed. Where Yiddish had once been the lingua franca of business on Brooklyn Avenue, Spanish was increasingly heard. By the time of the Chicano

demonstrations of 1968, the Eastside *shitca* had become a Chicano *barrio*.

Those involved in the disturbances of 1931 would now be in their mid-fifties; no doubt some of them are grandparents who may well be deploring the radical changes in society advocated by another young generation. What is important is to assess the significance of the protests in the context of the time in which they occurred. The student activists viewed Communism with sympathetic eyes, for what was being taught in the abstract to them in school did not match the reality of the deepening economic depression. Terms like loyalty and Americanism were empty of meaning when the capitalist structure could be seen tumbling down wherever young eyes might look.

Unlike the Chicanos of the late 1960s, the Jewish militants failed to garner much community support. Their protests for the most part were brushed aside, and later events—the creation of the House Un-American Activities Committee, the Stalinist purges of the mid-1930s, and the New Deal offered by the Roosevelt administration—suggested reform rather than revolution as the cure for the ills of the Depression. Pressures from the Chicano community after the blowouts of 1968, on the other hand, have succeeded in moving the Los Angeles Board of Education, however slowly, towards an understanding of the needs of minority students.

In assuming an assimilationist, WASP orientation to education, the Los Angeles public schools long presented an autocratic structure bearing little resemblance to the ideals of democracy preached in civics classes. An official newspaper; suspensions for dissent; a puppet student court system; and hall passes, bathroom permits, tardy slips, summonses to the attendance office, vice principal's office, counseling office, or elsewhere on the school grounds suggest a society far more totalitarian than democratic, one in which discipline dominates over learning. Such an atmosphere can prove especially volatile for minority students, particularly that percentage of them who somehow find a way to articulate what others may silently endure. That the students of 1931 and 1968 chose to demonstrate at the same school may be more than just historical coincidence.

Breed Street Shul Nearing Total Ruin

*The dispute between preservationists
and the synagogue's rabbi continues*

By Robert Eshman, Associate Editor

The Breed Street Shul — one of Los Angeles's most significant Jewish monuments — is abandoned, defaced and crumbling. In the past year, continued neglect, combined with unresolved issues of ownership and responsibility, have pushed the historic structure even closer toward total ruin.

Located a few minutes east of downtown L.A. in Boyle Heights, the city's oldest Orthodox synagogue was once the crown jewel of a thriving Jewish immigrant community. But for years it has been the focus of a standoff between preservationists who want to see it saved and a rabbi who seems resigned — some say determined — to let decay take its course.

Built in 1923, the shul, formally called Congregation Talmud Torah, no longer has any active congregants. Most of its members have either moved away, died, or grown too infirm to participate in synagogue activities or decision making. No services are held in the main structure or in the smaller, wood-framed study hall (*beit midrash*), in the rear.

The soaring brick facade is streaked with gang graffiti. Pigeons swoop through gaping holes in the shattered stained-glass windows and flit about the cavernous sanctuary. Bird dung covers the mouldings.

Garbage from derelicts, homeless and drug addicts — who have repeatedly broken in to camp out in the basement and *beit midrash* — is strewn about the floor, the pews and the pulpit.

For the past 16 years, Rabbi Mordechai Ganzweig, a Fairfax resident, has been serving as part-time rabbi of the shul, occasionally aided by his father, Rabbi Yonah Ganzweig. The elder

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Breed

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Ganzweig died earlier this year, leaving his son as sole administrator of the congregation and its property.

In past interviews with *The Jewish Journal* and the *Los Angeles Times*, both Ganzweigs have been quoted as saying they don't believe there is any further need for a synagogue in East L.A., and they don't want to see it used for any other purposes.

No one can dispute the first point, since only a handful of Jews remain in Boyle Heights. The neighborhood is almost wholly composed of lower- to moderate-income Latinos. Last year, Brooklyn Ave. was renamed Cesar Chavez Avenue.

What baffles preservationists is not Mordechai Ganzweig's inability to maintain or rehabilitate the costly structure, but his refusal to accept help in rescuing it.

Since 1987, he has rejected requests to allow an independently funded seismic study to determine the feasibility of making the sanctuary earthquake-safe. Without that basic study, the synagogue's potential saviours cannot begin to plan its rehabilitation.

"Our vision for it would be to see it brought back to what it looked like during its heyday," said Stephen Sass, president of the Southern California Jewish Historical Society, which has spearheaded the preservationist fight. "The main building would have a sanctuary on the top level, and in the basement there could be an exhibit space talking about the history of Eastside Jewry. I see a place where Jews and non-Jews could come learn about the community."

Sass said he personally would like part of the refurbished building devoted to the local neighborhood's needs, such as legal outreach or meal programs for seniors.

Observers of the struggle over the shul believe Mordechai Ganzweig would rather see the building destroyed than turned into a museum for all Jews, including the non-Orthodox. In a *Jewish Journal* article of July 23, 1993, he said such plans might desecrate the "sanctity and integrity" of the building.

In fact, one prominent Westside Orthodox rabbi recently told *The Journal*, there is "tremendous leeway" within Jewish law, or *halacha*, for dealing with a synagogue once it is no longer being used for prayer, and a museum would certainly be acceptable.



The decaying facade of the Breed Street Shul, whose future is being debated by preservationists and the congregation's rabbi, photos by Robert Eshman

When contacted by The Journal last week, Ganzweig refused to be interviewed, citing "very poor experience" with newspaper reporters. For nearly a decade, the rabbi has not responded publicly to concerns over what many consider a Jewish-community legacy. The rabbi's silence leaves many unanswered questions, not least of which is who actually controls the assets of the



Breed Street Shul. Since Congregation Talmud Torah lacks active congregants, Ganzweig is seen to be in charge of the shul, though the legality of that arrangement is questionable.

The building's status as an officially designated Los Angeles Historical-Cultural Monument makes it difficult, though not impossible, for its owners to tear it down. But that same statute offers no sanctions against owners who neglect a designated city treasure.

Sass fears that a single match or aftershock will reduce the shul to ruin, thus forever robbing Los Angeles Jewry of a source of memory, pride and ongoing education.

If the synagogue were destroyed and the property sold — a local merchant estimated its value between \$50-\$75,000 — those funds could, by law, be dispersed to another nonprofit, perhaps an Orthodox institution of Rabbi Ganzweig's choosing.

"That would be a sad end to what was really a vibrant chapter in local history," said Sass. "Museums spend millions to create Jewish environments of the past, and here we have one. It can be brought back. We need to do it now, but it can be brought back." ■



THAT OLD GANG OF THEIRS—In 1928, Boyle Heights youngsters formed a club called Jasons. Thirty-two of the "boys" are still members.

Times photo by Marianna Dlamos

'BOYS' FROM BOYLE HEIGHTS

Jasons: Every Wednesday for 50 Years



THAT OLD GANG OF THEIRS—In 1928, Boyle Heights youngsters formed a club called Jasons. Thirty-two of the "boys" are still members.

Times photo by Marianna Dianos

'BOYS' FROM BOYLE HEIGHTS

Jasons: Every Wednesday for 50 Years

BY BEVERLY BEYETTE

Times Staff Writer

In Beverlywood, a bunch of the boys were whooping it up, just as they have each Wednesday for the last 50 years. They're the Jasons, a "social-athletic" club that started when some kids in Boyle Heights got together to play ball in 1928. Most would have a little difficulty sliding into third now, but social they are.

They were children of the Depression. Their parents had come over from Russia and Eastern Europe and scratched out a decent living—in the garment industry, the liquor business. One was a wholesale grocer, another a pharmacist. There were a tailor, a plumber, a paint store owner, a butcher.

In those days no one had heard of Little League and, besides, who would have had \$65 to sign up? If a youngster was lucky, he might get a job after school and on weekends, delivering liquor, maybe, or pumping gas, and bring home \$15-\$20 a week.

Ben Kirk ("It was Krichersky then; I'm the first generation of Kirks.") cleaned up during Prohibition. "I hustled Coke at the Coliseum on Saturdays," he recalls. "I'd dump the Coke and sell the cups for 50 cents apiece because I knew where the drinkers were. I'd come up with \$100-\$150 on a Saturday. That got us through.

"It's a family, an extended family . . . They really love one another."

There were other clubs, some a little tougher than the Jasons. Things would get pretty violent during the Jasons' bean-blower wars in the streets.

Half a dozen Jasons went to grammar school together (Malabar Street or Sheridan Street Schools), many to Hollenbeck or Belvedere Junior High, then on to Roosevelt High or Polytechnic, where L.A. Trade-Tech is now. To this day, they defend either Roosevelt or Poly as "the best" at the drop of a note from a school song.

They took apart roller skates, nailed them to orange crates and made things resembling skateboards. When it rained, they played "stick 'em," a game in which players stand in a circle and drive pointed sticks into the moist ground, each trying to knock over the other fellow's.

They shared childhood pranks, such as whitewashing the steps of the rival school or stealing a tombstone that

was a floating athletic trophy. And they shared girlfriends. On a special date, they'd take their girls to Casino Gardens at Ocean Park to dance to the big bands.

But most of the 67 Jasons went to war, not to college. Sixty-one of the 67 Jasons were inducted or enlisted during World War II. They served in India, Japan, Texas, France, Burma.

In strange lands, Jason met Jason. In the Philippines, Sgt. Abe Feedman learned that he and Lt. Harry Gorodetsky were stationed about 100 miles apart. "I borrowed a 2½-ton truck from the motor pool," Feedman remembers. "When I got back from patrol one night," says Gorodetsky (now Gordon), there he was with a can of Vienna wieners. "They had not seen one another in more than three years." Bill Karz and Arty Goldstein had a reunion on an airfield in Burma.

At home, the six who were left, together with a few Jason wives, pitched in to make sure the Jasons would not become a childhood memory. Each week they sent a mimeographed "Dear Jason" letter to members around the world and, with an occasional reminder to "you stiff-fingered deadheads" to write back, they kept it going for four years. "Latrine-o-grams" brought news of Christmas din-

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Boyle Heights Jasons: 50 Years

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ive; Abe Feedman, 52, upholstery-supply
Wisotsky, 61, furniture manufacturing;
d, 66, retired salesman; Mel Yaruss, 61, re-
ir, 62, salesman; Milt Wollis, 61, building
orge Sheff, 62, salesman; Lew Willen, 66,
Gaston, 60, salesman; William Diamond,

ginning to worry. "Where's Nate?" Nate
meeting. Nate Wasserman, 63, retired, ar-
d for bear at the card table, where stakes
25 cents, three raises and settle for half
a cent a point.

re having trouble settling down. Many
t 50th-anniversary memorabilia. Observes
smiling. "Every time we get out the ar-
y steals something he's always wanted.
fesses."

Shoot-Out in '34

phies and the fading snapshots, there is a
ball game at the Y gym in 1934—the Cru-
Jasons: Admission, 10 cents. The Junior
d in 1931, was the first spin-off group;
fidget Jasons, who now are 50-plus. Dur-
three groups combined.

were 10 cents a week in those days. Giant
abash Sweet Shop, next to the Wabash-
0 cents and a quart of ice cream was 19

years, Mel Yaruss has become unofficial
on memorabilia. "The stuff nobody else
to me," he says. "I have a hell room. What
with this?"

'A Little More Exciting'

n is explaining how they took the name
nally were the Trojans, but we were in
C, so we changed to Jasons. We already
helmeted warrior suspiciously like Tommy
ns was the closest we could come."
adds. "Others called themselves Dragons
d things. Jasons sounded a little more ex-

President Bernie Malis, who moved to Boyle Heights
from Philadelphia when he was a lad, is remembering
when. "Now, Jess (Aratin) came in '34 . . ." Elsie Malis
smiles and says. "He remembers, believe me. He may not
remember what he does with his glasses, but he remem-
bers that."

"It was strictly an athletic club," Malis adds. "Then we
had our first party and we . . . missing games and every-
thing changed."

The Proselytizers

Si Willen, acknowledged as the patriarch of the Jasons,
says. "There were four of us fellows living on one block.
We used to play ball together. We figured we had to go out
and recruit to get a team. We were proselytizers."

Willen is lugging a large brown scrapbook in which are
pasted the original copies of the Jason Journal—the news-
letter that went throughout the war to Jasons in service.

All good and well that the official anniversary party, a
three-day frolic, is winding up today at the Newporter Inn,
and that on Tuesday Mayor Bradley issued a proclamation
honoring the Jasons. The anniversary date, Willen says
firmly, was March 28. That meeting was at Benny Tol-
chin's house—2733 Fairmont.

It is now 9:30 p.m., one hour since the group gathered.
President Malis, pounding the table with his gavel, is beg-
ging for "some semblance of order."

Are there any announcements? Jack Greenstein stands
and announces that his two daughters send greetings from
Zurich, where they climbed the Matterhorn. Hy Kinsbur-
sky raises his hand: "Son No. 3 is getting married." There
is a favorable report on a Jason who has had surgery. Dave
Goldstein brags about one of his grandchildren, which
prompts Abe Stein to announce, "I'm baby-sitting and the
cat had four kittens."

There are belated 40th-anniversary congratulations for
the Mel Yarusses, a discussion of the caterer's price for a
nostalgia party coming up July 8. Harry Gordon reports
that, through the efforts of Rep. Henry Waxman (D-L.A.),
the Jasons' anniversary will be written up in the Congres-
sional Record.

"Good or bad?" comes a question from the floor. More
guffaws.

"Address the chair, please!" says Malis. Secretary Sid
Eisenberg duly reads the names of committee members for
an upcoming event, but he's placed the right committee
with the wrong event, or vice versa. "My bifocals," he ex-
plains, "I read the upper line."

It is 9:55 and president Malis is anxious to get this over
with. He calls for "miscellaneous," acknowledging, "that's
not in Robert's Rules of Order."

Meeting adjourned.

The "boys" drift toward the card tables, but a few return
to their reminiscing. Dave Goldstein is recalling a Friday
night songfest in '35 at the Wabash Playground recreation
hall. Some neighbors called the cops and they came and

lined us all up and took our names. It put a real scare in us.
Every name was Jewish. When the cop got down to the
end, I said, 'Pete Murphy.' The guys called me Pete Mur-
phy for 10 years. But the cops cracked up. They took the
book and tore the whole thing up."

They were waxing nostalgic over the old neighborhood,
which was a melting pot, though about 70% Jewish. (To-
day it is largely Chicano.) "We were the middle genera-
tion," said Malis. "We had to do everything for ourselves.
Our parents were busy trying to make a living."

A few of their mothers worked in the garment industry,
but, for most, keeping house was a fulltime job. There was
the washing to be done, by hand, and the daily trips to the
grocery store on Blåde St., where Mrs. Love would extend
credit on a week-to-week basis.

They talked about the dinner meetings at Weyen's res-
taurant (3rd near Larchmont) and of the Jasons' first an-
niversary party at the club Airport Gardens. They talked
about families—first-generation immigrants establishing
themselves, then sending for relatives. About when gaso-

line was 10 gallons for a dollar and you could buy a spiffy
Ford, with a rumble seat, for \$175, used.

Si Willen is reluctant to lend the scrapbook. Its crum-
bling pages are a slice of the Jasons' lives, beginning with
a Jason Journal, dated Jan. 20, 1943. That newsletter car-
ried this ditty:

Dwindle, dwindle, Jason clubs

All except the 47 clubs

Twinkle, twinkle, Jason stars

Fighting for this cause of ours.

Bernie Malis was the editor and when he was inducted,
Sid Eisenberg and Hy Abrams took over and so it went.
Elsie Malis (who was then Elsie Rabin) did the typing and,
when she and Bernie left for his duty station, Gertie
Abrams, now a Jason widow, pitched in. The staff met
Monday nights at Nate Wasserman's house, then repaired
to Carl's drive-in for hamburgers.

In the Feb. 3, 1943, issue Malis wrote, "I always looked
forward to (writing) the letters. From now on, I shall look
forward to receiving them."

The return mail brought letters from Hawaii, from South

Africa, from the Gilbert Islands. They were read aloud to the staunch little band that continued to meet each Wednesday.

Jasons in the service kept those at home both laughing and crying with their war stories. And, at home, the editors tried to keep the letters upbeat with such items as the scores of the USC-UCLA games.

Most Jasons, few of whom are college men, were enlisted men but there were some junior officers and a pilot. Jackie Roller, became a major. When Jasons came home on furlough, they visited Jason families and, of course, came to meetings.

As each member received his greetings, the Jasons said goodbye with a stag party. Sylvester Kraft was feted at Lyman's Cafe on Hill Street (steak dinner, \$2.50), followed by an Ed Wynn stage revue, "Big Time," at the Mayan Theater.

From the newsletters, Jasons serving overseas learned that Los Angeles had something new called postal delivery zones. They were told of bloody clashes in the old neigh-

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borhood between uniformed servicemen and the zoot suiters in their pegged, cuffed trousers and long coats. At home, people were still dancing—the traditionalists to Jan Garber's music at Casino Gardens, the jitterbuggers to Count Basie at the Aragon Ballroom.

It was on Jan. 20, 1944, that the editors had their first sad task. In a special letter to brother Jasons, they wrote that Robert LaPan was one of eight servicemen killed in a plane crash at Oakland. "We place upon our flag the first gold star and, we pray, the last."

Jasons served in all branches of the Armed Forces. At one time, there were 57 Jasons in uniform.

February, 1944: Lt. Victor Gluckman and Madeline Tragerman are married. Gluckman has completed pilot's training. June, 1944: D-Day, the Allied invasion of France. Optimism reigns among Jasons at home. Lt. Gluckman is in New York, awaiting embarkation. July 10, 1944: Gluckman writes from England that he expects "to start moving around real soon."

July 24, 1944. Another special newsletter. "Dear Jason: Again, words cannot express our feelings." Gluckman, co-pilot on a B-17, has been reported missing over France.

Victor Gluckman never came home.

April, 1945: F.D.R. had died. May, 1945: The joy of V-E day and the hope that some Jasons might soon be home.

From Europe, the Jasons now sent their batting averages in service ball games, and accounts of their winnings in card games. The Jason Journal started running a "box score" of its own—how many Jasons discharged, how many to go. "Hold up my mail," some men wrote. "I'm coming home." September, 1945: V-J day. It was all over.

On Oct. 15, 1945, the Jasons scratched together enough players to hold the first baseball practice in years. They figured it would take them a while to get in shape for the season. There were 25 Jasons at the Oct. 22 meeting.

Now the newsletters started with Jason ball scores—a win over the Douglas Aircraft Toolers, a loss to the Better Foods Club. There was a stag at Weyen's for returnees.

New Year's Eve, 1946: Ninety persons at the party at

Weyen's. Juke-box dancing. The Jason box score: 31 down, 23 to go.

Then, March, 1946: "We no longer get letters from you, but the ones sent to you—and returned to us." The editors were ecstatic.

Thirty-two Jasons, still together. In this transient society? In Los Angeles, of all places? None of them lives in the old neighborhood anymore. They've scattered from Pacific Palisades to the Valley to Mission Viejo.

But almost all came home to Los Angeles—and stayed. They married their high school sweethearts. They had kept the same girlfriends (Oh, there were a few "Dear John" letters), the same interests. Not one brought home a war bride. A number of Jasons wound up working together, getting started—in the liquor business, the furniture business.

Says Bernie Malis, "We went through some pretty trying periods, fighting to make a living. Some got richer, some got poorer. It was very difficult to stay together."

A few became doctors and attorneys and drifted away. Others were occasionally down and out and the Jasons had a loan fund—pay back when you're able. "We all hit rock bottom a few times," says Malis.

Today, most own their homes, their cars, are pretty well off. Seventeen of today's 32 became owners of their own businesses. Their children are living in the suburbs and making it as the third generation; they have their own lives.

Sometimes a Jason leaves the fold for a while but, as Harry Gordon says, "There's always somebody else who picks up the load."

The Jasons always knew they'd stick, but until rather recently no one thought in terms of "What about when we're gone."

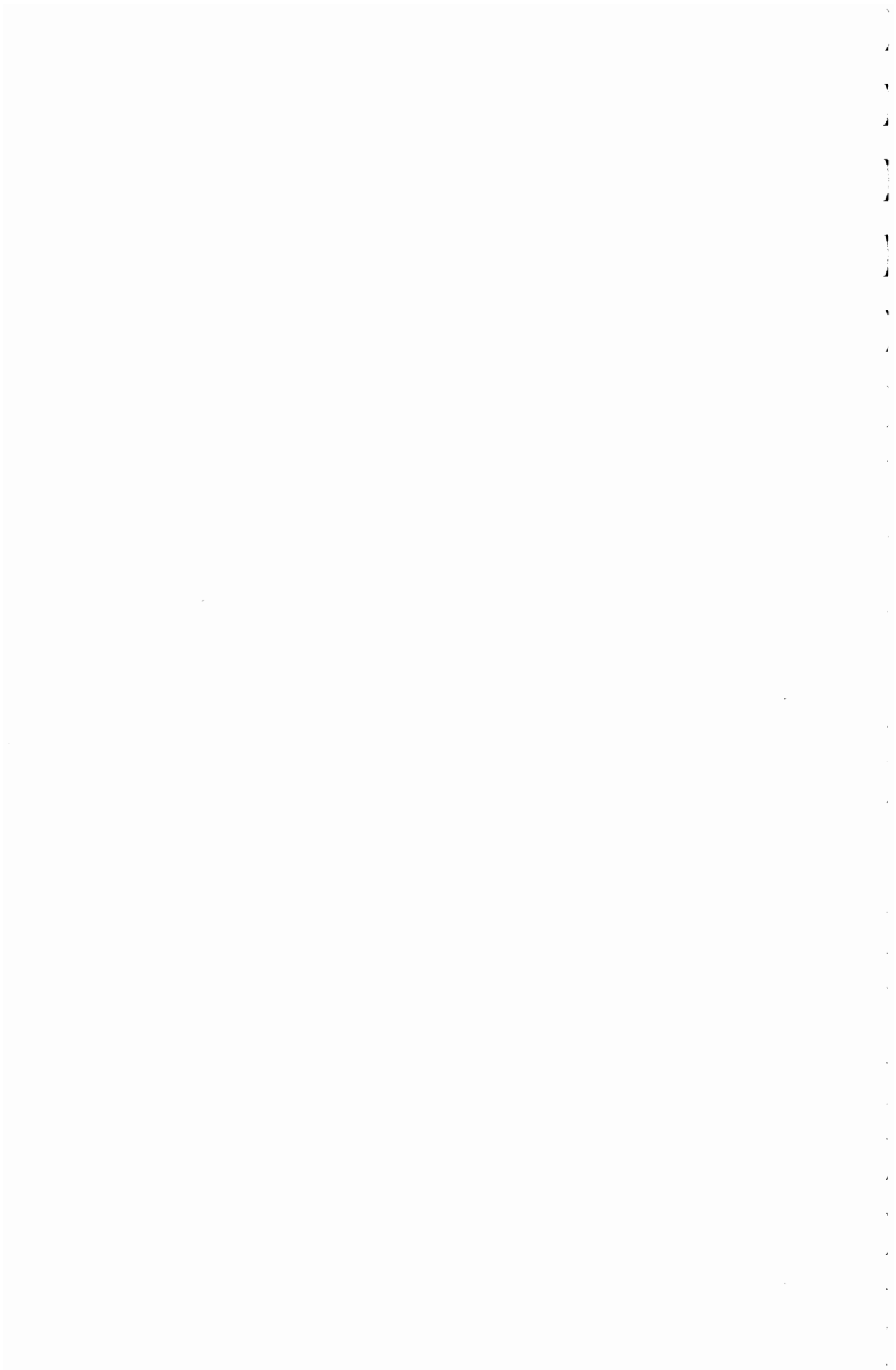
Now, says Gordon, some members are thinking of sponsoring a young group, perhaps through athletics, just as the Jasons got their start through the city recreation department program.

"As it is now," says Gordon, "the only thing we have to perpetuate us is the plaque."

VII.

LITTLE TOKYO/ARTS DISTRICT: A BRIEF HISTORY

Prepared by: Visual Communications



LITTLE TOKYO: A BRIEF HISTORY

Prior to the arrival of Japanese immigrants during the **late 1800s**, the area of Los Angeles around **East First Street** which would later become **Little Tokyo** was characterized by an abundance of **second-hand shops, boardinghouses, bars and brothels**. The newcomers most likely settled in this area because residents involved in businesses of "**ill-repute**" offered the least resistance to their entry. According to popular belief, the first Japanese to settle in Los Angeles was an ex-sailor, known as **Kame**, who arrived in **1885** and opened a small restaurant. Eventually, other **Issei**, first generation Japanese Americans, began to open businesses, and by the **1890's**, the community had grown to over 100.

The Japanese American community in Los Angeles increased steadily throughout the **late 1800's** and **early 1900's**. The vast majority of the population settled around **East First Street**, which became known as **Little Tokyo** around **1903**. By **1924**, the Japanese population in Southern California grew to exceed **10,000**. Various factors contributed to the steady population growth of Japanese Americans in Los Angeles. For one, the **Great San Francisco Earthquake of 1906** forced **2,000 to 3,000 homeless Issei** to Los Angeles. The Japanese community in Los Angeles was characterized by the abundance of "**secondary migrants**," or persons who had previously lived elsewhere in the country. In addition to the earthquake, severe anti-Asian sentiment and violence in Northern California also catalyzed Japanese American secondary migration to Los Angeles. However, the Issei also encountered racial violence and prejudice in Los Angeles. On occasion, people were physically beaten, causing some, such as shoe merchant **Misuhiko Shimizu** to believe: "The best thing was not to leave Little Tokyo at all."

A combination of social and political factors led to the formation of a **pre-World War II ethnic enclave**. A longstanding history of racism and nativism prevailed in the United States from the time of the first significant migration of **Chinese in 1849**. Upon the arrival of the Japanese, the **anti-Chinese sentiment** which had developed in America was projected onto this new group of Asian immigrants. The arrival of large numbers of Japanese to California coincided with an era of tense political relations between Japan and the United States due to "**competition for the dominance of the Pacific**," which increased hostility towards them. Ironically, while external hostility forced Japanese in Los Angeles to form an ethnic enclave in Little Tokyo, their concentration served to "fan the flames" of the increasingly xenophobic environment on the West Coast. Members of the dominant society utilized "several strategic weapons" which **economically isolated** California's Japanese population. For example, exclusion from powerful trade unions prevented Japanese American workers from forming alliances with non-Asians and barred them from most industrial employment. Various legislative measures financially limited the immigrant Japanese population. The **Alien Land Acts**, first introduced in **1913**, denied alien Japanese the right to own land due to their lack of U.S. citizenship. The government's denial of citizenship through naturalization also excluded Japanese from many professions. Finally, the **Immigration Act of 1924** prohibited further Japanese immigration, dooming the group to permanent minority status in the United States.

The Japanese carved a non-competitive niche for themselves in the **produce industry**, despite the **political and economic obstacles** they faced. According to **Robert M. Jiobu**, Japanese in California achieved this by dominating a specific area of produce agriculture through the development of a **vertically integrated network** consisting of growers, wholesalers and retailers. **By 1930**, the Japanese-controlled portion of the industry accounted for approximately **half of the market's total profit**.



Little Tokyo was established primarily to provide goods and services to those engaged in the produce industry. **Prevailing racism** against the Japanese Americans forced them to **rely on their own community** to provide services such as barber shops, hotels and restaurants. **Katsumi Kunitsugu** recalled:

"Little Tokyo was really the center of the Japanese community in those (the pre-war) days because the Issei, who were still very much in charge, could only speak Japanese... they felt more comfortable doing all their shopping in Little Tokyo."

This **ghettoization** increased the community's economic vulnerability and isolation.

Most Japanese businesses in Little Tokyo were **small-scale, undercapitalized and dependent on unpaid family labor**. Japanese immigrants **leased the land** on which their businesses stood because the Alien Land Laws prohibited them from purchasing it. During this time, many Japanese American families lived behind their places of business. Therefore, Little Tokyo became **both the commercial and residential hub** of the Japanese American community. Kunitsugu, characterized pre-war Little Tokyo as "small-town middle America with Japanese faces":

"Before the war Little Tokyo was a ghetto. People lived here, worked here and raised their families here. Everyone knew everyone else and so the kids used to play on the sidewalk and everyone would kinda watch out for each others' kids and all that sort of thing. It was a real community."

Japanese Americans established their own institutions to provide support for members of the community. Immigrants formed **kenjinkai** (prefectural organizations) and **merchant groups** which served both social and professional functions and provided members with a sense of fellowship in a foreign land. Established in 1897, the **Japanese Association of Los Angeles** was the first formally organized Japanese American mutual-assistance group on record. Serving as a substitute for the Japanese Consulate, located 400 miles away in San Francisco, this organization fought for immigrants' rights by mediating disputes and protesting unfair laws. The Japanese Association also tried to improve the quality of life of the Japanese immigrant community.



The publication of *Rafu Shimpō*, the first Japanese language daily, signalled the stabilization of community life.

Here, employees prepare the 1921 Christmas issues for distribution.

Photograph: Courtesy of *Rafu Shimpō*

Other Japanese institutions provided social services to Little Tokyo residents. In 1914, **Rokuichi Kusumoto** opened the **Shonien Japanese Children's Home** for the growing number of orphaned and abandoned children. A year later, **Dr. Inosuke Inose** and **Toyosaku Komai** established the first Japanese American hospital, a two-story brick building in the heart of Little Tokyo. The **Dai-Ichi Gakuen** was the largest and oldest Japanese language school in Little Tokyo. Individuals who grew up in Little Tokyo during the pre-war years recalled attending "Japanese school" there each day after "regular school" was over. The **Buddhist and Christian churches** played an important role in the stabilization of the community, providing religious, social and educational services.

The Little Tokyo community suffered with the rest of the nation during the **Great Depression of 1929**. However, joblessness in the Japanese community remained between **five and 10 percent**, while the national unemployment rate rose to 25 percent by 1932. Japanese business owners, in a gesture of reciprocated loyalty, retained as many workers as possible during these hard times. As Shimizu recalled, "You don't let your help go when things get tough; they worked hard for you when times were good."

Beginning in **the 1930s**, community leaders established an increasing number of social, political and cultural organizations specifically geared towards the interests of the **Nisei**, or second generation Japanese Americans. During this period, the Japanese American community underwent a demographic transformation in which the nationwide **Nisei population more than doubled**, growing to **49.2 percent** of the total Japanese American population. It was apparent that a distinctly Japanese American culture had developed in Little Tokyo. Mainstream organizations such as the **Boy Scouts** were introduced into Little Tokyo through sponsorship from local churches. The Nisei generation, a large percent of whom came of age during the pre-war period, **outgrew the confines of Little Tokyo**. Although born and raised as Americans, they were "heirs to the decades of discrimination and prejudice that had been the lot of their parents." With the onset of **World War II**, this emerging second generation found their life choices drastically curtailed.



Rafu Dai-Ichi Gakuen (school) on Hewitt Street in September, 1930.
Photograph: Courtesy of Visual Communications



Wedding of Mr. and Mrs. Yoshii, 1926.
Photograph. Courtesy of Ruth Fukui

Shortly after the bombing of Pearl Harbor, the Japanese American community found itself in turmoil. The **Federal Bureau of Investigation** began to arrest prominent Issei community leaders who were falsely accused of **espionage**. Many of the businesses in Little Tokyo were closed down and the assets of Japanese Americans were frozen. On **February 19, 1942**, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt signed **Executive Order 9066**, which mandated that all Japanese Americans be removed from the West Coast and placed in **internment camps** throughout the country's interior. By May of the same year, **not a single Japanese American resident remained in Little Tokyo**. Within months, all that was left of the thriving ethnic community was **empty streets and deserted storefronts**.

**WESTERN DEFENSE COMMAND AND FOURTH ARMY
WARTIME CIVIL CONTROL ADMINISTRATION**

Presidio of San Francisco, California
May 3, 1942

**INSTRUCTIONS
TO ALL PERSONS OF
JAPANESE
ANCESTRY**

Living in the Following Area:

All of that portion of the City of Los Angeles, State of California, within that boundary beginning at the point at which North Figueroa Street meets a line following the middle of the Los Angeles River; thence southerly and following the said line to East First Street; thence westerly on East First Street to Alameda Street; thence southerly on Alameda Street to East Third Street; thence northwesterly on East Third Street to Main Street; thence northerly on Main Street to First Street; thence northwesterly on First Street to Figueroa Street; thence northeasterly on Figueroa Street to the point of beginning.

Pursuant to the provisions of Civilian Exclusion Order No. 33, this Headquarters, dated May 3, 1942, all persons of Japanese ancestry, both alien and non-alien, will be evacuated from the above area by 12 o'clock noon, P. W. T., Saturday, May 9, 1942.

No Japanese person living in the above area will be permitted to change residence after 12 o'clock noon, P. W. T., Sunday, May 3, 1942, without obtaining special permission from the representative of the Commanding General, Southern California Sector, at the Civil Control Station located at:

Japanese Union Church,
120 North San Pedro Street,
Los Angeles, California.

Such permits will only be granted for the purpose of uniting members of a family, or in cases of grave emergency.

The Civil Control Station is equipped to assist the Japanese population affected by this evacuation in the following ways:

1. Give advice and instructions on the evacuation.
2. Provide services with respect to the management, leasing, sale, storage or other disposition of most kinds of property, such as real estate, business and professional equipment, household goods, boats, automobiles and livestock.
3. Provide temporary residence elsewhere for all Japanese in family groups.
4. Transport persons and a limited amount of clothing and equipment to their new residence.

The Following Instructions Must Be Observed:

1. A responsible member of each family, preferably the head of the family, or the person in whose name most of the property is held, and each individual living alone, will report to the Civil Control Station to receive further instructions. This must be done between 8:00 A. M. and 5:00 P. M. on Monday, May 4, 1942, or between 8:00 A. M. and 5:00 P. M. on Tuesday, May 5, 1942.

2. Evacuees must carry with them on departure for the Assembly Center, the following property:

- (a) Bedding and linens (no mattress) for each member of the family;
- (b) Toilet articles for each member of the family;
- (c) Extra clothing for each member of the family;
- (d) Sufficient knives, forks, spoons, plates, bowls and cups for each member of the family;
- (e) Essential personal effects for each member of the family.

All items carried will be securely packaged, tied and plainly marked with the name of the owner and numbered in accordance with instructions obtained at the Civil Control Station. The size and number of packages is limited to that which can be carried by the individual or family group.

3. No pets of any kind will be permitted.

4. No personal items and no household goods will be shipped to the Assembly Center.

5. The United States Government through its agencies will provide for the storage, at the sole risk of the owner, of the more substantial household items, such as iceboxes, washing machines, pianos and other heavy furniture. Cooking utensils and other small items will be accepted for storage if crated, packed and plainly marked with the name and address of the owner. Only one name and address will be used by a given family.

6. Each family, and individual living alone, will be furnished transportation to the Assembly Center or will be authorized to travel by private automobile in a supervised group. All instructions pertaining to the movement will be obtained at the Civil Control Station.

Go to the Civil Control Station between the hours of 8:00 A. M. and 5:00 P. M., Monday, May 4, 1942, or between the hours of 8:00 A. M. and 5:00 P. M., Tuesday, May 5, 1942, to receive further instructions.

J. L. DeWITT
Lieutenant General, U. S. Army
Commanding

SEE CIVILIAN EXCLUSION ORDER NO. 33.

In the days and months following Pearl Harbor, life was filled with uncertainty for Little Tokyo residents. Many Issei community leaders had already been apprehended and newspapers were filled with wild accusations and unsubstantiated accounts of "fifth column" activities by local Japanese.

By the spring of '42, Little Tokyo residents were "instructed" to report to Union Church with only what they could carry.

Excerpt: Courtesy of Visual Communications



Photographs: Courtesy of Visual Communications

The Development of Bronzeville

Around this time, **African American migrants** from the South began to arrive in Los Angeles in large numbers, attracted by the promise of well-paying jobs in the booming **defense industry**. The influx of newcomers reached a peak in the **summer of 1943** when an estimated **10,200 to 12,000 people** entered the city each month. This dramatic increase exacerbated the existing **housing shortage** which was particularly serious for ethnic minorities who faced discriminatory **citywide housing covenants**. As conditions worsened, families were forced to live in garages, deserted railroad coaches, storefronts, tents and chicken coops. People living in these rough accommodations had to shower at work, share toilets and outhouses and cook in open firepits and wood stoves.



Many Blacks who came to Los Angeles in search of jobs during World War II settled in the vacated East First Street area because housing was difficult to find in other parts of the city, and Little Tokyo came to be known as Bronzeville until 1945 when Japanese began to return.
Photograph: Courtesy of James Hodge

Excluded from most other parts of the city, many **African American migrants began to settle in the abandoned Little Tokyo area** which was a few blocks away from the train station. Prior to the War, the neighborhood was home to around **30,000 Japanese Americans**. However, by **spring 1944**, renamed **Bronzeville**, it housed **79,000 African Americans**. This ethnic transformation also took place in other West Coast cities which had lost their Japanese American population.

Overcrowding and poor sanitary facilities caused severe health problems in Bronzeville. Large numbers of migrants settled in abandoned storefronts which were "intended for commercial purposes" and "unsuited to human occupancy." Homeless people removed barriers in front of condemned buildings which became packed with tenants almost overnight. **L.W. Burrell** who was a city inspector during this time reported on the conditions in Bronzeville:

"In some hotels as many as six or seven men are living in one room and married men frequently send for their families shortly after arrival. At present, there are many families living in the hotels. Many maintain light housekeeping in a single room. There are in this district many "dark" rooms (rooms without windows) which were condemned by the City some years ago."

Los Angelenos who did not have to endure the squalid living conditions of Bronzeville frequently ventured into the area to enjoy its **vibrant night life**. By 1944, seven or eight popular nightclubs had opened in Bronzeville: the **Cobra Club** was located on the corner of **First and San Pedro** and one block to the west was **Shepard's Playhouse**, to the north was the **Rendezvous Club** and the **Copper Room**.



The clerks at the Miyako Hotel, renamed the Civic Hotel during the Bronzeville period, checked in many famous Black entertainers who played in Los Angeles.
Photograph: Courtesy of James Hodge

Doris Shields Crawford, a longtime resident of the city remembered that the "**nightclubs were great... there was good music and we had a good time.**" According to **Norma Martin**, who was a teenager at the time, many of these establishments were "**after-hour clubs**" which opened after midnight to accommodate patrons from the larger bars and nightclubs that closed at 2 a.m.

The Bronzeville after-hour clubs featured some of the most **notable Big Band and jazz stars** of the period such as **Count Basie, Billie Holiday, Roy Milton and Fletcher Henderson**. Famous jazz saxophonist **Miles Davis** recalled playing in the former Little Tokyo:

"I was playing with **Bird (Charlie Parker)** at an after-hours club called the **Finale**. It wasn't a large place, but it was a nice place and I thought it was funky because the **music was funky** and the musicians were getting down. The **Finale Club** was located in a section of Los Angeles called Little Tokyo."

While community organizations and African American churches added to the stability of Bronzeville, the **end of World War II** brought changes which prevented the formation of a permanent African American community. Many migrants who were lured to Los Angeles by the promise of defense jobs **returned to the South** when the war ended and the industry downsized considerably. Towards the end of the war, others moved into newly desegregated **low-rent public housing complexes** built during and after the war. Most significantly, the **downsizing of the defense industry** coincided with the **return of the Japanese American community** to Los Angeles upon their release from internment camps.



Dry goods merchant Kiichi Uyeda was the first to reopen a store in the heart of Bronzeville.
Photograph: Courtesy of Kiichi Uyeda

Rebuilding Little Tokyo: A Time of Transition

Between 1945 and 1948, both African Americans and Japanese Americans inhabited Bronzeville/Little Tokyo. Aside from occasional business dealings, however, **interaction between the African American residents of Bronzeville and the returning Japanese Americans was limited.** While close personal relationships mostly never developed between the two communities, they **coexisted peacefully** during the short period in which they shared the same neighborhood. "There was no hostility," stated Kunitsugu. "We were living and working next to each other."

For the most part, the Japanese American population congregated in Little Tokyo upon their initial return to Los Angeles. Having no other place to go, families naturally went to the pre-war ethnic enclave to regroup and plan their futures. The community established a support network during uncertain times. Kunitsugu commented:

"Returning to Little Tokyo after the war was kinda like **huddling together for safety.** You were comforted being with those who shared the same circumstances. There was an unspoken bond between us."

The most pressing problem returning Japanese Americans faced was the **struggle to find housing.** The few hotels in Little Tokyo quickly filled beyond capacity. Old-timer **Archie Miyatake** recalled "hotel hallways packed with children who played beneath clotheslines crisscrossing above them." The housing problems enumerated in a *Rafu Shimpo* column paralleled those facing the African American migrants from the South a few years earlier:

"People who once had nice comfortable homes are jammed into hotel rooms and are **paying premium prices** for them. Some, who are not quite so lucky are staying in garages, barns, anything."

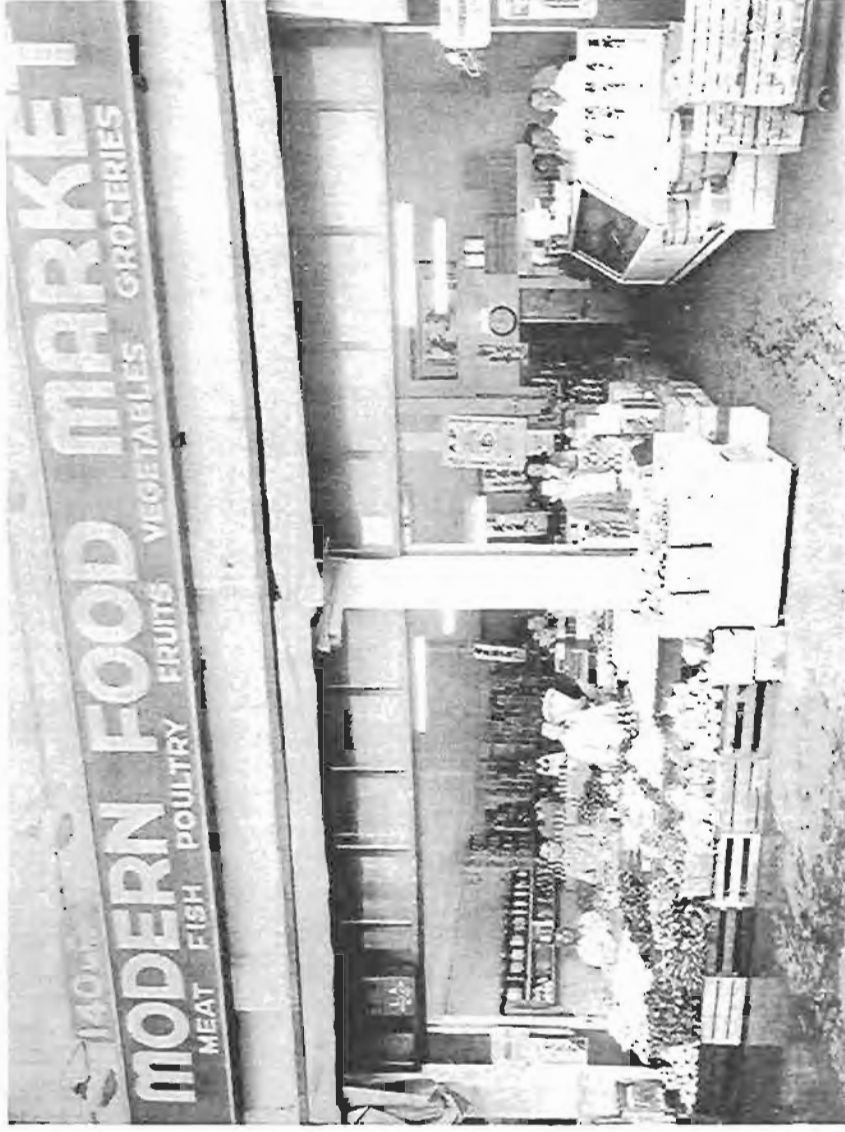
The **War Relocation Authority (WRA)** established hostels, temporary trailer camps and pre-fabricated Army barracks to accommodate the influx of returning Japanese Americans. Trailer park facilities were located throughout Los Angeles County in places such as **Winona (Burbank), Lomita, Harbor City, Santa Monica and Sun Valley.** In a *Rafu Shimpo* article **Scotty Tsuchiya** found that church hostels were "no better than flop houses:"

"Hostels... were at best, necessary evils, for they lacked adequate sanitary facilities and were overcrowded to an unhealthy saturation point. Many... were condemned by the Public Health Department, but in spite of this, hundreds of returnees were sent to them."

Despite promises to relocate all returnees, on **March 28, 1946,** the WRA served **2,300 temporary housing residents with eviction letters** giving them two days to find their own accommodations. Although public protest over this insensitive action persuaded the government to keep some housing facilities open for a few additional months, Japanese Americans realized that they were on their own. *Rafu Shimpo* columnist **Henry Mori** commented on the situation:



Circa 1951.



Modern Food Market on San Pedro Street. 1918.

"Some say this is **worse than the first evacuation**... After three and a half years of bitter struggle, the hurt will never wear off and the repetition of the evacuation has kept the wound open."

The **Buddhist and Christian churches** in and around Little Tokyo played a major role in supporting the Japanese Americans during the post-war years. Various religious organizations operated hostels which provided temporary shelter for members of the community. They also provided information about job openings and social events to returnees. **John Saito** stayed at the **Koyasan Buddhist Church's hostel** when he first arrived in Los Angeles:

"My mother and I came down in **July of '45** to Los Angeles and stayed in separate sections of the Koyasan Church here in Little Tokyo. It was sort of like barrack-style: men were on one level and women stayed in another section of the church."

The **Evergreen Baptist Church's** facility was one of the first and largest of the Los Angeles hostels. As of **March 1, 1945**, it had provided housing for over **2,000 residents**. The hostel's staff also ran an employment service and lent furniture to needy families.

While they struggled to locate permanent housing, Japanese Americans faced the arduous task of **rebuilding Little Tokyo**. Early returnees were skeptical about the feasibility of such an endeavor: "We were **very pessimistic** about bringing Little Tokyo back," recalled **Takeo Taiyoshi**. "We tried to buy out the businesses on **First Street**, but the (European American) owners were asking \$4,000, \$5,000, \$7,000 a store. **We had nothing**." Slowly, however, professionals such as physicians, dentists, chiropractors, attorneys and accountants came from internment camps in locations such as Chicago, Denver, New York and the Twin Cities area and opened offices in Little Tokyo. According to businessman **Taul Watanabe**:

"By **1948-1949**, the Japanese professional groups were well established in Little Tokyo. There were over **125 doctors, dentist, attorneys, C.P.A.s and chiropractors**. This solidified the **Japanese Town** because it brought all patients to Little Tokyo."

The reestablishment of financial institutions and social organizations further stabilized the community. In the latter part of **1949**, both the **Sumitomo Bank** and the **Bank of Tokyo** opened their Southern California headquarters on **First and San Pedro Streets**. Various social and cultural institutions which were established by community members reflected the **shift in leadership** from the Issei to the Nisei generation which took place during internment. For instance, Nisei-led organizations such as the **Japanese American Citizens League (JACL)**, which advocated complete assimilation into mainstream American society, gained prominence over the Japanese Associations. JACL leaders echoed the sentiments of the majority of the Nisei who believed that the only way to "win a place for themselves in America was by **being better Americans than most**."



By the late 1940s, Little Tokyo bustled once again, with the corner of First and San Pedro Streets at its heart.
Photograph: Courtesy of Visual Communications



Girls attend a seminar of Japanese manners and etiquette at Union Church in 1934.
Photograph: Courtesy of Ruth Fukui

Although it did not happen overnight, in several respects, **barriers began to break down** for the Japanese Americans. The increased openness of "mainstream" society led to the **diminished importance of Little Tokyo** in the post-war era. Although businesses and organizations were reestablished in Little Tokyo, internal and external political, social and economic changes occurred during the war which dramatically lessened the necessity of a residential ethnic enclave. Due to these factors, **the ethnic enclave never regained its pre-war eminence as the major residential and business center** of the Japanese community. Kunitsugu stated:

"When Japan lost the war, something changed in the American attitude and **they became more open**. You didn't get the feeling of being persecuted all the time once you stepped out of your environment."



Little Tokyo store.

Photograph: Courtesy of Visual Communications.

In several respects, barriers against Japanese Americans slowly crumbled, particularly in the areas of **housing and employment**. For the most part, Nisei couples ready to start families moved out to the suburbs. **Boyle Heights** was one of the first major areas of post-war resettlement outside of Little Tokyo. Most of the people who moved here worked in the downtown produce markets or in Little Tokyo. The **Sawtelle area** in West Los Angeles became a popular place to settle **after World War II** for those involved in the nursery business. Its close proximity to the estates of Bel Aire and Beverly Hills also made it convenient for gardeners. Japanese Americans also moved to the **old Westside (36th Street)** and **Crenshaw areas, Gardena and Monterey Park**. An improvement in the socioeconomic standing of Nisei and Sansei as a result of increased employment opportunities formed the basis for residential suburbanization. They hoped to make a better life for themselves outside of the confines of Little Tokyo. **Larry Tajiri** wrote:

"Japanese leaving the camps are not merely returning to American communities to resume their previous insular existence as a racial 'minority.' For the first time, many are **establishing themselves** in the wider cultural pattern of the country."



Issei, first generation Japanese, woman teaching youngsters.
Photograph: Visual Communications

As the post-war Japanese American community worked to rebuild their lives outside of the ethnic enclave, **Little Tokyo began to lose its vitality**. According to **Mike Murase**: "As Japanese Americans and others moved away to newly blossoming suburbs, some feared that the flight from the blight of the central city would create a **doughnut effect** in which Little Tokyo would become the hole in the middle." Already, buildings erected at the turn of the century were falling into disrepair and what was once the **northwest portion of Little Tokyo was taken by eminent domain for use by the city government**. When talk of further expansion of the civic center into the main thoroughfare of Little Tokyo (on First Street between San Pedro and Alameda) began in **the 1960s**, concerned Japanese American community leaders and merchants organized to discuss plans for **redeveloping the area**.

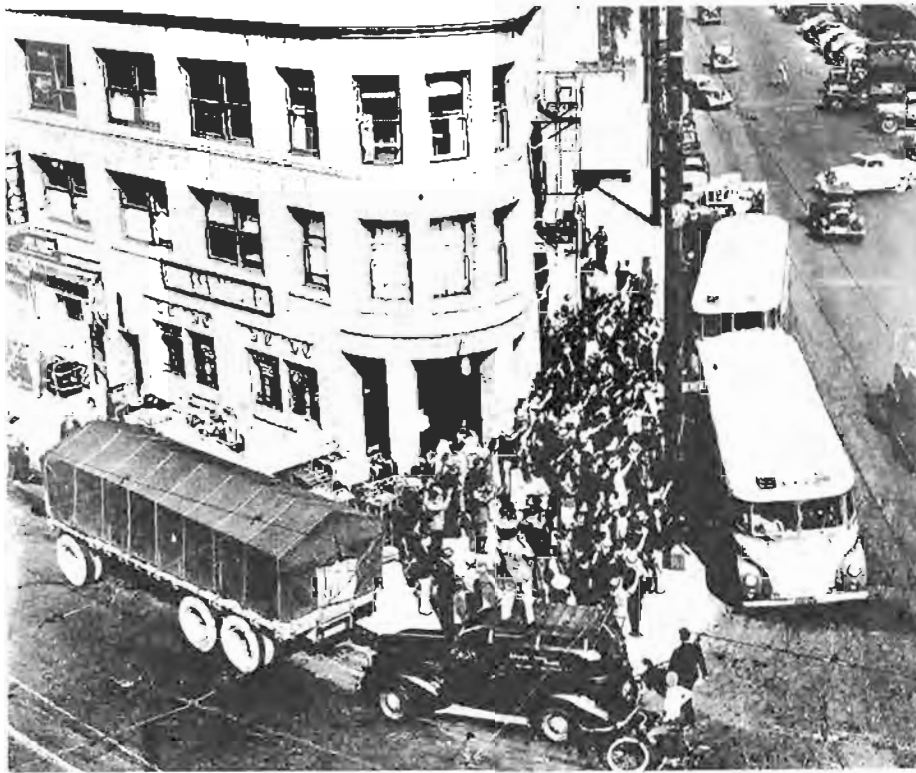
In 1970, the city's **Community Redevelopment Agency (CRA)** undertook the leadership of **Little Tokyo's redevelopment**. The first major project sponsored by the CRA was the **\$24 million dollar, 448-room New Otani hotel**. The upscale hotel was built in 1974 by a consortium of **30 Japanese firms** on land acquired by the CRA. Members of the community were divided about the nature of the redevelopment project. While some felt that business developments such as this new luxury hotel would increase foot traffic, and economic growth in the area; others worried that

multinational corporations from Japan would change the historic neighborhood for the worse, shutting out the elderly who still wished to reside in the area.

Despite these fears, **community-minded projects** did come to fruition in Little Tokyo. Among them was the **Little Tokyo Towers**, which provided housing for the **community's senior citizens**. The **300-unit, 16-story apartment building** was co-sponsored by the **Southern California Gardeners Federation, Japanese American Citizens League, Southern California Christian Church Federation** and the **Los Angeles Buddhist Church Federation**. Social services and cultural institutions were also developed in the area, attracting Japanese Americans from all over Los Angeles. For instance, the **Japanese American Cultural and Community Center (JACCC)**, completed in **1980**, houses numerous community and social service organizations as well as classrooms and art galleries. In **1983**, the **880-seat Japan America Theater** was built adjacent to the JACCC. Religious institutions also brought life to the neighborhood. In **1976**, the **Higashi Hongwanji Buddhist Temple**, which had relocated to Boyle Heights returned to Little Tokyo and the **Union Church** relocated to a new building on **Third and San Pedro Streets**. A further sign of regeneration and change in the area, the **Japanese American National Museum** opened at the site of the **Nishi Hongwanji Buddhist Temple** in **1992**.



Japanese American Cultural and Community Center (JACCC).
Photograph: Courtesy of JACCC



This spot was an assembly point for Japanese Americans who were forced into concentration camps during World War II. The building shown here was once a the Nishi Hongwanji Temple, but is now the headquarters of the Japanese American National Museum. Photograph: Courtesy of Jack Iwata Collection



The Japanese culture and heritage is still strongly celebrated in Los Angeles' Little Tokyo as shown here during Nisei Week. Photograph: Courtesy of Visual Communications

DOWNTOWN ARTS DISTRICT

Neighborhood/Community History

The Arts District is an area in Downtown Los Angeles that is bound roughly by **Alameda Street, the 101 and 10 Freeways and the Los Angeles River**. Its low, flat terrain has allowed for construction of railroad lines running into Downtown Los Angeles. Historically, the district has been an **industrial area** consisting primarily of warehouse buildings that were built up along the railroad lines. Off-shoot railway tracks, also known as spurs, allow freight trains to directly deposit raw material or pick up cargo from **warehouse or factory buildings**. Although most of the spurs are now inactive due to the relocation of heavy industry outside of Downtown, **two lines are still active** and run through the district today. Most of the businesses currently operating in the area are small to medium-scale manufacturing, wholesale food, and import/export companies.

Creation of the Artist Loft District

Movement of the manufacturing businesses outside of Downtown during **late 1960's and early 1970's** made available large amounts of industrial space. In the period between **1976 to 1978**, artists began moving into these spaces, **converting them into live-in lofts**. These vacant warehouses, with large floor areas and cheap rent, provided ideal **studio spaces** for local artists. Several of the original loft buildings are still inhabited by artists, including **454 Seaton Avenue** (developed and owned by **John Peterson**) and **1617 East 7th Street**. Other original buildings, such as **239 Los Angeles Street**, were torn down and re-developed.



Original CETA artists from left to right: Richard Hyland, Ismael Cazarez, Guillermo Martinez, Marilyn Kempainen, Joe Jenusz, David Scharf, Alexandra Sauer, Ron Reeder, Barry Scharf and Bill Fisher.

Photograph: Courtesy of LACE

Artist-in-Residence

At first, these artist lofts were **illegal live-ins**. Then, in **September of 1981**, Ordinance #155843, "**Conditional Use for Living and Working Quarters for Artists and Artisans**," (revised July 1994, City of Los Angeles Zoning Department Ordinance #169,670, effective 5/13/94) was passed, re-zoning these industrial work spaces as live-ins. Many buildings were brought up to code so that artists could legally inhabit their studio spaces. This ordinance was co-authored by **Joel Wachs**, artist **Dan Citron**, and **Marc Kreisel**, owner of **Al's Bar**.

The Growth of the Residential Area

From the **late 1970s to mid-1980s**, the area **west of Alameda – Los Angeles Street, Broadway, Spring, San Pedro** -- was the focal point of the community. Today, most of the residents live **east of Alameda along Santa Fe, Traction, and Bay streets**. The area along Santa Fe has become the center of the present Arts District. Two major artist "colonies" are the **Santa Fe Art Colony** on Santa Fe and the **Brewery Complex** on Avenue 21 and Main Street.

Transportation Systems

There is **little public transportation** in the area. Most of the residents make use of automobiles or bicycles. In addition to neighborhood restaurants, coffee shops, and bars (see Community Landmarks), neighboring Little Tokyo also provides food, shopping, as well as other commercial and leisure activities.

First Inhabitants before 1880

Before the construction of the "spurs" and warehouses, the **area was planted with orchards** where citrus fruits were grown. After its industrialization, the area was essentially **non-residential**, with laborers coming in from neighboring residential areas, such as **Pico/Union, Little Tokyo, and Chinatown**. When the artists moved in the **late 1970's**, they were the first community of significant numbers to reside in the area since the early citrus farmers.

Present Population

According to a recent survey by the **Los Angeles River Artist and Business Association (LARABA)**, there are currently **800 artist studios** in the area, which amounts to a population of approximately **2,000 people**. This still-expanding population of artists are the primary residents of the area. According to Peterson, who has lived in the area **since 1978** and was responsible for developing many artist loft buildings, the present number of artists studios is **1,200**, which amounts to a population of approximately **2,400 people**.

The diverse population now living and working in the Arts District consists predominantly of persons of **Euro-American descent** as well as **Asian Americans, Latinos, and African Americans**. Individuals and couples in the **25 to 45 age group** make up most of the population,

although a few families with children live in the area. Children are usually sent outside of the neighborhood for schooling. Most of the current population are **college-educated**.

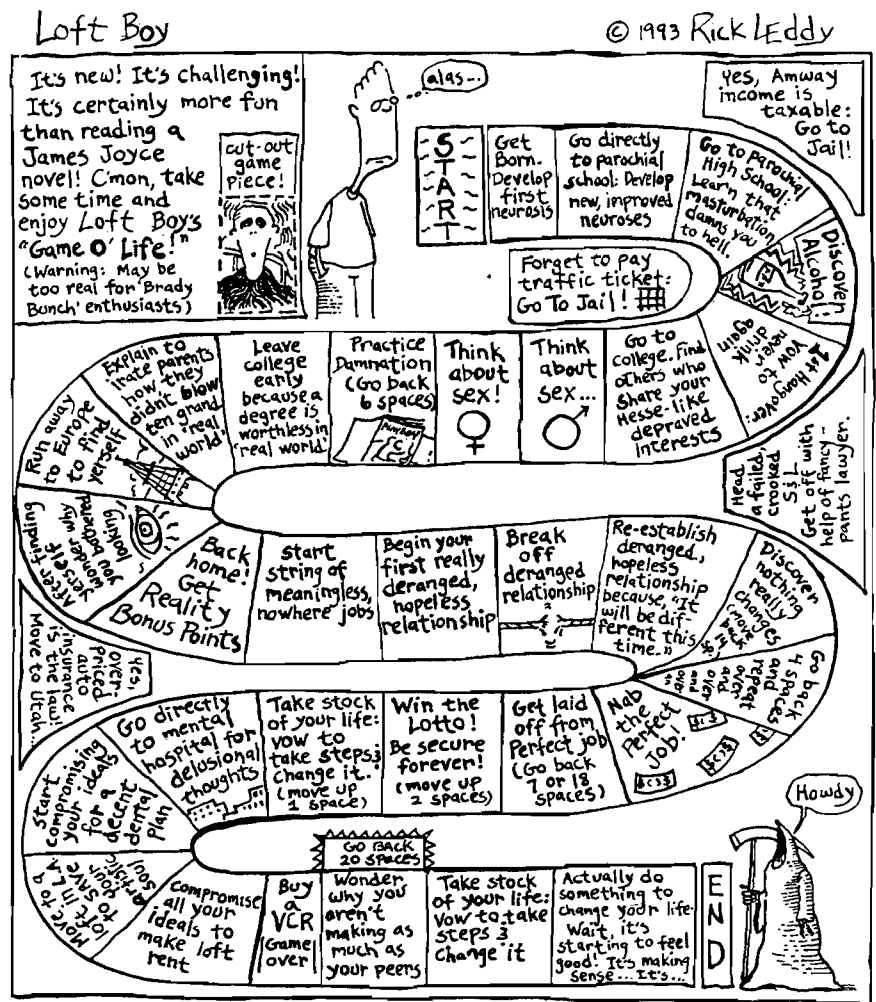
In the late 1970's, the area was primarily populated by **visual artists**, (painters, sculptors, multimedia and performance artists). After the passage of the Arts-in-Residence ordinance, **commercial artists** (animators, graphic designers, fashion designers, commercial photographers, and architects) began moving into the Arts District in increasing numbers and now represent a significant portion of the artist community.

College students as well as the inhabitants of a few residential hotels also form part of the local population.

Culture

The culture of the **Arts District** is reflective of its **diverse population** of artist residents. Unlike other ethnic communities described in this report, the art community is comprised of people from a **variety of ethnic and cultural backgrounds**; it is formed around the activity of **art-making and exhibition** as opposed to ethnic-affinity. Since the art community is defined as such, it does not sustain community institutions such as churches, temples, synagogues, schools, and community centers. **Galleries, restaurants, cafes, clubs and bars** are the primary community gathering places.

Events such as **art openings, performances, and loft parties** constitute the majority of its cultural activity. These spaces and events are often ephemeral and short-lived, and the frequent **crackdowns by the LAPD on underground**



"Loft Boy," by Rick Leddy, as published in DADA Newsletter. Courtesy of DADA

clubs in the late 1980s also contributed to a demise of many community gathering spaces. Today, major Downtown art events include **Downtown Lives!**, a two-year old annual art show of Downtown artists held in warehouse spaces, a **Valentine's Day block party in 1995**, which continues the tradition of LACE's popular Annual Valentine's Day Balls, the two-year old **FAR Bazaar** held in the Bingo Building at the Brewery Complex (1994) and in the Old Federal Reserve Building on Olympic (1993).



Downtown Lives! '93.
Courtesy of DADA.

Museum of Contemporary Art and the Temporary Contemporary

In 1986, the **Museum of Contemporary Art (MOCA)** opened on **Grand Avenue**, north of the Arts District. In 1988, MOCA expanded its activities to the **Temporary Contemporary**, a "warehouse" annex located on **First Street** in Little Tokyo. Although the "T.C." was located in proximity to the Arts District, its exhibition program did not draw heavily from the local arts community. Instead, it featured a program of **American and international contemporary artists** similar to other major museums around the country. The T.C. is currently closed, and is scheduled to re-open in 1996.

Galleries

Accompanying the **art world boom in the 1980s**, an active gallery scene was set up in the district -- a la SoHo. Many art galleries opened at the time, but **most of them had closed or moved** to the West Side by the end of the decade. The **Cirrus Gallery** at [542 Alameda, 213/ 680-3473],

which opened in 1978, is one of the few remaining art galleries from this period. **Galerie Concrete**, [201 S. Santa Fe Ave. #209, 213/617-7085], **Galeria Las Americas** [912 E. 3rd St. # 402, 213/613-1347] and **Site** [located in the Roosevelt Building, 719 West 7th Street, 213/629-4532] are some of the **newer galleries** in the area. According to **John Peterson**, there are currently **15 galleries** in the Downtown Art District. Other galleries in the District include:

The Clubhouse
797 Traction Ave.

El Pueblo Gallery
E-13 Olvera Street
213-342-9900

Fine Art At Factory Place Gallery
1308 Factory Place
213-629-9924, 213-488-3508

Gallery IV
800 Traction Ave.
213-786-8975

Rachele Lozzi Gallery
Los Angeles Hilton & Towers
930 Wilshire Bl.
213-612-3965

Random Gallery
6040 N. Figueroa St.
213-550-8000

Daniel Maher Gallery
500 Molino
213-617-7891

Photo Contest Gallery
777 S. Figueroa
213-955-5977

Photo Impact
621 S. Central
213-628-7355

Rondeau Fine Arts
620 Moulton, #210
213-342-9900

The Venue/Theatrical Space
600 Moulton Avenue, #101-B
Los Angeles CA 90031
213-221-6340

Who's On Third? Cafe/Gallery
8369 West 3rd Street

Alternative Art Spaces

Non-profit alternative art spaces such as **Los Angeles Contemporary Exhibitions (LACE)**, **Wallenboyd** (performance space at Wall and Boyd Streets), and **High Performance** were also focal points of the local art scene which hosted art exhibitions, performances, film/video screenings and readings. The bookstore at LACE made available art and cultural theory books as well as art magazines and alternative publications. LACE has moved out of the District to **Hollywood** and High Performance has move to **Santa Monica** while other alternative art spaces have closed. The District currently **does not have a community art center**. Other alternative art spaces that had operated in the District include:

- **Galleria By The Water** (closed) a loft located next to the L.A. River, presented extravaganzas like the "Barbequeries," big barbecues with performances, bands and exhibitions. The loft housed artist activists Sue Dorman, Virginia Hoge, Wally Lab and Cam Slocum who also held exhibitions in their living rooms from 1982-1984.
- **Los Angeles Center For Photographic Studies (LACPS)** focuses on issues of photography and media as well as acting as a resource for working artists. In 1994, LACPS opened Re: Solution Gallery in the Newbury School of Beauty building in Hollywood, next door to LACE.
- **Metropolis** (closed) a loft/performance space, formerly the studio home for three women artists: Monica Gazzo, Violet Hamilton and Lin Osterhage. It became a presenting space for weekly performances in 1982 and functioned into the summer of 1983. It re-opened briefly in the winter of 1985 for Sunday evening performances.



BY-PRODUCTS

Mike Kelley Tony Oursler Mitchell Syrop

Opening Fri. July 11 7-10p.m. July 11-Aug. 9

Oursler - Stories Spun by appt. 620-0104

Oursler & Syrop - TV Shows, Kelley - Performance

Fri. Aug. 1st 8p.m.

SOLO EXHIBITION - ANDREW WILF
LACE Los Angeles Contemporary Exhibitions
funded in part by the NEA

SUBURBAN TOWNS
near Chinatown

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| floor

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THURS
JULY 3rd
doors open 8³⁰

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JAMES BROWN
revue

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PARTY
\$ 3

LACE 240 S. Broadway
Los Angeles 3rd floor
Contemporary Exhibitions 620-0104

downtown between 2nd and 3rd streets

Posters, published in LACE 10 Years Documented.
Courtesy of LACE.

- **Woman House** (closed) An old house in Downtown Los Angeles that had been marked for demolition, it became an installation project of the Feminist Art Program at CalArts. The space was taken over and redesigned by feminist artists including Judy Chicago, Suzanne Lacy, Miriam Schapiro, and others.

(Art space descriptions excerpted from L.A.'s Space Age by Nancy Drew in LACE 10 Years Documented, ed. Karen Moss, LACE 1988.)

Underground Clubs

In the **mid-1980s**, an "**underground**" club scene blossomed with after-hours clubs, bars, and performance spaces that were often set-up in loft spaces. Art was being performed in clubs, exhibited in restaurants, and galleries, and there was a proliferation of "**Happening**"-type events. A brand new body of work with completely new ideas connected to punk rock seemed to be exploding throughout Los Angeles. The clubs featured work which came to be labeled "**new cabaret**," "**new vaudeville**," and "**new folk**." These scenes provided opportunities for social interaction and recreation. Some of the clubs, such as **The Brave Dog** (operated by **Jack Marquette** and **Claire Gordon**), **Atomic Cafe**, and **Troy Cafe** on **First Street** featured performers and bands such as Keith Joe Dick, Johanna Went, Tom Murren, Fat and Fucked Up, and Red Wedding.

Some events were **nomadic**: Theoretical, a "hobby" of Jack Marquette, was a series of "Happenings" that occurred at Al's Bar, The One Way, Press Club, and LACE; featuring performances by John Fleck, music by the Romans, the Alien Comic, and the Shadow Minstrels. However, continuing scrutiny by the LAPD led to a demise in activities held in un-licensed or illegal spaces.

Community Landmarks

Galleries, alternative art spaces/artist-run organizations, neighborhood restaurants and bars are the main community gathering places in the Arts District. Some of the bars and restaurants, such as **Gala Restaurant**, (7th and Santa Fe), **Little Pedro's** (1st and Vignes), **Traction Cafe**, **Troy Cafe**, and **Vignes Cafe** have served several generations of artists living in the District. Others, such as the **Boyd Street Grill**, are restaurants started by artists that are now run by professional restaurateurs. **Emmy Lou's**, a bar in Chinatown, was a favored hangout of artists in the District during the **1980s**. **Coffee Strippers**, a coffee shop that recently opened beside Al's Bar on Traction, represents a continuation of the tradition.

DOING WHAT'S BEST FOR THE CHILDREN

Inner-City Arts was founded on a dream about an oasis where inner-city children could learn to find new ways to express their creativity. Where fear and violence are replaced by encouragement and self-expression. It's a world where children are always included, a place they can grow in security and openness, to feel good about themselves.

Founded by director Bob Bates and Board Chairman Irwin Jaeger, Inner-City Arts opened its doors in a loft on Olympic Blvd. in 1989. Arts programs were taught to 550 children from the 9th Street Elementary School. In May of 1991 due to potential toxic fumes from a neigh-

boring business, ICA was forced to move. With the help of the City, the CRA, the LAUSD and private enterprise ICA re-opened in temporary trailers at the 9th Street School. Currently 1,850 children from four inner-city schools attend during the school day and after school programs.

1994 brings a new home for this non-profit art center, a converted 8,000 square foot auto body shop. The new center at 720 S. Kohler will allow ICA to serve the entire 4,300 students of 9th, San Pedro, Utah and 28th Street Schools. The facility will also expand programming to include all visual and performing arts. A large multi-purpose studio classroom with a

capacity of 200 for performances, media, music, dance, and ceramics studios, a gallery, workshop, and library are all included in the new building. Adjacent to the building is an 8,000 sq. ft. Spanish courtyard style garden with fountain.

Plans for the future include conversion of an adjacent 10,000 ft. building which will be converted into day studios for visiting artists. This program will be administered in conjunction with DADA.

On September 28 the children (with band) will parade from the old site to the new building on Kohler Street. Mayor Riordan will appear in a play with the children and other luminaries. Da Board



Francis Forienza gallery manager/director Site Gallery

Site located in the heart of the Downtown financial district, was founded in 1987 by installation artist Lise Palt in an attempt to foster a sense of community among Los Angeles artists. Current gallery manager /director Francis Forienza, came to Site in January of 1994. "Site", says Forienza, stands for "Seeing It Through Exhibitions, and we are motivated by showing cutting edge art where art couldn't otherwise be seen! I think it's so important to make a stand downtown."

Site is also a place where artists can sit down with other artists and get their work critiqued once a month, breaking down the barriers of isolation that most artists develop.

"For myself personally", says Forienza, "it is important

to break down the myth that downtown is dangerous and so far away, but in reality it is quite safe and accessible. I know so many people who come down here and say 'wow, this is really nice!'"

The members are an eclectic group of approximately 250, ranging from painters, sculptors, to writers, reviewers, etc., etc. Most shows tend to be installations of collaborations between 2 or 3 artists. We are very fortunate in that the Roosevelt Building donated our (site) space, so this gives us a portal to being here in this neighborhood (financial district/ Downtown). It's kind of our mission to present ideas to people that might not have access to them otherwise, and to give artists that might not have a venue, a venue to present their art.

We do have a lot of foot traffic and generally it's the tie and jacket crowd that will come in and we will get every acerbic comment that you can think of about art. When someone comes in and tells you that they wanted to be a writer and now they are working in banking and they'll spend an hour in the gallery, then you'll feel like you are doing what you are supposed to.

Raisa Fastman

DaDa Office

Finally - a place to call home! Just a few weeks ago, we were able to move our few humble possessions into a great new crib in historic Little Tokyo, across the street from Parker Center, within site of Borofsky's shot-full-of-holes people guarding the Rodney King Federal building. *URBAN BLISS!* And to top it off, here's Ani Benglian, our AdminAssist, formerly with the Institute of Contemporary Art in Boston, now an MFA Candidate at CalArts!! Can anyone spare a pencil sharpener?



Ani Benglian at the DaDa office..

Excerpt from DADA Newsletter.
Courtesy of DADA.

- **Al's Bar** [305 South Hewitt Street, 213/687-3558] Founded in 1979 by artist Marc Kreisel, Al's Bar was, in Kreisel's own words, an "economic sculpture." The art community supported the bar and in turn, Kreisel used the profits from his business to acquire artists' work. At first the bar just paid for itself, but when it became an important venue for music and performance that featured artists such as Ry Cooder, Los Lobos, Shrimps and Johanna Went, it became a very profitable venture. Al's Bar is still in existence, and Kreisel's collection has been shown publicly. (*Excerpted from L.A.'s Space Age by Nancy Drew in LACE 10 Years Documented, ed. Karen Moss, LACE 1988.*)

- **Los Angeles Contemporary Exhibitions (LACE)** First started by 13 artists (Bill Fisher, Robert Gil de Montes, Harry Gamboa, Jr., Gronk, Richard Hyland, Joe Janusz, Marilyn Kemppanien, Sarah Parker, Ron Reeder, Alexandra Sauer, Barry Scharf, David Scharf, and Nancy Youdelman) as a community arts program in El Monte funded by CETA (Comprehensive Employment Training Act), in 1978 LACE relocated to downtown Los Angeles on 201 S. Broadway, above a Mexican bridal shop. Sarah Parker became the first gallery manager and was succeeded by Marc Pally who later became the organization's first director. Programs expanded to include not only exhibitions but performance art, new music, new dance, video, symposia, workshops, and artists' services.



LACE headquarters, a converted industrial building.
Courtesy of LACE.

In 1985, LACE moved to 1804 Industrial Street under the directorship of Joy Silverman. In addition to regular programming, LACE also organized well-attended events such as the Annual St. Valentine's Day Ball, Open Studio Tours, and various benefits, symposia, and panels. The LACE bookstore, started in 1985 sold books, periodicals, and other art-related merchandise. While LACE started out showcasing Downtown artists, its programming has shifted to a more national and international scope in recent years. In 1994, LACE left the Downtown Art District and moved to a building on Hollywood Boulevard formerly housing the Newbury School of Beauty.

Community Organizations

- **L.A. Artcore** L.A. Artcore was a gallery run by Lydia Takeshita that exhibited artists in the Downtown community and published Visions, a journal of contemporary art. It is now a presenting organization with two spaces in the Downtown vicinity:

420 East 3rd Street
(213) 617-3274

Annex in the Brewery Complex
(213) 276-9320

Contact person: Lydia Takeshita

- **Los Angeles River Artist and Business Association (LARABA)** LARABA is a three-year old community advocacy group, founded in 1992, representing the residents of the Arts District. It holds regular, monthly meetings at the **Mary Knoll Mission**. A non-profit organization with an elected Board of Directors, LARABA is located at:

201 South Santa Fe Avenue, Los Angeles, CA 90012
(213) 617-1800, (213) 620-0764 Fax (213) 617-8147

Contact Person: Drew Lesso

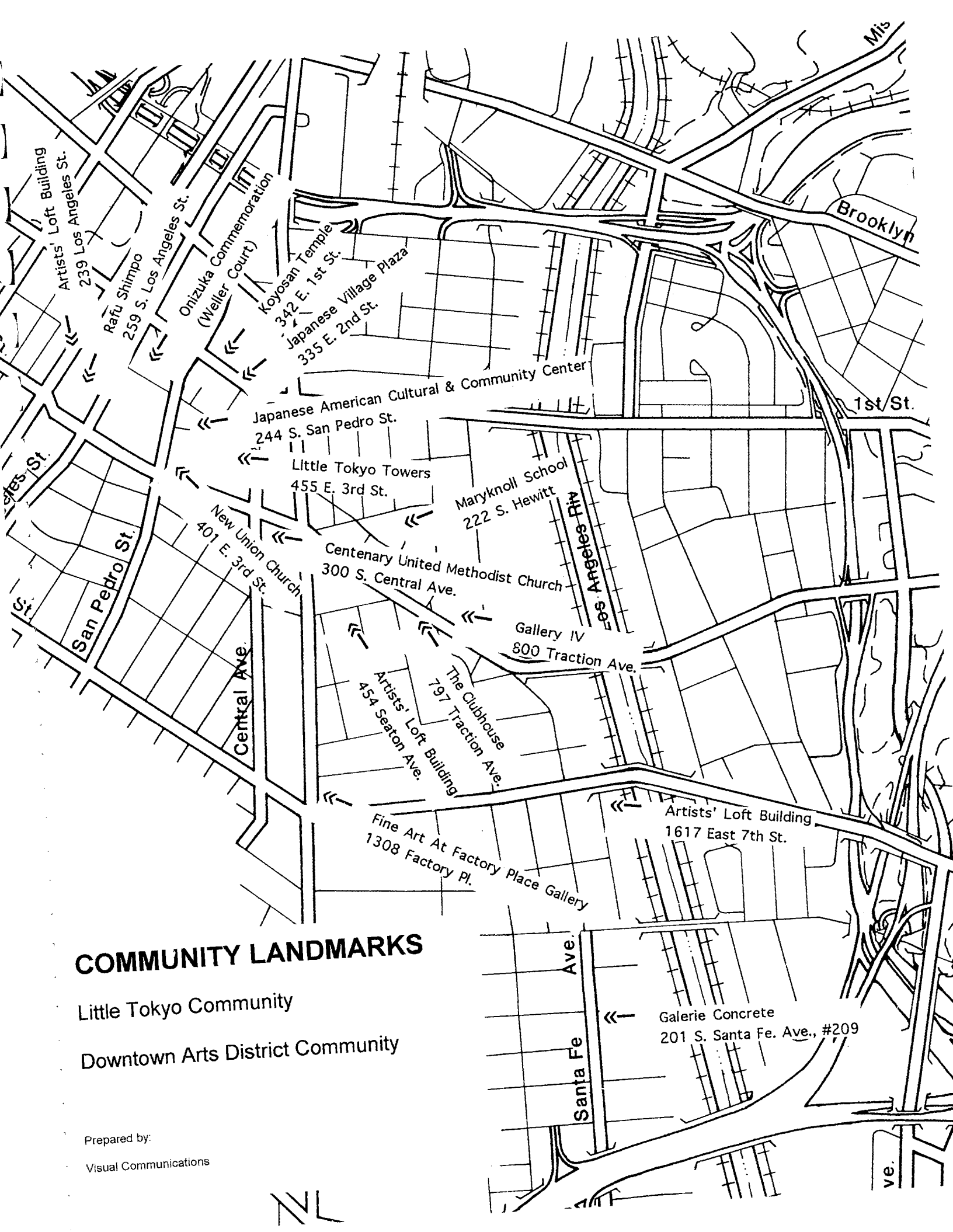
- **Downtown Artists District Association (DADA)** DADA was started in 1993 by several members of the LARABA Board of Directors at the time -- Peterson, **Douglas DiJulio** (Lowe Enterprises), **Barbara Mendez** and **Joel Bloom**. The mission of this not-for-profit organization is "to promote and develop the Downtown Art community." Their activities include annual warehouse art shows that showcase a large number of Downtown artists, a Downtown studio tour (1995 co-produced with L.A. Art Core), a regularly published newsletter, and a mailing list service to artists and other organizations at minimal cost. DADA also collaborates with other not-for-profit groups, such as Foundation for Art Resources, Inc. (FAR), to organize and sponsor events.

Tel: (213) 625-DADA

Contact Person: John Peterson

Significant Contributors

- **Anne Bray** (artist/activist) has lived in the District since 1985, and is a current resident of Seaton Avenue. A video artist, Bray is the director of L.A. Freewaves, a media arts network.
- **Dan Cytron** (artist) is a long-time local resident who was one of the first artists to move into the area. He is also one of the co-authors of the Artist-in-Residence ordinance which legalized industrial spaces as live-ins.
- **Weba Garretson** (performance artist) active in the Downtown performance art scene. She was the Performance coordinator of LACE from 1984 to 1987.
- **Mat Gleason** is the editor of *Coagula*, a local arts publication specializing in art world gossip. He is also involved in the underground club scene (Boy's Club) and represents the younger generation of artists living the District.
- **Marc Kreisel** (owner of Al's Bar) is a long-time local business owner who has contributed in a variety of ways to the creation of the Downtown arts community. Besides running Al's Bar, the major night spot/bar in the neighborhood that features live bands and other performances, Mr. Kreisel also opened the Artists' Hotel, a one-room residential hotel for artists, in the same building.
- **Drew Lesso** (composer) is a community activist who has lived in the area since 1978. He is a vocal advocate for the community, and currently an active member of LARABA. (see above)
- **Daniel Martinez** (artist) Chicano conceptual and installation artist. Currently lives and works in Downtown, Martinez is also a cultural activist active on the art and cultural scene.
- **John Petersen** and **Michael Tansey** (artists) are among the first group of artists who moved into the area, and are responsible for re-developing many industrial spaces into artist studios. John Peterson, a former Board member of L.A.C.E. between 1984-1988, is currently involved in DADA. (see above)
- **George Rollins** (artist/property owner) organized a neighborhood watch in the Traction area.
- **Joy Silverman** was the director of LACE from 1983-1989. She coordinated LACE's move from Broadway to Industrial Street in 1986.
- **Lydia Takeshita**, founder and director of L.A. Artcore. (see L.A. Artcore).
- **Doug Ward** (artist) lives on Bay Street, community activist in the 1980s.
- **Liz Young** (artist) Downtown resident who has consistently participated in LACE, DADA, and FAR art exhibitions and events.



COMMUNITY LANDMARKS

Little Tokyo Community

Downtown Arts District Community

Prepared by:
Visual Communications

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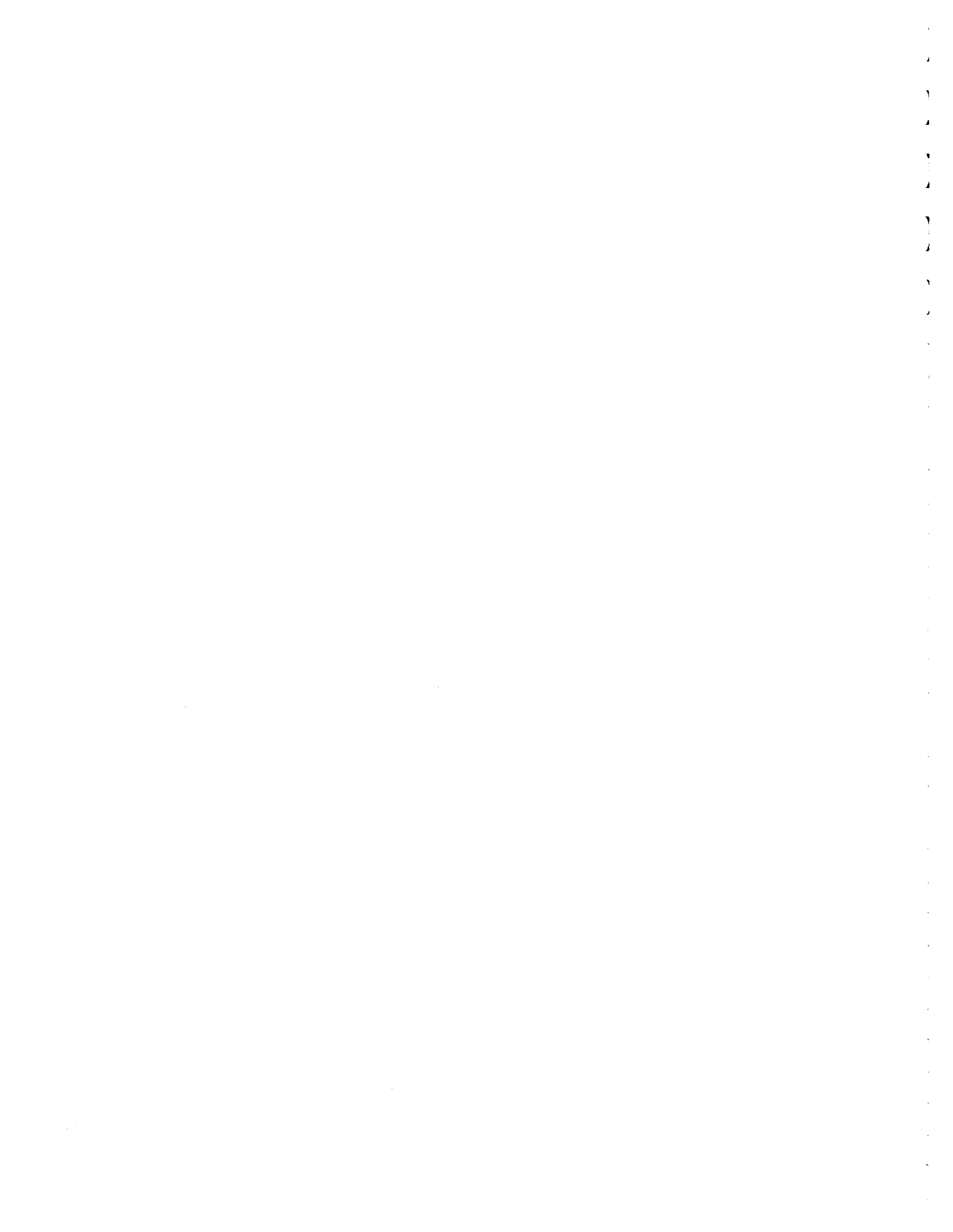
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VIII.

EDUCATION: AN EAST SIDE PERSPECTIVE

Prepared by: David Moguel



EDUCATION: AN EAST SIDE PERSPECTIVE

Introduction

Probably the biggest lesson the East Side has provided over its history is that good education happens when a community makes a commitment to itself and its youth. When it does not, or there is no perception of teachers, administrators and students belonging to the same community, education fails. The first schools in Los Angeles suffered when Spanish and Mexican administrators clashed with Anglo settlers, and later when Anglo authorities failed to provide for a mostly Mexican student body. Early in the **20th century up until World War II**, Eastside schools and community centers provided a solid education for a diverse community with sizable populations of Jews, Japanese, Russians, Armenians and Mexicans. During World War II, the **Los Angeles Music and Art School** and **East Los Angeles College (ELAC)** were the bright spots on a troubled social fabric. In the **post-World War II era**, the growth of the city pulled away affluent residents and left a mostly Anglo faculty to deal with a mostly Mexican student body, bringing educational achievement to all-time lows. In the **late 50s and early 60s**, a commitment to the improvement of the Eastside on the part of government, the Catholic Church, and ultimately the very residents of the community led to the establishment of important institutions like **Salesian High School**, the **Salesian Boys & Girls Club**, and **California State University at Los Angeles (Cal State LA)**. With such institutions building a strong base among the youth of the community, the last two decades have seen the renaissance of **Garfield and Roosevelt High Schools** and the maturation of Cal State LA.

On the following pages are the stories of those East Side institutions and some of the people who built and rebuilt them; constituting the past, present and future of a thriving community. These stories loosely follow the alignment of the Metro East Side Extension to illustrate their significance and role in the community.

Station 1: Little Tokyo (3rd St. & Santa Fe)

The first Metro station stop to the East Side will be about six long blocks from the site of the first public school formally established by the Los Angeles Board of Education. **Public School No. 1**, also known as **Second Street School**, at the northwest corner of 2nd & Spring streets, was opened in **1855**. The school later gave way to commercial buildings as the downtown area grew and residents started to move away from the Central City.

Before **Public School No. 1**, the provision of public education in the city under Spanish, Mexican and early American rule had been sporadic and occasional. Private education was much more stable and consistent. The first Spanish and later Mexican settlers educated their children at home as necessary, and the Catholic missions taught catechism and trained a select few for the priesthood. The major reasons for the inferiority of public schools were that farming and gold mining required only rudimentary literacy and math skills, and local government simply did not place much importance on education in the early years of the city. If there were a few children, a young person willing to teach, and available funds, there was school. If not, Los Angeles went without. When the excitement of the **Gold Rush** subsided and it became clear Los Angeles would develop into a major settlement, the first permanent schools began appearing.

The first Metro station will be two blocks from the site of the existing **Maryknoll Elementary School**, soon to be known as the **Maryknoll Japanese Catholic Center**. A unique history lies behind this elementary school since the **early 1900s**. An established Japanese Catholic community began in Los Angeles when a young Issei, a first-generation Japanese immigrant, wrote to a Catholic bishop in Japan asking if he could confess and receive forgiveness for his sins by registered mail. While the request was denied, in **1912** the bishop sent a priest to serve the Catholic Japanese community at a chapel on **West 2nd Street**. At the time, there were about 50 Catholics among Los Angeles' Japanese community of about 10,000 people. In the next few years, a hostel for young men, a kindergarten, a night English school, a catechism school, an orphanage, and a residence for the Maryknoll Sisters were established on South Hewitt Street. In **1921**, the first Maryknoll priest, **Fr. George Staub**, established a school for 200 children at the present site.

In subsequent years, a rectory, an auditorium club house and a chapel were erected, serving the Japanese-American community, both Catholic and non-Catholic. The **Maryknoll School** continued to serve the community during the difficult years of **World War II** when racial hysteria and prejudice caused mass relocations of Japanese-Americans to internment camps. The relocations forced the school to close, but it reopened after the war when the Issei, now with their grown Nisei children, returned to Los Angeles. A new building was constructed for subsequent generations of Sansei and Yonsei. In the early **1960s**, new building safety codes forced the **Catholic Archdiocese** of Los Angeles to construct the present facility.

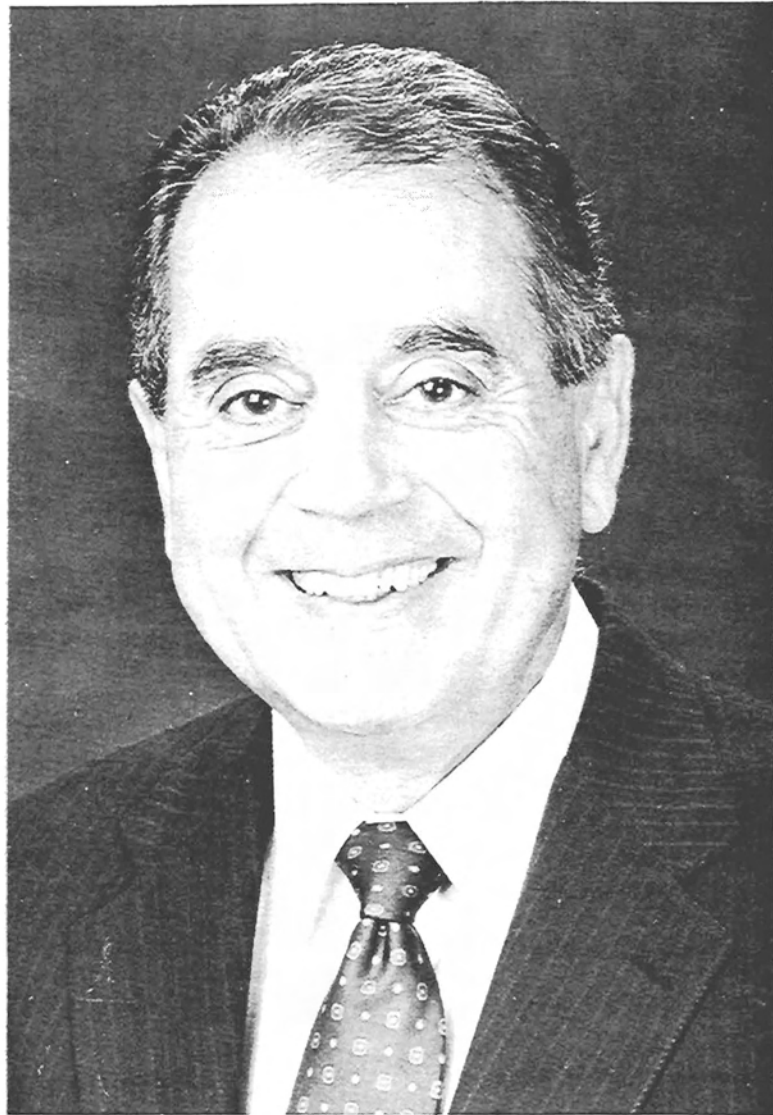
In the last decade, the school has come to serve many non-Catholic and non-Japanese downtown professionals, including Latinos, African-Americans, and Anglos. Approving a request by the Maryknoll Mission to return to its founding purpose, the **Archdiocese** agreed to close the school and open a **Japanese Catholic Center** in its place in **1995**. The center, designed to promote Japanese culture and the Catholic faith, will include classes for seniors, Bible study, and English classes for recent Japanese immigrants.

Station 2: Mariachi Plaza (1st & Boyle)

The history of any neighborhood is the history of its residents. In the same way, the history of a neighborhood's schools is in many ways the history of those who attended them as children and have come back to serve in them as teachers and administrators. The Boyle Heights and East Los Angeles Metro stations are presented through the stories of some of those former students and current teachers and administrators who have a personal history near each of these Metro stations.

Ruben Zacarias is the Deputy Superintendent of the **Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD)**, the nation's second largest. To date, he is the only person in the entire district who attended, taught at, and served as principal of the same elementary school: **Breed Street Elementary School on 4th and Chicago Streets**. As a fifth grade teacher he taught in the same room in which he had been a student years before.

Zacarias grew up in Boyle Heights on **Rodger Avenue** during the 1940s and was one of the first patients at the **Bravo Medical Clinic**. What he remembers most about the neighborhood was its multicultural character, perhaps the most diverse community in Los Angeles. There were sizable populations of Russians, Armenians, Jews, and Japanese, as well as Mexican-Americans, and many were immigrants. The storefronts of **Cesar Chavez Avenue (formerly Brooklyn Avenue)**, were filled with signs in Hebrew, mirroring Delancey Street in Manhattan and Flatbush Avenue in Brooklyn, New York.



Ruben Zacarias
Deputy Superintendent
LAUSD

Zacarias took advantage of a scholarship to attend the private Mt. Carmel High School in the southwestern part of the city. While he did not attend the local **Roosevelt High School**, he has personal knowledge of a slice of the school's history. According to **Zacarias**, many Jewish graduates of **Roosevelt** became prominent in the Hollywood film industry. He became aware of this as a member of his own family prominent in the Mexican film industry, and as a graduate of the film school of the University of Southern California.

When asked why the Jewish population left the area, making way for Mexican Americans to become East L.A.'s dominant group, **Zacarias** cited the major demographic changes as happening in the years after **World War II**. Thousands of G.I.s and others who had briefly seen Los Angeles on their way to the Pacific front became hooked by the California dream. The servicemen saw Los Angeles as a paradise despite their involvement in the **Sleepy Lagoon murder trial and riots** in which hundreds of G.I.s mercilessly hunted down and beat **Chicano Zoot Suiters** from East L.A. After the war, veteran soldiers and thousands of others flocked to Los Angeles and became part of the post-war population explosion and economic growth that swept the nation. As the city's downtown area grew as a commercial center, residents flocked to the suburbs. Though **Boyle Heights** had been one of the city's original suburbs, the Jewish and other residents migrated to more affluent areas while maintaining ownership of much property. Tied to their homes for sentimental and economic reasons, Mexican Americans remained in East L.A.

One group of residents was made to leave by force. When the Japanese American population suffered internment in concentration camps in the **1940s**, a number of Japanese students at **Roosevelt High School** were prevented from receiving their diplomas. During the **50-year reunion of Roosevelt's Class of 1943**, in an emotional ceremony **Zacarias** helped make possible, 60 Japanese-Americans were awarded the diplomas they deserved but never received. In the **post-World War II** years, Japanese Americans never really returned to East L.A. After their release from the internment camps, many moved to cities like Gardena, Rosemead and Monterey Park.

Though he went to high school and then college far away from his home community, **Zacarias** came back to work in the community. He was teaching at **Breed Street Elementary** when Chicano students **walked out** of seven schools (Belmont, Garfield, Jefferson, Lincoln, Roosevelt, Venice and Wilson) in **March of 1968** to protest inferior educational facilities, lack of curricula



An issue in the walk-outs was the lack of Chicano teachers and administrators.
Photograph: George Rodriguez

addressing the Chicano experience, and lack of Chicano teachers and administrators. (See following photo presentation.) After his many years at **Breed Street Elementary**, he went on to serve in various administrative roles for LAUSD, helping to produce many of the reforms called for by the Chicano activists of the **60s and 70s**. A recent accomplishment of which he is very proud has been the establishment of 15 **Citizenship Preparation Program Centers** throughout the District, including centers at Belmont, **Garfield**, Lincoln, **Roosevelt** and Wilson High Schools, five of the schools which originally protested. For **Zacarias**, one of the most important things the Latino community must do is have more people become citizens, to gain the voting and political power it has lacked for so many years.

During the **mid-1980s**, he served as Superintendent of Region G, then a major subdivision of LAUSD encompassing East L.A. During his tenure, Region G developed some of the nation's finest bilingual education programs in the nation, identified more Chicano students as Gifted and Talented than ever before, and developed and hired more Mexican-American staff and faculty. More than any other single factor, it is this last change in the demographics of the staff and faculty that has helped improve the schools of East L.A. over the last 30 years. And over his distinguished career, **Ruben Zacarias** has been a product of, a participant in, and an agent of this change.

The following pages include a photo essay of the student walk-outs as recorded by photographer George Rodriguez.



The student walk-outs shown at Roosevelt High School were students were faced with police.
Photograph: George Rodriguez



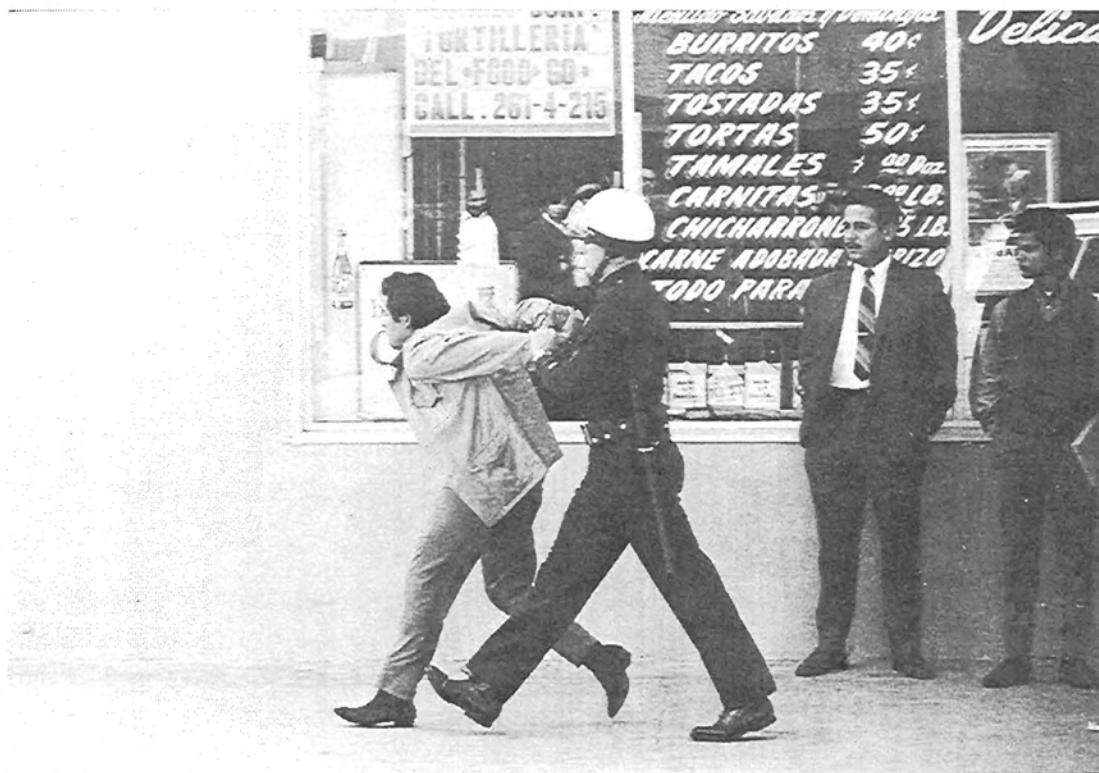
Students moved to take their protest to the streets.
Photograph: George Rodriguez



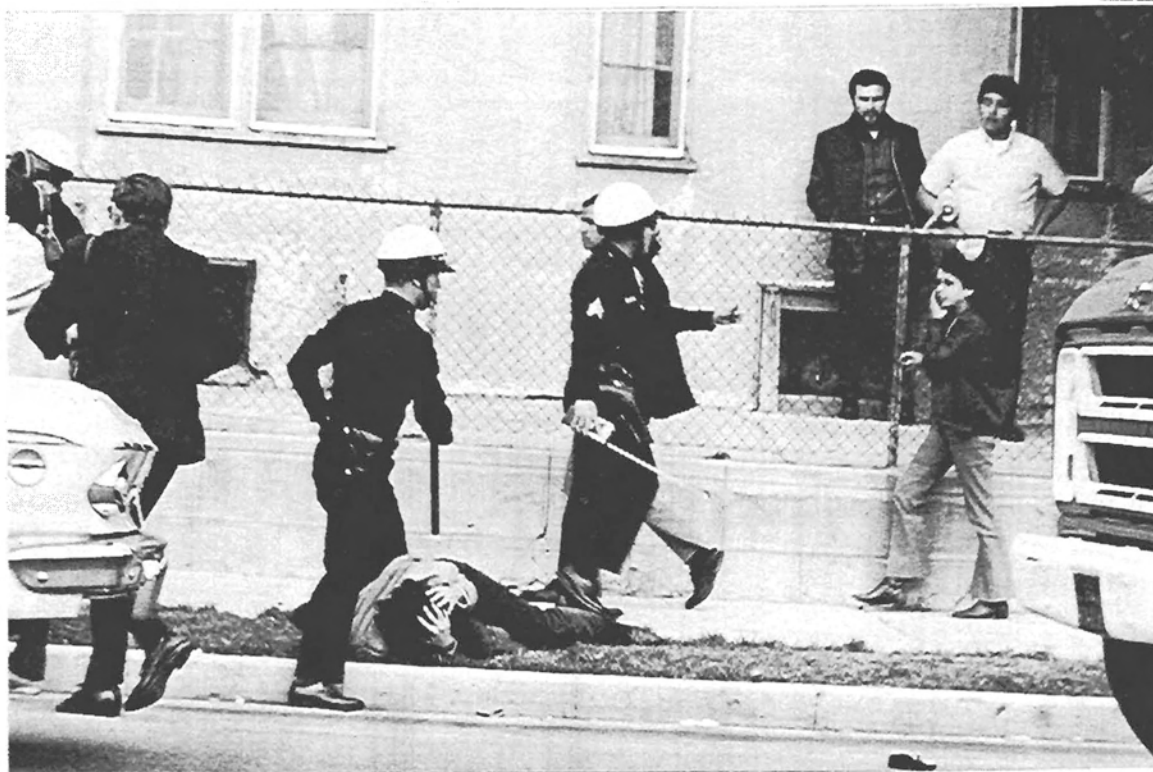
At the corner of Mott and Eagle Street, students continued their protest...
Photograph: George Rodriguez



... and clashed with police.
Photograph: George Rodriguez



Confrontations with police...
Photograph: George Rodriguez



... and incidents of police brutality occurred around the city.
Photograph: George Rodriguez

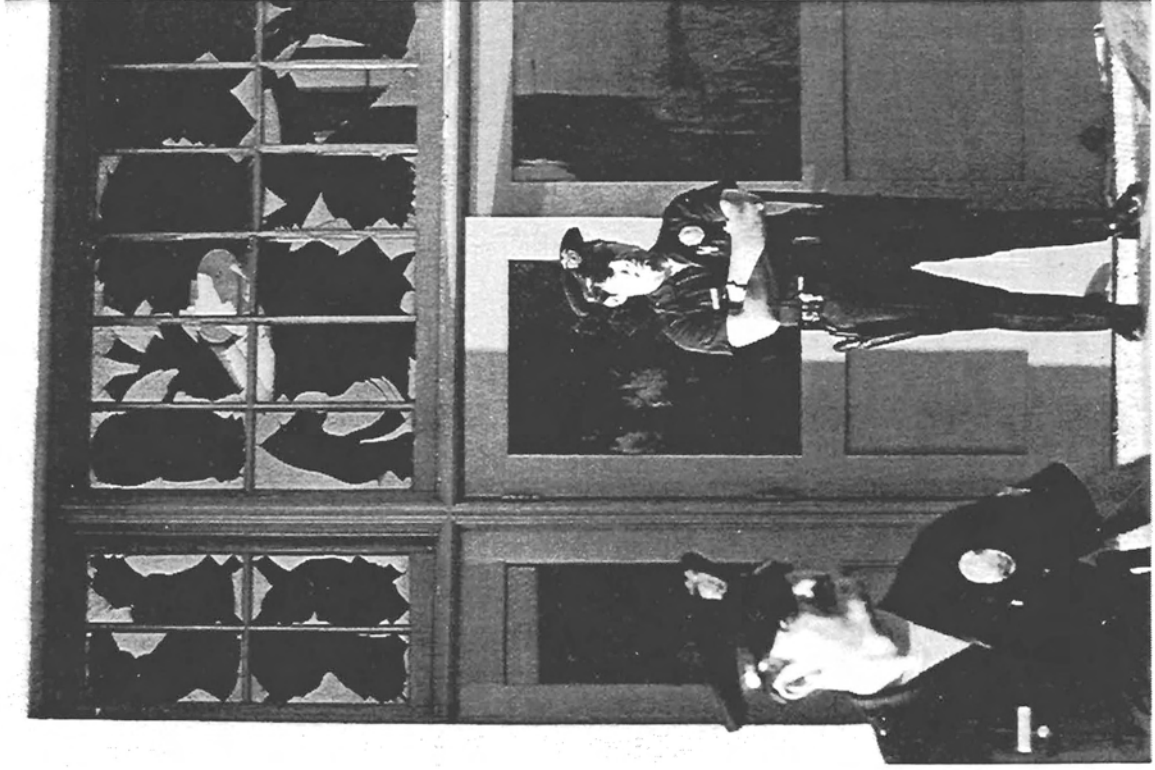


While most protested for justice...



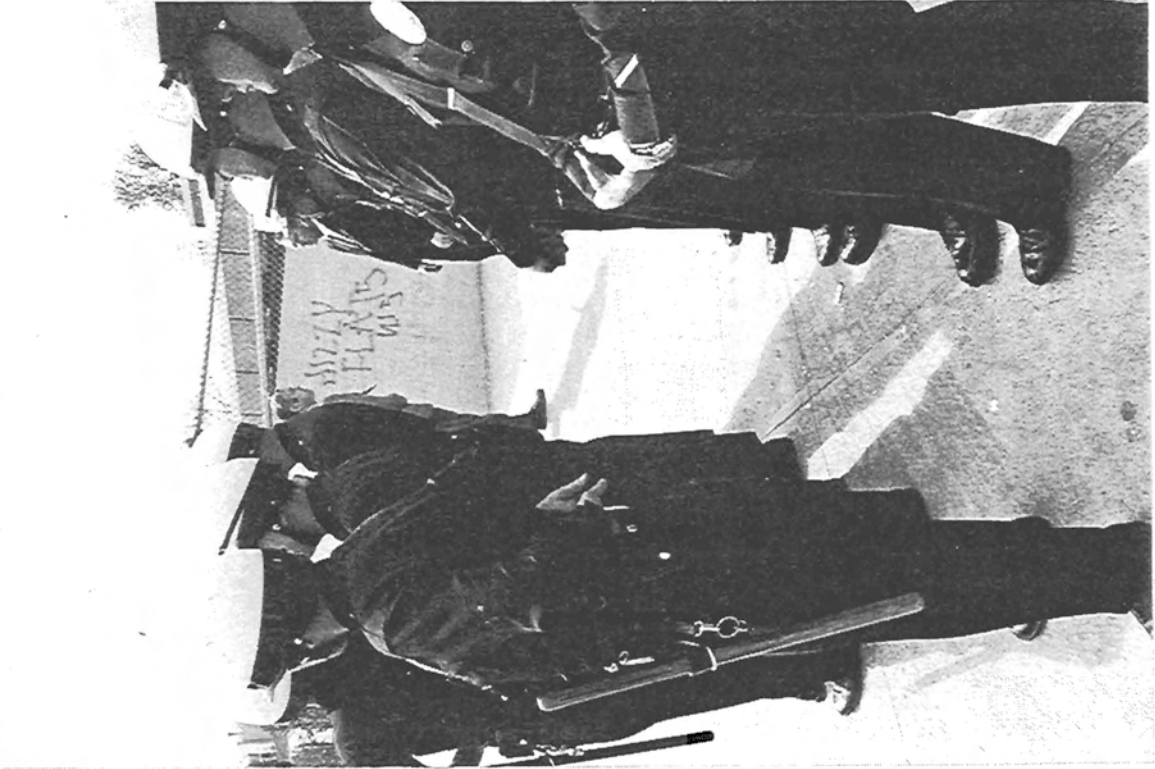
... an injustice was occurring.

Photographs: George Rodriguez



Bomb explosion at Roosevelt.

Photographs: George Rodriguez



Dizzy Flats.

Station 3: Boyle Heights (Cesar Chavez & Soto)

Henry Ronquillo has also been a part of the history of East L.A., spending his childhood and a 36-year professional career with the Los Angeles Unified School District. The principal of 72-year old **Roosevelt High School** since 1983, **Ronquillo** grew up in the **Pico Gardens housing project** on 4th and Glen Streets, and attended **2nd St. Elementary**, **Hollenbeck Junior High**, and **Roosevelt High School**. He remembers the East L.A. of the **30s and 40s** as a vibrant multicultural community of Asians, Armenians, Russians, Jews and Mexican-Americans.



Lifetime Eastside educator Henry Ronquillo.
Photograph: Courtesy of Henry Ronquillo

After **World War II**, the Hispanic and Jewish populations were the major groups in East L.A. **Ronquillo** graduated from **Roosevelt** and attended **ELAC** and the University of Oregon in the **1950s**. Like **Zacarias**, he also cites the prosperity of post-war Los Angeles as inducing the Jewish population to relocate while maintaining ownership of much property. When the Brooklyn Dodgers came to Los Angeles in **1957**, thousands of Mexicans were displaced from Chavez Ravine and moved to East L.A., in turn displacing the remnants of the Jewish population.

Immediately after graduating from college, **Ronquillo** returned to L.A. to seek a teaching assignment. Wishing to avoid the long commute to available teaching jobs in other parts of the city (the freeways were under construction), **Ronquillo** held out for a job in East L.A. He began teaching health, physical education and science at **Stevenson Junior High** in **1959**. He spent five years there, four years at **Roosevelt**, then assumed an assistant principalship at **Garfield High School**. By the **1970s**, the student bodies of both **Garfield** and **Roosevelt** were over 80 percent Spanish-surnamed.

The **late 60s and early 70s**, while the rest of the country was enjoying average college entrance examination scores at all-time highs, East L.A. schools and others with large populations of Latino students were at all-time lows. For **Ronquillo**, one of the major contributing factors was a severe lack of Mexican-American faculty and staff, and the resultant lack of high expectations of students on the part of Anglo and other staff. At the time of the **1968 student walkouts**, there was

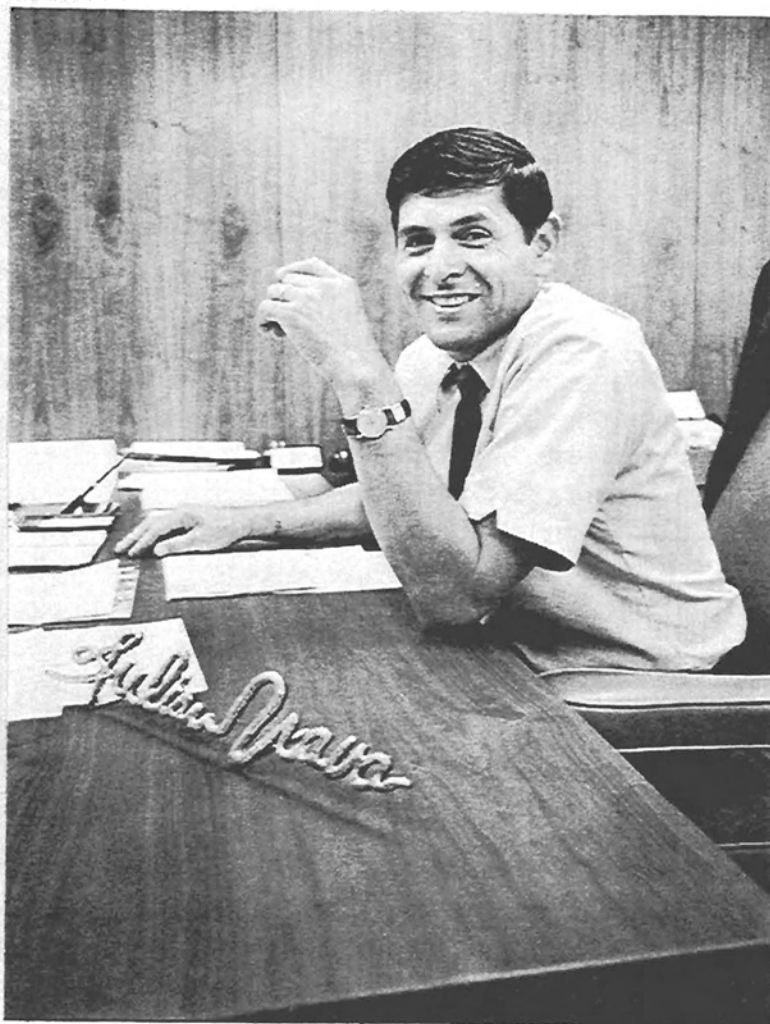
not a single Hispanic administrator in any secondary school in East L.A. The **1968 student walkouts** and the **1967 election of Julian Nava** as the first Chicano on the **Board of Education** began to change the critical situation.

In the next few years, **Ronquillo** and other Hispanic administrators began to assume teaching and administrative positions and helped turned things around. Not only did they believe Mexican-American students could achieve academically and go to college, they were also able to sensitize non-Hispanic teachers to the culture and background of the students. Eliminating the historical over-emphasis on industrial and vocational education courses for Latino students, more academic and college-preparatory courses were added to the high schools.

In **1983**, **Ronquillo** became principal of his alma mater, and has helped make **Roosevelt** one of the strongest schools in the district. Today, though half of **Roosevelt's** student body is classified as Limited English Proficient (LEP), the high school boasts one of the highest college participation rates in the entire district. A **College Incentive Magnet School** within the school draws students from all over Los Angeles. About one-fourth of the senior class attends either a University of California or a California State University campus. Every year **Roosevelt** has seniors that apply and are accepted to the nation's finest colleges and universities, such as UC Berkeley, Stanford, Harvard and Yale.

Station 4: First and Lorena

Bishop Mora Salesian High School, down the street from **Roosevelt High** and **Hollenbeck Junior High** schools, has been serving area youth since **1958**. The prime inspiration for the school was then **Auxiliary Bishop of Los Angeles McGucken**, subsequently the Archbishop of San Francisco. **Archbishop James Cardinal McIntyre** dedicated the school and saw it through its early years. The **Salesian Catholic Order** is pledged to follow the principles and teachings of its founder **St. John Bosco**. During his life and work in Italy



Julian Nava, First Chicano on the LAUSD Board of Education
Photograph: George Rodriguez

in the 1800s, **St. Bosco** developed a ministry devoted to the education of underprivileged boys, designed to help them overcome the barriers of violence, gang activity, drugs and poverty.

Salesian High has an enrollment of about 300 students, and strives to provide a quality Catholic education in the heart of an underprivileged neighborhood. Its tuition is based on a sliding scale, based on a family's ability to pay, and the school relies on a strong volunteer base of parents and other community members. As do public schools in similar neighborhoods, **Salesian** faces difficult challenges. It suffers from a high dropout rate, graduating about only 50 seniors every year while starting the year with approximately 100. But almost all the graduating seniors go on to college.

On a hill at the **intersection of Alma Street and Wabash Avenue** in **City Terrace** stands a simple building with a light blue cupola visible for many miles, another work of the **Salesian Order** in the service of underprivileged youth. The building is the home of the **Salesian Boys and Girls Club**, providing neighborhood children with a basketball gym, computers, pool tables, a swimming pool, art and dance classes, summer camps, and most of all, a place to hang out after school. For a \$3 annual membership fee, about 4,000 children every year take advantage of an opportunity to avoid the mean streets and the ugly tentacles of gangs, drugs and violence.

The history of the **Salesian Boys and Girls Club** starts in 1961 and the history of the building it is housed in reaches even farther back. In 1932 the present structure was built and established as the **Jewish Menorah Community Center** to serve the children of the area. The Jewish community began to leave the area in the **50s and 60s** and the site was abandoned in 1954, leaving it open to vandalism and misuse. The **Catholic Archdiocese of Los Angeles** purchased the site in 1961 and gave it to the **Salesian Brothers**. The **Salesians**, already running a high school farther west in Boyle Heights, took over the site and established the **Salesian Boys Club** in 1966. Faculty and students of **Salesian High School**, staff of the **Hollenbeck Police Station** and many other community volunteers participated in the renovation of the building.

In 1986, almost 100 years after the death of **St. Bosco**, the **Club** articles of incorporation were amended to officially admit girls to club programs. **The Club** has also reached out beyond its grounds, establishing a satellite playground site, the **Salesian Youth Center**, in the **Ramona Gardens public housing project on Fourth Street**.

After the 1987 **Whittier Narrows earthquake** severely damaged **the Club**, **the Club** began a multi-year fundraising and renovation campaign that included the two-year closure of the school. Police statistics show that during the two-year period, crime reports in the area significantly increased, then returned to previous levels after **the Club** was reopened. The renovations included new locker and shower rooms and an enclosed pool, allowing the establishment of a year-round swimming program.

The Club has always been and continues to be in good hands. **Fr. Carmine Vairo**, who grew up in Lincoln Heights, and **Brother Phil Mandile**, who came to **the Club** shortly after it was founded, have ambitious plans for the next few years. **The Club** will continue to expand into adjoining property, creating new multi-purpose rooms for the youth and a more secure parking space

for the Club's vans. Dating back to its days as a center for Jewish children, the site and home of the **Salesian Boys and Girls Club** has a special history of serving the youth of the community, and providing for many family and adult role models.

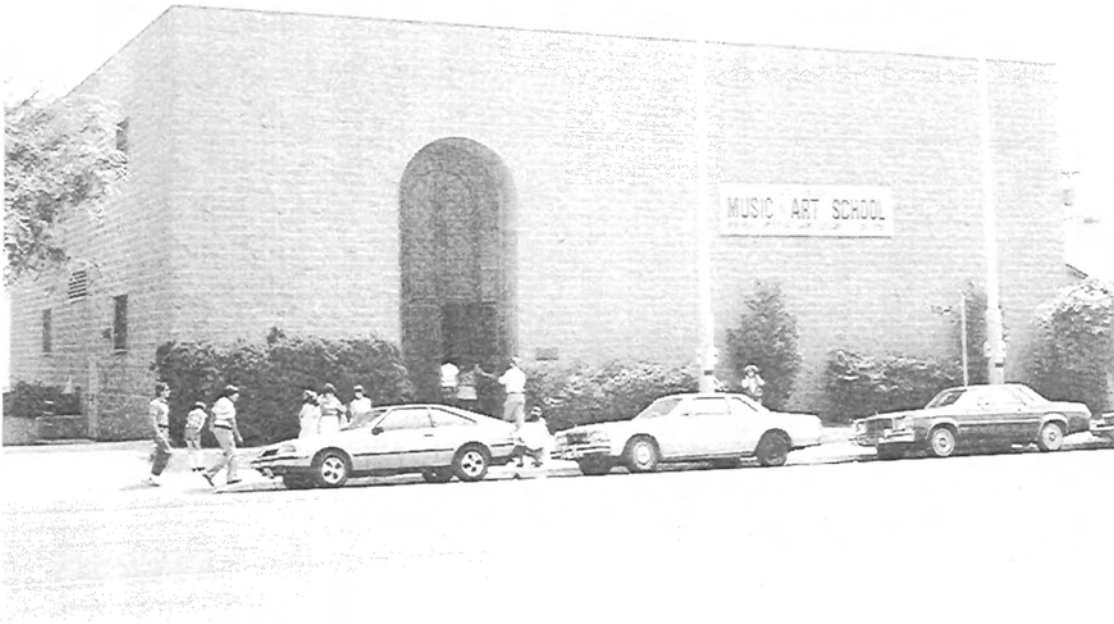
Station 5: Whittier and Rowan

One block from the site of the fifth Metro station to the East Side, the **Los Angeles Music and Art School (LAMAS)** has served the East L.A. and surrounding communities for a half-century. LAMAS was founded in the **early 1940s** by **Pearl Irene Odell**, an English teacher from Colorado. **Odell** wished to address some of the social conditions which led to the appearance of Chicano gangs in East Los Angeles. While others during the **World War II years** were horrified by the **Zoot Suiters** and the **Sleepy Lagoon trial**, **Odell** rejected the hysteria and instead strove to help the children of the Boyle Heights community.

Odell's aim was to provide quality arts and music instruction at affordable prices to a disadvantaged community. The price of lessons is on a sliding scale based on the family's ability to pay, and even the full price of \$10 per half-hour lesson is less than other such schools in the nation, according to the National Guild of Community Schools. The school receives no funding from government sources, so the **Board of Trustees** must raise approximately \$125,000 every year to keep the doors open. Over the years, LAMAS has sought and received the help of artists and others far outside the community's boundaries, such as **soprano Marilyn Horne**, **cellist Gregor Piatigorski**, **pianist Leonard Pennario**, and **entertainer Bob Hope**.

The school reflects the demographics of the surrounding neighborhoods, and has always tried to meet the community's needs and desires. The student body is 70 percent Hispanic and 25 percent Asian. Classes in Mariachi music and traditional Japanese dance are offered, as well as traditional instruments and dance. But above all, the school has tried to fulfill an important role in the personal development of its students. There have been many who, like co-founder and long-time director **Robert Webb**, found music and art to be the alternative to gangs and drugs and violence. **Webb** ran away from home in his youth, and joined the circus where he played the trumpet for many years. The trumpet helped **Webb** earn a living during the **Big Band Era**, and he was able to communicate those inherent lessons of life to several generations of LAMAS students. The following is a letter from a LAMAS graduate on the lasting impact of the school.

"The visit to the school evoked old and pleasant memories. I am only now beginning to realize the full value of the school to the people of the community, especially the children. The possibility that they may or may not become accomplished musicians or artists is secondary in my opinion. The broadening of their interests and standards by exposure to cultural values of music and art and through contact with their teachers is of lasting importance. This is particularly valuable for those children whose home and neighborhood environment is totally lacking in these qualities and where incentives and goals are quite limited. I believe that the school performs an invaluable service."



Los Angeles Music and Art School



A student taking guitar lessons at LAMAS.
Photograph: George Rodriguez



Violin lessons.

Photograph: George Rodriguez



Ballet lessons.

Photograph: George Rodriguez

For 50 years, first from its original site on **Boyle Avenue** and later from its present site at **3630 E. Third Street**, the **Los Angeles Music and Art School** has provided this invaluable service to over 20,000 students and their families in East L.A. Jewel and treasure, oasis and haven, it serves as both a landmark of and a living monument to the progress that is possible for communities such as East L.A.

Stations 7: Whittier and Arizona

The **East Los Angeles Public Library at Third St. and Fetterly Avenue** originally began as a small collection of books in the corner of a local store. In **1923**, East L.A. was a rural, dairy community known as **Belvedere Gardens**, and the few shelves outgrew the store after three months. A building site was loaned, and a year later a large home became the site of the county public library service, on **Kern Avenue near Whittier Boulevard**.

In **1932**, the library moved to a building at **679 S. Fetterly Avenue** which it was to occupy for the next 35 years. During the **Great Depression**, the library served as a provider of comfort and recreation during the trying times. During the **post-World War II years** of expansion and prosperity, the library served the young children of the **Baby Boom**, and their parents who were working hard, building homes, and trying to fill all the leisure time the new wealth had created. In the **late 50s and 60s**, students at nearby **ELAC** and the Cal State L.A. campus began using the library. In **1967**, civic and community leaders officially inaugurated the present library at **Third and Fetterly Streets**.

In the **late 60s and 70s**, the Chicano movement provided inspiration and personnel to have the library better serve the Mexican-American community. In **1971**, **Julia Orozco** became the first bilingual and the first Latina to serve as librarian of the **East L.A. Library**. Funding from expanded federal and state programs permitted many libraries to reach out to poor neighborhoods, lure children and their families to libraries, and develop reading habits where none existed. Bookmobiles and cultural celebrations increased library usage and circulation, and additional funding increased library holdings. In particular, **the Library Services and Construction Act** provided a number of County libraries with funds to build collections addressing the Black and Latino experience in the U.S. With this seed money, and with Latino personnel such as **Patricia Tarin** (reference librarian) and **Elizabeth Martinez Smith** (County library administrator) playing prominent roles, the **East L.A. Library** formally established the **Chicano Resource Center (CRC)** in **1976**. The **CRC** has become one of the largest and best collections of audio, video, film, and print materials on the Chicano experience in the United States.

In the **1980s and 90s**, severe budget cutbacks at the federal and state levels eliminated many special programs and forced the library to reduce its hours of service. Nevertheless, Latino library personnel such as **Joe Olvera**, **Evelyn Escatiola**, **Alberto Tovar**, **Lisa Castaneda** and **Linda Chavez** have ensured the continued growth of the **CRC**. Widely used by area teachers, students, historians, and others, the **Chicano Resource Center** and its home, the **East Los Angeles Public Library**, stand as examples of a growing community recording and preserving its own history for future generations.

Station 7: East L.A.: Whittier & Atlantic Blvds.

A large part of the history of **James A. Garfield** is the history of a mother and son team of teachers. **Garfield** opened in 1925, **Josefina Jimenez** became the first Hispanic faculty member in 1945, and her son **Carlos Jimenez** now teaches and coaches at **Garfield**.

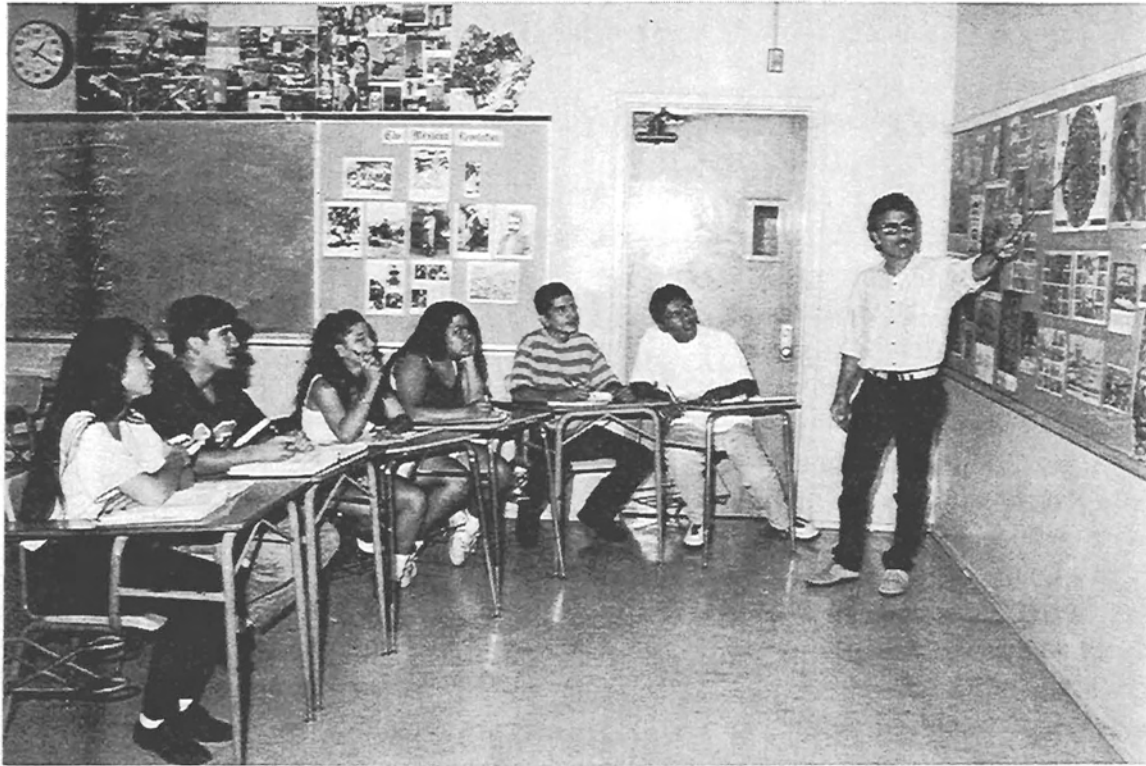


Cuban-born educator Josefina Jimenez (second from the right, standing) was the first Hispanic principal in LAUSD.
Photograph: Courtesy of J. Jimenez and Garfield High School

When Cuban-born **Josefina Jimenez** started teaching at **Garfield**, the student body was just beginning to turn predominantly Mexican-American, but still included many Armenian and Jewish students. **Jimenez** became a teacher of Spanish and later chair of the foreign language department. During her nine years at **Garfield**, she established the first **Mexican Ballet Folklorico** and **Spanish for Native Speakers** courses in East L.A. **Garfield** eventually lost her to Hamilton High School, where she became the first Hispanic school principal in the district.

Her assessment of the reasons why **Garfield** hit a low point for Hispanic students during the **50s and 60s** echoed what had been said by **Ruben Zacarias** and **Henry Ronquillo**. While the white students left the area, the white teachers remained, and most of them almost immediately dropped their expectations of how much Hispanic students could achieve academically. The only thing that turned this situation around was the presence of Hispanic faculty and staff. Latino personnel had high expectations of students whose background and culture they shared, and could also sensitize non-Latino staff to the needs and potential of the students. As an example, **Jimenez** met with a tremendous amount of resistance to the idea of a **Spanish for Native Speakers** course. Many foreign language teachers were against the idea of teaching Spanish to students who apparently already spoke Spanish: better to concentrate on other, perhaps more cultured languages such as Italian and French. But **Jimenez** knew that many Chicano students, even if they had grown up speaking Spanish, needed formal academic instruction in the language in order to become functionally and fully bilingual.

Just as **Josefina Jimenez** became an institution at **Garfield High School**, her son **Carlos** has become one during the last decade. After starting a Chicano Studies program at Belmont, **Jimenez** transferred to **Garfield** in 1981, established a **Chicano Studies program** and began writing a book. His 1992 book titled **The Mexican American Heritage** is currently the only textbook on Chicano history geared to a high school audience. **Jimenez** also teaches Advanced Placement (AP) U.S. History and coaches track and field.

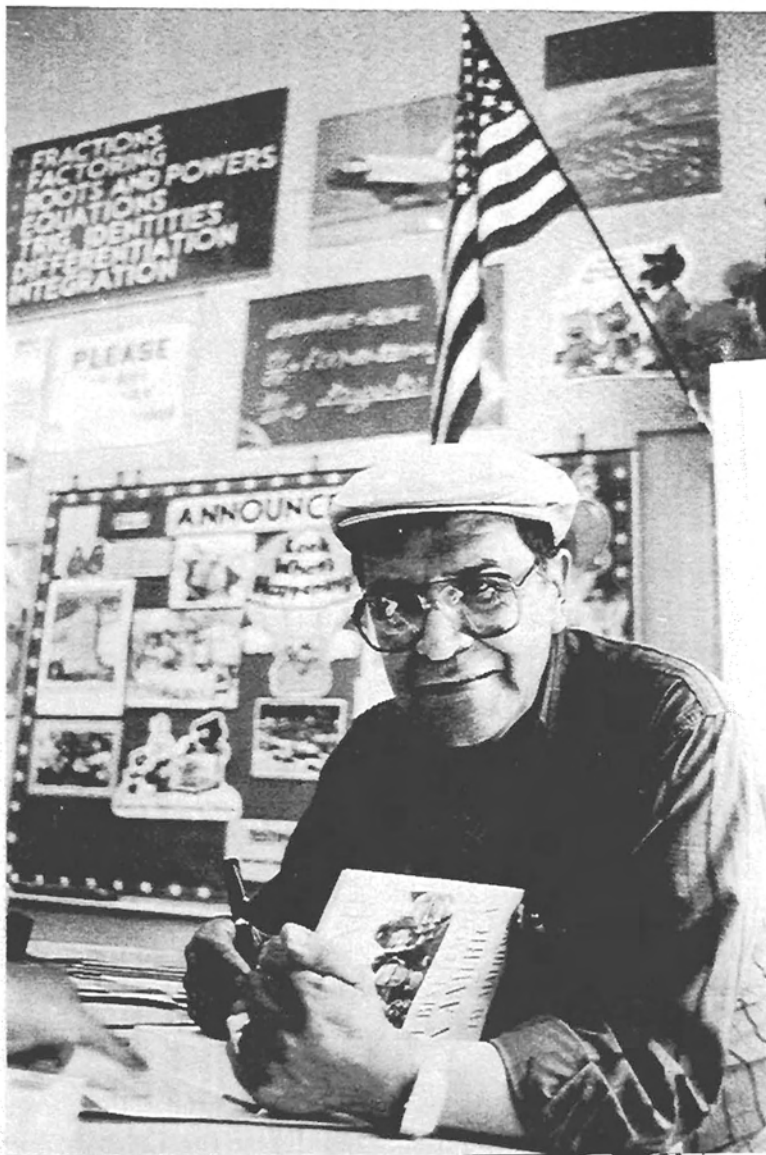


Garfield High School teach and coach Carlos Jimenez with his Advanced Placement History students.
Photograph: Courtesy of C. Jimenez and Garfield High School

According to **Jimenez**, the story of how **Garfield** went from one of the worst schools in the district to one of the best is much more complicated than shown in the popular film "**Stand and Deliver**," the 1988 Hollywood version focusing on AP Calculus teacher **Jaime Escalante**. In reality, while **Escalante** was clearly an exceptional teacher, other teachers and administrators at Garfield also played important roles in improving the school.

In the **mid-70s**, **Garfield** had fallen into the quagmire and shame of losing its academic accreditation, meaning it was not deemed to be providing even the most basic education to its students. A series of good principals started to turn that around. First **Paul Possemato**, then **Jesse Franco** and **Henry Gradillas**, all of whom later became high-ranking officials of the **LAUSD**, built the academic programs of the school virtually from scratch, giving teachers much flexibility and freedom. Advanced Placement, college-level courses were given special attention and resources. **Escalante** was a beneficiary of this flexibility, and became the object of national attention when the Educational Testing Service accused his students of cheating on the AP examination.

Jimenez' story was confirmed by earlier comments by **Roosevelt** principal **Henry Ronquillo**. **Ronquillo** was assistant principal at **Garfield** at the time of the ETS scandal, and remembers how easy it was to explain **Escalante** and his students' success on the exam to anyone who had been watching. Both teacher and students worked hard all year, devoting almost four hours a day to calculus instruction, going much beyond the normal one class/one hour per day. They also worked during the summer, and were thus very well-prepared to sit for the examination. The force of one teachers' personality and the commitment of his students were the explanations. But **Ronquillo** also remembers how hard it was for the ETS to believe the explanation. As the movie shows, no one on the outside really believed that a group of Latino inner-city students could pass the AP exam so well and in such high numbers. Of course, the scandal ended up a tremendous embarrassment for the ETS when the students were forced to retake the test under more controlled conditions and achieved the same scores.



Jaime Escalante, former Garfield High School Math Teacher
Photograph: George Rodriguez

Two Local Institutions

East Los Angeles College (ELAC) was established in **1945** by the **Los Angeles Board of Education**, and will be celebrating its 50th year anniversary in **1995**. The **College** was originally located on the campus of **Garfield High School** and moved to its present site on **Cesar Chavez Avenue** (formerly Brooklyn Avenue) in Monterey Park in **1948**. The **College** began operations with an enrollment of 380 students and a faculty of 19; it has since grown to 14,000 students and 700 faculty.

The **College** is now the largest of the nine campuses of the Los Angeles Community College District. **ELAC** serves the communities of Alhambra, Bell, Bell Gardens, City of Commerce,

Cudahy, East Los Angeles, Huntington Park, Los Angeles, Maywood, Montebello, Monterey Park, Rosemead, San Gabriel, South San Gabriel, South Gate and Vernon, with a combined population base of 1.2 million persons. The **College** recently extended its services to Huntington Park and surrounding communities with a Southeast Education Center campus.

ELAC has inevitably reflected the demographic changes of the surrounding community. In **1970**, the student body was 35 percent Latino, 35 percent white, 10 percent Asian and 5 percent Black. The student body is currently 72 percent Latino, 20 percent Asian, and the next largest group is Russian immigrants. The average age of the students is 28 and most are upgrading their skills for current or future employment, with a small percentage preparing to transfer to a California State University or University of California campus. Twenty percent of the students complete a two-year program for an Associate of Arts (AA) degree.

The **late 1950s** were important years for the East L.A. community. In **1958**, hundreds of Mexicans were establishing themselves in the neighborhood after being forced out of Chavez Ravine to make way for the **Los Angeles Dodgers**. That same year, the **California State University at Los Angeles (CSULA)** occupied 10 newly constructed buildings on a 200-acre hilltop site adjacent to the San Bernardino freeway. From those humble and recent beginnings, **CSULA** has grown into one of the largest campuses of the Cal State system and one of the most culturally diverse student bodies in the nation.

The **University** was founded in **1947** by the California State Legislature, and until **1955** was situated on the campus of the Los Angeles City College, sharing its facilities. The site of the university once housed one of the state's original adobe missions, built in **1776** (the year the American colonies declared themselves independent from England) by **Franciscan missionaries** and destroyed by fire in **1908**. The land was once the **Rancho Rosa Castilla**, owned by **Juan Batista Batz**, a Basque rancher from northern Spain who settled the area in the **1850s**. The main drive through the campus retains the name **Paseo Rancho Castillo**.

The **University** is organized into six schools that house nearly 50 academic department and divisions. Keeping with the role of the California State University system in training most of the state's public school teachers, **CSULA's School of Education** is the largest department on campus. With large numbers of Latino and Asian teachers-in-training, many of whom also attended as undergraduates, **CSULA** is playing a central role in the development of the communities from which these students come. Indeed, since the University of California at Los Angeles is often too far and the University of Southern California too expensive for many students from East L.A. and surrounding areas, **CSULA** is often the only reason they are able to pursue university studies at all. **CSULA** enrolls 21,000 students, most of them commuters from the greater L.A. area, though about 1,000 live in on-campus dormitories. The **University's** academic offerings also reflect the demographics of the region, including majors in or Centers for Chicano and Latin American Studies, Pan-African and African-American Studies, and Asian American and Pacific Asian Studies.

After three decades, **CSULA** continues to grow along with East L.A. During the **1980s**, a joint venture of the college and the city school district opened the **Los Angeles High School for the Arts**, housed in Martin Luther King, Jr. Hall, as a magnet high school drawing students from all over

the city. The **Harriet and Charles Luckman Fine Arts Complex**, to be inaugurated in 1995, houses large and small theaters and a large visual arts gallery. The newly remodeled **Salazar Hall** is the home of the **Edward R. Roybal Institute for Applied Gerontology** and improves the quality of care for older persons through interdisciplinary education and training, continuing the life work of the former Congressman from East L.A.

The following pages are a photo essay
by photographer George Rodriguez
on children from the East Side over the years.

Some fun at school.





Motor skills.



Verbal skills.



An A+.



Working hard.

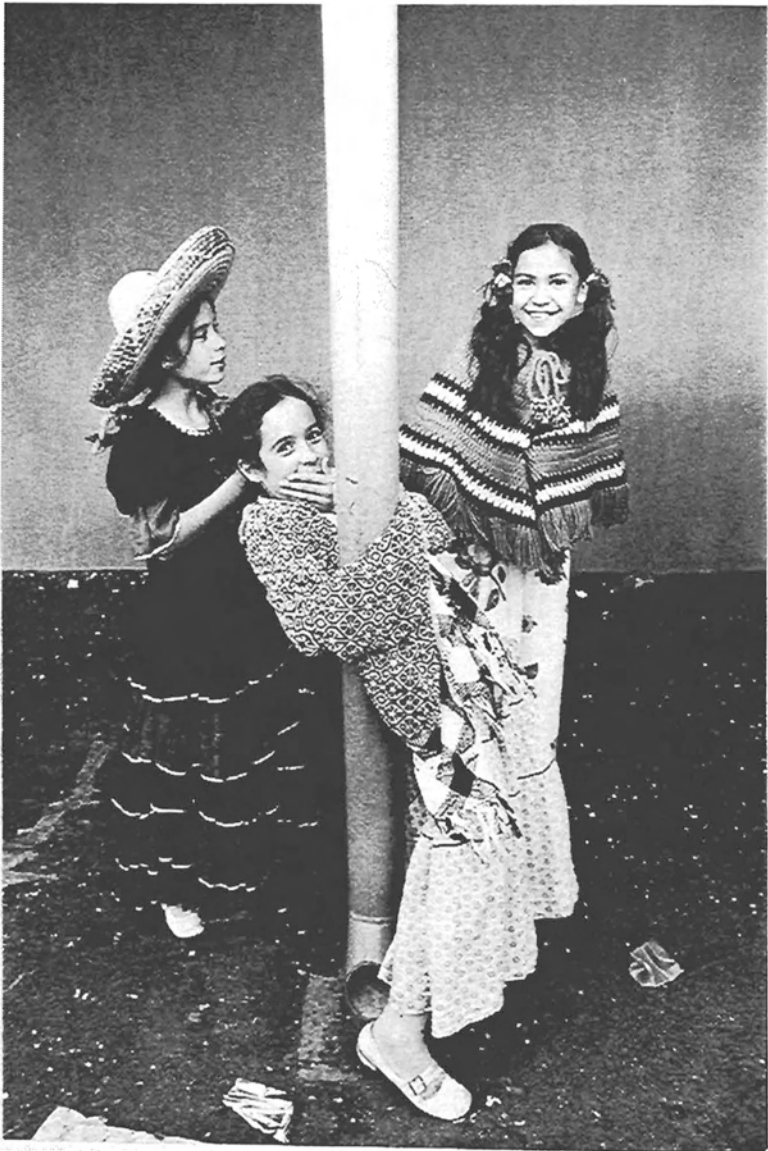


The lunch program.



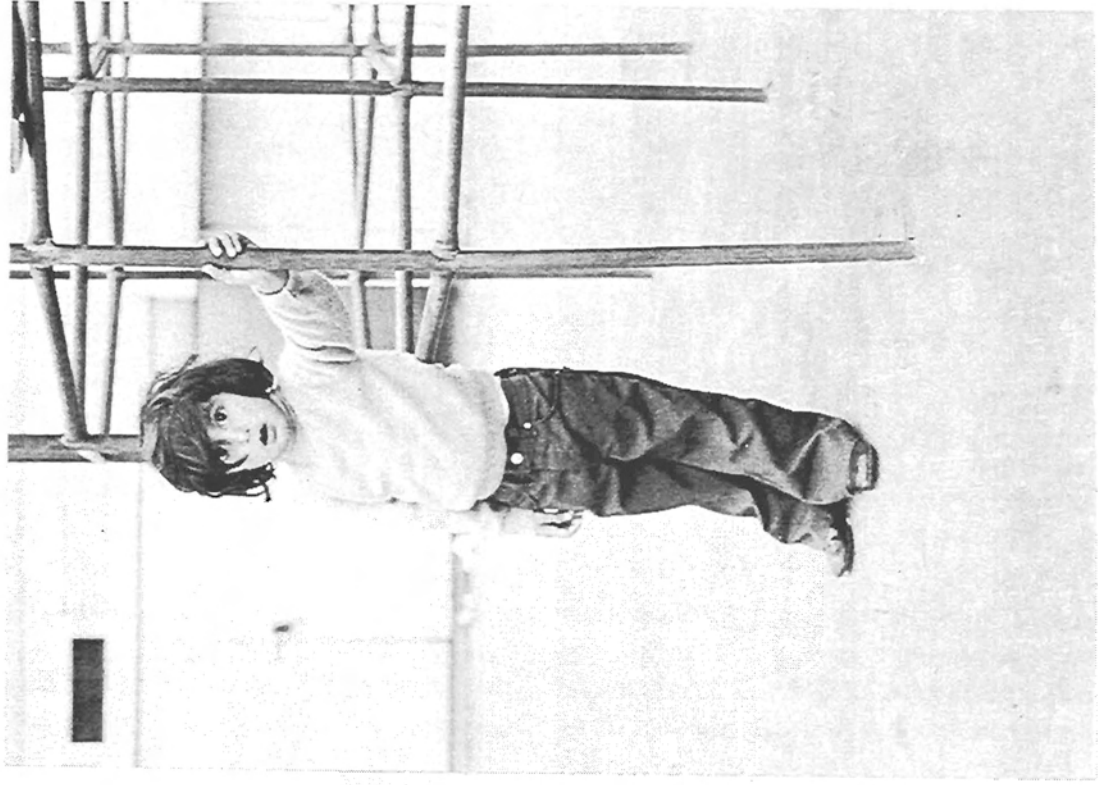
The computer program.

Las muchachas.

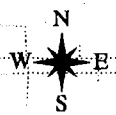
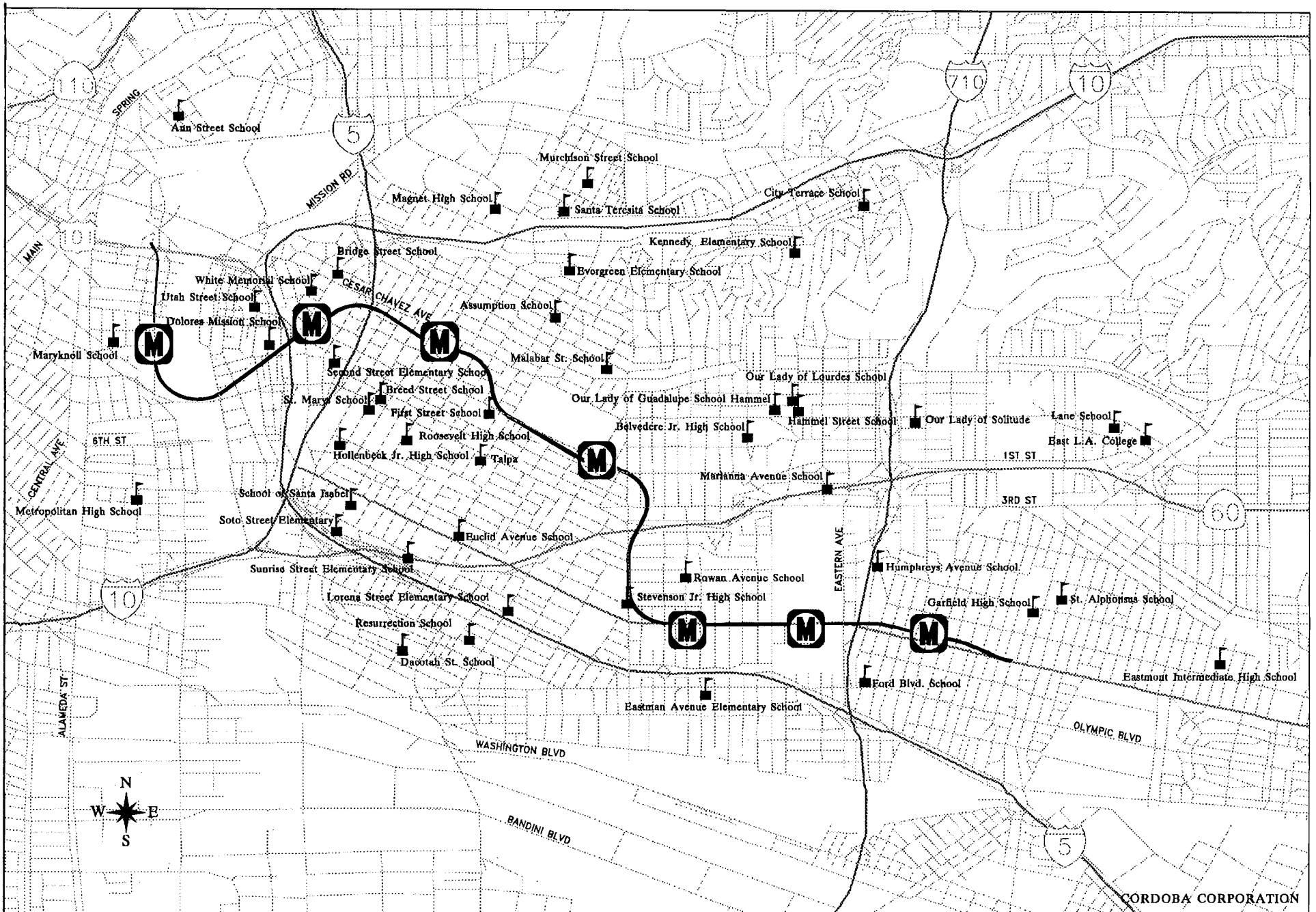


Los muchachos.





Uncertainty.



CORDOBA CORPORATION



EAST LOS ANGELES SCHOOLS

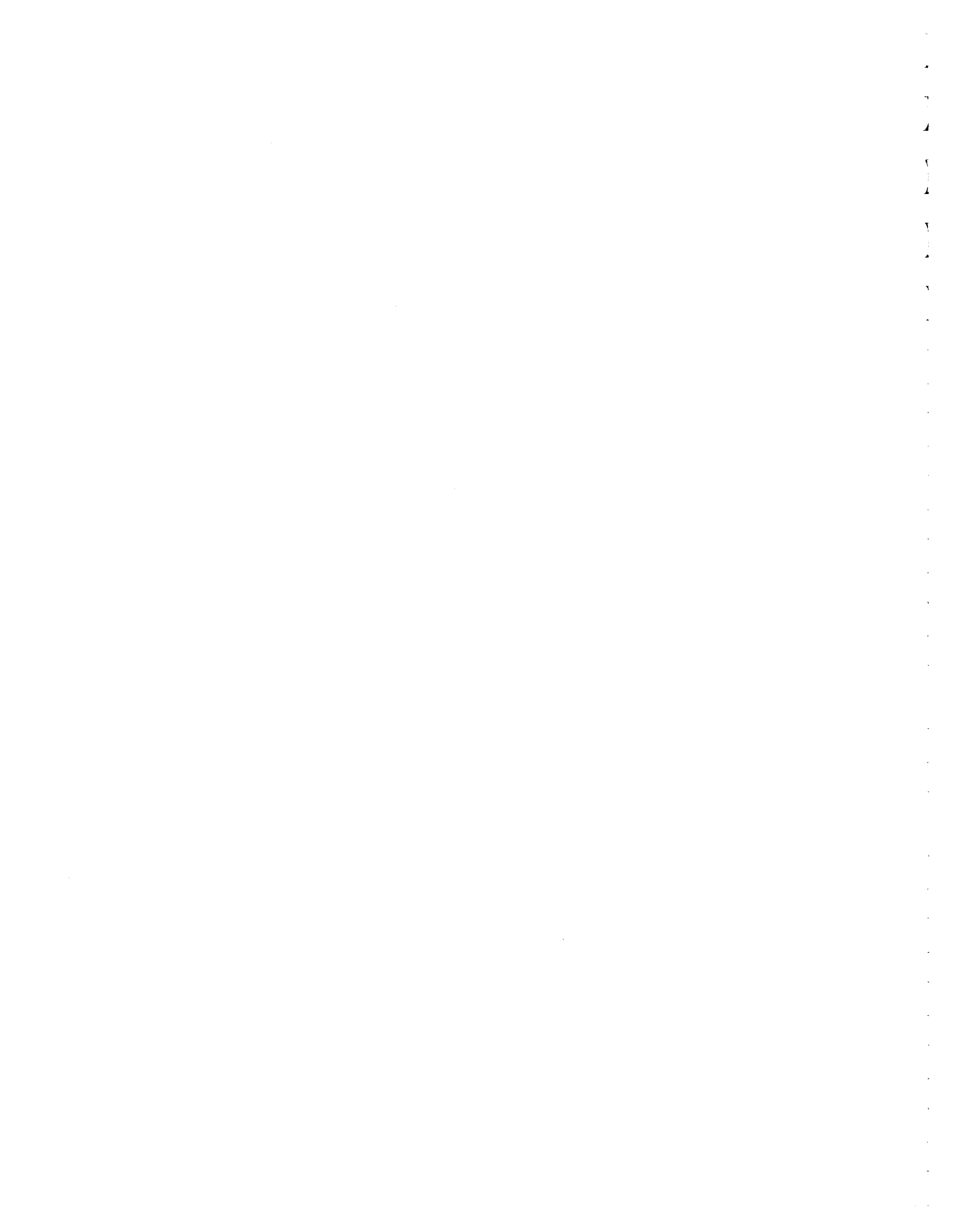
METRO RED LINE EAST SIDE EXTENSION

LEGEND

- Metro Red Line Alignment
- SCHOOLS

IX.

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Chapter X: Chronology of Issues Affecting Women

Chapter XI: Then & Now

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Harris Newmark's Los Angeles; 30 minutes; with Theodore Bikel as Harris Newmark talking about early L.A. (1853 - 1913)

Lies My Father Told Me; 1983; 103 minutes; story set in the 1920s of a young boy and his grandfather, who peddles from his horse-drawn cart in Montreal's Jewish immigrant neighborhood

Life Of Song; Ruth Rubin sings Yiddish songs over photos of Jewish towns and occupations of 19th century Europe; 38 minutes; 1986.

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4. Interview with Ruben Zacarias, Deputy Superintendent, LAUSD, December 1994, 450 N. Grand Avenue, 625-6261.

Henry Ronquillo and Roosevelt High School

5. Interview with Henry Ronquillo, Principal, Roosevelt High School, December 1994.
6. Interview with Barbara Romero, '88, January 1995.

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7. "The Etalon," Bishop Mora Salesian High School yearbook, 25th anniversary edition, 1983.
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VOLUME 2

X.

CHRONOLOGY OF ISSUES AFFECTING WOMEN

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CHRONOLOGY OF ISSUES AFFECTING WOMEN

Introduction

This chapter incorporates the varying roles of women throughout history in East Los Angeles, including women who have been primarily recognized for their roles as mothers. While the role of a mother is critical in a Mexican community, the inclusion of women's participation in other sectors of the area is critical. The participation of women in this report includes: community services, community support, educational support, healthcare providers, political candidacy, political protests, volunteers, and work-force participation.

Several methods of compiling research for this chapter was utilized and include the following sources: Library research (Los Angeles Public Library (downtown), East Los Angeles Public Library), photo archives (Los Angeles Public Library (downtown), microfilm of community newspapers (East Los Angeles Public Library), interviews of local community organizations and businesses, photographs of current buildings and businesses in the community and quotes from published materials.

This chapter is organized by exhibits. While some of the following entries do not pertain to a document included here, most all refer to the numbered exhibit following this page. The exhibits are included in chronological order.

<u>No.</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Description and Source</u>
--	1831	"Although men tended to dominate the political and economic activities of the Mexican frontier pueblos, women participated more actively in the economy than has previously been recognized. In Mexican California, women ran some of the ranchos, taking charge of the raising of domestic stock and the cultivation of crops. Women also qualified for land grants, as did some of the Indian population of the community." (Source: "History of a Barrio East Los Angeles" p. 19)
--	1844	The role of women changed, most importantly the "... change was that women increasingly became heads of households... In 1844, only 13 percent of all heads of families were women. Many of these were widows and a few were probably women whose husbands were absent during the census. By 1880, more than 31 percent of Mexican-American families were headed by women. In less than 40 years, the female-centered family had become a significant institution in the Mexican-American community... Temporary abandonment resulting from fewer local job opportunities may also have accounted for the increase. Given the strong religious sanctions against it, divorce was probably not a cause." (Source: "The Los Angeles Barrio, 1850-1990" pgs. 65-66)

<u>No.</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Description and Source</u>
--	1880	The role of women "in rancho society was rigidly defined by tradition and work routine. . . the women's role: "At three o'clock in the morning the entire family was summoned to their prayers. After this, the women betook themselves to the kitchen and other domestic chores such as sweeping, cleaning, and dusting, and so on. . . Woman's labor lasted till seven or eight in the morning. After this they were busy cooking, sewing, or washing." (Source: "The Los Angeles Barrio," 1850-1890, p. 14)
--	1880-90	"Chicanas found employment as domestics, fruit cannery and packing shed workers, seasonal farm laborers who migrated with their children and husbands, and laundresses. Some also worked as seamstresses and dressmakers, but few ever acquired higher than skilled status." ("Chicanos in a Changing Society," p. 137)
1	1914-75	The International Institute of Los Angeles "Chronological Highlights Throughout 61 Years of Service" (The International Institute continues to exist and provide services to the East Los Angeles community today) (Source: International Institute Scrapbook)
--	1920	"New textile factories opened in Los Angeles during the 1920s and employed hundreds of Mexican women..." (Source: "History of a Barrio East Los Angeles," p. 116)
--	1920	Women were excluded from membership and/or restricted their involvement "to a subordinate or auxiliary status, but nonetheless it is apparent that by the 1920s women worked actively in social and political causes, and the community accepted in general their dedication to volunteer work." (Source: "History of a Barrio East Los Angeles," p. 153)
--	1920	"Few community organizers matched the dedication and accomplishments of Elena de la Ilata, head of Cruz Azul (Blue Cross)... Mainly through the efforts of de la Ilata's leadership, Cruz Azul emerged in the early 1920s as one of the most active and successful of the numerous charity associations in the city." (Source: "History of a Barrio East Los Angeles," p. 153)
2	1920	Community Evening in Armenian Center, located at 1620 E. 4th Street (Source: Los Angeles Downtown Public Library - Photo Archives)
3	1921	Clinic at the Armenian Center, located at 1620 E. 4th Street (Source: Los Angeles Downtown Public Library - Photo Archives)
4	1920-24	"Baby Welfare Clinic at Armenian Center - 1921, Community Evening held at the Armenian Center - 1920 and Community Christmas Party in Pavilion - 1924," International Institute of Los Angeles (Source: International Institute)

<u>No.</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Description and Source</u>
5	1922	Korean Women's English Class, International Institute of Los Angeles, Boyle Heights (Source: Los Angeles Downtown Public Library - Photo Archives)
6	1924	1st International Day held at the International Institute, 435 S. Boyle Avenue, Boyle Heights (Source: Los Angeles Downtown Public Library - Photo Archives)
7	1929	"Plaza Community Center," Article describing services by Plaza Community Center including the Plaza Center Children's Home (Source: Plaza Community Center Scrapbook)
8	1930-41	"Japanese Girls Day Festivals - Program----Exhibits," International Institute of Los Angeles, Boyle Heights (Source: International Institute Scrapbook)
9	1933	"Future Librarians - A Cottage from the Olympic Village donated in 1933 for Children's Library," from the International Institute of Los Angeles (Source: International Institute Scrapbook)
10	1936	"Oriental Music Will Feature Festival - Night in China to Offer Customs of Old Cathay," Article from the L. A. Times (Source: International Institute Scrapbook)
11	8/37	"City's Russian Colony Divided - Land of Czars Recalled - Among the colorful reminders of old-time Russia to be found in Los Angeles' Russian colony is the folk dance as performed by these two girls at a Hollenbeck Heights festival," Article from the Los Angeles Times - International Institute (Source: International Institute Scrapbook)
12	5/13/38	Women dressed in costumes of various countries including Mexican, Czech and Korean for entertainment at the International Institute Patio Tea (Source: International Institute Scrapbook)
13	11/17/38	"Winners of the Community Chest poster contest prizes... Lucy Maldonado, of Robert Louis Stevenson Junior High, winner in junior high class;..." (Source: Herald Examiner)
14	07/14/39	"Drive for Shrine is Begun by Monsignor Guzman," Article regarding construction of a national Shrine of Our Lady of Guadalupe Church (Source: Belvedere Citizen Newspaper)
--	1942	"The participation of the majority of the male labor force of the eastside community opened new job opportunities for women in the war industries, especially in textile, aircraft, ship-building, and food-processing plants.

<u>No.</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Description and Source</u>
--	continued	Women also contributed to the military effort by planting 'victory gardens' and handling all of the family responsibilities." (Source: "History of a Barrio East Los Angeles," p. 165)
15	11/19/43	"At the Red Cross Rally," Article regarding membership by Mexican-American women in the Red Cross during the war years" (Source: Belvedere Citizen)
16	9/15/44	"Francis Terrazas Joins U.S. Navy Waves," Article regarding an East Los Angeles woman who joins the Navy (Source: Belvedere Citizen)
17	1946	"Manzanar Club Anniversary - 1946, International Institute" (Source: International Institute Scrapbook)
18	11/19/48	"Age and Age Old Problem," Article regarding the participation of women in the Community Chest Organization and their assistance to the East Los Angeles Community (Source: Belvedere Citizen)
19	1/14/49	"Sisters of Miserecorde Take Over Santa Marta Clinic and Hospital," Article regarding the administration take over by these nuns (Source: Belvedere Citizen)
20	9/29/49	"International Day Fete Dress Rehearsal Held - Festival each "year for the purpose of preserving national customs, cultures, crafts and traditions that foreign born residents have brought from their homelands to add richness to our American heritage" Article - Los Angeles Times (Source: International Institute Scrapbook)
21	10/12/51	"4000 at International Festival Hear Songs of 16 Nations, Spanish Dancer, Louise Orona, 13, dazzles International Festival guests with a classical Spanish dance," Article from L. A. Times (Source: International Institute)
22	1953	Women's Citizenship Class (International Institute for Los Angeles in Boyle Heights) (Source: Los Angeles Downtown Public Library - Photo Archives)
23	3/14/57	"Translation Committee," Article regarding the League of Women Voters who translated reports on candidates and issues from English to Spanish for voters. (Source: Belvedere Citizen)
24	9/60	Various pictures of activities offered at Plaza Community Center including: Camping trips for children of the childcare facility on the premises, and neighborhood children, children from their childcare facility, sports activities, and gardening for their senior citizen program (Source: Plaza Community Center Scrapbook)

<u>No.</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Description and Source</u>
25	1960	"Plaza Community Center Newsletter" describing services offered by Plaza Community Center located in East L.A. (Source: Plaza Community Center)
26	7/26/61	"Community Chest-United Way - Chest Campaign Gets Under Way," International Institute of Los Angeles (Source: International Institute Scrapbook)
27	1962	Señoritas De Las Americas, Christmas, International Institute of Los Angeles, Boyle Heights (Source: Los Angeles Downtown Public Library - Photo Archives)
28	11/7/63	"Mother's Picket," Article regarding East Los Angeles mothers who picketed the underpass which crosses San Bernardino Freeway at Ramona Blvd. - claim it is unsafe for their children to cross. (Source: Belvedere Citizen)
29	6/64	Plaza Community Center - Letter to community regarding Summer Camp for children from their childcare facility and inviting children from the neighborhood to attend (Source: Plaza Community Center - Scrapbook)
30	12/17/64	"Linda Marmolejo: Peace Corps Volunteer Serves in Venezuela," Article regarding an East Los Angeles woman who joins the Peace Corp (Source: Belvedere Citizen)
31	1965	Copy of photograph of children at a childcare facility at Plaza Community Center (Source: Plaza Community Center Scrapbook)
32	1965	Transportation for children at the childcare facility of neighborhood children at Plaza Community Center (Source: Plaza Community Center Scrapbook)
33	9/65	Pictures illustrating medical facilities offered at Plaza Community Center and residents being treated (Source: Plaza Community Center Scrapbook)
34	1966	"Newcomers Learn What's Cooking, at International Institute" Article regarding cooking classes for community residents - classes include food from various countries (Source: International Institute Scrapbook)
35	3/30/67	"School Board Candidates: Meet Mrs. Julia Mount," Article regarding the candidacy of Mrs. Mount for the Los Angeles Board of Education (Source: Belvedere Citizen)
36	03/9/67	"Protestors," Article regarding the protest by Members of the Save Hazard Park Association - demonstrating against the construction of \$20 million hospital to replace neighborhood park" (Source: Belvedere Citizen)

<u>No.</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Description and Source</u>
37	4/13/67	"East Los Angeles Woman Named Mexican Mother of the Year," Article regarding appointment of Mrs. Soledad Garcia as Mexican Mother of the Year (Source: Belvedere Citizen)
38	10/12/67	"Mothers Picket In Support of Euclid School Principal," Article regarding the support of East Los Angeles Mothers in support of Dr. Lillian Tallman (Source: Belvedere Citizen)
39	3/68	"Brown, Black Ghetto Students Strike East Los Angeles High Schools," Article regarding student walkouts protesting crowded classroom and educational deficiencies (Source: Chicano Resource Center, East L.A. Public Library)
40	1/23/69	"Hospital Artwork" Artist John Bene receives the congratulations of Nurse Norma Oropeza, R.N. for his mural on 'Nursing Through the Ages,' at the East L.A. Doctor's Hospital, 4060 Whittier Blvd. Shown in the background are panels entitled 'Wartime Nursing,' and 'Modern Day Nursing' (Source: Belvedere Citizen)
41	3/70	"High School Protests," Article regarding the protest by high students in East L. A. charging that the demands made in 1968 are yet to be met by the administration (Source: Chicano Resource Center, East L.A. Public Library)
42	1/14/71	"Community Organizations Honor Mexican American Women," Article regarding the award of outstanding honor of women community leaders some of which are from the East Los Angeles area (Source: Belvedere Citizen)
43	07/08/71	"Senatorial Candidate - Julia Luna Mount for California State Senator, 27th District," Article regarding the candidacy of an East Los Angeles resident for Senator (Source: Eastside Sun Newspaper)
44	8/19/71	"Beginning Fast," Article regarding four East Los Angeles residents (two women and two men) who fasted for 24 days for the Farmworkers Cause against Heublein Liquor Products (Source: Eastside Sun Newspaper)
45	08/31/72	"Memoriam - Las Madres Por la Lucha," Article regarding the protest by East Los Angeles Women against the murder of Ruben Salazar (Source: Eastside Sun)
46	1972	"The Wall that Cracked Open," Mural by Willie Herron, 4125 City Terrace, rear, East Los Angeles, protest by community and family members (including crying grandmother depicted in mural) of gang violence and destruction in the community (Source: Signs from the Heart: California Chicano Murals)

<u>No.</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Description and Source</u>
47	1973	"Black and White Moratorium Mural," Estrada Courts Housing Project, East Los Angeles, by Willie Herron and Gronk, Mural depicting various members of the East Los Angeles Community, including several poses of women (Source: Signs from the Heart: California Chicano Murals, p. 45)
48	1/18/73	"Honor Mrs. Dorina Gerrado as "Volunteer of the Month" (Source: Belvedere Citizen)
49	2/8/73	"Free Los Tres," Article regarding the participation of women in East Los Angeles in support of "Los Tres." (Source: Eastside Sun)
50	2/15/73	"Welfare Rights - Alicia Escalante," Article regarding Alicia Escalante, Head of the Welfare Organization. (Source: Eastside Sun)
51	3/29/73	"Mother of 13 children graduates at skill center," Article regarding Mrs. Della Anaya, a widow, in her fifties, who could not speak English very well and was the mother of thirteen children yet still graduates from the skill center (Source: Belvedere Citizen)
52	4/5/73	"New euclid school advisory council officers" Article regarding members of the school advisory council - five of seven are women (Source: Belvedere Citizen)
53	7/5/73	"Propose Women's Savings, Loan Ass'n. in East L.A." Formation of California's first all women's Federal savings and loan association, proposed by businesswomen, mostly Eastsiders (Source: Belvedere Citizen)
54	9/13/73	"Dedicate murals as memorial to youths barrio deaths" Article in the Belvedere Citizen - dedicated by members of Lil Valley and other members of "gangs" in the area to the mothers of the five dead youths. Mural was painted on the side of an East L.A. market (Source: Belvedere Citizen)
55	10/4/73	"Scholarship Luncheon" Cleland House of Neighborly Service Mothers' Club have inaugurated a monthly series of Mexican-style luncheons to raise scholarship funds for the local area (Source: Belvedere Citizen)
56	10/4/73	"TELACU's Business Woman of the Month" Ms. Vivian Flores is the first woman to receive the TELACU honor (Source: Belvedere Citizen)
57	1974	"No Compre Vino Gallo," Mural by Carlos Almanraz with young people from the 3rd St. gang, 213 S. Soto St. formerly All Nations Center, East L. A., depicting a protest against Gallo Wine Producers by various members of the community (Source: Signs from the Heart: California Chicano Murals, p. 4)

<u>No.</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Description and Source</u>
58	1975	"Read Between the Lines," Mural by David Rivas Botello, on Ford and Olympic Blvds., East Los Angeles, depicting the woman as mother (Source: Signs from the Heart: California Chicano Murals, p. 88)
59	6/82	Copy of State Assemblywoman Gloria Molina's victory celebration, dated June 1982 (Source: An Illustrated History of Mexican Los Angeles 1971-1985, p. 184)
60	1984	"Reagan Elected, the Right Takes Power East Los Angeles," Photograph and article regarding a protest about the hardship placed on Latinos by rightwing politics (Source: "500 Years of Chicano History in Pictures," pg. 179)
61	5/7/86	"Community Center Opens Doors," Article regarding Plaza Community Center's support of Plaza Family Support Center in City Terrace - honoring "... Director Geraldine Zapata for the center's work in assisting abused children and counseling families to strengthen the Latino community" (Source: Plaza Community Scrapbook)
62	Sp. 1989	"Environmental Racism" Minority communities and their battle against toxics - Mothers of East L. A. (Source: The Amicus Journal, pgs. 22-32)
63	1990	"1990 Protest of Mothers of East L.A." (Source: "500 Years of Chicano History in Pictures," pg. 207)
64	1990	"Los Angeles 1990: graduation, amnesty applicants from One Stop Immigration and Educational Center," and "Una Clase de Ingles at One Stop/English Class" (Source: "500 Years of Chicano History in Pictures," pg. 220)
65	08/29/90	"National Chicano Moratorium," Report regarding the participation of the Latino Community through East Los Angeles to commemorate the death of Ruben Salazar 20 years ago (Source: "500 Years of Chicano History in Pictures," pgs. 201, 232-233,)
66	4/7/91	"Minority groups taking stand against toxic sites" Mothers of East Los Angeles - Communities saying 'no' to becoming dumping grounds (Source: San Francisco, p. A-12)
67	1992	"No Mas Prisiones," Article regarding the halt of the construction of a prison in East Los Angeles and the eight year fight by the Mothers of East Los Angeles Organization to curtail this construction (Source: Chicano Resource Center, East L. A. Public Library)

<u>No.</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Description and Source</u>
68	Sp. '92	"The Passion of Aurora Castillo & The Militant Mothers of East L.A.," Article regarding the victory of a six-year battle to stop a toxic waste incinerator in the East Los Angeles area (Source: Chicano Resource Center, East L. A. Public Library)
69	9/16/92	"Mothers of Conviction - Eastside Women Become a Force to be Reckoned With After Blocking Prison Plan" (Source: L. A. Times, Metro Section)
70	10/5/93	"Healing Power," Article regarding "Resurrection of the Green Planet" mural on Breed Street in Boyle Heights representing the curandera (Source: Chicano Resource Center, East L. A. Public Library)
71	1994	Program called "Planned Parenthood" sponsored by Plaza Community Center - the facility provides prenatal care to women of the community and neighborhood areas as well as other services of childcare, senior program and medical facilities (Source: Plaza Community Center Scrapbook)
72	8/94	Photocopy of photograph of children playing at childcare facility and senior citizens program at Plaza Community Center in East Los Angeles (Source: Plaza Community Center Scrapbook)
73	8/14/94	"East Los Angeles - Golden Gate Theater is Safe for Now," Article regarding the Mothers of East Los Angeles support for the preservation of the Golden Gate Theater in East Los Angeles (Source: Chicano Resource Center, East L. A. Public Library)
74	Undated	Copy of mural at Plaza Community Center - Neighborhood boy killed due to gang violence and issues of crime affecting the community (Source: Plaza Community Center Scrapbook)

THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
LOS ANGELES

Exhibit 1

Chronological Highlights
Throughout 61 Years of Service

- 1914 - The International Institute was organized as the International Institute of the Y.W.C.A. to "serve the women and girls coming from Europe and the Orient and to assist the foreign communities in their adjustment to life in this country." The Staff of Nationality "Home Visitors" called on newcomers soon after their arrival in this country.
- 1914 - To bring American influence to the new immigrants and to help them feel a part of the life about them, many classes in English were organized. "The classroom also became a social gathering place." (see English and Citizenship classes section)
- 1914-15 - Met "Japanese Picture Brides" at the harbor and assisted them in their adjustment. Received names from the National Y.W.C.A. (see New Arrival Program section).
- 1915 - Factories closed causing serious unemployment and hardship in the Mexican colony. Received emergency relief funds to meet their needs.
- 1915 Learning to cook "by American" was the urgent request in 1915 and through the years, by women and girls of the Armenian, Russian, Japanese, Mexican, Greek, and other communities. Etiquette, sewing and housekeeping "American Style" were often requested.
- 1918 Assisted War Brides from France, Italy and Greece in their "Adjustment to life in a new country."
- 1918 - Explained Income Tax regulations to the Nationality Representatives.
- 1918 - Influenza EPIDEMIC of 1918: In cooperation with the Red Cross and the Board of Education, a soup kitchen was opened, serving over 250 families daily of the foreign communities who were victims of Influenza.
- 1919 - Assisted with "Americanization" training course at University of California, Extension Courses.
- 1920 - The Japanese worker assisted in solving housing problems between Japanese and Mexican families, which was crucial at that time, made investigation of the problems of the Japanese children in Public Schools and worked with teachers and community groups to prevent discrimination.
- 1921 - Worked with influx of relatives from Italy.

- 1921 - Worked with Armenian new-arrival immigrants in need of employment.
- 1921 - The first "Christmas at Home" for newcomers and clients was held with buffet, program and social hour. It has been held each year to the present time. (see "Christmas at Home" section).
- 1921 - Organized clubs for the French and English War Brides.
- 1921 - Organized clubs for Brides from Greece.
- 1921 - Held meetings for Mexican pastors and social workers to discuss problems of Mexican Communities.
- 1922 - Arranged tours to foreign communities churches, restaurants, stores, living areas for teachers, Board members, students and other interested in becoming acquainted with the foreign communities of Los Angeles. (continued tours through 1941).
- 1922 - National Y.W.C.A. Department of Immigratoin and foreign Born withdrew from national Y.W.C.A. and formed the National Organization for the International Institute.
- 1922 - Misrepresentation of life in the United States caused hardship for many War Brides. Workers assisted them with their problems.
- 1922 - Change of Immigration law, "Cable Act of 1922" prevented alien women from becoming citizens through marriage which in turn caused hardship.
- 1923 - The Japanese Y.W.C.A. Dormitory, 2616 E. Third Street was purchased and dedicated. \$10,000 was raised by Japanese communities in Los Angeles, Brawley and Imperial Valley.
- 1924 - Purchased property at 435 South Boyle Avenue for \$20,000. Money for the down payment was advanced by Miss Madelene Frances Wills. Moved a small house on property for temporary offices. Built a roof-stage with canvas sides for pavillion. The cement work was donated by Bent Brothers. Japanese clients donated plants for the garden.
- 1924 - The first International Day was held at 435 S. Boyle Ave. Exhibits dinner and programs held in pavillion; 250 attended. International Day was held annually through 1963. (see International Day section)
- 1925 - New and restricted laws reduced number of immigrants, but increased number of immigration problems and hardships, such as the separation of families. Case-load increased.
- 1926 - Made survey of separated families represented in Tijuana. Took many trips to Tijuana in the interest of Armenian and Greek refugees residing there pending immigration to U.S.A.
- 1927 - Arranged lectures for women and girls in the Japanese, Armenian and Russian Molokan Communities on Sex Hygiene, Personality Development, Current Affairs, Child Psychology, Health Education etc.

- 1927 - Organized two successful community Chest Campaign Teams from the Japanese Community and an International Team.
- 1929-30 - Home Hygiene and Nutrition classes for the many foreign born women were organized with instruction by the Red Cross.
- 1929 - Helped to organize "The Foreign Girls Council" composed of agencies working with girls from foreign homes. Organized play days and outings. Held discussions groups with leaders to improve performance. This was a fore-runner of the Los Angeles Girls' Council.
- 1930 - Lack of employment, widespread, caused untold misery among the immigrants. Received money for relief from friends, foreign societies. Central Y.W.C.A. subsidized by the Family Welfare Association.
- 1930 - The Activities Council was formally organized by the Board of Directors to assist and sponsor cultural events which would: a) Be of interest to the International Institute members and further international understanding in the community. b) Provide an opportunity for nationality groups to interpret their culture to others.
- 1931 - DEPRESSION: Assisted "Beneficencia Mexicana" in making investigation and interviewing people who desired to return to Mexico because of sepression, helping to prevent unnecessary fear and hardship.
- 1932 - During depression: Foreign women on Unemployment Women's Relief Fund and Teachers on the Associated Teacher's Fund were assigned to the Institute as teachers, club leaders, clerical helpers, etc.
- 1932 - Dedication of Administration and Hospitality Center of the International Institute. At 435 South Boyle Avenue. Attended by social workers, members of nationality communities, and interested friends.
- 1933 - The Agency was recognized by the Council of Social Agencies as a family Welfare Agency.
- 1933 - Held a conference on Mexican Welfare with 33 organizations attending, to adopt plan of action to meet the problems existing in the Mexican community.
- 1933 - Cooperated with the Country Charities Department in special deportation investigation for protection from exploitation and unnecessary fear and hardship of Mexican Repatriates.
- 1936 - The Council of Social Agencies approved the incorporation of the International Institjte as an independent agency. Papers were duly signed and registered. The agency to be known as "The International Institute of Los Angeles", Inc.
- 1939 - CELEBRATING THE TWENTY FIFTH YEAR OF SERVICE AND THE BURNING OF THE MORTGAGE.

- 1940-62 - Nationality dinners and programs were sponsored each year by Activities Council for members and friends.
- 1940 - Alien Registration Act passed. (If alien could prove good moral character standards-he could become a citizen in five years). Registration Bill passed allowing American women to regain citizenship if married to an alien.
- 1941 - Worked with Japanese community before and during the mass evacuation to Relocation and Concentration camps. This caused many acute situations.
- 1941 - Held many meetings with leading citizens, social workers, organizations and government officials in an attempt to prevent the evacuation of the Japanese and the Japanese-American Citizens.
- 1941 - Held meetings with leading citizens to work out plans for developing programs of education, recreation and social services within the Relocation Camps.
- 1941 - Worked closely with Japanese in the relocation centers during evacuation.
- 1941 - The Youth Project was organized by Welfare Federation and financed by Community Chest with ten group-work agencies to work with youth whose problems were aggravated by war and natural segregation. The International Institute developed specialized services for the hard-to-reach Mexican-American youth. Three additional staff members were employed. (see youth project section).
- 1942 - Recruited Host and Hostesses from the foreign communities to help the U.S.O. with the entertaining of the service men from foreign communities throughout the nation stationed in this area. Developed an international hospitality resource. File for the U.S.O.
- 1942 - Organized Mexican Senioritas U.S.O. Purpose: to entertain Spanish speaking service men in the U.S.A. and to interpret Mexican Culture to all service men through entertainment and events.
(Group reorganized in 1944 as Senioritas de Las Americas for young women over 21 years, sponsoring Mexican programs, dinners and social activities. Active in 1964.)
- 1942 - Interpreted to foreign families war regulations affecting them, enemy alien regulations, curfew rules, alien registration, etc.
- 1944 - Repeal of Chinese Exclusion Act brought many applications for citizenship.
- 1944 - Many of the foreign communities and clubs raised money to help alleviate suffering in their war-torn countries.

- 1945 - Gave service to war brides from France, Greece, England, Italy, Russia, Holland, Japan, China and Korea. Assisted in their adjustment to a different culture through individual case work, and organized club activities.
- 1945 - Held weekly "Open House" for adults and youth of the Japanese community on their return to Los Angeles.
- 1945 - Cooperated with War Relocation Authorities in the resettlement of the Japanese.
- 1945 - Veterans received help in bringing wives to this country. Institute workers helped brides understand changes they faced in the new and different cultural settings.
- 1945 - Case worker assigned to Wilmington Service Center to work with foreign-speaking clients in that area.
- 1947 - Two hundred Brides from Europe and Asiatic countries arrived. Teas and social gatherings were arranged to "get acquainted with the newcomers".
- 1948 - Organized "Los Amigos Canteen" for Mexican-American youth. (see under Youth Project).
- 1948 - **Immigration resumed.**
Displaced Persons Act, allowed refugees from the Iron Curtain countries to come to the United States. Assisted in their social and environmental adjustment through individual service and group activities.
- 1952 - With the passing of the Immigration and Nationality Act, assisted those who had lived in this country 20 years or more and were over 50 years of age to take their examination for citizenship in respective language.
- 1952 - Japanese Brides arrived in large numbers. The women needed help in finding their place in this new and strange culture. (see Japanese War Brides Club)
- 1953 - East European Project "Ford Foundation Grant".
Opened branch at 5058 Fountain Avenue for ex-Soviet Displaced Persons giving vocational counseling, assistance in personal adjustment and social integration. (see East European Project section)
- 1956 - Hungarian Revolution, with subsequent resettlement of Freedom Fighters in Los Angeles area. Helped in housing, employment, relief and social adjustment.
- 1957 - Building Department ordered drastic remodeling of buildings. (see Property, etc. section)
Held dedication services of "Madeline Frances Willis Auditorium".

- 1960 - Worked cooperatively with Hollandese Group in the International Institute in resettlement of Dutch Indonesian families providing housing and employment. (see Hollandese group section)
- 1961 - Organized "Friday Night" activities with cultural and educational evenings sponsoring dances with orchestra and informal activities for the new arrivals young people.
- 1962 - Worked with foreign-born students (Japanese and Mexican) attending Roosevelt High School at request of counselor.
- 1962 - Developed Cuban Refugees Project following upheaval in Cuba. (see Project section)
Employed special staff to service the Cuban newcomers.
- 1968 - First survey made of problems in Chinatown and Little Tokyo. Led to creation in 1968 of first Oriental Service Center in the United States.
- 1968-72 - Creation of Nationalities Service Center thru OEO funds to help people in the E.L.A. Health District.
- 1969 - The International Institute brings its services to Chinatown to assist the Chinese Community.
- 1971 - One Stop Immigration Center, Model Cities Project funded to serve immigrants in Boyle Heights, Lincoln Heights, El Sereno and Cypress Park.
- 1972 - Creation of first Pre-school for Immigrant children in U.S.; Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Mexican and Central and South American children.
- 1972 - Opening of Benjamin Franklin Library Branch of Los Angeles City Library to enable immigrants to have access to books.
- 1972 - Headquarters for Chicana Service Center - Only Mexican-American women's organization, funded by government.
- 1974 - Expansion of services of the International Institute take place in Van Nuys at the United Way Building and the West Valley Counseling Center in Canoga Park. Volunteers from various cultural backgrounds provide services through the training and supervision of our Director of Volunteers.
- 1974 - Creation of E.S.L. Counseling Project, funded by J.E.W. with the purpose of reducing isolation and discrimination among minority students in the Wilmington area.
- 1974 - Nutrition Program for Elderly New American, funded by the California State Office on Aging. It provides nutritious meals, social service information, referral and coordination to senior citizens of low income of East Los Angeles.

- 1976 Programs for children were expanded to include center-based and family day care
- 1977 A Multicultural Social Services Project was funded through CETA Title VI
- 1977 A program, funded through Title XX, was begun which provided supportive social services to refugees
- 1978 The International Senior Multipurpose Center was established
- 1979 Establishment of a San Fernando Valley Branch to provide immigration and social services
- 1979 A Multicultural Training Project, funded by CETA II-B was developed
- 1980 Employment services for refugees in the San Gabriel Valley were begun
- 1981 Establishment of an acculturation program for Eastern European refugees
- 1981 Establishment of a resettlement program for Cubans
- 1982 Development of an audio-visual presentation in five languages related to health and sex education for refugee women
- 1983 Development of a resettlement and acculturation program for Middle Eastern refugees
- 1983 Establishment of an Armenian Business Development and Training Center, a joint project with the Armenian Evangelical Social Services Center
- 1983 Development of a demonstration project, funded by ORR, to involve community and corporate business leadership in refugee job development and job placement
- 1983 A social group adjustment program for Cuban Entrants was established
- 1984 The program for Eastern European refugees was expanded to include an acculturation program for Armenian refugee students, their parents and teachers
- 1984 Development of a Refugee Targeted Assistance Program, involving six national trade associations, to provide job training for refugees

- 1975 - E.S.L. Training Program for Immigrants funded by CETA to enable immigrants to make better use of skills they possess.
- 1975 - Development of an outpost in West Los Angeles, United Way Bldg., to serve the increasing number of Arabic speaking immigrants in the area for whom no resources exists in the community.
- 1975 - Development of immigration counseling services at the Lawndale Community Center at the request of the United Way office of West Los Angeles.
- 1975 - Vietnamese resettlement in Los Angeles area in coordination with A.C.N.S. and International Rescue Committee.



Exhibit 2



Exhibit 3

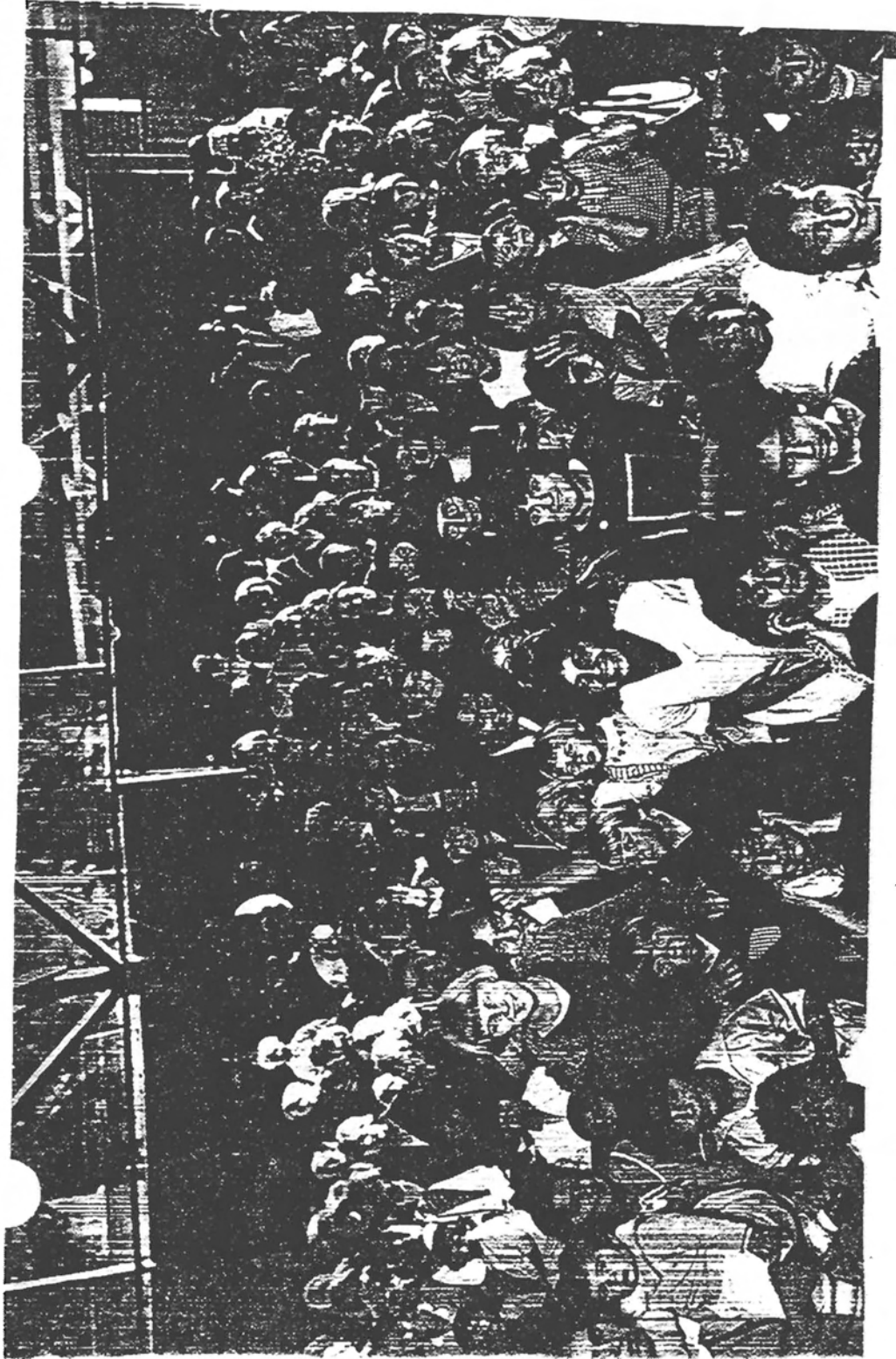
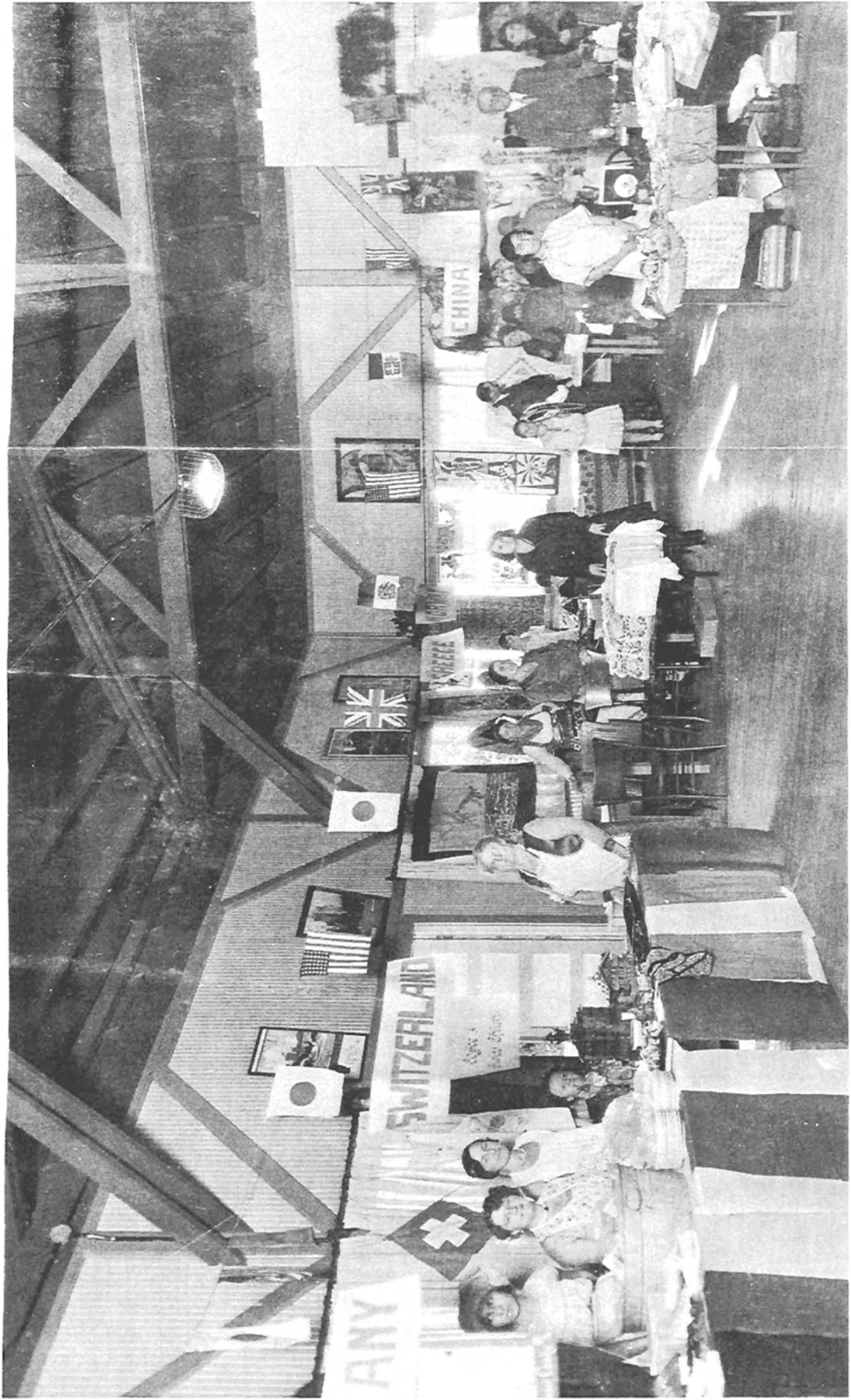


Exhibit 4



Exhibit 5



1924 - The first International Day

PLAZA COMMUNITY CENTER

It is with gratitude to God that we make our report of the Plaza Community Center, because our anticipations of increased service have been realized. Both additional clients and volunteer workers have come to us, and, as a consequence, we report a 21 per cent increase in the total registrations from our Clinic and General Welfare departments. Standards of work have been raised, and we believe that improvement has been made in the general organization of the work. During the past year, the Plaza Community Center Club, composed largely of women, has been organized to give publicity to our missionary enterprise in all our churches, and, through its standing committees, to awaken interest in the varied Christian ministry



GROUP, PLAZA CENTER CHILDREN'S HOME

which we render. The enthusiasm manifested by the Club has been very heartening, with results of added contributions both in gifts and friends for the work.

So greatly has the work in our Clinic increased, that we have had to add an additional nurse for part-time-work, as well as increasing our staff of Christian doctors as we are able to find those who are willing to contribute their services to this ministry among the sick. During 1929 we will care for more than 8000 patients in our clinic, about one-third of these receiving free treatment.

Our Christian Training School has been able to extend its services to a larger group. Twenty-seven students were enrolled for the spring term, five of them being from the Presbyterian Mexican churches, the remainder in-
cluding Sunday School teachers and workers from our



1930 to 1941

JAPANESE GIRLS DAY
FESTIVALS

Program -----Exhibits

Exhibit 9

A Selection from the
OLYMPIC VILLAGE
Journal 1912-13
for
CHILDREN'S LIBRARY



NIGHT IN CHINA TO OFFER CUSTOMS OF OLD CATHAY

Costumes, music and food of old Cathay will dominate the International Institute, 435 South Boyle avenue, tomorrow evening when the public is invited to "A Night in China."

At 7 p.m. a typical Chinese dinner will be served, with a Cantonese chef in charge. Such dishes as bow yee gong (abalone soup), hung yun gai ding (chicken with almonds) and bo lo pia gwat (pineapple with spinach) appear on the menu. Pretty Chinese girls in the pastel brocades of modern China will serve these delicacies. Dinner reservations may be made by telephoning the institute.

After the repast, many courses of music and dancing will be presented by Chinese-born artists. In addition to numbers by the only professional Chinese band in Los Angeles, there will be a sword dance, folk songs, Chinese flute solos by F. E. Soong and numbers on the yung kim, or harp.

Lent by the Quon Mane Company, San Diego, there will be an exhibition of ancient Chinese spectacle

cases, showing the various types of embroidery used, scrolls and brocade hangings.

The International Institute, established for the benefit of the "foreign" populations in the city, is in its twenty-first year. Mrs. Elsie D. Newton is the executive secretary and Miss Esther D. Bartlett her associate. Miss Emma Quon, the Chinese worker and interpreter, is arranging "A Night in China."

1936

Oriental Music Will Feature Festival

Los Angeles Times 5-24-36



Music beneath the moon... rehearsing for the Jade Moon... wide Chinese benefit...

Chinese Dancer on Tea Program

Soo Yong to Appear at International Institute Affair

Soo Yong, known as the Chinese Cornelia Otis Skinner, will appear at the International Institute, 435 South Boyle avenue, at an international tea arranged for next Friday.

Miss Yong will present a group of dances and character sketches in the colorful costumes of Cathay. Hawaiian-born, educated in China and the United States, the actress first gained recognition as mistress-of-ceremonies for China's No. 1 actor, Mei Lanfang, during his American tour.

Guests of honor at the tea, set for 3:30 p.m. in the patio of the institute, will be the new Consul for China, T. K. Chang, and Mrs. Chang.

Friends of the institute are invited to attend and reservations may be made by calling the institute.

1924

NATIONAL GROUP TONIGHT

Tonight at 7:30 o'clock two of the national groups at the International Institute of the Y.W.C.A. at 485 South Boyle avenue, will sponsor a community evening. The hosts and hostesses are of Russian and Armenian birth and the entertainment will be pictures of Jackie Coogan taken on his travels in Palestine and through the Caucasus.

City's Russian Colony Divided

Widely Varied Array
Included in 60,000
From Distant Land

This is the sixth of a series of articles in the Sunday Times on the foreign colonies in Los Angeles.

BY TIMOTHY G. TURNER

There are about 60,000 persons of original Russian nationality in Los Angeles. But they include widely differing cultural, racial and religious groups. In fact no other of our foreign colonies is so divided.

This city has an important White Russian colony, a fact known to few outside of social circles and religious workers. It is located for the most part in Hollywood, its members usually being referred to as "Hollywood Russians."

FORMED BY FILMS

The collapse of Czarist Russia sent middle- and upper class emigrants scurrying in all directions. Some of the men who had been in the army in Siberia escaped through China to this country. Others came by way of Europe. Altogether there are about 6000 of these White Russians here.

Some of them thought the cinema industry would give them work as type actors, extras, technicians. Many obtained such work.

There are two Greek Orthodox churches, of the one-time state religion of Russia, in Los Angeles, where these White Russians worship and have their social centers. One is St. Mary's on Micheltorena street north of Sunset Boulevard, the other the Church of the Transfiguration at 2139 Elsinor street.

There is a Russian language weekly newspaper, the Russian Courier, published in Los Angeles; a daily that circulates here, published in San Francisco.

UKRAINIAN GROUP

Another Russian group, residing chiefly on the East Side, is made up of Ukrainians numbering about 5000. They are mostly industrial workers, of that sturdy stock that gave Russia its Cossacks. After the revolution they fled here from the Ukraine, adjusting themselves

LAND OF CZARS RECALLED



Among the colorful reminders of old-time Russia to be found in Los Angeles' Russian colony is the folk dance, as performed by these two girls at a Hollenbeck Heights festival.

L. O. Times
July 31 38

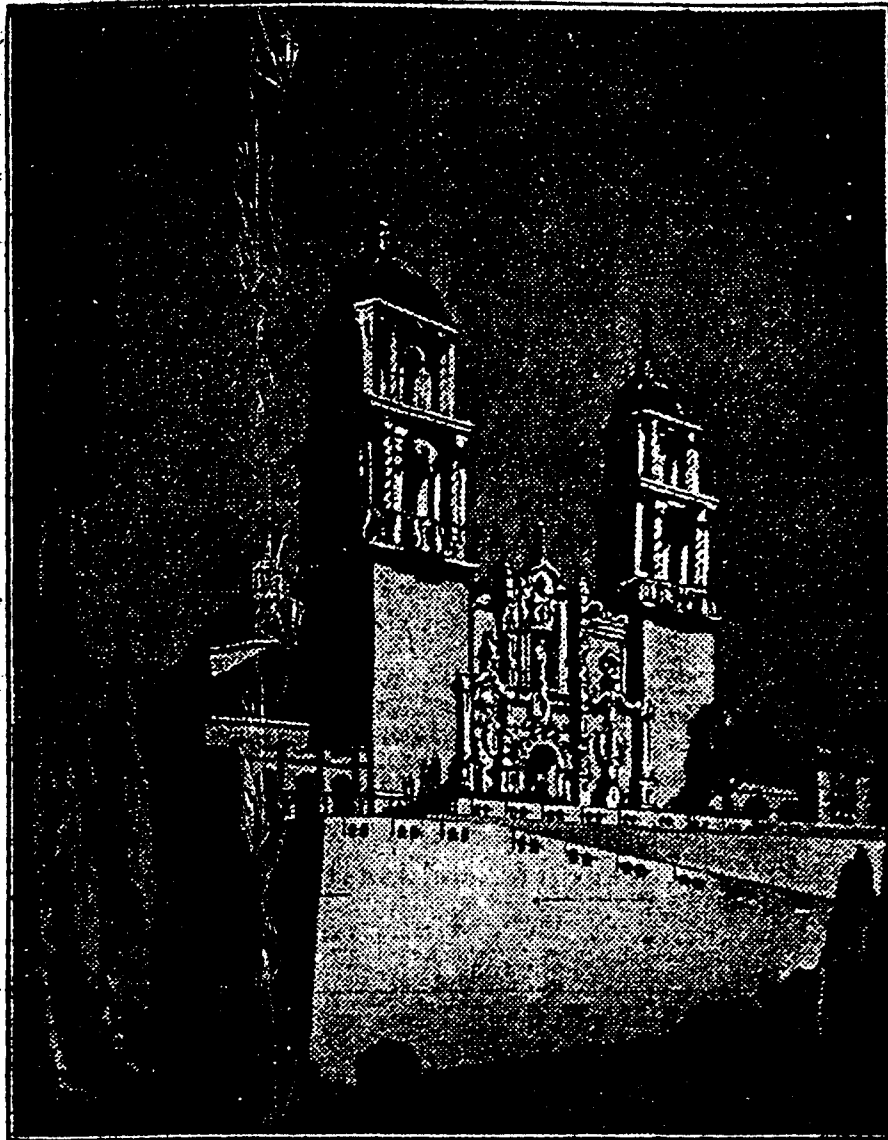


TOP LEFT: Dolores Frias and Mildred Skrobiza wear the costumes of a Mexican and Czech, respectively. At right: Julia Boyd pictured wearing a Mexican maiden's colorful attire. Below: Susan Ahn in Korean garb. They will appear at the entertainment to be given by the International Institute during its annual Patio Tea, May 20, at 435 South Boylston avenue. While tea is served, national dances will be featured. Committee for the party arrangements, headed by Mrs. Robert Boyd, includes Mmes. Edwin K. Chase, George E. Prince Jr., Garnett A. Joslin and Lloyd C. Douglas.





Drive For Shrine Is Begun By Monsignor Guzman



Great enthusiasm among the Mexican people and Catholics of this area has followed upon the announcement last week of the immediate construction of a national Shrine of Our Lady of Guadalupe in Los Angeles under the direction of Archbishop John J. Cantwell, D. D.

Patterned after the famous original Guadalupe Shrine in Mexico City, the Los Angeles project is destined to take a popular place in the spiritual guidance of the many Latin-Americans of Southern California and the English-speaking

Mexico City, the Los Angeles project is destined to take a popular place in the spiritual guidance of the many Latin-Americans of Southern California and the English-speaking Americans.

Preliminary work is also being rushed to completion for the launching of a financial campaign destined to raise the estimated construction cost of \$150,000.00.

"We have reached our goal at last," said Mons. V. Guzman yesterday to his congregation gathered in the modest little church which for the past ten years has served as a pro-Shrine. "Already the architectural draft has been accepted by the building commission," he continued. "The site has been chosen, and from far and wide our people are proffering their cooperation in this tremendous task."

Messages of congratulations and pledges of support have been flooding in from Mexico. Only two years ago the Parish of the Coronation in Mexico City presented a precious gold diadem for the first canonical coronation of Our Lady of Guadalupe in the United States which took place in Calvary Cemetery in the presence of more than one hundred thousand persons of every religion, race and caste. On that occasion, the pro-shrine of Our Lady of Guadalupe was host to the nations of the western hemisphere and twenty-one Latin-American countries sent their delegates to the ceremonies.

The proposed shrine will occupy a prominent site on a hill opposite Calvary Cemetery on Third Street in the heart of the Mexican colony. Ground plans have already been completed and the work of excavation is expected to begin at once.

Committee meetings are being held this week at the Shrine headquarters, 4100 E. 2nd St., and tentative arrangements call for the inauguration of the financial drive within a few weeks.

DEMOCRATIC



Belvedere Citizen

st Los Angeles, (Belvedere) Calif., Friday, November 19, 1943

NUM1



AT THE RED CROSS RALLY held in Belvedere last week, the trio above and others explained activities of the American Red Cross to members of the Mexican-American community. Left to right are Mrs. Julius Jacoby, education chairman of the Los Angeles chapter; Elosa Grijalva, nurse's aid, and Father Canseco, member of the local Red Cross Advisory board.

East Los Angeles (Belvedere) Calif., Friday, September 15, 1944

Frances Terrazas Joins U. S. Navy Waves

Frances Terrazas of 3831 1/2
Brooklyn avenue, Los Angeles,
has enlisted in the Waves, it was



announced today by the office of
Rear Admiral I. C. Johnson in
Los Angeles.

Miss Terrazas is the daughter
of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Terrazas.
She attended Garfield high school
and before enlisting in the Waves
she was employed by an aircraft
industry.

She will soon leave to begin her
navy indoctrination training at
New York City, which was former-
ly the Hunter College. After
the naval training school (WR)
the completion of training she
will be assigned to duty in a
large naval shore station. She
has two brothers now in service,
Louis Terrazas, private in the
army, Quartermaster Corps, and
Robert Terrazas, private in the
Army Air Force.

Exhibit 16



Exhibit 17

Mansoor Club
Anniversary

Age and Age Old Problem



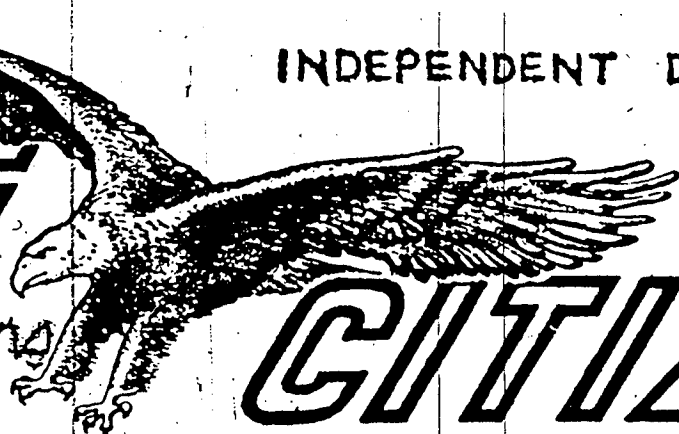
"SHE'S AN ANGEL OF MERCY," this grateful old lady said of the visiting nurse. And you provided this nurse when you contributed to the Community Chest last year. Now it's Community Chest time again. Only this year, more services are included in the organizations aided by your Community Chest: Youth Centers — hospitals — clinics — welfare agencies, and the new U.S.O. Remember that every dollar you are giving spreads over 159 agencies to help others in this business of living. Give enough.

Exhibit 18

INDEPENDENT D.

VEDERE

Newspaper Publishing
in District News



CITIZEN

East Los Angeles (Belvedere), Friday, January 14, 1949

Sisters of Miserecorde Take Over Santa Marta Clinic and Hospital



STERS OF MISERECORDE—Sister St. Francis of Assissi; Sister Tiburce, RN; Sister St. Cy-
rian, RN, Superior; and Sister St. Aline shown above have taken over the administration of
Santa Marta Clinic and Hospital, 328 N. Humphreys Ave., here in Belvedere at the invitation
of Archbishop J. Francis A. McIntyre.



CENTRAL AMERICAN—Gloria Boyd and Jorge Riba dance the Panamanian tamborita in preparation for the International

Institute's annual festival of nations to be held at the Institute's hospitality center, 435 South Boyle avenue, October 8 and 9.



BALKAN STYLE—Lucille Zaikis and Norman Kades doing the Lithuanian suktnis dance, which will be another feature of "trip around the world in miniature" at Institute's festival.

—Los Angeles Examiner photos.

Chweizer
Journal
9-29-49
MARKED COPY

This festival is held each year for the purpose of preserving national customs, cultures, crafts and traditions that foreign born residents have brought from their homelands to add richness to our American heritage.

Leading members of many of the city's foreign communities have joined with Mrs. Anna L. Kellam, General Chairman, and the Committee for International Day in arranging the gale event. Mr. Gaston

'International Day' Fete Dress Rehearsal Held

In dress rehearsal yesterday for the International Institute's annual festival of nations were a score or more girls and young men expert in the native dances of various nations.

They will be an important part of the program of "International Day" to be celebrated October 8 and 9 at the institute's hospital.

Czechoslovakians, Norwegians, Lithuanians, Armenians, Yugoslavs, Filipinos, Italians, Mexicans, Swedes and Japanese.

Foods of the various countries will be served each afternoon and evening from an "international" buffet.

There will also be an exhibit of the handicrafts and products



SPANISH DANCER — Louise Orons, 13, dazzles International Festival guests with a classical Spanish dance. Two-day fete

opened yesterday at International House, 435 South Boyle avenue, with representatives of 16 nations demonstrating native crafts and arts.

—Los Angeles Examiner photo.

4000 at International Festival Hear Songs of 16 Nations

To the songs of 16 nations, the International Festival for 1951 opened yesterday in the Spanish setting of International Institute, 435 South Boyle avenue.

The two day event, which ends today, is held annually to preserve national customs, crafts, cultures and traditions that foreign born residents have brought to the United States.

On opening day, more than 4000 persons witnessed songs and

Japan, Polynesia, Latvia, Iceland, India, Switzerland and Sweden.

Throughout the day, characteristic foods of all nations represented were served from an international buffet.

L.A. Times
10-12-51
Annual Fete
Scheduled
by Institute

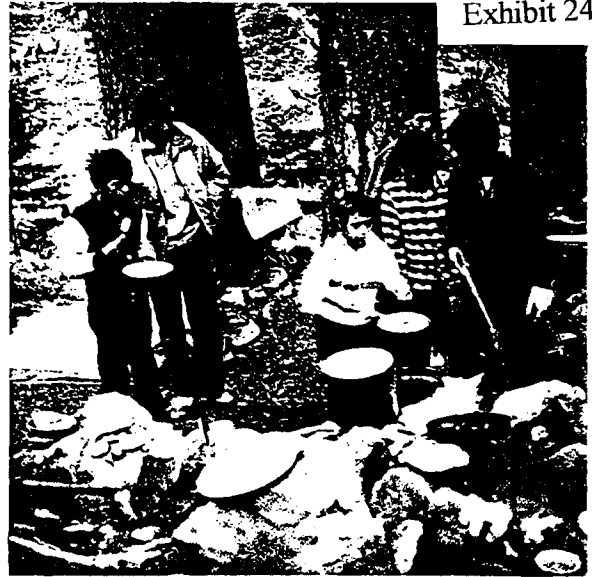
Exhibit 21



Exhibit 22



TRANSLATION COMMITTEE for the League of Women Voters studies the report on Candidates and Issues," which these ladies translated from English into Spanish. The civic minded linguists are: Left to right, Mrs. Manuel Garcia, Mrs. Josephine Fernandez Britton (standing), Mrs. Burton Lancaster and Mrs. Consuelo Vilaubi. The "Report" is being prepared for the historic first meeting of the "League" to take place in East Los Angeles. The session, which is open to all interested citizens, will be held at Roosevelt High School next Tuesday evening at 7:30 p.m. Purpose of the meeting is to discuss candidates and propositions to be voted on in the April city election.



06



JUN



PLAZA FAMILY SUPPORT CENTER

The Plaza Family Support Center is a Pilot Project funded by the State Office of Child Abuse Prevention. It is designed to work with and assist Spanish Speaking Surname families experiencing problems related to Child Abuse and Neglect. Services within the program include:

- a. Family advocacy, family culturally sensitive therapeutic treatment plan.
- b. Supportive Services including counseling, referrals to Familias Unidas Latinas, Legal Aid referrals, etc.
- c. Experiential parent - Child interaction activities.
- d. Follow-up on court referred cases for reunification of family.
- e. Training presentations and workshops to other professionals on child abuse and neglect, and working with bicultural families.

PLAZA SEXUAL CHILD ABUSE RESEARCH PROJECT

This project funded by the Office of Child Abuse Prevention OCAP, is conducting a research designed to document the special problems affecting the Latino Population in the area of Sexual Child Abuse.

A BIT OF PLAZA HISTORY

Plaza Community Center began in a shack on Bloom Street in downtown Los Angeles about 1905. The Center became incorporated in 1916. Co-founders of Plaza were Dr. Vernon McCombs, a Methodist minister and missionary, and Miss Katherine Higgins.

The Industrial Department of Plaza had "opportunity bags" of clothing and shoes. Furniture discards were refurbished and re-issued or sold. In 1919, this department became the Goodwill Industries of Southern California.

In the 1910's, a four-story structure was built on the corner of Sunset and Los Angeles Streets. Plaza Community Center, Plaza Community Church, and Methodist Headquarters were housed here for more than thirty years.

In the Fall of 1922, the Christian Training School was opened as a part of Plaza's educational program to provide leadership training to Mexican adults. (This was in operation several years.) In 1923, Plaza's orphanage was founded in Sierra Madre under the leadership of Katherine Higgins.

Besides the Industrial Department, Plaza carried on a program of welfare, a medical clinic, and sponsored clubs, camps, and other activities for boys and girls.

Plaza moved to East Los Angeles in 1959 when a new dedicated at Princeton and Indiana.

A new administration and Child Observation and Development building was dedicated on January 14, 1968.



PLAZA COMMUNITY CENTER

648 So. Indiana St., Los Angeles, Ca. 90023
(213) 268-1107



A UNITED METHODIST CHURCH

SERVING PEOPLE SINCE 1905

SERVICES:

Child Observation and Development Center
Family Medical Clinic
Family Social Services
Youth Development Services
Latine Child Abuse Services Center
Sexual Child Abuse Research Center
Battered Wives Services Center
Emergency Food & Clothing, Food Coop etc.

PL CHILD OBSERVATION
AND DEVELOPMENT CENTER

The Center provides pre-school educational, day care, and extended day care services to children, and participating parents.

Hours: 6:00 A.M. - 6:00 P.M.

Monday through Friday

Ages: Two through twelve years

Locations: 648 S. Indiana St.
Los Angeles, CA. 90023
1315 E. First St.
Los Angeles, CA. 90033

MEDICAL CLINIC CENTER

The Medical Clinic is staffed by Medical Personnel providing out patient medical services. Patients pay a small nominal fee when financially able. Basic services are examinations, diagnosis, and treatment.

Clinic Services Hours are 8:30 A.M. to 5:00 P.M. Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Friday,

BATTERED WIVES COUNSELING CENTER

This project uses the services of professional experienced Counselors in the area of Domestic Violence. Providing legal counsel, information referral, link up with shelters, issuance of restraining orders and protection against abuse and violence of family members.

FAMILY SOCIAL SERVICES CENTER

The Family Social Services Center is currently partially operated due to lack of funds, and staff. Main Services encompass:

1. Family Social and Economic assistance through welfare referrals, Emergency Financial assistance, food clothing, furniture, etc. This project reaching an increasing number of needy families, is a volunteer effort supported mainly by United Methodist Church Groups.
2. Assistance to the elderly and handicapped.
3. The Marriage and Family Counseling Projects provide Marital, and Pre-Marital Counseling Parent-Child Counseling, and Parent-Child School Counseling.

Location:
Asbury Methodist Church
2446 Workman Street
Los Angeles, CA.

The Plaza Community Center, and The Iglesia Metodista La Plaza jointly sponsor services in:

Iglesia Metodista La Plaza
115 Paseo de la Plaza (Olvera Street)

YOUTH PROJECTS

This project provides employment and limited Vocational Training, under a CETA Grant. Plaza operates an Evening Athletic Program, and Summer Camping and Employment Youth Project

THE PLAZA LADIES AUXILIARY

In addition to private United Methodist Church Contributors, Plaza receives the special help of the Plaza Ladies Auxiliary, a group of United Methodist Women committed to the assistance of our agency through the operation of a number of projects.

The Ladies Auxiliary operates, and maintains a Thrift Shop which is located in the same site as the agency.

PLAZA LORBEER SCHOLARSHIP

This fund provides scholarship grants to worthy youth applicants who wish to continue their education beyond High School. The Scholarship Committee makes annual awards to approved applicants at an award ceremony held annually at the Rowan Elementary School which participates with Plaza in this project.

PLAZA MAIN FUNDING SOURCES

State Department of Education, (OCD).
The United Way
The United Methodist Women of the Church.
The Office of Child Abuse Prevention OCAP.
NCAN National Center for Child Abuse.



CHEST CAMPAIGN GETS UNDER WAY—Girls in traditional costumes of other countries look on at the International Institute, 435 S. Boyle Ave., as Mrs. Grace Hori receives Community Chest kick-

off kits from Mrs. E. R. Bixby of the women's campaign committee and Jesse Tapp, general campaign chairman. Children, left to right, are Michelle Moret, Rebecca Barreras, Sue Kohl and Marilyn Katow.
Times photo



Exhibit 27

THE VEDERE



CITY

3590 E. FIRST ST.

daily Newspaper Publishing
Vedere District News

LOS ANGELES, CALIF., NOVEMBER 7, 1963

30th YEAR—NO. 45

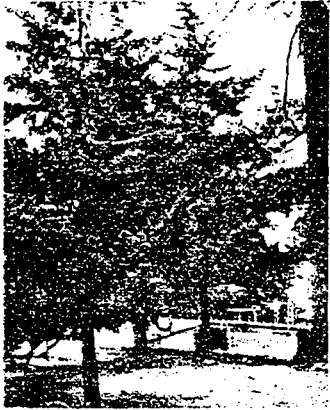


MOTHER'S PICKET pedestrian underpass which crosses San Bernardino Freeway at Ramona Blvd. and City Terrace Dr. The local women claim the tunnels are unsafe to Harrison Street Elementary School pupils claiming that molesters and loiterers make the area unsafe.

Exhibit 28

PLAZA COMMUNITY CENTER

Exhibit 29



3712 PRINCETON STREET
LOS ANGELES 23, CALIFORNIA
ANgelus 8-1107

Summer 1964

Dear Friends:

Many boys and girls have set their sights above and beyond East Los Angeles! City living is rough anytime, and especially rough in summer - when time hangs heavy and temptations are too numerous to mention!

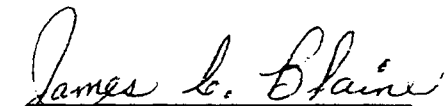
Summer Camp is one high aim for our boys and girls. Trees, lakes, hikes, stars, food - positive aims with positive results.

We have need for "camperships!" - The need is greater than ever before. You can send a child to a Plaza Camp for \$25.00. Costs are up! You can help these boys and girls keep their aims high - 5800 feet high at Plaza Camp!

Can we count on you or your group to send one or more of our boys or girls to camp? A self addressed stamped envelope is enclosed for your convenience!

Sincerely,


Camp Director


Camp Chairman



A METHODIST AGENCY
SERVICE CLINIC, SOCIAL WELFARE, GROUP WORK
MEMBER CHURCH FEDERATION WELFARE BUREAU,
NATIONAL FEDERATION SETTLEMENTS AND CENTERS
A COMMUNITY CHEST AGENCY
LICENSED BY DEPT. SOCIAL WELFARE, STATE OF CALIFORNIA
LOS ANGELES CITY SOCIAL SERVICE

Linda Marmolejo

Peace Corps volunteer serves in Venezuela

Miss Linda M. Marmolejo, daughter of Mr. Refugio Marmolejo, 818 Bonnie Beach Pl., East Los Angeles, and Mrs. Mary G. Saldana, 1523 N. Connell Pl., Los Angeles, left for Venezuela with 27 other Peace Corps Volunteers on December 10.



LINDA MARMOLEJO

They will teach in secondary schools, joining over 250 Volunteers already at work in Venezuela in agricultural extension, rural and urban community development, and secondary, university and physical education.

The Volunteers will teach manual arts and home economics. Courses will include metal, wood and leather working, cooking and sewing.

Their students live in rural areas and, in many cases, will be unable to complete their schooling. What they learn in secondary school will become their livelihood.

This group of Volunteers trained for 10 weeks at Utah State College, Logan, and for 3 weeks at the Peace Corps training camp in Puerto Rico. They received over 300 hours of intensive language instruction, as they will teach their classes in Spanish.

STUDY COUNTRY

They also studied the history and culture of Venezuela, United States history and world affairs. In addition, they received technical instruction in their special fields.

Some 9,000 Americans are now serving as Peace Corps Volunteers in 46 nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America. More Volunteers are needed; requests for them pour into the Washington headquarters daily.



Exhibit 31



Exhibit 32



SEP 10



SEP



Exhibit 33



ROUND-THE-WORLD—Mmes. Ann Soeleiman, representing Indonesia; Rudolph Vargas, Mexico; and Charles Schlosser, Switzerland, from left, show food cooked for buffet. Times photo by Judd Gunderson

AT INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE

Newcomers Learn What's Cooking

BY ROSE DOSTI

Times Staff Writer

Mrs. Ann Soeleiman, an Indonesian and former schoolteacher, conducts an imaginative class at the Los Angeles International Institute where newcomers to the United States share a common interest—food.

A practical motive prompted Mrs. Soeleiman to start classes two years ago. "Shopping is so difficult for newcomers," she said. "Food names are unfamiliar and cuts of meat already packaged are hard to identify. The classes have been helpful in teaching women how to shop."

An informal group of 20 to 25 meets each month to watch a cooking demonstration of cuisines from another land. It may be Indonesian at one meeting, Swiss the next, or Mexican, Peruvian, Italian, Pakistani or Greek. In fact, any cuisine, provided Mrs. Soeleiman can find a demonstrator.

ses last week at the International Institute.

Women in national costumes brought a dish representing their country's cuisine and shared the wealth of food with family and friends.

Indonesian yellow rice, Mexican chile and mole, Arabian eggplant stew, Pakistani curry were only some of the dishes sampled.

Mrs. Kabir Ahmed, from Pakistan, who was called upon at the last moment to bring a Pakistani dish, arrived with ingredients to make a 15-minute curry. "It's what you make when guests drop in unexpectedly," she said.

Ground beef and peas mixed with curry spices were indeed ready in 15 minutes, fragrant and steaming hot. Mrs. Ahmed began to heat tortillas on the kitchen range to serve as the curry accompaniment. An Indian heating tortillas?

School Board Candidates

Meet Mrs. Julia Mount

(Editor's Note: This is one in a series of articles on school board candidates.)

One of the local candidates for the Los Angeles Board of Education is Mrs. Julia Luna Mount, 45, who is seeking office No. 3.

Mrs. Luna Mount is a resident of Boyle Heights and lives at 216 S. Soto St. She is married to George Mount. They have four children.

Mrs. Mount is administrative secretary with the American Civil Liberties Union and is one of four candidates running under the banner of the organization called Southern Californians for New Politics.

The New Politics candidates are running on a platform that calls for student-teacher control of school policies, greater community participation in school activities and cutting administrative costs to make up for budget deficits.

Mrs. Luna's platform lists numerous proposals for changes in school board policies and touch such subjects as teaching effectiveness, "Educational democracy"; experimental programs, administrative reforms, school-community relations, school-community relations, economic reforms, and the school and war mentality.

Proposals for changes in schools include a variety of suggestions. Following is her statement:

"East L.A. has never had a member on the board, which is why we have the worst problems: 47 percent dropout at Roosevelt, 53 percent at Garfield. As a parent of four children educated or attending East L.A. schools, I am concerned.

"I am the only eastside candidate for office No. 3. By correcting the ills in our worst problem area, the unrepresented eastside, we can prove the method of also ending the city-wide 20 percent dropout.



MRS. JULIA LUNA MOUNT

◆ ◆
"I pledge to end administrative waste. I pledge a full education for all students, not just the top 10 percent, and an academic education for all high school students to make possible (1) advancement through employment channels, (2) entrance into an apprenticeship, or (3) college entrance.

"There are a few good candidates for each office. There are also machine candidates with no record of community service or interest. I have continuously been involved in east L.A. problems for almost 30 years, not just when seeking election; helped improve wages and security for cannery and hospital employees, improved civil service conditions; been an officer of community organizations; opposed "bulldozer" urban renewal; helped improve police-community relations, driver for the Junior Blind, member of City Election Board and East L.A. Peace Committee, and have given many hours to assist farm workers achieve an American standard of living."



PROTESTORS — Members of the Save Hazard Park Association Sunday demonstrated at the Federal Building in Los Angeles against the Veteran Administration's plans to build a \$20 million hospital at the park site in Boyle Heights. In the foreground are Lorraine Perez and Ray Duran, association members. At present the association is fighting a legal battle to halt the park land swap.



MEXICAN MOTHER OF YEAR — Mrs. Soledad Garcia (center with flowers) was selected as Mexican Mother of the Year by the Franciscan Sister's Missionary Guild. Above at the presentation at the Garcia home in East Los Angeles are Msgr. Ramon Garcia, a son; Ramon Garcia Sr. and Mrs. Garcia; Mrs. Emilia de Lopez, president of the Guild; Mrs. Olalla Barba, last year's recipient; and Mrs. Consuelo de Bonzo, Guild leader. Msgr. Garcia is pastor of Resurrection Church.

East LA woman named Mexican Mother of year

The Only Newspaper Publishing Belvedere District News

Exhibit 38

34th YEAR—NO. 41

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA—THURSDAY, OCTOBER 12, 1967



MOTHERS PICKET IN SUPPORT OF EUCLID SCHOOL PRINCIPAL — A large delegation of mothers supporting Euclid School Principal, Dr. Lillian Tallman, demonstrated in front of the school last Monday countering earlier pickets who had demanded her removal. Dr. Tallman has been accused of mistreating a Euclid student. The City Board of Education will hold a October 17 executive meeting to hear grievances by the anti-Tallman group and decide what action, if any, is needed. (Photos Courtesy Herald-Examiner)

Brown, Black ghetto students strike East L.A. high schools

JIM OSBORN

Thousands of East Los Angeles Mexican-American high school students walked out of their classes last week protesting crowded classrooms and educational deficiencies.

Largest walkout by the time the Free Press went to the printer, occurred Monday at James Garfield High School in the Belvedere Gardens vicinity of East Los Angeles. With lists of 13 demands, 2700 of Garfield's enrollment of 3750 students walked out of their classes and remained outside the school for several hours.

An observer for the U.S. Justice Department told the Free Press at Theodore Roosevelt High School that school administrators have shown intransigence for years to any improvements in education for Chicanos and that this reluctance is coupled by outright hostility towards Latinos.

The first walkout, Fri., Mar. 1, at Woodrow Wilson High School, was triggered by principal Donald Skinner's cancellation of a student production of "Barefoot in the Park." Skinner criticized the play as being "unfit" for a high school audience. Suppression of Chicano students was at the root of the protest.

The observers reported that 1000 students had to force their way through "human chains" of faculty members and as a consequence the Wilson demonstration resulted in only 250 students successfully fleeing the school grounds.

A sympathy demonstration occurred at Thomas Jefferson High

School Monday with 700 of the school's 2100 nearly all black students adding their own grievances about school dress codes. Would you believe Jefferson school officials were prohibiting 'naturals' (hair style)? In an assembly following a second class boycott Tuesday, Jefferson aired those grievances.

From one Chicano and one black school Monday, walkouts spread to the remaining East Los Angeles high schools Tuesday. More than 200 students rallied near but refused to enter overcrowded, poorly staffed Garfield Tuesday morning. Hundreds of students streamed from Abraham Lincoln High in the Lincoln Park area and Theodore Roosevelt High in the Boyle Heights neighborhood.

Reporting for the Free Press from Lincoln Park, Grover Howard observed upwards of 800 Lincoln students flooding N. Broadway, stopping traffic momentarily in their haste to leave the Latino-discriminating school. Howard followed the students in their 10-block walk to Hazard Park where Mexican-American graduates of Lincoln High articulated the primary demands of the group.

Howard said Lincoln alumni Montezuma Esparza and Robert Rodriguez, "... blistered the air with their criticisms of the school's antiquated facilities and disinterested staff. They enumerated three primary demands: for a bi-lingual program, reduction of classes from present sizes as high as 40 students to a room and dismissal of racist teachers and ad-

(Continued on Page 6)



Photographs courtesy of "La Raza"

Center
Library

Thursday, January 23, 1969



HOSPITAL ARTWORK — Artist John Bene receives the congratulations of Nurse Norma Oropeza, R.N. for his mural on "Nursing Through the Ages," at the East L.A. Doctor's Hospital, 4060 Whittier Blvd. Shown in the background are panels entitled "Wartime Nursing," and "Modern Day Nursing."

High school protests

Vicente Gordon

Almost two years to the day of the school "blowouts" which focused attention on the lack of relevant education in the Chicano schools in East Los Angeles, hundreds of Roosevelt High School students boycotted classes this week.

Students charged that the demands made in 1968 are yet to be met by the school administration.

37 students and 4 adults were arrested on the second day of the walkout. Seven students were injured, including one girl, in clashes with the police.

On Saturday, hundreds of students and parents picketed the Hollenbeck Police Station, protesting police brutality in dealing with the students.

A week ago today, 500 Roosevelt students assembled in their free speech area. Jorge Rodriguez was speaking to his fellow students on the need for better and more relevant education. The students also had other complaints. They wanted the school cafeteria to stop serving food that was two to three days old. They also wanted outside speakers be allowed to speak in the school's free speech area.

Ted Siegel, vice principal, came out and reached an agreement with Jorge that 20 students and some teachers would have a conference Friday on their

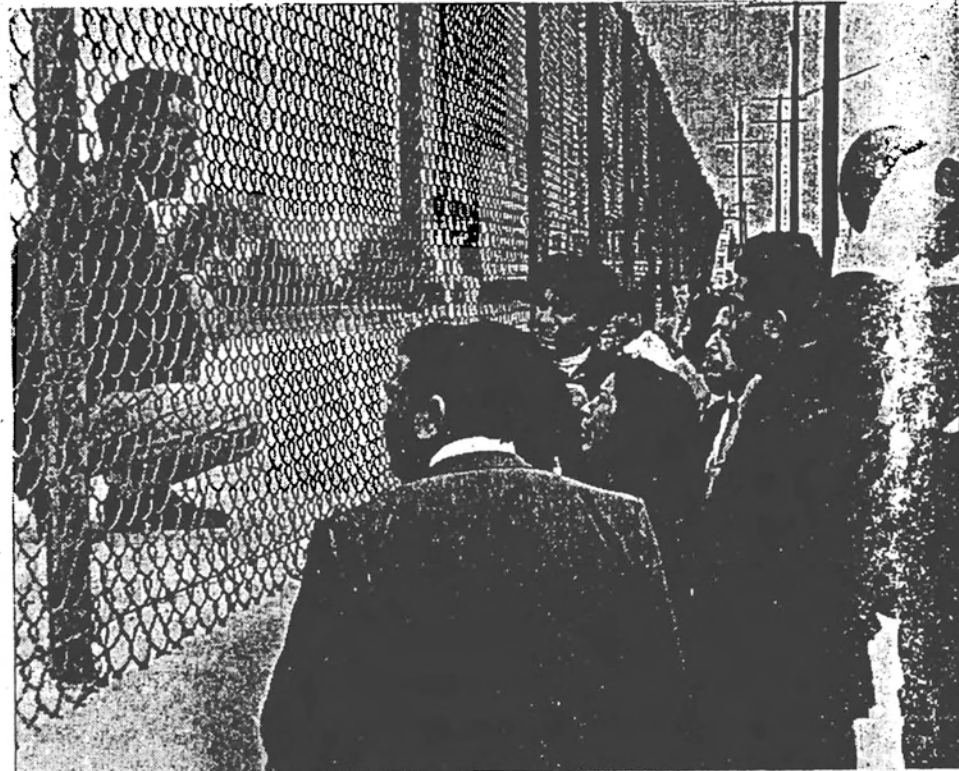
demands. The students dispersed.

Later that night, Siegel called Jorge and told him that he wanted only 10 students and no teachers in the conference. Jorge reminded him of his earlier commitment, but Siegel said that he had been pressured by the students around him to make that commitment.

Friday the students gathered and went to the conference room. Nothing constructive happened between the students and administration. The students went outside and started to chant for their demands. 500 students assembled in their free speech area which is located on their football field. The fire department was called and fire officials said that students were blocking a fire exit, which was locked by the school.

The tactical squad, 150 strong, of the LAPD was called and told the students that they had an unlawful assembly on their football field. They gave the students five minutes to disperse. Two minutes later they started to arrest students. In the melee that followed, 37 students were arrested. The students then went to Hollenbeck Police Station where they picketed. Two students were arrested on the grounds that they had obscene signs.

Saturday 300 persons, students and parents, picketed the police station because of police brutality used on the



students Friday.

Monday the students had a boycott and formed a picket line on the side of the school. The 500 protestors wanted the rest of the student body to join them for their just demands on

the school. Huntington Park High School students had a walkout to support the students at Roosevelt.

Students vowed that they would continue their struggle until their demands are met.

El tercer mundo

Community organizations honor Mexican American women

Outstanding women of the Mexican American community will be honored at a testimonial banquet on Wednesday, Jan. 27, at Sir Michael's Restaurant, Telegraph at Washington Blvd. Representatives of community organizations have formed the Mexican American's Women's Testimonial Committee to honor the women community leaders.

Dr. Ernesto Galarza, Mexican American educator will be the keynote speaker. Dr. Galarza's "Merchants of Labor", a study of the migrant laborer, received considerable comment when it was published a few years ago.

The women selected by the nominating committee to be honored will be Irene Toyar, women in educational services; Irene Portillo, women in general community service; Alicia Escalante, women in welfare service; Grace Montanez Davila, women in government; Ramona A. Banuelos, chairman of the board, Pan-American Bank, women in business; Beatrice Loya, youth scholarships and Beatrice Guerrero, para-professional women.

The Mexican American Women's Testimonial Committee is composed of the following: Rev. Antonio Hernandez, Executive Director, Mexican

American Community Programs Foundation; Richard Tafoya, Executive Director, United Community Efforts, Y.T.E.P.; Ben V. Rocha, President of the Board, Mexican American Opportunity Foundation; Max A. Infante, Utilization Coordinator, Sesame Street; Richard Amador, Executive Director, Community and Human Resources Agency; Dionelo Morales, Executive Director, M.A. O.F.; Esteban Torres, Executive Director, the East Los Angeles Community Union; Rev. Mardoqueo Olivas, Executive Director, Plaza Community Center.

Persons wishing to attend the Banquet are urged to call Leo Garcia at (213) 268-1941 for more information. Admission will be by donation of \$10 per person.

Exhibit 42



SENATORIAL CANDIDATE-Julia Luna Mount for California State Senator, 27th District Mrs. Julia Luna Mount, Executive Sec. of the Barrio Defense Committee, decided to run for California State Senator because, "There has never been a woman elected to the California Senate, there is no spokesman for the barrios in the Senate, and we need someone informed and involved in the day to day problems of the poor and the working people to argue our needs. There is no excuse for lawless violence and oppression by racists and thugs in or out of uniform." Julia Luna Mount has been married 27 years, has four children ages 25, 20, 15, 13, and two grandchildren. Mrs. Mount is on the Advisory Councils of Project Maestro, Cal State L.A., a program to train barrio students to be teachers; the Neighborhood Adult Participation Project, a community service agency; Roosevelt High School; and Hollenbeck Junior High School.

Exhibit 43



BEGINNING FAST-Pictured at a press conference July 20, the first day of their fast, four ELA residents explain reasons behind their action. Left to right are Maria Elena Galitan, Danny Montoya, Rosalinda Palacios and Javier Galan. Their fast is an attempt to speed negotiations between California lettuce growers and Cesar Chavez's United Farmworkers. The four are enduring the 24th day of their fast. The first 12 days consisted of nothing but water, the last 12 days have consisted of juices. A major reason they are engaged in the fast is the refusal of Heublein Liquor Products (Italian Swiss Colony Wine and Smirnoff Vodka) to recognize the United Farm Workers Organization Committee as the bargaining agent for farmworkers. The boycott of Heublein products is presently aimed at Mayfair Markets, Danny Montoya said.

-Photo by Carol Infranca

Exhibit 44



MEMORIAL—Las Madres por la Paz, draped in mourning black, marched in a line bearing picture portraits of Ruben Salazar, L.A. newsman who was accidentally slain two years ago in a riot. The march, sponsored by the Las Madres, gathered at Decan

Park and proceeded to Salazar Park, where the 1970 in-march ended and the violence began. The march was also in memory of Lynn Ward and Angel Diaz, the two young men who besides Salazar, lost their lives in the 1970 violence. Despite some bottle throwing, the Sheriff's Department officially termed the march "very peaceful."



THE WALL THAT CRACKED OPEN
1972
Willie Herrón
4125 City Terrace, rear, East Los Angeles
25' x 16'

Exhibit 46



BLACK AND WHITE MORATORIUM MURAL

1973

Willie Herrón and Gronk

Estrada Courts Housing Project, East Los Angeles

approx. 20' x 30'

1970 to 1975 period, most were painted under the sponsorship of several important organizations and agencies: Mechicano Art Center, the Goetz Gallery, the Cultural Arts Section of the Department of Recreation and Parks (1971) — which in 1973 established the Inner City Murals Project (both multiethnic) — the City Council-funded Citywide Mural Project established by Judith Baca in 1974, and, finally, Baca's non-profit Social and Public Art Resource Center (SPARC) set up in 1976. In addition, there were individual muralists and small groups who worked within and without these structures, raising money (or working without pay), in various ways.

The most notable individual is Charles "Gato" Félix who, though associated with Goetz Gallery, single-handedly organized painters (including himself) to create murals with the community throughout the 1970s (beginning in 1973) at the City Housing Authority's project, Estrada Courts. Félix had as an example the murals painted earlier at the Costello Recreation Center by Las Vistas Nuevas, directed by Judith Baca. His financing was of the most meagre (or non-existent) variety. Murals at Estrada were done with or without teams, by professionals, and

Honor Mrs. Dorina Gerrado as "Volunteer of the Month"

Mrs. Dorina Gerrado, Fresno Recreation Center Volunteer, was named "Volunteer of the Month" by the East Area Executive Committee for the Dept. of Recreation and Parks.

Mother of three children ranging in age 11 to 15 years, Mrs. Gerrado was selected for the month of December. She has lived within the community for 16 years and has been a volunteer for three years.

Mrs. Gerrado started volunteering at the center on a volunteer basis on what was not enough to attend preschool. Help was needed, so she was there and willing to lend a hand. She assisted in the cooking, supervising transportation and even played Santa Claus for the kids. Park activities were slow at one time, but things are picking up now, the community is getting involved

with the program. There are more activities now for the kids and for the grown-ups too, cooking classes, sewing classes, table tennis and dramatics.

During the summer, Mrs. Gerrado was the local director in charge of Federal projects. She picked them up and passed them out. She also served as the community liaison for the projects and made sure the money was spread over.

Her greatest contribution to the center was the help of Mr. Jerry, the director of the play group who declared, "She is a gem. That's your volunteer of the month without a question. We need more volunteers like Dorina at our center. Thank you Mrs. Gerrado for a job well done. You are a credit to your community." (Signed) Kelley



ally and march end at courthouse where case is appealed

By Eddie Pardo

Approximately 200 people attended a rally and march Monday in support of "Los Tres del Barrio," the three Los Angeles Casa de Carnalismo members who were convicted last year of conspiracy to assault and rob a federal narcotics officer.

Those attending the rally heard speakers Jorge Rodriguez, Rudy Quinones, Mike McCarthy, Pedro Rodriguez, and Cornelia Raul Ruiz and Corky Gonzalez speak of the importance and political nature of the case of Los Tres. Rodriguez spoke of the international scope of the drug business and of the world-wide complicity between various officials and agencies that make the market work. The group then marched to the Federal Court House building where spokesmen demanded that the group be let in to hear the arguments of attorneys for Los Tres before the District Court of Appeals. As a compromise 10 representatives from the group were allowed in.

Present at the appeal itself was Robert Canales, the agent who was shot and remains paralyzed as a result of the incident. Accompanied by what appeared to be five other men, Canales was wheeled in to view the proceedings. He is obviously here to play on the sympathies of the public, said a member of the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF).

During the proceedings, Canales was asked by a newsman if he was present at the appeal. Canales vaguely shook his head as one of the accompanying agents said there would be no comment.

During the proceedings, Judge Shirley Hefstedler questioned government attorney Earl Boyd vigorously about allegations made by the prosecution during the original trial that were not in evidence. Specifically, Hefstedler asked about constant references made by the prosecution to defendants Ortiz, Sanchez,



FREE "LOS TRES"—Over 200 demonstrators marched in front of Federal Court House Monday in support of Rodriguez, Sanchez, Juan Fernandez and Alberto Ortiz as appeal was being argued inside by attorneys for "Los Tres." (Additional pictures on "Times" page.) —Photo by Tally Yee

WELFARE RIGHTS:

Alicia Escalante

By Eddle Pardo

Photos by Tally Yee

All the individuals now working in the Chicano community there is probably no one who evokes stronger reactions, either pro or con, than the controversial head of the Welfare Rights Organization, Alicia Escalante. Her experiences have run the spectrum from recently being honored in New York by Ms. Magazine to being booed in the ankles by an angry woman. She has seen and compared hunger and poverty in Southeast Asia to hunger and poverty here, particularly in her native Texas. Few people have neutral feelings toward her.

"I am fully aware of the positive and negative feelings toward me," she says. "The people that relate to the work that I'm doing are probably the ones that have positive feelings toward me. The people that probably have the

negative feelings toward me are those who perhaps feel threatened by either me as an individual or by the organization. A lot of people may feel threatened because they know that if I feel an injustice has been done I'm going to go all the way to give whatever assistance is needed in that situation."

Despite the controversy that she and her family live with, Alicia Escalante says that she remains dedicated to working in the welfare movement. She admits, however, that there was a period shortly after she was released from serving time in jail as a result of the '69 St. Basil's demonstration when she considered abandoning the welfare rights movement in favor of a job out of the spotlight.

"I think that the thing that hurts the most to a mother is to be separated

*"I consider the organization
a part of my living..."*

from her children. So at the time of my release from jail I went through a period of doubt and confusion. I came out of jail feeling that maybe it was time to look elsewhere. In other words, just mind my own business and take care of my family. But I soon realized that within my own activities I had become socially unemployable... I realized that I still had to fight the landlord, I still had to fight the welfare department, I still had to fight to survive. So here you have me back again with the same deep feelings that helped me to found the organization. I now consider the organization a part of my daily living."

As she herself hints at, it appears that her experiences, particularly the time spent in jail and immediately after, may have caused her to change her style of organizing. There are some

who say she has "toned down" considerably since the early days of the Chicano movement, almost to the point where her public image seems low-keyed.

"My style may have toned down if that's what you want to call it, but as far as strength is concerned, I'm still the same person. I have just become more disciplined. In Spanish we say, 'No es miedo, es precaucion.' I have come to realize that by them putting me in jail - which they would be more than willing to do - is not going to do the organization any good, it's not going to do the Chicanos that we help any good, and it's not going to do me any good."

Alicia Escalante's dedication to the welfare cause began, she says, as a child. Raised in the area of Texas
(Continued on page 2)



*"There was a time when I just wanted
to mind my own business..."*

Kovner Publications: Eastside Sun, Weyburnwood Chronicle, Los Angeles Sun, Mexican-American Sun, Brooklyn Belvedere Comet, City Terrace Comet
SEMI-WEEKLY

Exhibit 50

EASTSIDE SUN

God must have loved the common people: he made so many of them.

ABE LINCOLN

Thursday, February 15, 1973

319 N. Soto St., Los Angeles, Calif.

Published Every
Thursday & Sunday

263-3254 263-110

Perseverance

Mother of 13 children graduates at skill center

By Ernie J. Ayala

It was the end of another week at the East Los Angeles Skill Center. Trainees were finishing up their work and eagerly awaiting a weekend of fun and relaxation. In room 104 a small celebration party for a lady who just completed nine months of multi-clerical training was just getting started.

It might have been anyone of the trainees enrolled at this Membership Program with her husband in the U.S. Army.

the East Los Angeles Skill Center, it was impossible to see Mrs. Della Ayala take care of thirteen children for 13 years, employed, dressed, and sent them to school and then get to school in time. Maybe this fact remained Mrs. Ayala's secret.

The fact remained Mrs. Ayala's secret. Della Ayala, 35, a widow, had the skill center in her mind for several months ago. Mrs. Ayala's husband had been in the military for several years and she had to support the family on her own. She had three children and she was the mother of thirteen children.

The Skill Center has been a women who had been in the military before and she had been in the military for several years. She had been in the military for several years and she had been in the military for several years.



MRS. DELLA AYALA



New euclid school advisory council officers

Euclid Avenue Elementary School Advisory Council elected and seated it's new officers last week. Pictured above standing left to right are: Maria Elena Arredondo, Representative to Committee "A"; Mary Montes, Secretary; Esperanza Contreras, Chairwoman; Albert Saenz, Out-going Chairman; Daniel Miranda, Vice-Chairman. Seated are: Irma Rojas, alternate to Committee "A"; and Martha Morgan, outgoing Secretary.



Exhibit 53

Propose Women's Savings & Loan Ass'n.

Mrs. Gilda Bojorquez, Gjurich, right tells of plans for an all women's savings and loan association. Looking on approvingly are Consulting Economist, Ben Fernandez and Mrs. Kathryn Hensel. Permission was asked of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board for charter. If granted plans call for financial firm to locate in East L.A.

(L.A. Times Photo)

Propose Women's Savings, Loan Ass'n. in East L.A.!

Formation of California's first all women's Federal savings and loan association was announced here last week, Thursday, June 28, by 11 prominent Southern California businesswomen, mostly Eastsiders.

The firm will be known as "California Women's Federal Savings and Loan Association." Plans call for the institution to be located in the East Los Angeles area. The announcement was made at a press conference at the greater Los Angeles Press Club.

It is expected to take about six months for the Federal Home Loan Bank Board to render a decision upon the application. If approved, the savings and loan association could be in operation within the following six months.

of the nation's largest driver training school to a housewife-civic leader.

The entire Board of Directors, and most employees of the new financial institution, will all be women.

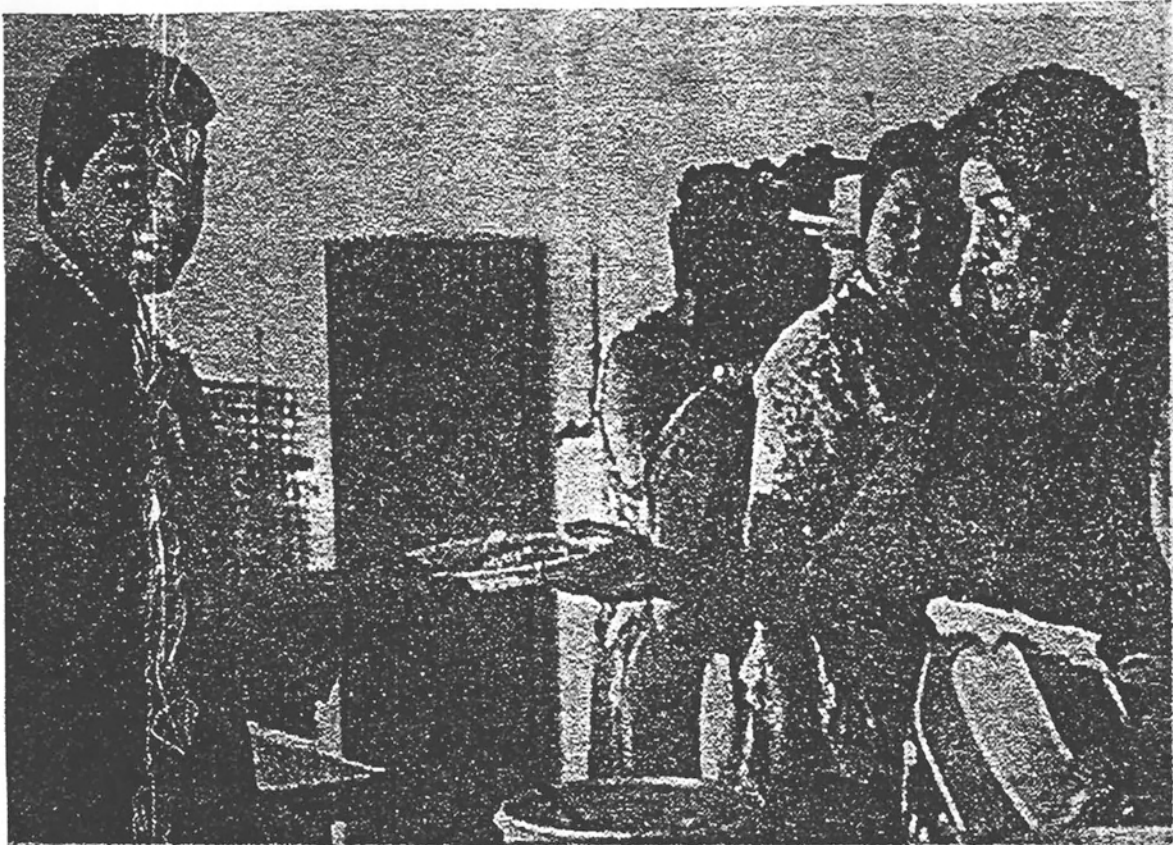
To file for permission to

(Continued on Page 10)



Mural dedication

Members of the Lil Valley and other neighborhood gangs dedicated a mural to the deaths of five friends, most of whom were casualties of barrio wars. The mural was dedicated to the mothers of the five dead youths, according to spokeswoman Maria Amparan. The Lil Valley Youth and Parents Association encouraged the youths to paint the mural as part of a neighborhood beautification project. The mural is located on the corner of Bonnie Beach Place and Randolph St.



Scholarship luncheon

The Cleland House of Neighborly Service Mothers' Club have inaugurated a monthly series of Mexican-style luncheons to raise scholarship funds for the local area. The club hosted the first fund-raising luncheon Wednesday at the Cleland House complex, 4360 E. Dozier St. Attending the affair in support of the benefit were many community leaders, workers and residents, including Robert Savedra (pictured), Cleland House board chairman. Serving is Mothers Club member Carmen Banuelos.



TELACU'S Businessman, woman of the Month

Maggie Aparicio and Esteban Torres, TELACU officials congratulate Vivian Flores, center, of Vivian's Restaurant on being cited as "Business woman of the Month."

TELACU Business consultant Ray Rodarte greets Robert Martinez of Germane Litho on being named "Business man of the Month."

TELACU

Top business leaders of month named

The Business Development and Assistance Division of the East Los Angeles Community Union has Named Robert Martinez and Vivian Flores businessman and businesswoman for the month of September.

The TELACU Business Division provides managerial and technical assistance to local businesses in keeping with its objective of increasing and strengthening minority owned businesses in the East Los Angeles area. Each month it chooses one of the businesses it has assisted as exemplary to the community in business development and names the person responsible for the business success as the business man or woman of the month.

Vivian Flores is first woman to receive honor

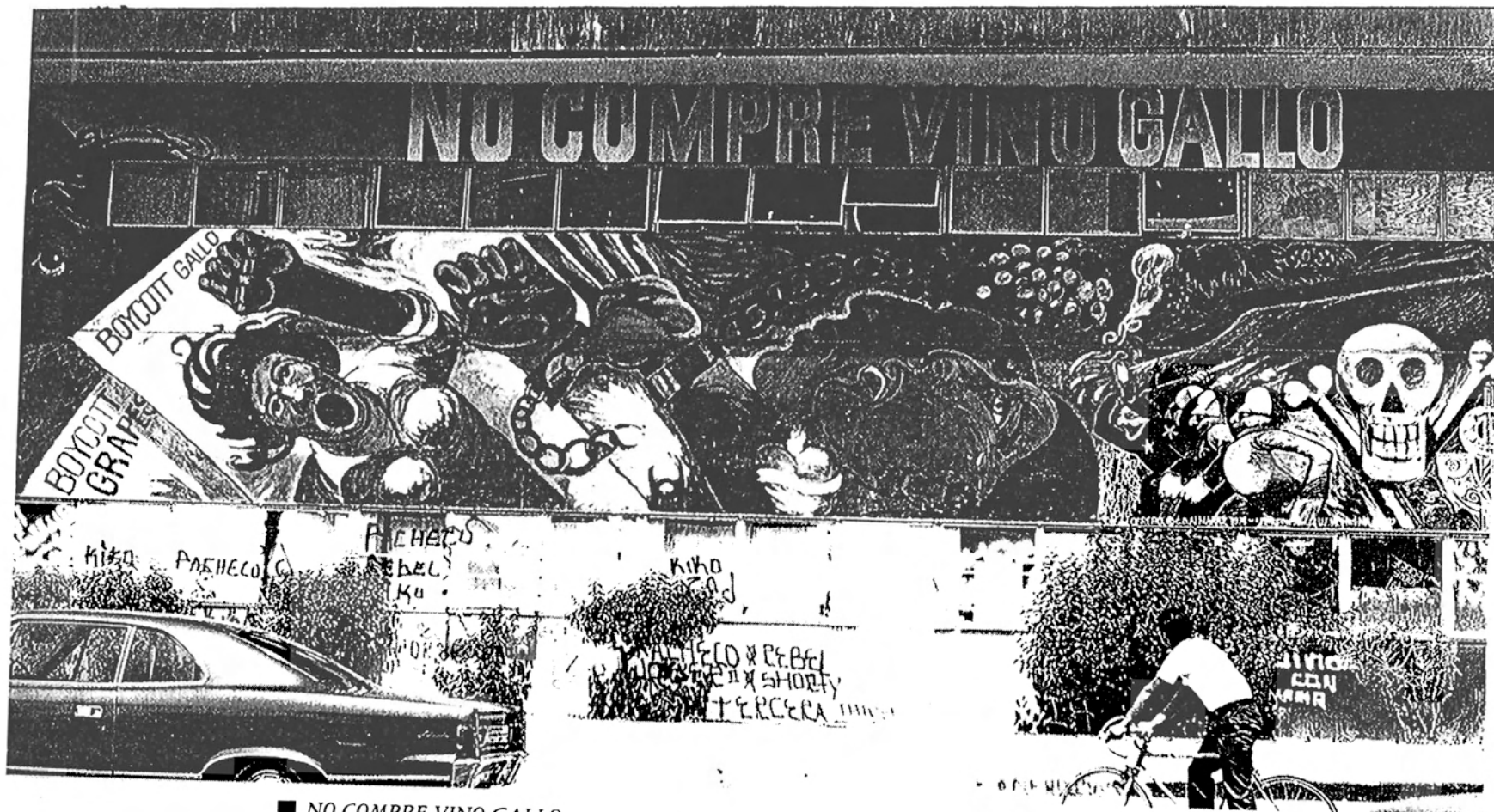
Ms. Vivian Flores is the first woman to receive the TELACU honor. Previous recipients include George Pantages, owner of El Rey Furniture on Whittier Boulevard in East Los Angeles, Manuel Parra, owner of Parra Bakery, Huntington Park, and Ernest C. Aragon, owner of a motorcycle accessories shop and manufacturer of motorcycle trailers.

Ms. Flores, like the earlier recipients, has boosted her community by strengthening its economic base. As the owner of a restaurant,

she moved to California as a teenager. She has worked in restaurants since she was 16 when she took a job as a waitress in order to contribute her share to the support of her large family.

Later, as the divorced mother of two young children, she kept her family strong and stable by working in Mexican restaurants all over the Los Angeles area, and by showing her own children the love she herself had received as a child. Today Vivian is the busy owner of a restaurant, and with her children grown, she contributes considerable time and energy to church and community activities.

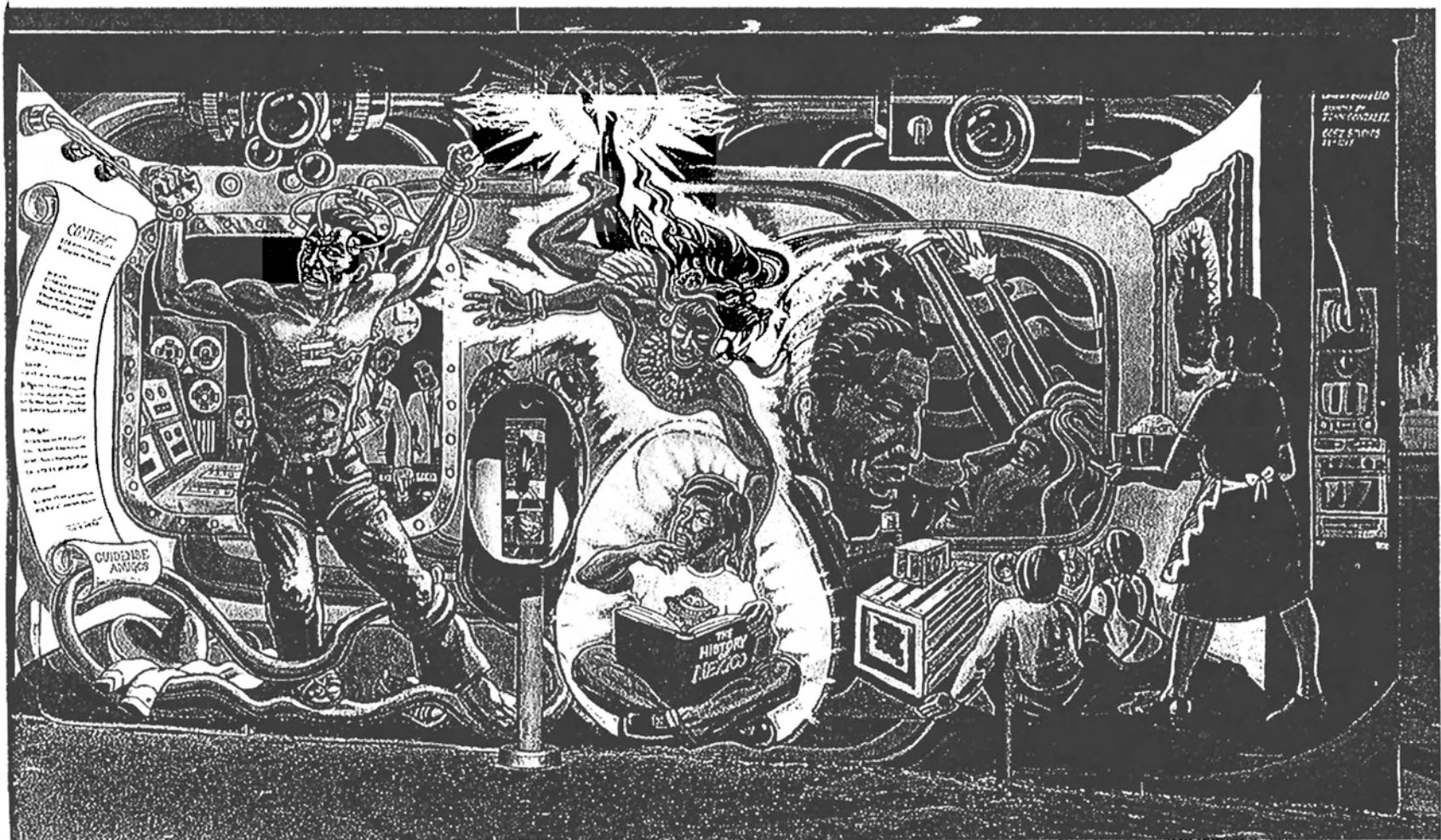
What makes Ms. Flores run



NO COMPRE VINO GALLO

1974

Carlos Almaraz with young people from the 3rd St. gang
213 South Soto St. formerly All Nations Center, East Los Angeles
8' x 30'



READ BETWEEN THE LINES

1975

David Rivas Botello

Ford and Olympic Blvds., East Los Angeles

10' x 20'



State Assemblywoman Gloria Molina's victory celebration, June 1982. Molina (top row, 6th from left) is the first Latina to be elected to the California state legislature. A founder and past president of *Comisión Feminil Mexicana*, she has held a number of significant political offices and is a long-time political activist.

(Courtesy of Rosemary Quesada-Weimer)

in all of Los Angeles. Today, there are at least a dozen spread throughout the city and several more are open for business in the county. This industry boom is partly due to the influx of well-educated Latin Americans exiled from Chile, Argentina, and El Salvador. But these customers do not constitute the bulk of Spanish-language book buyers. A substantial share of recent Mexican immigrants are more educated than their 1940s and 1950s counterparts.

The popularity of Spanish-language movie theatres also serves to indicate that the local Latin population is growing and dispersing at an astonishing rate. There are three times as many such theatres in Los Angeles today as there were just 20 years ago. Their presence is especially interesting in the West Los Angeles area. In 1960 there was only one Spanish-language theatre, and in 1980, four such theatres, three of them in the affluent city of Santa Monica.

Mainstream recreational establishments like Disneyland, Magic Mountain, and Knotts Berry Farm have glimpsed an enormous potential market within the community. Each of them makes direct marketing appeals to Mexicans in Los Angeles. As recently as 1960, Disneyland was geared exclusively toward the white, Anglo-Saxon family. Today, it joins other amusement parks in advertising *Fiestas* and *Dias Mexicanos* in local Spanish-language media. And if continually refined advertising campaigns are any measure of a profitable program, then their efforts would appear to be paying off.

Indeed, newspaper and television marketing would seem to have discovered the "Hispanic market." Because immigration and high birth rates translate into big profits for companies and advertising firms, major establishments throughout southern California court the community. It is interesting to note that the content of Spanish-language advertisements differs very little from its



East Los Angeles

Reagan Elected, the Right Takes Power

Con la elección de Reagan, fuerzas derechistas desmantelaron programas de beneficio sociales, y los avances ganados en los '60. La recesión también nos pegó duro. El derecho usó su poder para hacer a los ricos más ricos, mientras que a los pobres más pobres. Ellos controlaron las instituciones como las cortes para garantizar el reino de la avaricia. Por 1984, el 42% de todos los niños latinos y 25% de nuestras familias vivían en pobreza.

With the election of President Ronald Reagan, rightwing forces accelerated the rollback of gains won in the 60s and social programs. The recession also hit us hard. The right used its power to make the rich get richer while the poor got poorer. They took over institutions like the courts to guarantee the Rule of Greed. By 1984, 42% of all Latino children and one-fourth of our families lived below the poverty level. ¡Sal si puedes!

Tucson

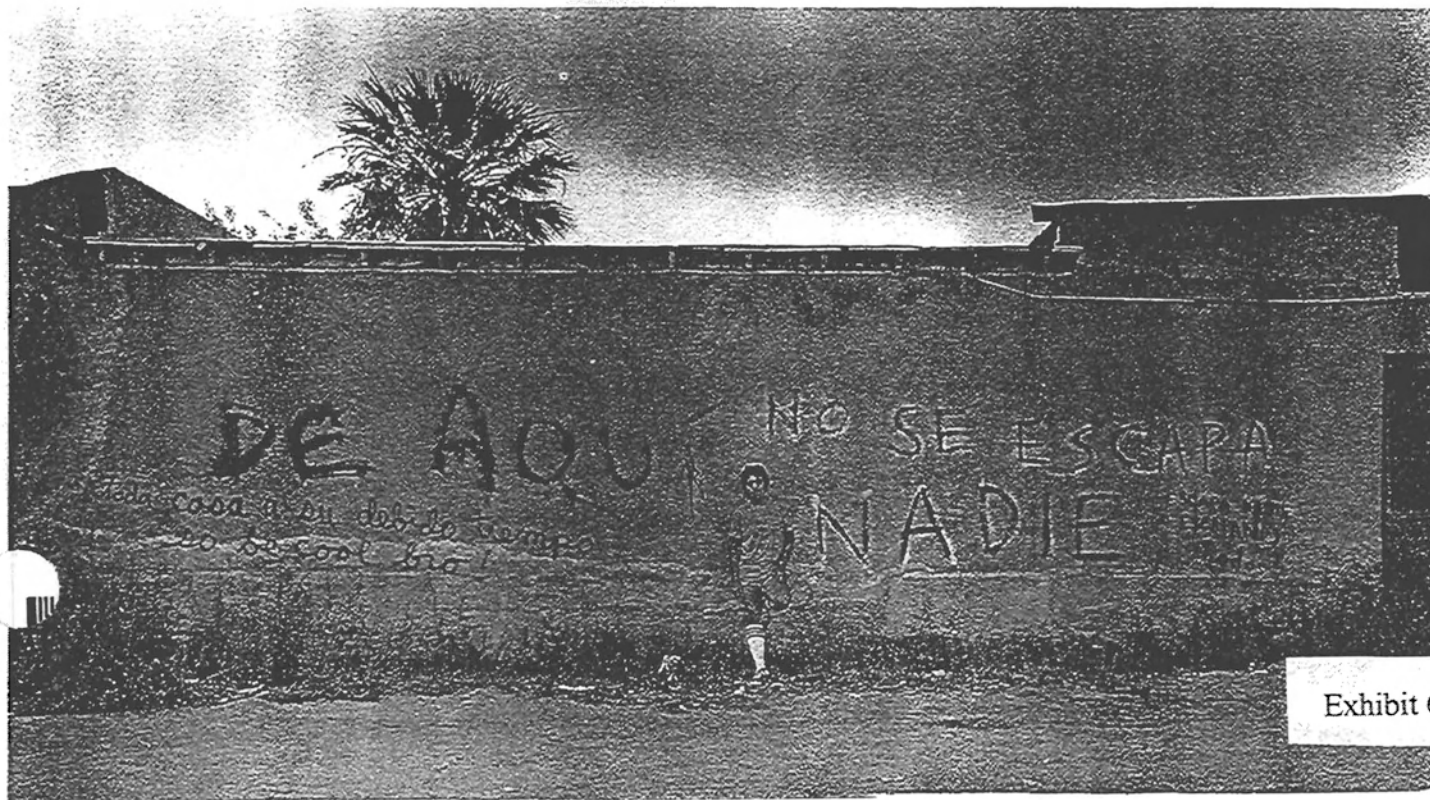


Exhibit 60

Community center opens door

5-7-86

After nine years of service, Plaza Community Center held an open house for its Plaza Family Support Center and honored major contributors to the development of the center.

Community leaders and residents were given tours of the facility and enjoyed a bountiful food spread, as well as received information about the center's offerings.

Among the honorees was Supervisor Ed Edelman, commended for taking a strong leadership role in assessing the problems of child abuse and neglect and in the development of legislation to establish the LA County Children's Service Dept. and a commission to oversee its activities and development.

Councilman Richard Alatorre, was honored for being in the forefront of youth and children issues during his 12 years in the State Assembly and for demonstrating that his commitment to this population will continue with his work in city hall.

Enrique Tovera was honored for volunteering his expertise and that of his workers to reconstruct and remodel the building.

James T. Nokooka of J.T. Nokooka Asso. Architects, also received a plaque for contributing an architectural drawing for FSC.

John Q. Adams a representative of the Los Angeles Missionary Society accepted an award for the society which contributed the use of the Plaza Family Support Center's building.

Please see PLAZA, Page 2



Enrique Tovera

Supervisor Ed Edelman, right, presents a scroll to Plaza Community Center representatives Manuel Jimenez and Director Geraldine Zapata for the center's work in assisting abused children and counseling families to strengthen the Latino community. The scroll was presented during the center's Open House.

Environmental Racism

Exhibit 62

Minority communities and their battle against toxics

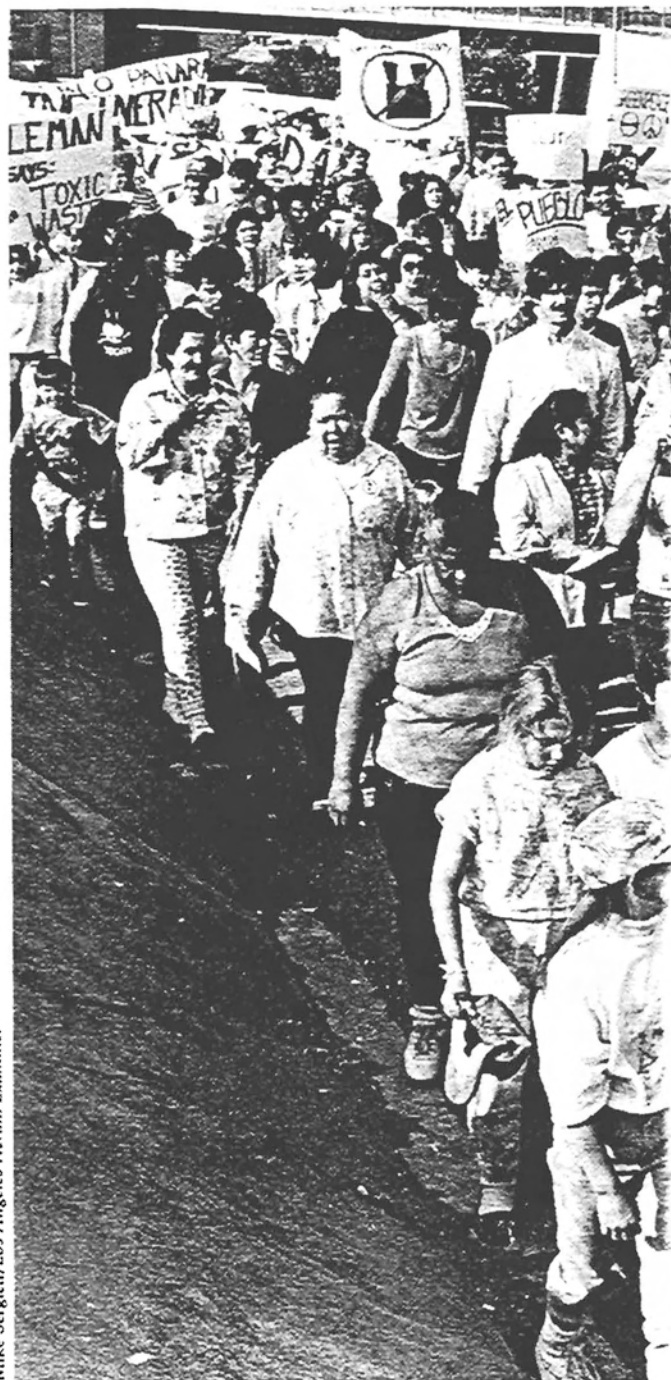
Dick Russell

By noon last November 12, almost a thousand people had gathered outside the Resurrection Parish Church in an impoverished, largely Hispanic section of East Los Angeles. Many had traveled vast distances across California. Fifty residents of Casmalia, representing about a third of the town, had driven several hundred miles in caravan. Dozens more had journeyed from Richmond and Martinez and Kettleman City and El Centro, where people are convinced that chemical companies—and particularly toxic landfills and incinerators—are contaminating their air and water.

Chanting "El pueblo parará el incinerador" (the people will stop the incinerator), they marched a mile and a half to the gates of a proposed hazardous-waste incinerator in the small city of Vernon. If constructed, the \$29-million project would be the first of its kind ever permitted in a metropolitan area, burning 125,000 pounds a day of toxic wastes from thousands of industries, only three and a half miles from downtown Los Angeles.

As police cordoned off traffic along busy Bandini Boulevard, Aurora Castillo addressed the crowd. A soft-spoken woman in her early sixties, she represents five living generations of a family that has been here "since before the first anglo set foot on California soil." And she is a leader of a citizens' group, Mothers of East Los Angeles (MELA), founded four years ago by a handful of community women and now numbering 400. She had been on the telephone for weeks helping to organize the protest, and now, while another activist repeated her remarks in Spanish, Castillo's voice rose to a crescendo. "They thought the people were a sleeping giant," she cried. "Well, we're not

Dick Russell wrote "L.A. Air" in the Summer 1988 issue.



Mike Sergieff/Los Angeles Herald Examiner

sleeping anymore!" "Pueblo que lucha, triunfa!" came the response from many in the crowd. (People who struggle, win.)

Lucille Roybal-Allard followed Castillo. In May 1987, with backing from MELA, she had been elected the district's state assemblywoman. "They think that if they pick a poor community, they won't have any resistance," she said. "We are here to prove that they are wrong."

Grass-roots minority groups like MELA are battling pollution not only in California, but across the country. They are emerging from neighborhood living rooms, voting minority representatives into local office, and reaching out to the established environmental organizations. In perhaps the most notable success story, such a coalition, forged by the Concerned Citizens of South-Central Los Angeles

East Los Angeles protest march.





Robert Hanashiro/Visalia (Calif.) Times Delta

The Reverend Juan Martinez, at an August 1988 protest in Kettleman City, against a proposed Chemical Waste Management incinerator.

(CCSCLA), succeeded in scrapping plans to build a huge garbage incinerator in a predominantly black, inner-city neighborhood. Today blacks from CCSCLA are joining forces with the Hispanic members of MELA, who in turn are forming a coalition with Chinese residents of nearby Lincoln Heights.

"We communicate by phone, from the pulpit, with flyers, through the mail," says Castillo. "We were compelled to unite, because the future quality of life for our children is being threatened. And we've been fighting every which way."

Throughout the urban and rural United States, environmental conditions for minorities pose grave public-health problems. As documented in a 1986 report, "Toxics and Minority Communities," by the Center for Third World Organizing (located in Oakland, California), 2 million tons of radioactive uranium tailings have been dumped on Native American lands; reproductive organ cancer among Navajo teenagers is seventeen times the

national average. The federal Centers for Disease Control, in Atlanta, Georgia, has determined that lead poisoning endangers the health of nearly 8 million inner-city, largely black and Hispanic children. Countless more live with crumbling asbestos in housing projects and schools.

Until recently, the voices of low-income minorities have been muted at best. Their membership in the national environmental organizations is small. At the federal level, Hispanic employees hold only about 1 percent of the substantive policy-making positions at the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). Under Reagan, none of them was involved in decisions related to farm-worker protection, despite estimates of more than 300,000 pesticide-related illnesses per year among predominantly Hispanic laborers.

It was the proliferation of toxic waste that began to shed light on, and create a backlash against this long-standing national disgrace. The roots of the recent upsurge of minority environmental activism can be traced to Warren County, North Carolina, where in 1982, the state decided to put a PCB disposal site with \$2.5 million in federal Superfund money. The EPA modified the permit to locate the site only fifteen feet above the water table, not the fifty feet generally required for PCBs. The area's 16,000 residents—60 percent black, 4 percent Native American—felt that the decision was racially motivated. They organized a series of marches and protests involving a cross-section of religious leaders, farmers, educators, and citizens of all races, though their opposition resulted in over 500 arrests.

Although the Warren County residents lost the battle, the alarm was sounded for other communities. Not long after, the U.S. General Accounting Office reported on racial and socioeconomic characteristics of communities surrounding hazardous-waste landfills in the Southeast. It found that three out of four were predominantly black and poor.

In April 1987, the United Church of Christ's Commission on Racial Justice (CRJ) followed with "Toxic Wastes and Race in the United States." This study found that more than 15 million of the nation's 26 million blacks, and over 8 million of the 15 million Hispanics, live in communities with one or more uncontrolled toxic-waste sites. The nation's largest hazardous-waste landfill, receiving toxics from forty-five states, is in Emelle, Alabama, which

is 78.9 percent black [see *AMICUS*, Summer '85]. Probably the greatest concentration of hazardous-waste sites in the United States is on the predominantly black and Hispanic South Side of Chicago. In Houston, six of eight municipal incinerators, and all five city landfills are located in predominantly black neighborhoods. In many cases, areas agreeing to host such facilities were promised jobs and contracts to minority-owned firms. "Racism is more than just a personal attitude; it is the institutionalized form of that attitude," stated the report. "Racism is racial prejudice plus power."

"Environmental racism" was documented most recently in February, when Citizens for a Better Environment (CBE) released a report on the Richmond, California, area, located sixteen miles across the bay from San Francisco. Although it is home to about 100,000 people,

**The United Church of Christ's
Commission on Racial Justice
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there are more than 350 industrial facilities that handle hazardous chemicals; 210 toxics are routinely emitted into the air, water, and solid waste, or are present at industrial storage sites. Half of Richmond's neighborhoods are black. "All of the lower income, minority neighborhoods [including many Hispanics] are in the western and southern parts of Richmond where the highest concentration of petrochemical facilities are also located," said CBE.

"The unwritten law governing corporate decision making about toxics seems to have been, 'Do what you can get away with,'" says Charles Lee, director of research for the CRJ report. "It means that those communities which are poorer, less informed, less organized, and less politically influential become more likely targets for abuse from polluters." Adds environmental scientist Barry Commoner, who served as an advisor to Jesse Jackson in the last elec-



AP/Wide World Photos

Barry Commoner, director of the Center for Biology of Natural Systems, Queens College.

tion: "There is a functional link between racism, poverty and powerlessness, and the chemical industry's assault on the environment."

Nowhere was this more clearly illustrated than in a 1984 report prepared for the California Waste Management Board (CWMB) by the Cerrell Associates consulting firm. In 1983, the city's Bureau of Sanitation proposed the Los Angeles City Energy Recovery Project (LANCER), a network of three 1,600-ton-per-day garbage incinerators. With available landfill space running out, and opposition from the upper-middle-class West Side having already resulted in the shutdown of one landfill in the Santa Monica Mountains, Mayor Tom Bradley went along with the notion of burning city trash in huge furnaces to generate electricity for 40,000 homes.

The Cerrell report (uncovered by a LANCER foe in 1987) carefully delineated the demographics of where opposition to such projects was likely to come from (liberal, college-educated, young or middle-aged, middle- and high-income groups in large urban areas)—and where it was not. "Communities that con-

form to some kind of economic need criteria should be given high priority." Ideally, said the report, officials and companies should look for "lower socioeconomic neighborhoods" that were also in "a heavy industrial area with little, if any, commercial activity." Then they should set about "targeting" likely opponents "in a public participation program and public relations campaign."

Such tactics, the study added, had even worked successfully with environmentalists in Long Beach, where groups that had stopped an oil pipeline plan were included "as an integral part in the earliest planning stages" of a waste-to-energy project. They ended up voting "overwhelming support for the Long Beach facility to be located near the proposed site of

**"There is a functional link
between racism, poverty and
powerlessness, and the
chemical industry's assault on
the environment."**

—Barry Commoner

the defeated pipeline." The implication was that if the higher-educated could be wheedled on board in Long Beach, the poor of South-Central Los Angeles should be a piece of cake. LANCER 1, quietly approved around the time of the Cerrell report, was reserved for a declining area bordered by over 3,000 homes and several schools: young, poor, not fluent in English, with the highest unemployment rate in the city.

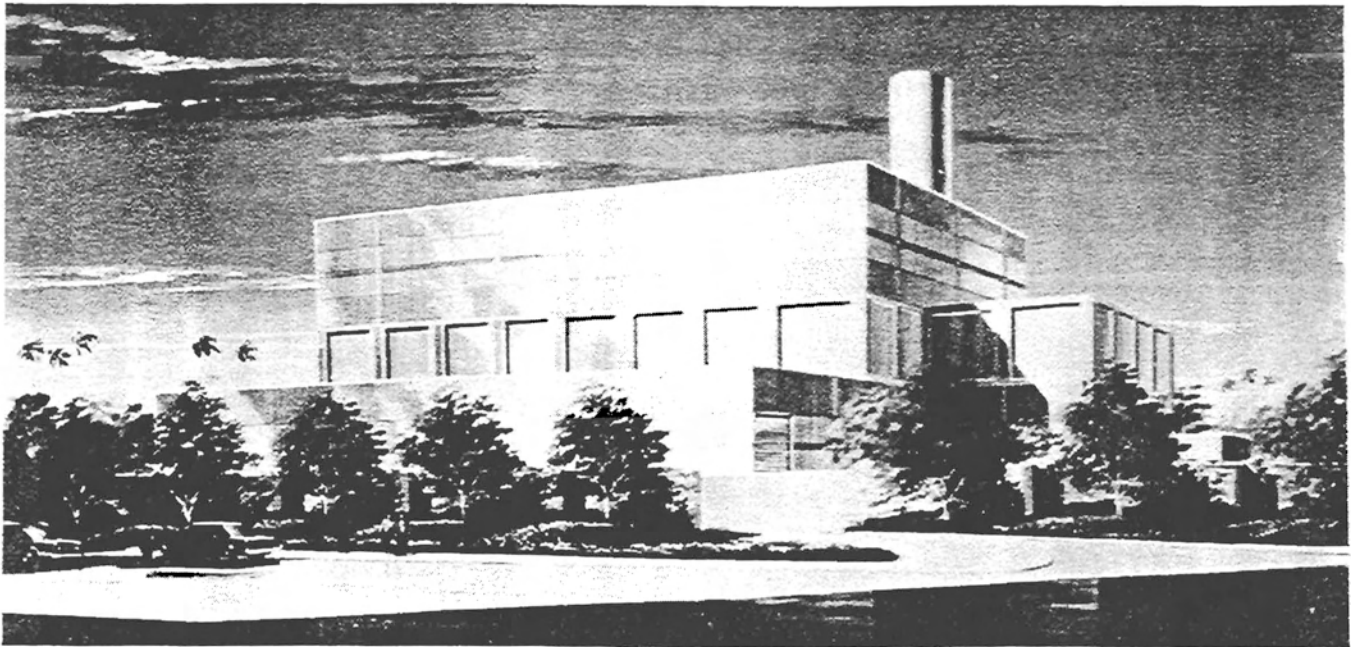
The Bureau of Sanitation approached Gilbert Lindsay, a black city councilman and old-style ward politician in his eighties who represented the neighborhood surrounding the proposed plant. He was ecstatic about a \$10-million "Community Betterment Fund" promised to finance improvements in a local community center (to be named after his wife) and other projects. As chairman of the City Council's Public Works Committee, Lindsay opined, "It was only fair to put the first project in my own backyard." Noting that the Ogden-Martin Corporation would provide local jobs and stipends each year, and that other financial backing would make the neighborhood "more like

the Garden of Eden rather than the garbage dump it is now," Lindsay added: "My philosophy is let the rich take care of the poor."

"Taking care of the poor" had other implications unmentioned by Lindsay, Bradley, and others. Under the terms of the LANCER contract, proposed dioxin emissions from the incinerator were 170 times greater than permitted in Sweden, which had pioneered the high-tech systems before shutting them down in 1984, when a government study found high levels of dioxin in fish and mothers' milk near four such facilities. Nor did the contract address emissions of heavy metals or vinyl chloride at the thirteen-acre site. Or the matter of concentrated fly ash from LANCER's air pollution-control system, which would need to be landfilled, probably at already contaminated, overburdened sites in Casmalia or Kettleman City. According to EPA estimates, 224 diesel trucks operating seven days a week would be carting trash to the LANCER site, vastly adding to smog problems in the South Coast Air Basin, already the worst nonattainment area in the country under the Clean Air Act.

Late in 1985, when the City Council had already certified an environmental impact report (EIR), it formed a steering committee to hold workshops and finally inform the South-Central community about the project. It was the first time most residents had even heard of it. A neighborhood group of about ten or fifteen "concerned citizens" met at the local library to find out more. Robin Cannon came back from their first meeting with a copy of the EIR and a message for her sister Sheila: "They're trying to kill us." The EIR documented that people living within a ten-mile radius of such plants had fallen victim to tumors and skin disease, among other ailments. Soon copies were being distributed to the CCCLA core group, with each individual assigned to study a different section.

Sheila Cannon, now thirty-two and a single parent, had grown up "a street kid" five blocks from the LANCER project, in the modest home where her mother still resides. She herself lived only two blocks away from the LANCER site. Like many others in the neighborhood, two of her children and others in her immediate family were asthmatic. As she absorbed herself in the LANCER literature, she decided to go to war. "One thing we're taught in South-Central," she says, "is how to survive."



Artist's rendering of the defeated Los Angeles City Energy Recovery Project (LANCER).

CCSCLA met every Saturday for three consecutive years. It also mounted petition drives. Although Sheila Cannon worked part-time as a private-duty nurse, she spent most of her eighteen-hour days on the phone. "At first the city took us as a joke," she remembers. "They didn't believe that this small group of people could affect their multimillion-dollar programs. But if we knew Bradley was coming to the community to greet people, we had someone at every shopping center with pickets. There were buy-offs and threats. I'd have meetings at my home and by the next morning, downtown knew exactly who was in my house."

Cannon persisted. She learned the technical terminology for various chemicals and what parts of the body they affect. She worked to persuade skeptical residents who were convinced "you can't possibly beat City Hall, that anything is possible if you work together." Despite an aggravated heart murmur and a doctor's warning to slow down, she branched out into the broader Los Angeles community. She spoke to groups in Pacific Palisades, Westwood, Hacienda Heights, and elsewhere, warning them that South-Central was merely the "guinea pig" for a planned proliferation of many more LANCERs and that "hey, besides, downwind doesn't stop blowing."

CCSCLA soon forged coalitions with two "slow-growth" groups: the West Side's Not Yet New York; and the California Alliance in De-

fense of Residential Environments (CADRE), based mainly in the San Gabriel Valley where several incinerators were planned. Paul Connett, an expert on incineration hazards from upstate New York, was brought in to speak, and the UCLA School of Architecture and Urban Planning embarked on a study of LANCER.

As a 1987 deadline neared for final approval to break ground on the project, and as public outcry intensified, national environmental groups—often reluctant when Cannon first approached them—joined in the anti-LANCER fight. The allies included Greenpeace, CBE, National Health Law Program, Center for Law in the Public Interest, and the Institute for Local Self-Reliance. Fighting back, a public-relations firm hired by the city distributed leaflets at South-Central community meetings: "Don't let outsiders tell you what to think." A city real-estate officer paid visits to homes in LANCER's immediate vicinity, telling residents to "start looking for another place to live." Reverend Moses Smith, seventy-six, whose church was on land the city wanted, declared: "I ain't moving. God gave me this church and only He can take it away. Not the city. Not Lindsay. Nobody."

Adding insult to injury, CCSCLA made public the fact that the city would have to waive its South Africa divestiture ordinance to begin building the site. The Ogden-Martin firm had ended commercial ties with Pretoria in Novem-



Maria Roybal (l.) and Aurora Castillo of Mothers of East Los Angeles.

ber 1986, far short of the required twelve-month waiting period. In January 1987, a black member of the city's Environmental Quality Board resigned, protesting that the mayor's office was preventing the board from reviewing LANCER. That April, a University of California-Berkeley consultant, hired to assess health risks, concluded that these would be minimal—findings soon assailed by the Los Angeles County Medical Association and a UCLA panel.

Early in June 1987, the UCLA report came out. It concluded that the LANCER EIR and other key documents contained serious inconsistencies, including a questionable procedure used to obtain a "nonhazardous" classification for the incinerator ash. It also showed that the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power had agreed to purchase the electricity generated by the plant at terms amounting to a subsidy by the utility's ratepayers.

That night, an angry crowd disrupted a city meeting on LANCER at a neighborhood high school. Two consultants reading prepared answers to questions were shouted down and reluctantly gave the microphone to U.S. Representative Augustus Hawkins (D-California),

the first prominent black leader from South-Central Los Angeles to oppose LANCER.

The handwriting was on the wall. Also that June, the controversy contributed to the defeat of pro-LANCER City Council President Pat Russell, and the election of environmental advocate Ruth Galanter. A Bradley-supported candidate in another district also was ousted.

On June 15, the mayor received a letter from a local law firm. It noted that the Bureau of Sanitation had picked the South-Central site long before any EIR was conducted, and that the city had ignored a physician on its own peer review committee who had warned about cancer-causing agents in the incinerator. The area, the lawyers wrote, was "apparently chosen on the erroneous assumption that the residents either were insufficiently sophisticated to recognize and understand the magnitude of the environmental and health risks associated . . . or were insufficiently 'politically' powerful to successfully resist the siting."

Two days later, the mayor called a press conference. Councilman Lindsay stood at his side. New information indicated, said Bradley, that the LANCER incinerator would create "a significant health risk." After a commitment

of five years and \$12 million, he was asking the City Council to kill the project. The sudden decision surprised not only the victorious CCSCLA, but the Bureau of Sanitation. At the next City Council meeting, what had been billed as "the 21st Century's solid waste management solution" was dead.

What CCSCLA had been calling for instead was recycling. Laura Lake, a professor and activist at the UCLA School of Public Health, had urged development of a city policy mandating trash sorting by households and businesses, composting of lawn and tree trimmings, a bottle and can deposit fee, and a ban on excess packaging. Much of this is precisely what is now being planned by the Sanitation

The mayor's office has declared that the city will match Japan's 50 percent recycling record; 25,000 homes already are participating in curbside recycling, and the Sanitation Bureau hopes to expand this to 90,000 of the city's 700,000 homes by mid-summer.

Bureau's Solid Waste Task Force, which was created in the LANCER aftermath. The mayor's office has declared that the city will match Japan's 50 percent recycling record; 25,000 homes already are participating in curbside recycling, and the Sanitation Bureau hopes to expand this to 90,000 of the city's 700,000 homes by mid-summer. (Efforts to prod the commercial sector, producers of at least one-third of the city's solid waste, have so far been stymied.) "The city is coming together to solve problems across racial and economic lines," says Lake, now running for City Council herself.

Of eleven mass-burn garbage plants once planned for southern California (and thirty-four statewide), only one is currently in operation. That one, in Commerce, has been burning since February 1987—although the South Coast Air Quality Management District (AQMD) denied a permit to operate late last year to the Commerce-to-Energy Author-

ity, for its failure to submit a health-risk assessment or have a certified emission monitoring system. Meanwhile, CCSCLA has branched out to help community groups stop three incinerators on the drawing boards in Hacienda Heights, Irwin, and Rialto.

While the movement in South-Central Los Angeles changed the course on garbage burning, hazardous-waste incineration is a whole new dilemma to contend with. MELA is pitted not against the city (Bradley is on their side), but against the state and EPA. The Vernon site, which would be California's first commercial toxic-waste incinerator, is viewed by the Department of Health Services (DHS) as "the vanguard of an entire program."

This is what the Hispanic residents of East Los Angeles are up against. Even in state-of-the-art hazardous-waste incinerators, pollutants escape through the stacks. In Vernon, the burning of an estimated 225,000 tons a year of solvents, pesticides, alcohols, oil and paint sludges, heavy metal residues, industrial liquids, and infectious wastes from hospitals would also leave some 19,000 tons of highly toxic ash, dust, and other by-products to dis-

California Assemblywoman Lucille Roybal-Allard.



Bill Smith Photography



Thank Friczer/Courtesy Lucille Roybal-Allard for Assembly

A Christmas card from Assemblywoman Lucille Roybal-Allard, showing a candlelight vigil in East Long Angeles against the proposed Vernon incinerator.

pose of. All this in close proximity not only to twenty-six schools, but also dozens of food-related industries. One, Leslie Salt, is right across the street.

Members of MELA, many of whom are lifelong residents, are no neophytes in political battle. Urged to action by local Councilwoman Gloria Molina, the group was formed by only five women in 1984, for an ongoing fight to block a state prison slated for the area. With help from lawyers in Westwood, it successfully stopped an aboveground oil pipeline from being built right next to an elementary school. Designed to bring oil from Santa Barbara to Long Beach, state officials had detoured it through East Los Angeles for fear of too much opposition in Santa Monica.

The Vernon incinerator nearly slipped through the cracks altogether. East Los Angeles is subdivided into numerous small communities, and Vernon only has about ninety residents. It was no problem for the state, promising jobs and purportedly threatening a cutoff of some needed funds, to secure a permit from the "city" in 1985.

In 1987, buoyed by the prison and pipeline issues, MELA led a voter-registration drive that

got Lucille Roybal-Allard, daughter of U.S. Representative Edward Roybal, elected to the State Assembly. "I soon discovered that this incinerator was being proposed and the state had gotten all but the final permit," she recalls. "But the community was not even aware of the fact that this process had been going on for almost two years. So I sent out notices to all my constituency letting them know about the incinerator and an upcoming hearing."

Roybal-Allard arranged for three buses, which local merchants helped pay for. MELA mobilized and Greenpeace sent in supporters. When 500 people showed up to demand answers from DHS, remembers Valentine Robles, who works in the air-conditioning department at Burbank Studios while his wife Erlinda is active with MELA, "They didn't have an interpreter, so a lot of the Spanish people couldn't understand what was happening. Then they called the fire department because so many were standing against the walls, and said we had to vacate or move some people outside. When we complained, they stopped the meeting."

Under pressure from Roybal-Allard, another hearing was scheduled, this time with the concession of an interpreter. But at this and sub-

sequent official gatherings, MELA adopted a new tactic. "They start these meetings at ten in the morning and keep them going till seven at night to confuse you, and so hopefully you won't bother to show up," says Aurora Castillo. "But we fooled them. We said, let's all arrive at a certain hour and go in together."

While MELA has no elected leaders ("I'm just the phone-caller, the whistler," says Castillo), they have organized a remarkable network. They meet regularly at the home of Juana Guittierez, a woman featured recently in *LA Style* for her community efforts, one of whose children now works in Roybal-Allard's office. They maintain a list of some 400 residents ready to join forces on short notice, make announcements at parish churches, and place bilingual advertisements about hearings and marches in neighborhood newspapers. Roybal-Allard sends out a continual series of updates and flyers. "Before, we had no representatives who would listen to us," says Erlinda Robles. "Now we have Roybal-Allard, Molina, and [State Senator Art] Torres. Before, the people were afraid to say anything. Now they know they can."

It remains an uphill battle, but one that has begun coming to a head in almost a replica of the LANCER pattern. Last September, despite a ruling from the Los Angeles City Attorney requiring further scrutiny of the Vernon project, DHS reversed its "final" decision made in July to require a full EIR. Based on information provided solely by the incinerator company, California Thermal Treatment Services (CTTS), DHS said new safety tests showed that the plant would hurt neither the environment nor the surrounding community.

This ruling came only five days after a half-mile-long cloud of toxic gas from a chlorine plant forced evacuation of about 27,000 people from their homes in the East Los Angeles community of Montebello. The City of Los Angeles, Roybal-Allard, MELA, and other residents immediately filed suit, challenging the legality of the DHS decision under several state statutes. Late that same month, California Governor George Deukmejian vetoed a Roybal-Allard bill to require EIRs for all incinerators proposed in California.

It was time, concluded MELA, to take to the streets. They first organized a local protest march of some 200 people. Then came the big November rally that brought protesters from across California, and included support at a

THE IDEA OF BALANCE IS TO BE FOUND IN HERONS AND LOONS

I just heard a loon call on a t.v. ad
and my body gave itself
a quite voluntary shudder,
as in the night in East Africa
I heard the immense barking cough
of a lion, so foreign and indifferent.

But the lion drifts away
and the loon stays close,
calling as she did in my childhood,
in the cold rain a song
that tells the world of men
to keep its distance.

It isn't the signal of another life
or the reminder of anything
except her call: still,
at this quiet point past midnight
the rain is the same rain
that fell so long ago, and the loon
says I'm seven years old again.

*At the far ends of the lake
where no one lives or visits—
there are no roads to get there;
you take the watercourse way,
the quiet drip and drizzle
of oars, slight squeak of oarlock,
the bare feet can feel the cold water
move beneath the old wood boat.*

At one end the lordly, great blue herons
nest at the top of the white pine;
at the other end the loons,
just after daylight in cream-colored mist,
drifting with wails that begin as querulous,
rising then into the spheres in volume,
with lost or doomed angels imprisoned
within their breasts.

—Jim Harrison

preliminary press conference from Hollywood stars Mike Farrell and Jim Belushi.

Yet, only four days later, the EPA also approved construction of the incinerator without an EIR. Jeff Zelikson, director of the toxics and waste management division at the EPA's western regional office, acknowledged that it would emit potentially dangerous toxins into the atmosphere, but offered the lame excuse that the level would be far below that of pollutants emitted by automobiles. (The unstated,

but probable, reason for the EPA's move is that landfilling of untreated liquid hazardous wastes will be virtually banned by 1990, aggravating a shortage of legal disposal sites. Los Angeles County alone, according to the EPA, generates 600,000 tons of hazardous wastes annually.)

This time, reaction was swift. Members of Greenpeace immediately occupied Zelikson's San Francisco office for over an hour. Four more were later arrested during a sit-in at the governor's office. Mayor Bradley, saying "the battle is not over yet," directed the city attorney to file an appeal. The *Los Angeles Times* editorialized against the project:

Within one mile in at least two directions are modest single-family homes and garden apartments. The people who live in these homes and the politicians who represent them are Latino. They are tired of what they perceive as limited control over their own futures. They see government approving projects like prisons and incinerators that no one else wants. They are also not persuaded that the company is correct when it says that the health risks are minimal.

On December 20, reversing a 1985 go-ahead, the AQMD ordered an EIR and tougher emission controls before the incinerator could be built. CTTS then challenged the AQMD's authority, maintaining that a long delay would add millions to their costs, and announced intent to file legal action if an appeal failed.

Shortly thereafter, an expose of the company followed in the *Los Angeles Times*, which noted dozens of citations for health and safety violations at CTTS's infectious-waste incinerators in Garden Grove and Long Beach. In 1986, the former was shut down under pressure from the AQMD. Ben Shaw, former enforcement chief of the AQMD's industrial branch, termed the company's behavior "by far the most threatening" he had seen. In 1987, the CWMB had cited the Long Beach incinerator for failing to maintain enough working fire extinguishers, inadequately protecting employees from exposure to infectious wastes, and other infractions. In reply, both DHS and EPA told the *Times* that they had little data on the company when they issued the Vernon permits. In the meantime, Roybal-Allard sent a holiday greeting card to Deukmejian, the DHS, EPA, and other proponents of the incinerator. It bore a stark, black-and-white photograph of local children, some bearing candles, others holding signs reading "don't poison me."

Federal and state officials are considering permits for another hazardous-waste, chemical-treatment plant, about a mile south of the Vernon site. This, as Roybal-Allard points out, "is not just an East L.A. issue. The entire L.A. Basin will be affected, particularly the way the wind patterns reach into the San Marino and Pasadena areas. And what happens in Vernon is going to set a precedent for the rest of the state. At least ten other companies, I'm told, are looking into hazardous-waste incineration projects. Yet, source reduction and recycling are methods to reduce the waste, which the state and EPA are refusing to take seriously."

For now, the fate of the Vernon project is up in the air. But if it is blocked, Roybal-Allard and MELA can take much of the credit. Organized boycotts (similar to the boycott of growers' pesticide-laden grapes, led by the United Farm Workers-AFL-CIO) are imminent.

"We have always been united among ourselves, but not to fight the government like we are doing now," says Erlinda Robles. "It is a black mark on the history of California that mothers have to do this," adds Aurora Castillo. "But when they back you in up in a corner, threatening the welfare of our children, you're gonna start kicking like a bronco."

•

The phenomenon that defeated LANCER, and has now converged in Vernon, is not likely to go away. On the same weekend as the November march in East Los Angeles, hundreds of black and white residents embarked together on a ten-day "Great Louisiana Toxic March" through an area known as "Cancer Alley." This is an eighty-mile stretch of the Mississippi River between Baton Rouge and New Orleans, dotted by some 136 petrochemical and other industries [see *AMICUS*, Fall '84].

Three months later, environmental organizers from around the country came together to march with local people in a black neighborhood of Texarkana, Texas, that is plagued with two leaking Superfund sites. Pat Bryant, a well-known black activist and executive director of the Louisiana Toxics Project, summarized the feeling. "This fight transcends race and class boundaries. Fifty years ago, people got hung for poisoning somebody's water. Now we've become accustomed to pollution, that we can live with it for the few jobs we get. Our job is not just to clean up our communities, but to transform our basic institutions." □



YA BASTA CON LA CONTAMINACIÓN

Más que nunca, la Raza lucha por el derecho de seguridad en sus hogares y sitios de empleo. Estamos afirmando nuestro derecho de aire limpio, comida y tierra sin contaminación, y agua que no envenene a nuestros niños. En conjunto con otros pueblos les estamos diciendo a la empresa, la industria y el militar: No, ustedes no pueden arrojar desagüe químico en ningún lugar ni cada vez que quieran.

En Nuevo México hemos visto una larga lucha contra el "Waste Isolation Pilot Plant" (WIPP), donde materiales radioactivos serán transbordados de otros sitios y arrojados. También en N.M., La Colectiva se fundó en 1980 por miembros de Raza Unida y otros para luchar contra el mineo de uranio, por razón del desagüe nuclear y el peligro para los trabajadores. Después de protestas y un litigio, se retiraron las corporaciones involucradas.

More than ever before, Raza are standing up for our right to clean air, uncontaminated food and soil, and water that will not poison our children. Along with other people we are telling business, industry and the

"Prueben que WIPP no es un peligro"

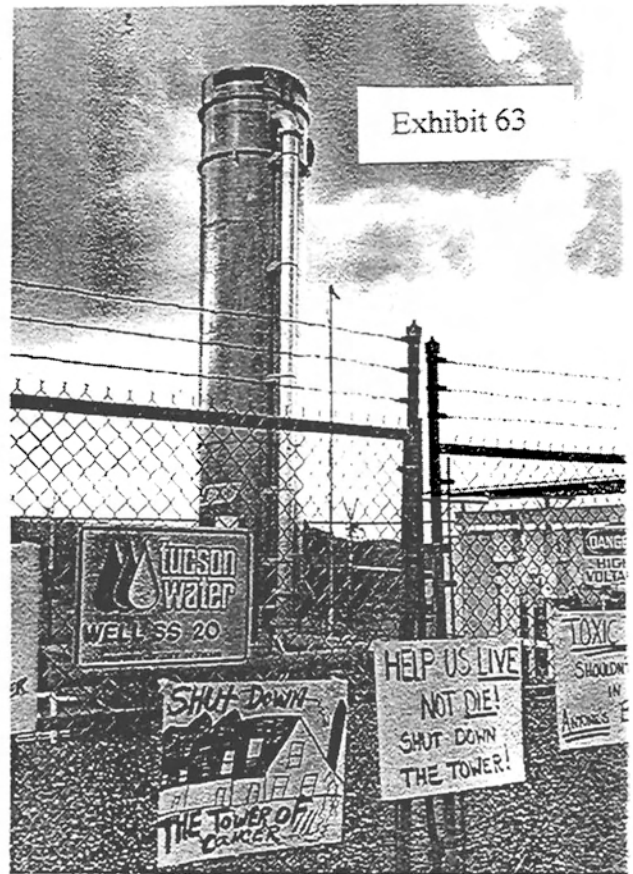


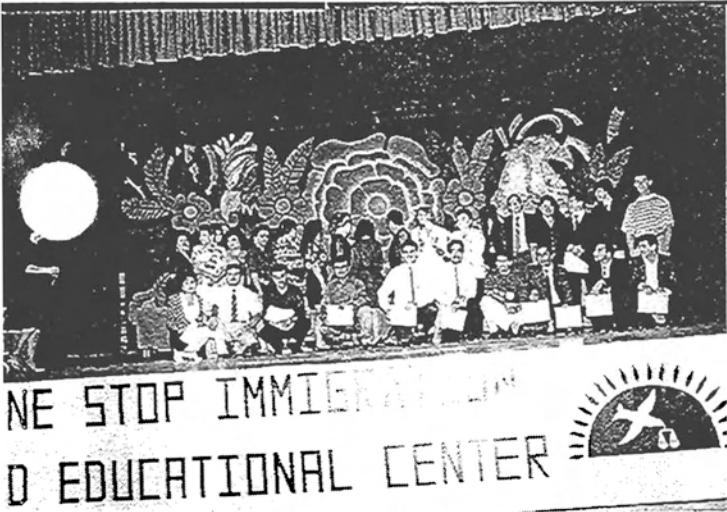
Exhibit 63

Protesta de 1989, Tucsonenses para un Ambiente Limpio/protest, Tucsonians for a Clean Environment

military: No, you cannot dump your toxic waste anywhere or anytime you like. In New Mexico we have seen a long battle against the Waste Isolation Pilot Plant (WIPP), where radioactive materials would be shipped from elsewhere and dumped. Also in N.M., La Colectiva was formed in 1980 by Raza Unida members and others to fight uranium mining, because of the nuclear waste and danger to workers. After protests and a lawsuit, the corporations involved pulled out.

1990 Protest by Mothers of East L.A.





Los Angeles 1990: graduation, amnesty applicants



Una clase en inglés at One Stop/English class



Carlsbad, Ca. 1988: farmworkers' English class/en el campo



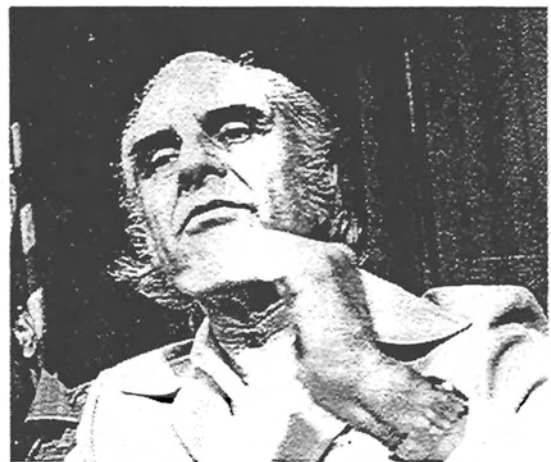
Ceremonia de graduación en One Stop

INDOCUMENTADOS AND AMNESTY

Many groups and individuals have defended the undocumented and organized them to fight back, like La Hermandad Mexicana Nacional and its noted leader Bert Corona (see photo). Some also offer educational services to people who applied for amnesty under IRCA. At One Stop Immigration and Educational Center in California and Washington state, 75,000 applicants have taken classes from 600 teachers as of 1991. This process could give latinos a much stronger political voice in the U.S.

Muchos grupos e individuos han defendido al indocumentado y los han organizado para defenderse, como La Hermandad Mexicana Nacional y su reconocido líder Bert Coróna (véa foto). Algunos también han ofrecido servicios educacionales a personas que han solicitado amnistía bajo IRCA. En One Stop Immigration and Educational Center en los

estados de California y Washington, para 1991 75,000 solicitantes han tomado clases de 600 maestros. Este proceso les puede dar más fuerza política a los latinos en los Estados Unidos.



YOUTH SPEAK OUT

Que hablen los estudiantes

Chicano Moratorium
Los Angeles 1968



MEChA recruiting high school students to
UCLA 1981/reclutando estudiantes para colegio



Univ. of New Mexico students hold sit-in to protest tuition
increase/estudiantes protestando alza de matrícula 1988

Raza students, like others, struggle against unfair admission policies, increased tuition and fees, cuts in course offerings, elimination or co-opting of Chicano Studies, and reduced scholarship aid. The question that then arises is: who can afford to go to college? Students have also had to combat direct racism. One example is the "theme parties" held by some fraternities where stereotypes of mexicanos (or other groups) are the butt of jokes. Everywhere, we fight the battle for multicultural education or "diversity."

Los estudiantes de la Raza, como otros, protestan contra injustas reglas de admisión, alza en matrícula y pagos, recortes de materias, eliminación de Estudios Chicanos, y rebajas de becas. Todos preguntan: ¿Quién puede pagar para ir a la universidad? Estudiantes Raza también han luchado que superar el racismo en varias áreas, como "las fiestas étnicas" de ciertas fraternidades donde usan para sus chistes los estereotipos racistas sobre mexicanos (u otros grupos). Una batalla importante de hoy es por la educación multicultural o "diversificada".

UCLA rally 1988



Exhibit 65



Así como los mexicanos
 los palestinos también
 quieren
Tierra y Libertad

El 25 de agosto de 1990 en Los Angeles miles de personas recorrieron la misma ruta al mismo parque como hace 20 años para marcar el aniversario de un día inolvidable. En 1970, habíamos marchado contra la guerra en Vietnam y tres Chicanos habían sido asesinados por cientos de policías antimotines. Entonces esa guerra había cesado pero apareció otra—esta vez contra Iraq. Aún sin esa crisis Estados Unidos había comenzado guerras por todo América. En casa, la Raza enfrentaba muerte en la frontera o en el trabajo, y muertes más lentas por razones de hambre y pobreza.

Y así es que la militancia corrió por Whittier Blvd. como antes, pero no era un simple Día de Nostalgia de los veteranos. Muchos jóvenes también marcharon, especialmente mujeres jóvenes. Querían conocer nuestra historia—lo que el National Chicano Moratorium Committee fomenta—y



Rubén Salazar



Los Angeles, 1971

The Moratorium and Rubén Salazar became symbols of our oppression and resistance. In opposing the war, we learned more about our enemy. It isn't just the gringo or the police, we saw, but a whole system of imperialism. The U.S. empire has always produced wars, racism and exploitation—which benefit only the rich. The struggle of our barrios is the struggle of this whole world. And the only way to win liberation for our people is by uniting with other oppressed people.

El Moratorio y Rubén Salazar se hicieron símbolos de la opresión de la Raza y de nuestra resistencia. Al oponernos a la guerra, aprendimos más acerca de nuestro enemigo. No es sólo el gringo, sino un sistema entero llamado imperialismo. El imperio de los E.U. siempre ha producido guerras, racismo y explotación que sólo benefician a los ricos. La lucha de nuestros barrios es la lucha del mundo entero. Para liberarnos, hay que unimos con otros pueblos oprimidos.

Seattle, Washington, 1971



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A DEADLY FORM OF RACISM



Mothers of East Los Angeles members *Lucy Ramos, left, Lupe Lopez, Aurora Castillo and Teri Griffin.*

AP/MELA PENN

Minority groups taking stand against toxic sites

Communities saying 'no' to becoming dumping grounds

By Jane Kay
EXAMINER ENVIRONMENTAL WRITER

Hundreds of minority communities are now actively involved in environmental issues and are saying "no" to toxic-waste incinerators, dumps and poisonous air and water.

They call the trend to put America's waste in poor minority communities "eco-racism" and say mainstream environmental groups, in part, are to blame because they don't take on these fights but concentrate on resource and preservation issues.

Some recent developments:

► Last month, Mothers of East Los Angeles, an activist group, brought to a halt plans to build a hazardous-waste incinerator in downtown Los Angeles.

"They wanted to put everything here: a prison, a pipeline and an incinerator," said Juana Gutierrez, a mother of five and founder of the group. "I guess they didn't realize

the community has awakened. We no longer sit back and let us be manipulated."

Because of this case, Assemblywoman Lucille Roybal-Allard, D-Los Angeles, introduced a bill requiring environmental impact statements to contain ethnic and racial makeup of communities.

► Also last month, Kettleman City Latinos filed a civil rights suit against the nation's biggest hazardous-waste disposal and treatment company, Chemical Waste Management, charging "environmental racism."

They say they were left out of the process that led to county approval of a toxic-waste dump because the documents weren't translated into Spanish.

► The government is beginning to recognize the barriers of language and education in protecting the health and safety of workers in hazardous jobs.

Cal-OSHA is setting up training classes for hazardous jobs in languages other than English because of a new state law.

The federal Labor Occupational Safety Program is starting multi-cultural training for hazardous waste workers.

The Agency for Toxic Substance Disease Registry has set up a special program for minorities who suffer health effects from Superfund sites, the worst dumps in America.

► And in October, the United Church of Christ's national civil rights agency, the Commission for Racial Justice, is planning the first national minority environmental leadership summit.

As the emphasis shifts to minorities, environmental groups are quick to warn that hundreds, even thousands, of toxic waste sites exist all over the United States.

Michael Picker, a West Coast director of the National Toxics Campaign, said, "People shouldn't feel because they're white and middle-class that they're escaping these dump sites."

The real issue is the possibility of new zoning that would force industries to locate in low-income minority communities. "Waste always flows downhill," he said. "We've got to make sure the poor, less politically powerful, and usually minority, don't end up getting these problems."

ELA PRIS J

L.A. WEEKLY 9/4-10/92

INSIGHTS

¡No Más Prisiones!

After eight years of marches, letter-writing, phone banking, and virtual all-out political warfare among residents, Chicano politicians and Republican legislators (plus two governors), the longstanding plan to build a prison in East Los Angeles appears to have been killed — perhaps for good. Among the slew of end-of-session legislation passed in Sacramento was Senate Bill 97, sponsored by Art Torres (D-Los Angeles), which authorizes the sale of the prison site along Washington Boulevard east of Santa Fe Avenue — within walking distance of century-old family dwellings, as well as several public and private schools.

"It's an almost-triumph," says Juana Gutierrez of the Mothers of East Los Angeles, the activist group that spearheaded the anti-prison campaign. "I say 'almost' because we still need the governor's signature. [Wilson has 12 days to decide whether or not to sign the bill.] But with his signature, it will be a tremendous victory — not for the Mothers of East L.A., but for the entire Eastside community. Eight years of struggle are about to bear fruit."

The time was ripe for compromise on the issue. While it removes the prospect — forever — of a prison in East L.A., SB 97 provides the Department of Corrections with funds to build prisons on already-authorized sites at Madera and Susanville, as well as for a new prison in Soledad. Start-up moneys are also provided to open an already-built facility in Lancaster.

"It's a win-win situation," says Art Torres, who, along with Assembly Latino Caucus members Richard Polanco, Lucille Roybal-Allard and Xavier Becerra, met recently with Governor Wilson regarding the matter. "He can save the state money by abandoning the most expensive prison project ever proposed for California. And, equally important, he can reassure members of the East L.A. community that he is sensitive to their very legitimate concerns."

— Rubén Martínez



Chicano Resource Center
East Los Angeles Library
Do Not Circulate

CHICANO RESOURCE CENTER

Exhibit 67

THE PASSION OF AURORA CASTILLO

The Militant Mothers of East L.A.

By Betsy Swart

My first impression of Aurora Castillo was one of quiet dignity. As she welcomed me into a tidy office at the Church of the Resurrection in East Los Angeles, I wondered if this could be the same woman who over the past five years has gained a reputation as a tough fighter against toxic pollution in her community. But, as soon as she began to speak, I knew that this was, indeed, the woman whose passion for justice was helping to hold the line against the environmental destruction of her neighborhood. "Did you see the children outside?" she asked me. "I is for them — and all the others like them — that we fight."

Aurora Castillo

one of the founders of the Mothers of East Los Angeles (MELA), an organization founded in 1984 by Latina women who live in the poor minority communities of eastern Los Angeles. They banded together to block plans to build a state prison in their neighborhood — a court battle which is still going on. Soon, they faced another challenge when they discovered that the state was planning to

MELA won a six-year battle to stop a toxic waste incinerator.

build an above-ground oil pipeline right next to an East L.A. elementary school. The pipeline was designed to bring oil from Santa Barbara to Long Beach but was detoured through East L.A. to avoid the protests of the more affluent Santa Monica residents. The Mothers group was successful in stopping the project, but little did they know that another — even more insidious — project was being planned for East Los Angeles.

What has since become known as "the Vernon incinerator" project was first brought to light in 1987. Newly-elected state Assemblywoman Lucille Roybal-Allard, daughter of U.S. Representative Edward Roybal, discovered that a hazardous-waste incinerator was being proposed for the city

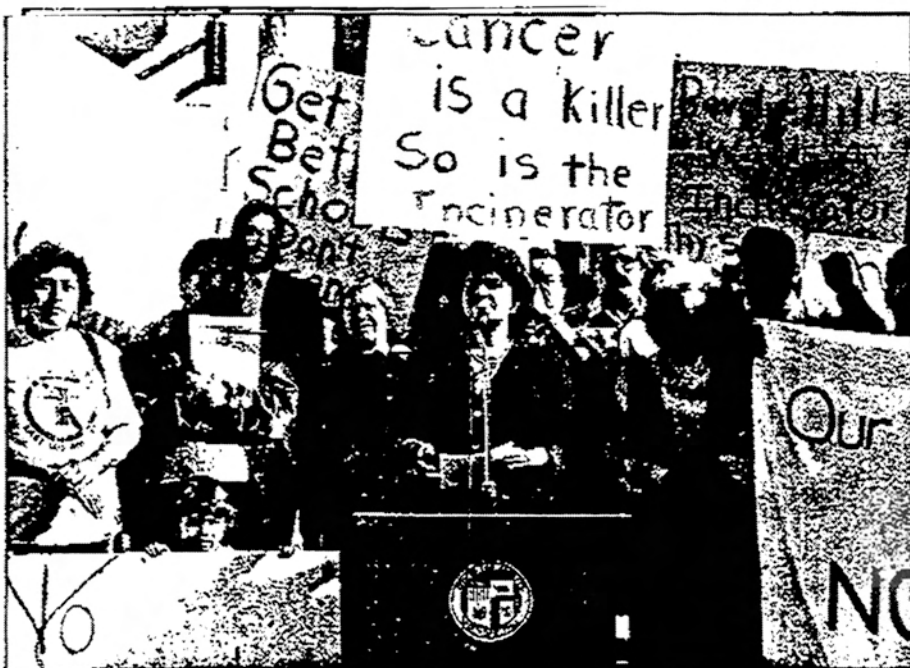
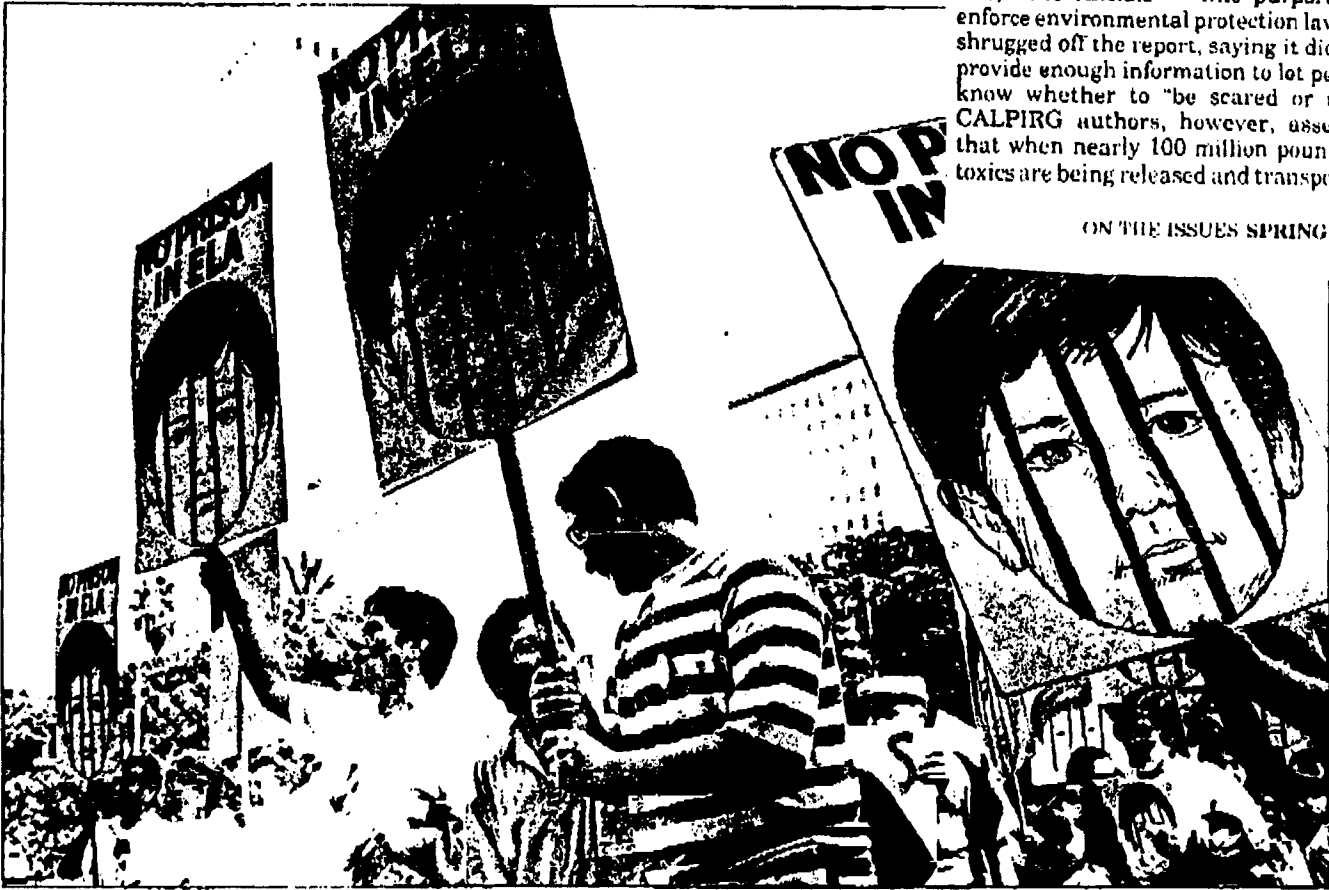


Exhibit 68



less, EPA officials — who purportedly enforce environmental protection laws — shrugged off the report, saying it did not provide enough information to let people know whether to “be scared or not.” CALPIRG authors, however, asserted that when nearly 100 million pounds of toxics are being released and transported

ON THE ISSUES SPRING 1992

of Vernon — and the community had no knowledge that the project had been in the works for almost two years! Roybal-Allard and MELA immediately went into action to oppose the construction, even though the state had gotten all but the final permit. The project was to be situated in small, industrial Vernon — a poor Hispanic community adjacent to Castillo's East Los Angeles neighborhood. The \$29 million incinerator was to be the first of its kind to be constructed in an urban area of California. And it was to burn 125,000 pounds of toxic waste every day. The State Department of Health and Safety had approved the plan in a cavalier fashion, without even requiring an Environmental Impact Report. Based on information provided to them by the incinerator company — California Thermal Treatment Services — the California Department of Health Services declared that “new safety tests showed that the plant would hurt neither the environment nor the surrounding community.”

Ironically, this ruling came less than a week after a huge cloud of toxic chlorine gas from a plant in the East L.A. community of City of Commerce forced the evacuation of about 27,000 people from their homes. MELA joined Roybal-Allard and the City of Los Angeles in filing suit against DHS. In the meantime, MELA mobilized community members to get

active. With signs and banners reading, “The People Will Stop the Incinerator,” and “Don't Poison Me,” the community hit the streets. Their first march brought out more than 200 people. Subsequent rallies attracted even greater numbers as well as the support of groups like Greenpeace and celebrities like Robert Blake. “They thought that if they picked a poor community,” says Castillo, “they wouldn't find any resistance. But we proved them wrong, very wrong.”

Indeed, the Mothers of East L.A. left no stone unturned in their effort to stop the incinerator's construction. They planned demonstrations and vigils; they developed a list of more than 400 members who could be mobilized on short notice; they distributed bilingual advertisements throughout East L.A. to keep the community informed. Finally, in February, 1991 — after a six-year struggle — a three-judge panel of the California Court of Appeals found in the community's favor, requiring an Environmental Impact Report for the project. And when the California Supreme Court refused to overturn that decision, the company threw in the towel. “Interminable lawsuits” kept driving their costs up. Company officials said they would not try to locate another incinerator site in California.

But although one battle against pollution has been won, the war against toxics

in East L.A. is anything but finished. The triumph over the Vernon incinerator, although a landmark victory, does not mean that the people of the city are safe. Indeed, as anyone who has visited Los Angeles lately knows, the pollution levels there are staggering. In fact, a recent study estimates that L.A. County industries released more than 29.7 million pounds of hazardous chemicals into the environment in 1987 alone. And, if you add to that total the number of pounds of hazardous waste that local industries transport through the county to other sites, the figure comes to more than 91.7 million pounds — or approximately 11 pounds per person! When the California Public Interest Research Group (CALPIRG), which conducted the study, analyzed these figures, they found that 12.8 million pounds of these chemicals have been linked to cancer; 25 million pounds are suspected of causing birth defects and genetic mutations; and another 53.6 million pounds are chemicals that have been linked to damage of internal organs and the central nervous system. The city of Vernon ranked highest in amount of toxics released and transferred — approximately 27 million pounds. Los Angeles followed closely with approximately eight million pounds. Neverthe-

continued on pg 40

CALIFORNIA

MOTHERS OF EAST LOS ANGELES

Los Angeles — California's Gov. George Deukmejian is determined to put a state prison in East Los Angeles. But, for the last five years, his efforts have been thwarted by a resilient group called Mothers of East L.A. (MELA). This group of women, longtime residents of East Los Angeles, have made it clear that they are not "going to take it anymore."

MELA members are concerned with the impact of negative projects on their neighborhood and families. Using well-honed telephone networks, neighborhood canvassing, demonstrations, and persistent testimony at legislative sessions and hearings, MELA is now perceived as a mighty grass-roots power base. When they started five years ago, the women had no idea they would become such a political force. They just

didn't want a prison in their neighborhood.

"When we first heard the news about the prison, none of us liked it," recalls one of the founders of the group, Juana Gutiérrez, a mother of nine and grandmother of six. Gutiérrez says their first meeting was held in her home with only five mothers. The proposed prison site, she says, is within a two-mile radius of homes and 36 schools.

"I have lived in the area for 35 years. I know all the neighbors and they all

know me. We went house to house and started knocking on doors. I told them we should all stick together."

To increase participation, they in-



Seated (from left to right): Juana Beatriz Gutiérrez, Aurora Castillo, and Josefina del Pozo. Standing: Enedina Arellano, Rosa Limón, Lupe López, Erlinda Robles, Mrs. Roybal, Henrietta Castillo, Teri Griffin, and Lucy Ramos.

COAST TO COAST

volved a local neighborhood watch group and a local parish priest. Mothers of East L. A. now has over 400 members. As many as 2,000 people now demonstrate with MELA.

MELA has taken on the governor, state officials, and the state Department of Corrections. The group filed a lawsuit to ask the court to block approval of the prison and to direct the state to follow statutes and constitutional provisions in approving any new project.

California Assemblywoman Lucille Roybal Allard says the group gives tremendous political clout to the community. "The [political] process can be very intimidating, and it's scary for most people to challenge what they see as the powers that be. Mothers of East L.A. is getting people familiar with the process so that they are moving in place and can pull together very quickly now."

The group asserts that its community has been unfairly treated for far too long and points out that East L.A. is already housing 75 percent of the city's inmates.

In the process of their political development, the Mothers of East L.A. have involved their entire families. "We have a lot of support from our families," says mother Erlinda Robles. "Now it's not just mothers. It's fathers, daughters, sons...It has become a family effort. Now, when there is a meeting or demonstration the husbands and all the kids are there," says Gutiérrez. "When my husband comes home from work, he asks, 'Where are we going tonight?'"

"The reason I started working for the community was for my kids and now it's for all the kids. It makes us feel good — it has brought a lot of families closer — they have seen that they can do a lot of good by working together," she adds.

The last five years have given the group a tremendous political education. Members have traveled to the state capital to testify before the state legislature and have attempted to see the governor.

Robles says, "Now we knew what our rights are. All of these experiences have taught us a lot about the governmental process. We know what to do, what

questions to ask."

The politicians won't win, insists Gutiérrez. "They won't," she vows confidently.

Diana Martínez and Mary Pardo

ROLE MODEL

Palo Alto — It's no big deal to be poor, homeless, and attend Stanford University. At least that's what María "Lupe"



MARIA "LUPE" VASQUEZ

Vásquez thought. But in the five months that she's been attending the prestigious and expensive California university, she's learned along with physics, calculus, and karate that perhaps it is.

At just eighteen, Vásquez is somewhat of a star, and there is even talk of a feature film or a television movie-of-the-week on her life.

"A lot of people have written to me and told me they're inspired by this. . . I guess I'm a role model. I've gotten this far," says Vásquez, the daughter of migrant farm workers from Chihuahua, Mexico.

What she has done, in her eyes, is basically follow the advice of her mother, who only reached the sixth grade.

"I knew I was poor and I just wanted to not be poor always," explains Vásquez, a spunky teen who looks like a typical student of the sprawling campus, in her plaid shirt, light turquoise pullover, faded jeans, brown suede boots, braces, and iridescent purple nail

polish. "My mother always encouraged me to do well in school. She told me that the way out was through education, not to get married."

When she was accepted at Stanford and five other colleges, she barely raised an eyebrow. "From so many years ago, I had my mind set that I was going to succeed," says Vásquez.

Much of her life has been spent moving from place to place following the harvest. When Vásquez and her family were forced to move into the Zoe Christian Center, a 160-person shelter for the homeless in Oxnard, California, Vásquez perceived it as simply another roof over her head. "The shelter wasn't really much different from what I was used to. It was just another place to live. I was totally used to the environment," says Vásquez, who was then a senior at Oxnard High School. But there was a tinge of shame about where she was living. "Nobody knew where I lived. I felt kind of embarrassed because nobody else I knew lived in a shelter."

When she discovered she might be eligible to get financial aid for college, she worked even harder and joined clubs to make her college applications more rounded. Her tuition is now covered by a combination of grants, scholarships, and a \$1,500 loan she took out. The shelter also gave her \$1,000 and a 1980 Datsun.

Vásquez wants to do well in school, but her motives have changed.

"I wanted to someday. . . have a car or a house. That was like my main goal—to have a house and a car and nice clothes. Now it's not that important anymore," says Vásquez, who wants to major in engineering. "Graduating and helping my mom are my first priorities. I'd also like to go back and help other kids that are homeless or poor or live in that neighborhood. . . and share my experiences."

She hasn't given much thought to potential fame. "It feels really weird to think that many more people are going to know about me. I still have a problem about letting the whole world know about my life. It's part of me and it belongs to me."

Vicki Larson

METRO

9/16/92



KIRK MCKOY / Los Angeles Times

Church bells will ring to signal the victory of these women, who persisted in their battle to keep a prison out of the Eastside.

Mothers of Conviction

Eastside Women Become a Force to Be Reckoned With After Blocking Prison Plan

By LOUIS SAHAGUN
TIMES STAFF WRITER

On Sept. 16, 1810, a parish priest in the tiny Mexican village of Dolores rang the bells of his church, signaling to the Indians to fight for independence from Spanish rule.

This morning, Monsignor John Moretta will ring the bells of Resurrection Church in East Los Angeles to commemorate that

historic date—Mexican Independence Day—and to proclaim victory for parishioners who led a years-long battle against construction of a proposed \$100-million prison in their community.

Gov. Pete Wilson's decision to scrap the prison Monday was a landmark victory for the largely Latino Eastside, which some residents say has been a dumping ground over the years for disruptive projects including freeways, prisons and landfills.

"They thought we wouldn't fight or have the political strength and stamina to organize," said Moretta, an early opponent of the prison. "I'm only saddened that our people had to struggle for so long against something that was unfair from the start."

On the front lines of this battle were 400 women calling themselves the Mothers of East Los Angeles. All of these women were born and reared in Eastside neighborhoods

Please see **MOTHERS, B4**

OTHERS: Eastside Victory Celebration

Continued from B1

at a time when low-income residents were afraid to fight government officials who saddled their community with projects that never seemed to end up in more affluent neighborhoods.

But when state officials proposed building the 1,450-bed high-rise prison on 20 acres near the Los Angeles River in 1985, the Mothers of East Los Angeles and a group of 47 civic organizations called the Coalition Against the Prison in East Los Angeles drew the line.

The community, they argued, was already saturated with detention facilities housing more than 14,000 inmates within two miles of 34 schools.

Over the years, they learned to overcome their fear of television cameras—and of government officials who scorned their efforts—while organizing demonstrations, candlelight vigils and letter-writing campaigns to pressure politicians and bureaucrats.

Now, community leaders and activists regard the group as a formidable ally in land-use and quality-of-life issues.

"This is a major grass-roots victory for a community that has become a model to be emulated," said East Los Angeles civil rights attorney Antonio Rodriguez. "The East Los Angeles prison movement forced some elected officials to change positions on the issue in order to remain in rhythm with the community and its demands."

Juanita Martinez, 65, who was among 200 residents and lawmakers who converged at Resurrection Church on Monday night to celebrate the victory, said, "We grew strong because our cause was a just one."

"We didn't need another prison in East Los Angeles," Martinez said in Spanish. "We needed that money to build schools and create jobs for our people."

Among the officials on hand were City Councilman Richard Alatorre and state Sen. Art Torres (D-Los Angeles), who authored the measure signed by the governor that killed a 1987 plan requiring construction of the prison near downtown before a prison could open in Lancaster in the Antelope Valley.

Also at the celebration was Assemblyman Richard Polanco (D-Los Angeles), who was once called a "sellout" for initially supporting

the project. In August, 1986, the newly elected assemblyman had cast the key committee vote that paved the way for construction of the prison.

This year, Polanco, chairman of the Latino Caucus, helped negotiate the measure signed by Wilson that will take \$17 million originally allocated for the Eastside facility and redirect the funds to the Lancaster prison.

Still, some residents and lawmakers have found it hard to forgive Polanco for his Assembly committee vote. Among them were Assemblywoman Lucille Roybal-

somewhere in Los Angeles County under a compromise worked out with then-Gov. George Deukmejian.

"The issue outraged the community, but it was generally ignored at the time about the political process, lobbying and fund raising," recalled East Los Angeles landscape architect Frank Villalobos.

In the summer of 1986, Villalobos and Moretta invited dozens of predominantly female Neighborhood Watch leaders from throughout the community to Resurrection Church to organize a massive march against the prison.

At that meeting, Moretta gave the group of women its name, Mothers of East Los Angeles. The same night, the women were marching in the streets wearing white scarfs cut from bedsheets purchased with church funds. The demonstration attracted the attention of the media, and of community leaders and business owners who rushed forward with advice and financial assistance.

Villalobos, Moretta and Lincoln Heights business owner Steve Kasten, for example, donated tens of thousands of dollars to pay for airplane tickets, food and buses used to caravan the women to Sacramento to argue their case.

Aurora Castillo said their first seven-hour bus ride to Sacramento was filled with anxiety. "We approached the first news conference on the Capitol steps hungry and worn out," Castillo said. "Then, one of our Latino legislators turned to us and said, 'This is your state Capitol. You have every right to be here.' I cried."

Since then, the mothers have led efforts to block proposals to build a hazardous-waste incinerator in Vernon, and an above-ground pipeline that would carry oil from Santa Barbara to Long Beach through the heart of Boyle Heights.

"The prison fight is over, but we are not going to rest on our laurels," Castillo said. "We will be vigilant and oppose any hazardous project in our community."

"In the past, we didn't have representation and they tore our neighborhoods apart. Now, we have political clout."

'We approached the first news conference on the Capitol steps hungry and worn out. Then, one of our Latino legislators turned to us and said, "This is your state Capitol. You have every right to be here." I cried.'

AURORA CASTILLO

Allard (D-Los Angeles) and Los Angeles County Supervisor Gloria Molina, who were notably absent from the church celebration Monday night.

"Gloria felt this celebration was by and for the community, but she also found it hard to share the podium with Polanco," said Molina's spokesman, Robert Alaniz. "He could have killed this issue in committee. Instead, he brought heartache . . . to the community."

Polanco said, "Finger-pointing is inappropriate. It's time to celebrate."

Regardless, attorney Terry Kelly, who has represented the mothers in years of legal efforts to stall or block the prison, said East Los Angeles will never again be viewed as a legislative "slam-dunk" for unwanted projects.

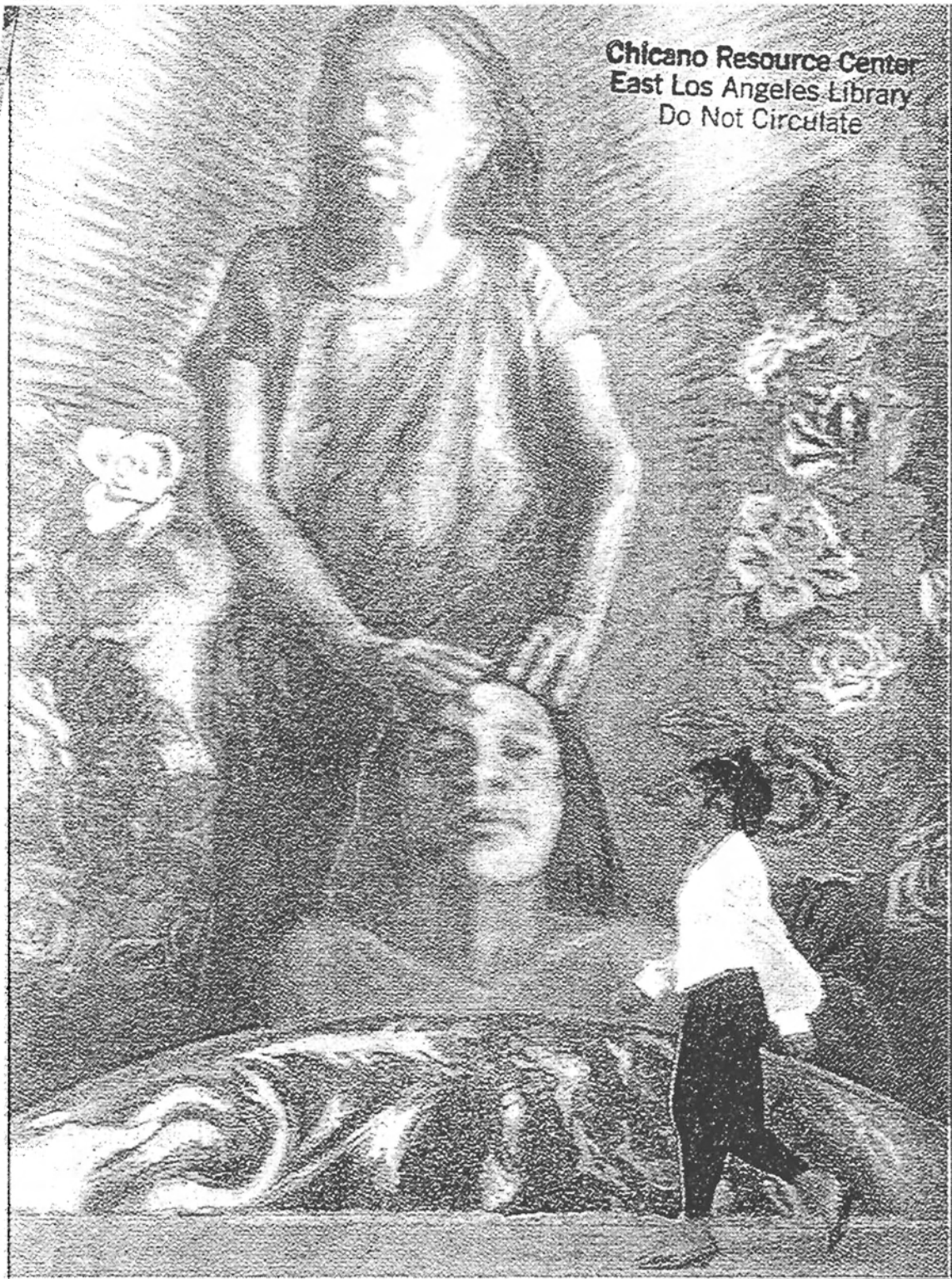
"The next time you see a proposal to put something like this in East Los Angeles," Kelly said, "you'll see politicians going to the community first rather than cutting deals in back rooms."

The controversy began in the early 1980s when lawmakers authorized that a prison be built

Healing Power

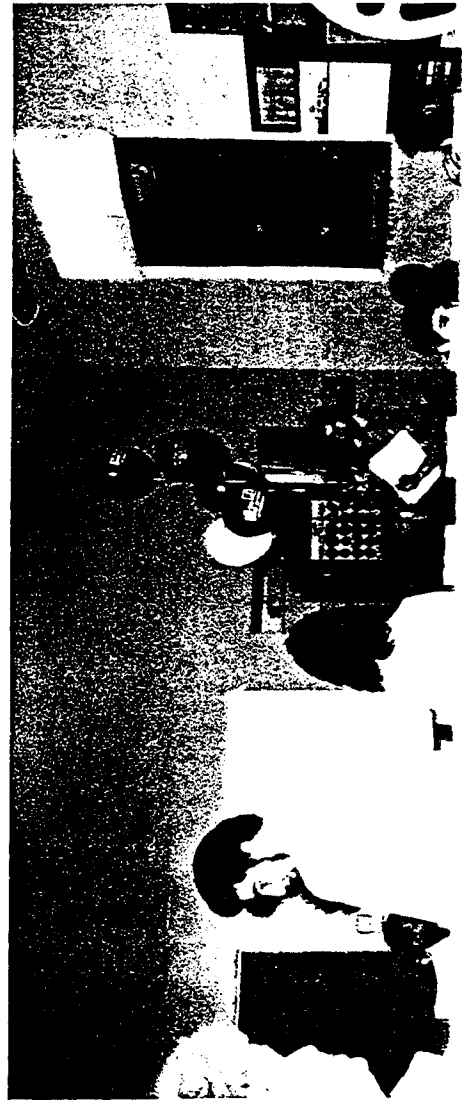
LAT 10/5/93 B1

MURALS - BOYLE HEIGHTS



CAROL CHEETHAM / For The Times

Ilsenia Servelloa provides a splash of brightness as she strolls past a mural on Breed Street in Boyle Heights. "Resurrection of the Green Planet" was painted by artist Ernesto de la Rosa.



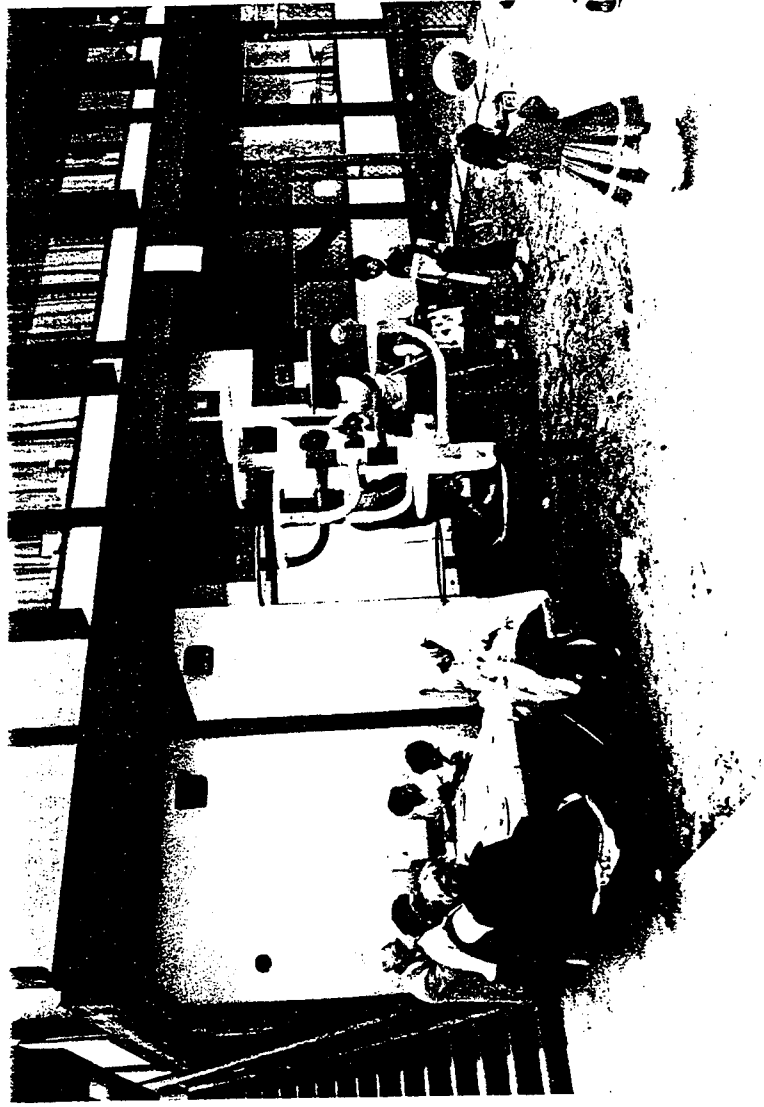


Exhibit 72

City Times - SUNDAY, 8-14-94

EAST L.A. - HISTORY

Community News: East

Chicano Resource Center
East Los Angeles Library
Do Not Circulate

EAST LOS ANGELES

Golden Gate Theater Is Safe—for Now

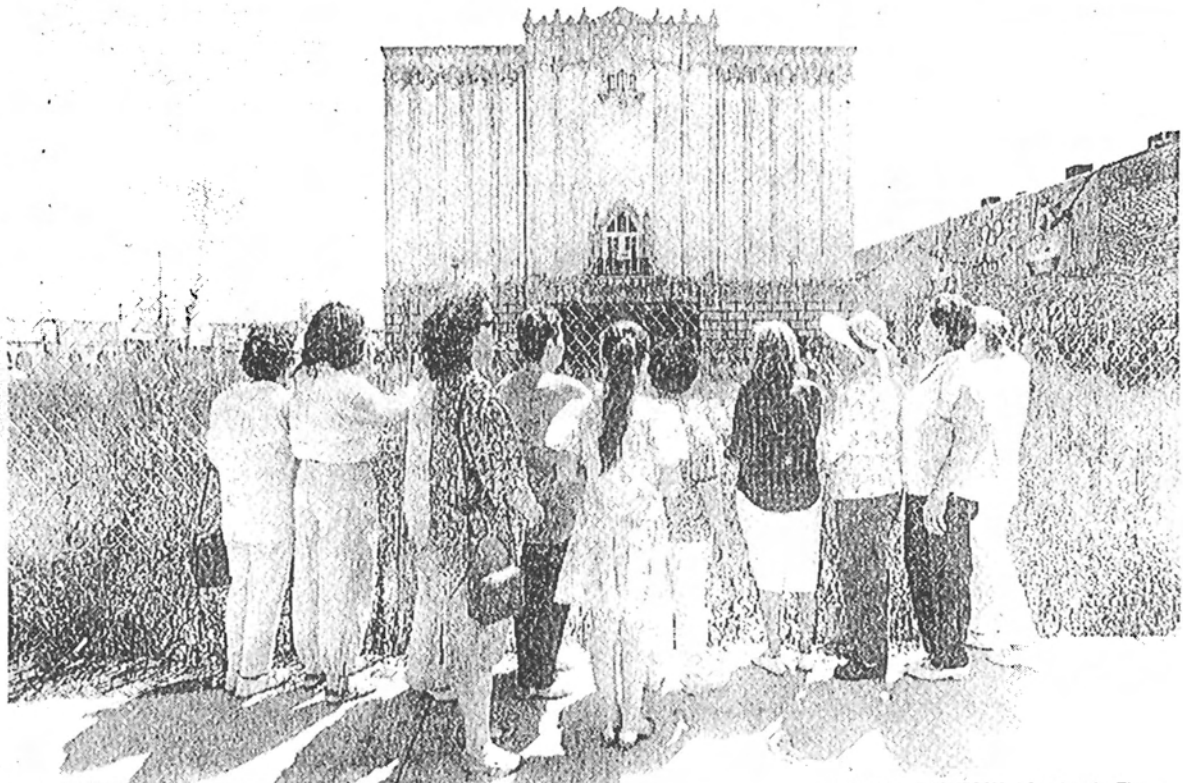
For now, the Golden Gate Theater at Whittier and Atlantic boulevards is safe from the wrecking ball, but East Los Angeles activists can only wonder for how long.

The owners have mounted an effort to get the theater, which was built in 1927, off the National Register of Historic Places to clear the way for demolition. They believe, according to a report filed by the Los Angeles Conservancy, that the property would be easier to sell without the 11,000-square-foot movie theater.

The nine-member State Historical Resources Commission voted Aug. 5 to defer a decision on the owner's request until its Nov. 4 meeting. The commission wants to gather more information about the theater's interior.

"I feel that we won the battle but the war still goes on," said Aurora Castillo, the president of Mothers of East Los Angeles who traveled to Sacramento on behalf of her organization. "We feel that we should preserve our heritage," she said Tuesday.

Castillo said she can remember



KYNDELL THOMPSON / Los Angeles Times

Members of Mothers of East Los Angeles are trying to save the ornate Golden Gate Theater.

- East Los Angeles
- Boyle Heights
- City Terrace

as a teen-ager going to see first-run movies at the theater, one of fewer than two dozen buildings in Los Angeles in the Spanish Churrigueresque style, according to the conservancy. The entrance to the theater replicates the portal of the University of Salamanca in Spain.

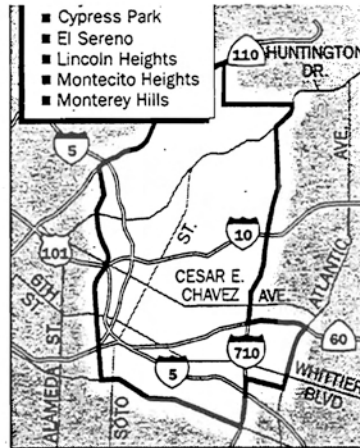
The effort to preserve the theater has become all the more urgent because the Vega Building, another structure in the same architectural style on the site, was demolished in 1992 after officials determined that the 1987 Whittier Narrows earthquake had rendered it a hazard.

The Angelopoulos family, which has owned the property for 20 years, could not be reached for comment.

The family wants to pursue getting the theater off the national register so that it might be demolished in the future if other options have been exhausted, said their attorney, Jerold B. Neuman.

"They have looked for a project that could accommodate the theater and have proposed to preserve historic elements of the architecture," Neuman said. One proposal would have made the theater the headquarters for the El Gallo Giro restaurant chain. The company planned to build a restaurant where the Vega Building once stood and open the main part of the theater for community gatherings, he said, but those plans fell through.

Aside from their effort to keep the historical designation intact, those interested in saving the Golden Gate Theater are looking to the Metropolitan Transportation Authority,



which decided last month to find funds to buy the site for a Metro Red Line station. The MTA's vote was unusual because, although the property had been targeted for the station, it lies in the second phase of the Eastside extension, which has not yet been funded.

Another ray of hope came at an Aug. 2 meeting of the County Board of Supervisors. The board voted 3-2 to approve Supervisor Gloria Molina's motion to designate the theater as a "historical resource."

Neuman said that the supervisors have made it nearly impossible to demolish the theater, as the owners would have to do a costly environmental-impact report as well as receive a demolition permit.

"I think it's a victory for the community," said Frank Villalobos, president of Barrio Planners Inc., an Eastside architectural firm.

—MARY ANNE PEREZ



Community Center
South Indiana Street
Angeles, California 90025
L. MURAL

Exhibit 74

XI.

THEN & NOW

Prepared by: Irma Rodriguez, Diversified Data Services, Inc.



**THEN AND NOW
OF THE
EAST LOS ANGELES COMMUNITY**

<u>Exhibit No.</u>	<u>Description</u>
1.	Whittier Boulevard Sign: The Heart of East Los Angeles.
2.	Mural of the Virgen de Guadalupe on the corner of Cesar Chavez Boulevard and Mednik Streets at the Community Development Commission of the City of Los Angeles.
3.	Our Lady of Guadalupe Church at 3rd and Eastern with mural painted on the side wall.
4.	Templo Victoria Church, 3729 Cesar Chavez Boulevard, on the corners of Gage and Cesar Chavez Avenue. This was once the site of the East Minster Presbyterian Church.
5.	Sra. Maria Flora, La Curandera at 3420 Cesar Chavez Boulevard.
6.	Mural on the wall of a fruit market depicting present political climate affecting the East Los Angeles community, including "No on Proposition 187," at the corner of Indiana and Cesar Chavez Avenues.
7.	Since 1928, Zeferino Ramirez Mortuary has existed at 4545 Cesar Chavez Avenue.
8.	Since 1940, Lovejoy Lumber Company at 500 Ford Boulevard is still in operation.
9.	Adjacent to Lovejoy Lumber Company, Barrera's Chicharones at 475 Ford Boulevard has been in operation since 1875.
10.	Cesar Chavez Boulevard and Indiana intersection as it looked in the early 1940's and as it appears in 1995.
11.	Evergreen Cemetery: A Caucasian plot of Michael Healey dating 1835-1901 and an Asian plot of the Watanabe family dating as early as 1886-1964.
12.	Mariachi Plaza at 1st and Boyle Streets. The future site of a Metro station.
13.	Dolores Mission at 3rd and Gless Streets.

Exhibit No. **Description**

14. Hollenbeck Police Station at 1st and Chicago Streets as it appeared in the early 1920's and as it appears today.
15. Near the same intersection of 1st and Chicago Streets where the tramway existed in 1900 and as it appears today.
16. And the Benjamin Franklin Library at the corner of 1st and Chicago Streets as it existed in 1928 and as it appears today.
17. In 1909, the stately home of Chester Bucks occupied 1831 Pennsylvania Avenue near State Street; today it is the site of housing for White Memorial Hospital employees.
18. What was originally the Japanese Hospital at First and Fickett Streets in 1929 is now the East Los Angeles Convalescent Hospital.
19. The Nut Wagon on Lorena Street and Whittier Boulevard. This same wagon was used during the 1920-40's to sell nuts throughout the neighborhood.
20. Mural at Estrada Courts, painted by youth of the housing project.
21. Where the Ferri Min Institute existed at 3417 Whittier Blvd. is now the Top Value Market at the corner of Lorena Street and Whittier Boulevard.
22. The Mercado entrance on 1st Street and mariachis playing near El Gallo Restaurant upstairs.
23. The Plaza Community Center entrance on Indiana Street.
24. Virgen de Guadalupe at Indiana and Lanfranco Streets. This medical facility had combatted graffiti for a number of years and recently had this mural painted on one of their walls. Graffiti has been replaced by the mural which also serves as a community alter.



Exhibit 1.

Whittier Boulevard Sign: The Heart of East Los Angeles.



Exhibit 2.

Mural of the Virgen de Guadalupe on the corner of Cesar Chavez Boulevard and Mednik Streets at the Community Development Commission of the City of Los Angeles.

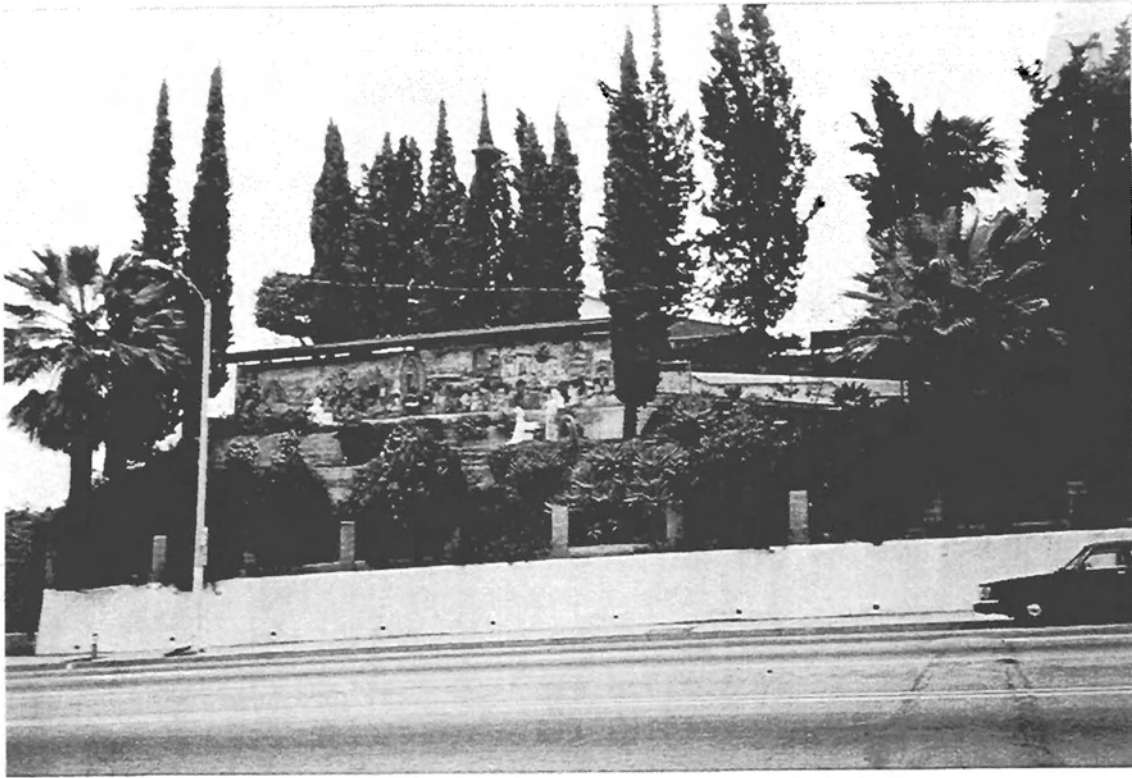


Exhibit 3.

Our Lady of Guadalupe Church at 3rd and Eastern with mural painted on the side wall.

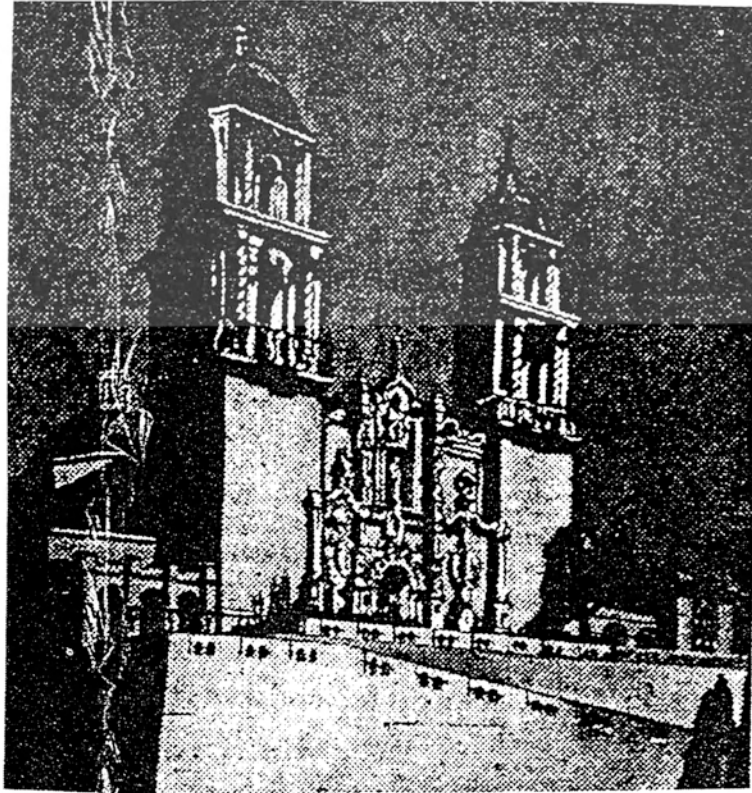


Exhibit 4.

Templo Victoria Church, 3729 Cesar Chavez Boulevard, on the corners of Gage and Cesar Chavez Avenue. This was once the site of the East Minster Presbyterian Church.



Exhibit 5.

Sra. Maria Flora, La Curandera at 3420 Cesar Chavez Boulevard.

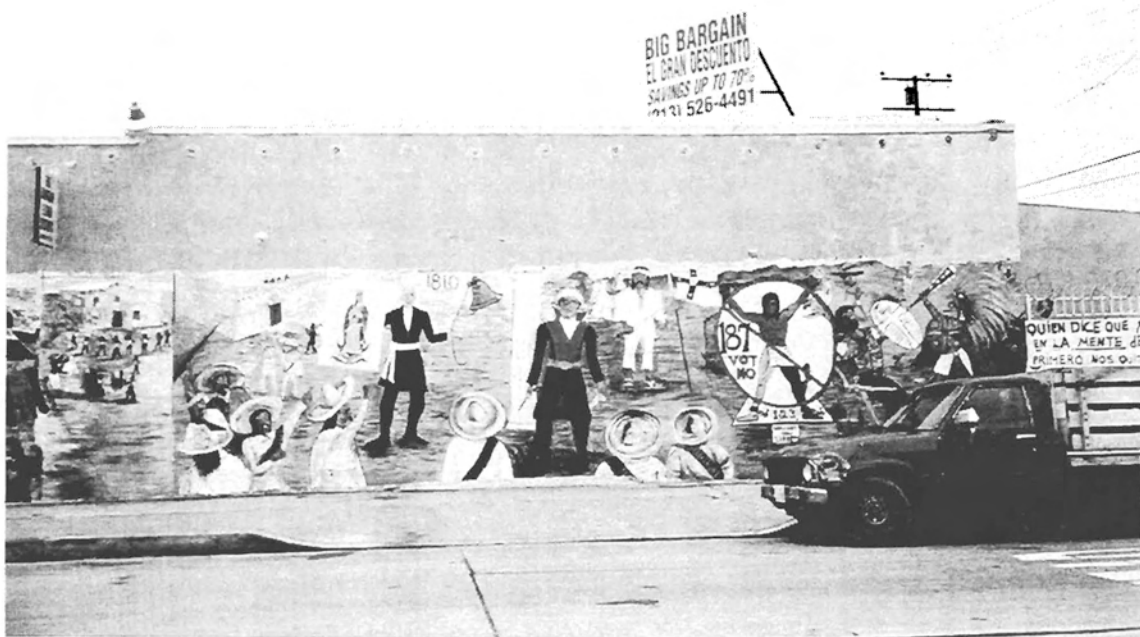


Exhibit 6.

Mural on the wall of a fruit market depicting present political climate affecting the East Los Angeles community, including "No on Proposition 187," at the corner of Indiana and Cesar Chavez Avenues.

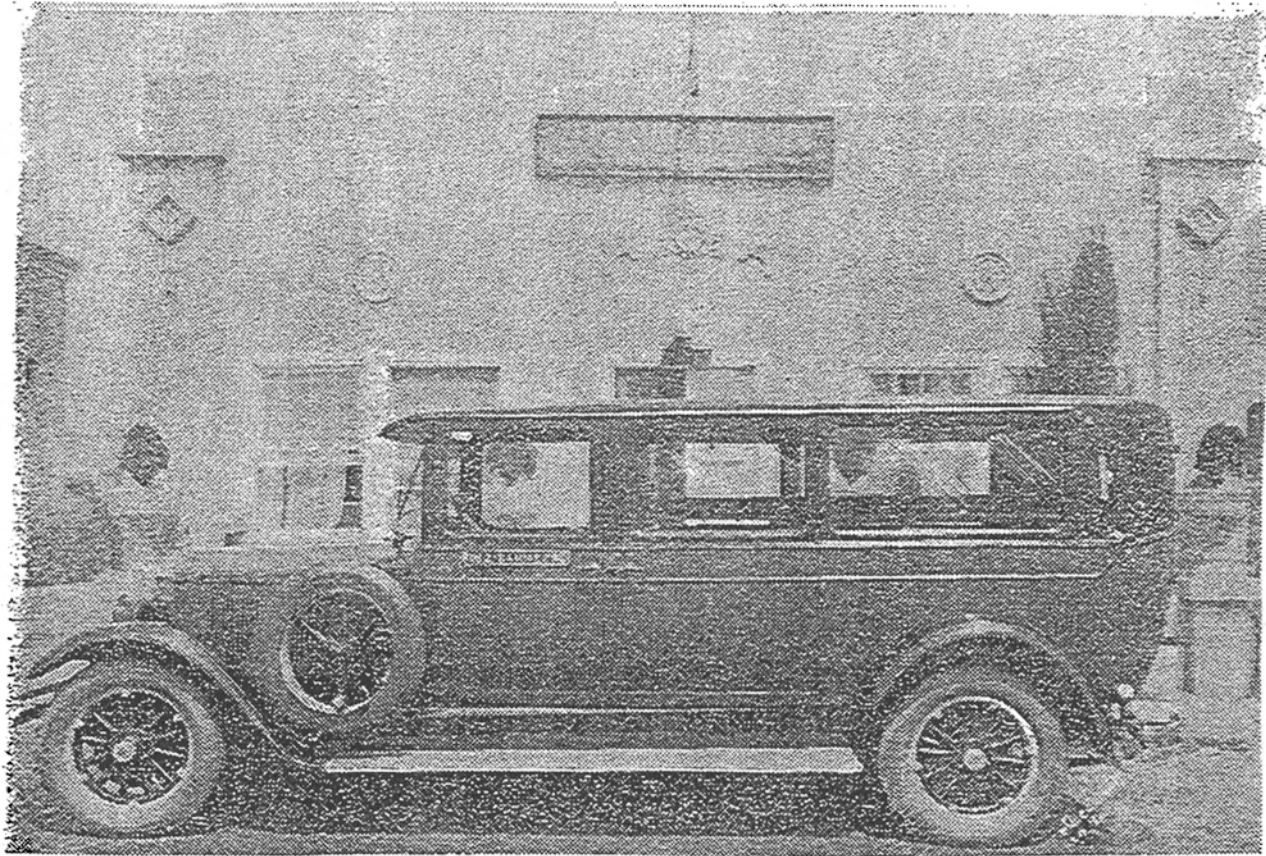
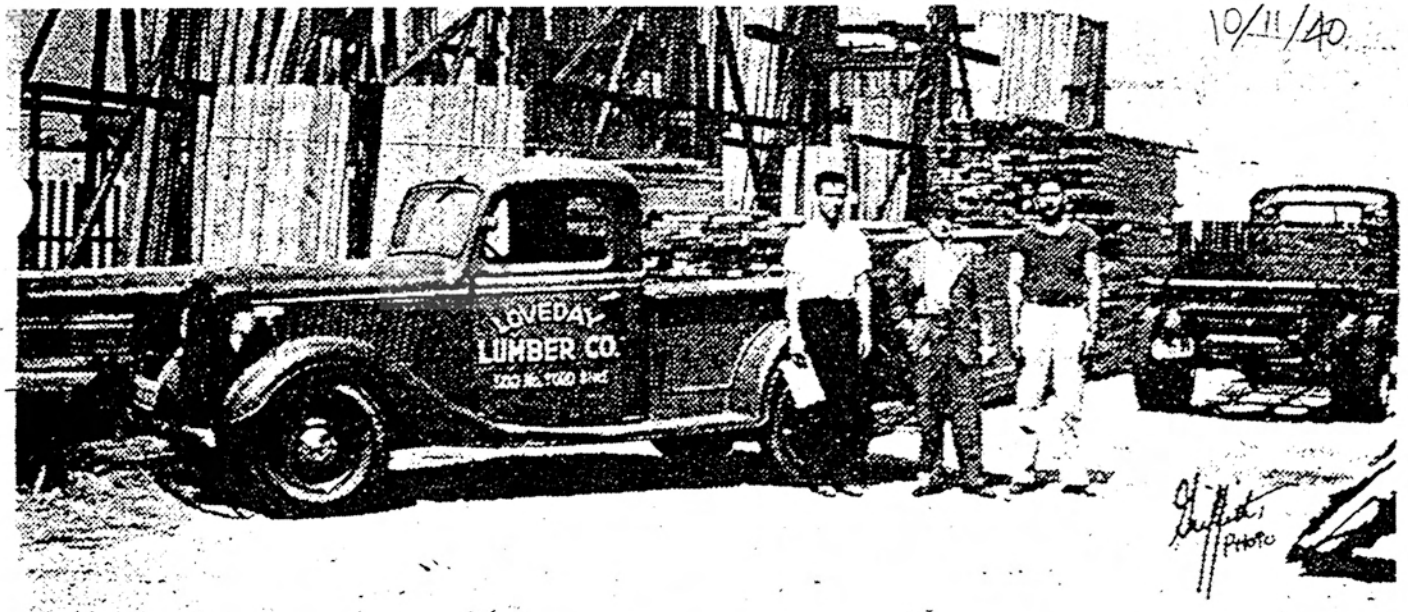


Exhibit 7.

Since 1928, Zeferino Ramirez Mortuary has existed at 4545 Cesar Chavez Avenue.



**R. H. Loveday Of Loveday
Lumber Co. Has Built
Fine E. L. A. Business**



Exhibit 8.

Since 1940, Lovejoy Lumber Company at 500 Ford Boulevard is still in operation.



Exhibit 9.

Adjacent to Lovejoy Lumber Company, Barrera's Chicharones at 475 Ford Boulevard has been in operation since 1875.



Exhibit 10.

Cesar Chavez Boulevard and Indiana intersection as it looked in the early 1940's and as it appears in 1995.



Exhibit 11.

Evergreen Cemetery: A Caucasian plot of Michael Healey dating 1835-1901 and an Asian plot of the Watanabe family dating as early as 1886-1964.



Exhibit 12.

Mariachi Plaza at 1st and Boyle Streets. The future site of a Metro station.

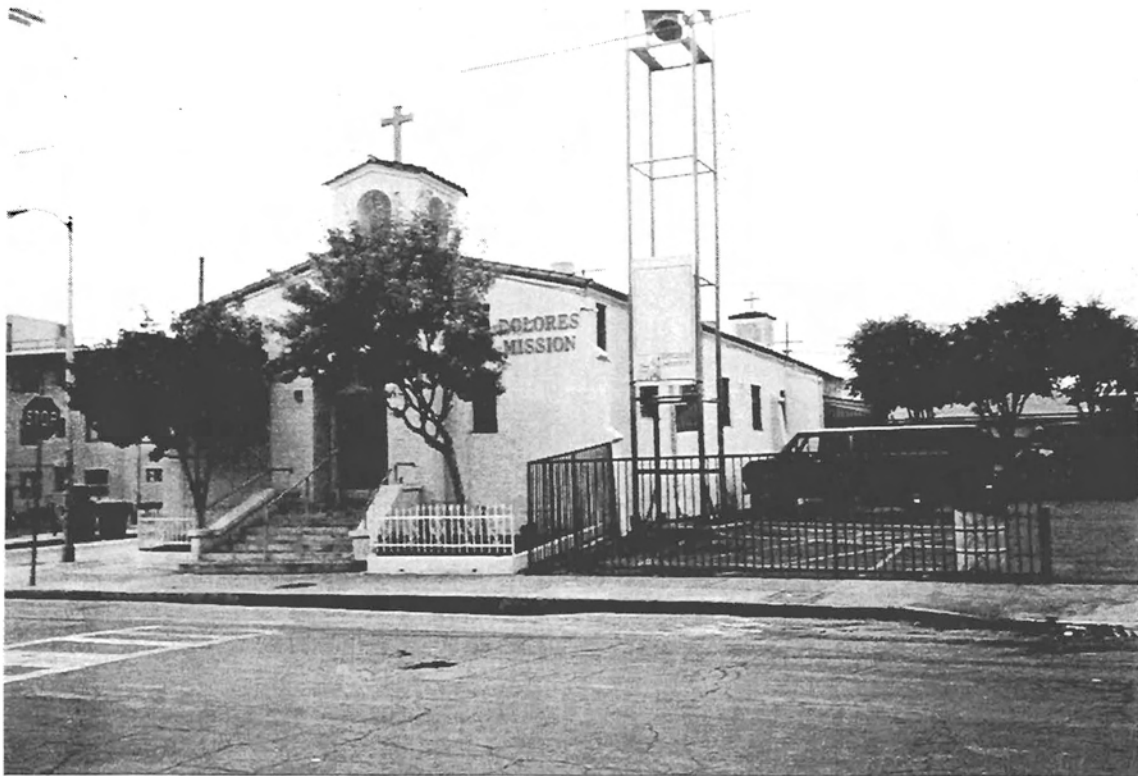


Exhibit 13.

Dolores Mission at 3rd and Gless Streets.

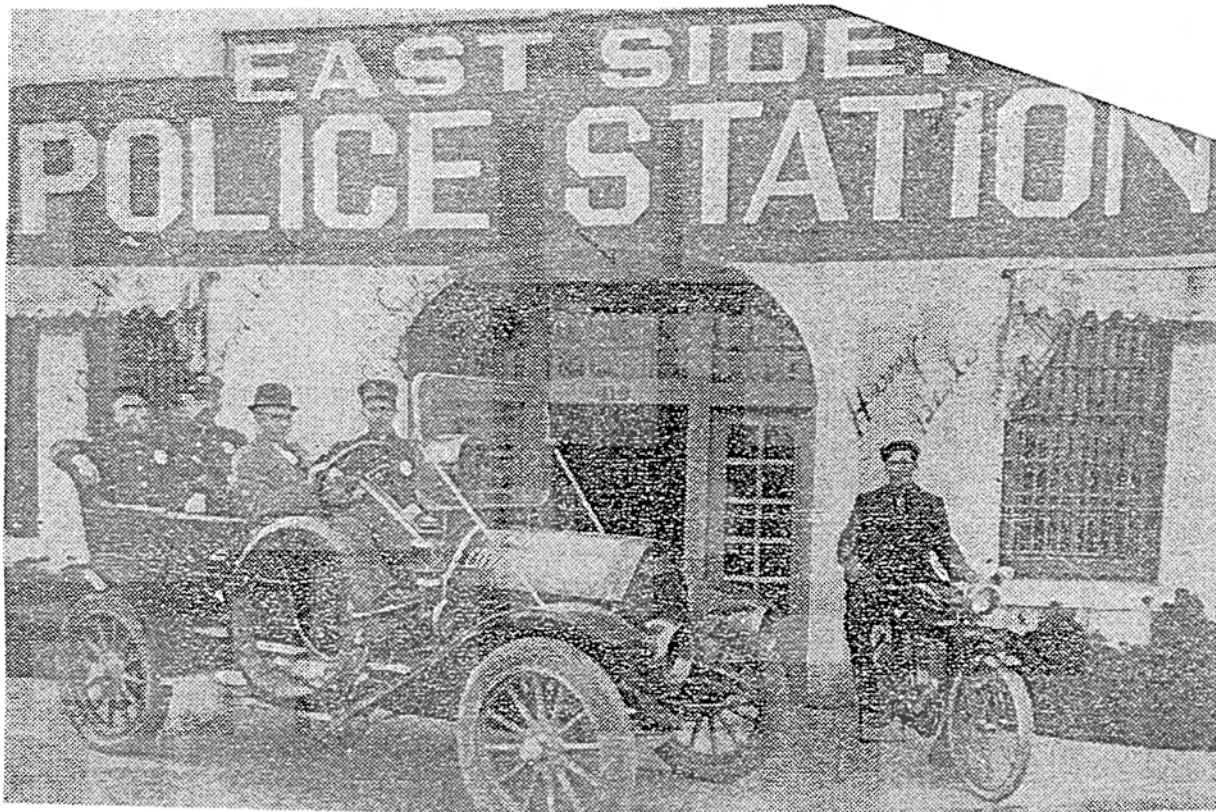


Exhibit 14.

Hollenbeck Police Station at 1st and Chicago Streets as it appeared in the early 1920's and as it appears today.



Exhibit 15.

Near the same intersection of 1st and Chicago Streets is where the tramway existed in 1900 and as it appears today.

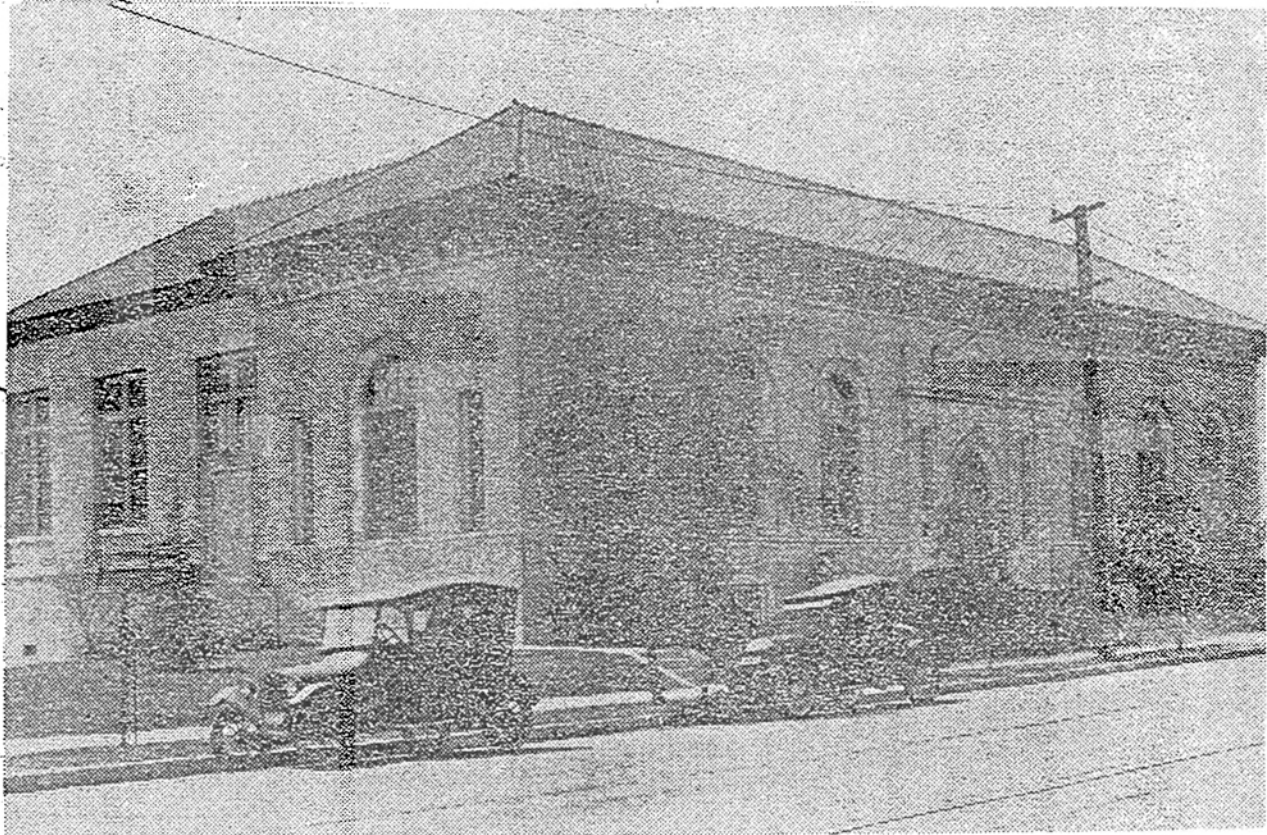


Exhibit 16.

And the Benjamin Franklin Library at the corner of 1st and Chicago Streets as it existed in 1928 and as it appears today.

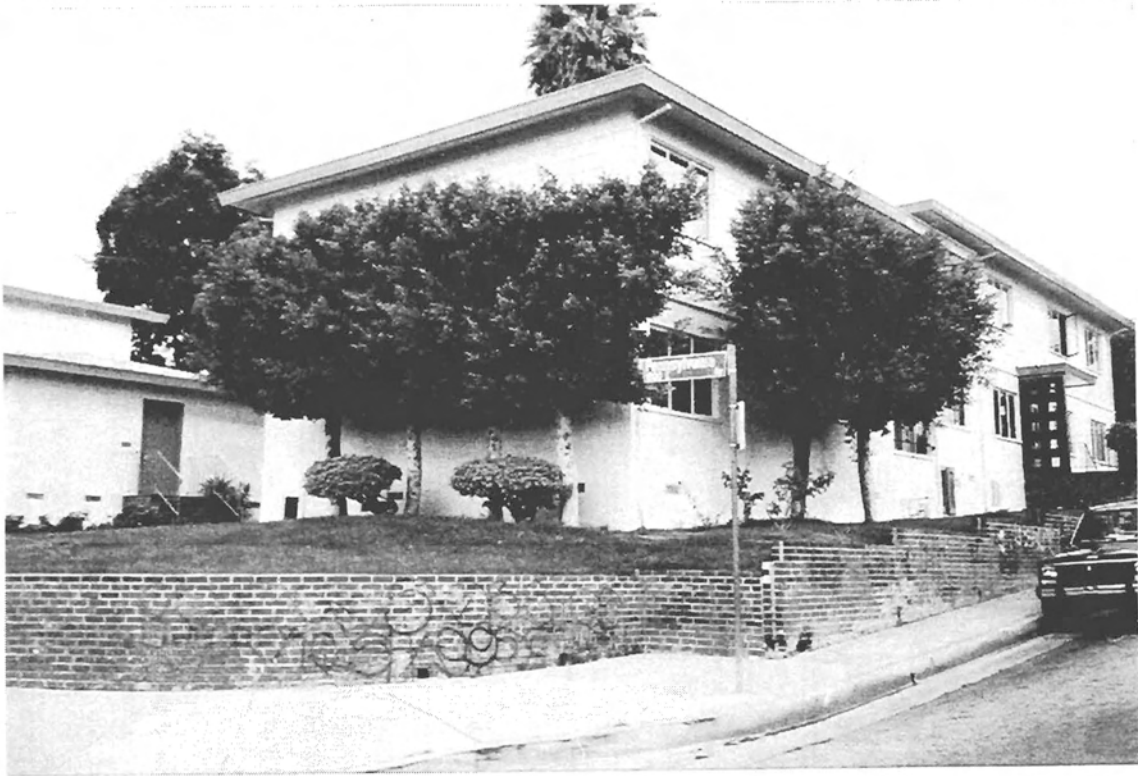
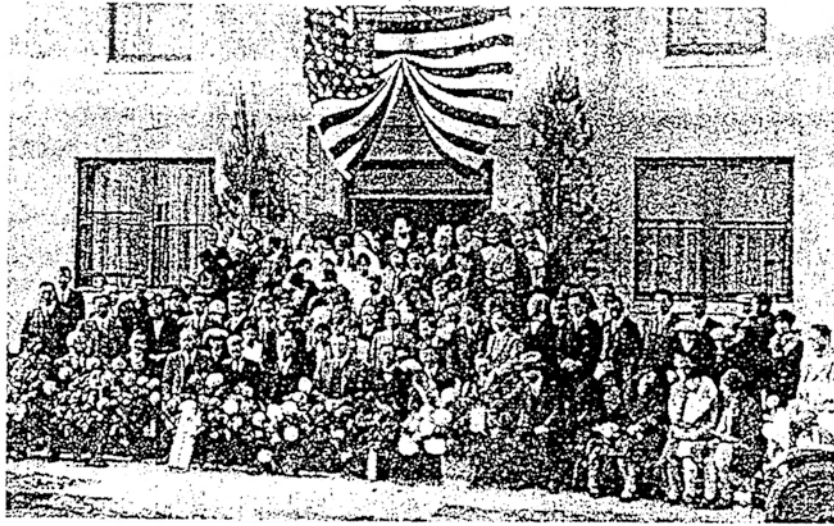


Exhibit 17.

In 1909, the stately home of Chester Bucks occupied 1831 Pennsylvania Avenue near State Street; today it is the site of housing for White Memorial Hospital Employees.



*The opening ceremony for the Japanese Hospital at First and Fickett streets, Los Angeles, December 1, 1929. Wright is seated in the center.



Exhibit 18.

What was originally the Japanese Hospital at First and Fickett Streets in 1929 is now the East Los Angeles Convalescent Hospital.



Exhibit 19.

The Nut Wagon on Lorena Street and Whittier Boulevard.
This same wagon was used during the 1920-40's to sell nuts throughout the neighborhood.



Exhibit 20.

Mural at Estrada Courts, painted by youth of the housing project.

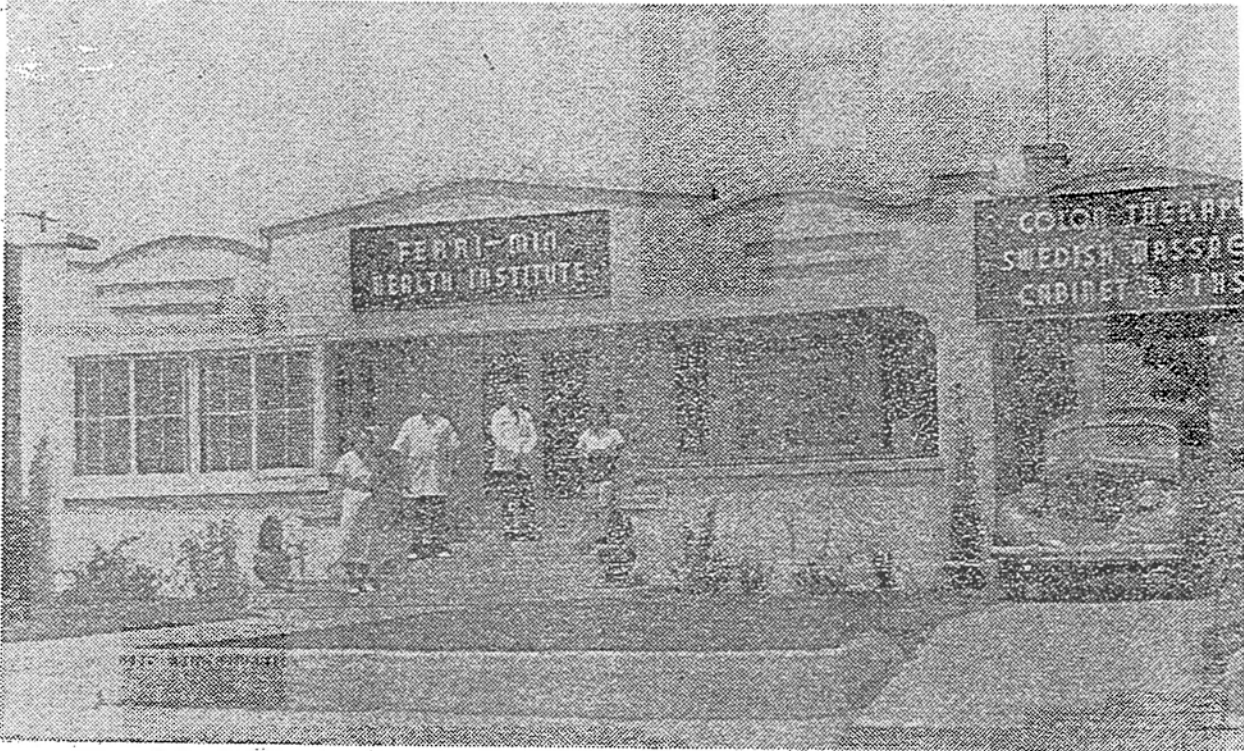


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Where the Ferri Min Institute existed at 3417 Whittier Blvd. is now the Top Value Market at the corner of Lorena Street and Whittier Boulevard.



Exhibit 22.

The Mercado entrance on 1st Street and mariachis playing near El Gallo Restaurant upstairs.



Exhibit 23.

The Plaza Community Center entrance on Indiana Street.



Exhibit 24.

Virgen de Guadalupe mural at Indiana and Lanfranco Streets.

This medical facility had combatted graffiti for a number of years and recently had this mural painted on one of their walls. Graffiti has been replaced by the mural which also serves as a community alter.

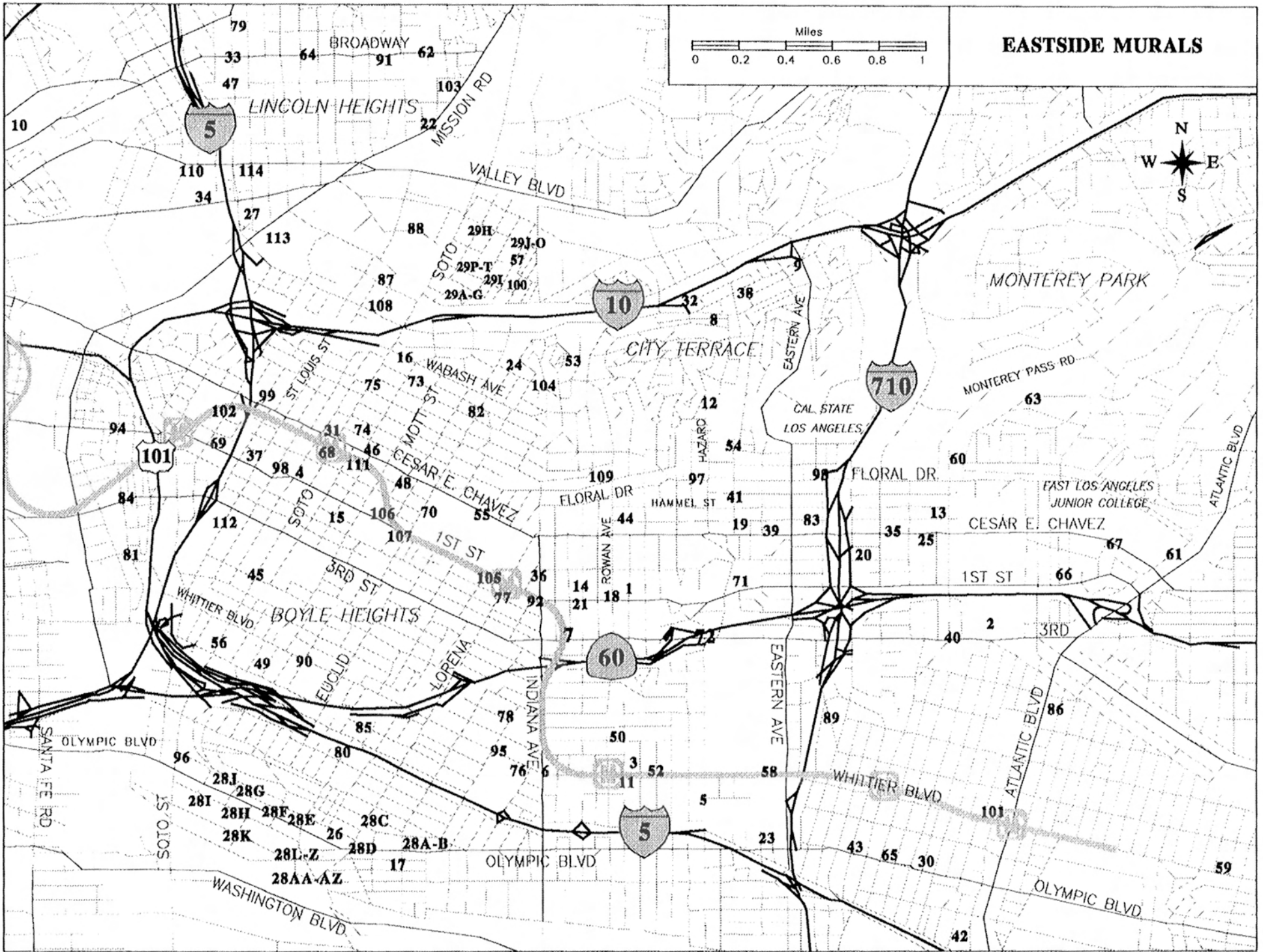
XII.

A LISTING OF EASTSIDE MURALS

Extracted from:

Draft Cultural Needs Assessment Document
Prepared by George Yepes Studio





EASTSIDE MURALS

<u>Map Reference No.</u>	<u>Title, Date & Location</u>
1.	Our Past, Our Present and Our Future 1966 Private Pan American Bank, exterior 3636 East 1st Street (at Townsend Street) Los Angeles, CA
2.	El Mexicano-Americano Ayer, Ahora, Manana East Los Angeles Public Library, interior 4801 East 3rd Street Los Angeles, CA
3.	Doctors Hospital Murals 1969 Private East Los Angeles Doctors Hospital, exterior 4060 Whittier Blvd., (between Herbert and Gage) Los Angeles, CA
4.	Untitled 1969 Hollenbeck Police Station, interior 2111 East 1st Street (between St. Louis and Chicago Streets) Boyle Heights, Los Angeles, CA
5.	Untitled 1970 Lil Valley Youth and Parents Association Ken's Market, exterior 531 Bonnie Beach Place (at 6th Street) Los Angeles, CA
6.	Homeboy 1970 Plaza Community Center, exterior south-facing wall 648 South Indiana (between Princeton and Hubbard Streets) Los Angeles, CA
7.	Untitled 1971 Our Lady of Lourdes, interior sanctuary east chapel 3772 East 3rd Street (at Rowan) Los Angeles, CA
8.	The Wall That Cracked Open 1972 Self-sponsored 4125 City Terrace Drive (near Carmelita), exterior rear alley City Terrace, Los Angeles, CA

9. Quetzalcoatl-Plumed Serpent 1972
Rear of corner Mercado
City Terrace Drive and Miller
Los Angeles, CA
10. La Familiar Hernandez 1972 CMP
Happy Day Fashion
2701 North Broadway (mural on Workman Street)
Lincoln Heights, Los Angeles, CA
11. Homage to Ruben Salazar early 1970s
East Los Angeles Doctors Hospital, exterior at emergency entrance
4060 Whittier Blvd. (at Gage)
Los Angeles, CA
12. The Kennedy Saga II 1973
L.A. County Supervisor Ernest Debs
City Terrace Park social hall, interior ceiling
1126 North Hazard Avenue (near Snow Drive)
Los Angeles, CA
13. Our Lady of Guadalupe 1973 SYETP
Community Development Commission, exterior
Brooklyn and Mednik Avenues (mural on Mednik)
Los Angeles, CA
14. La Nueva Unidad c. 1974
Self-sponsored
Ecumex Video (formerly Goetz Studio), interior near front door
3757 East 1st Street (new Eastman)
Los Angeles, CA
15. Untitled 1974
Mott Street between East 1st and East 2nd Streets 25" long
Los Angeles, CA
16. Las Tres Culturas 1974 (restored 1981 and 1986)
Moe's Hardware, exterior
3044 Wabash Avenue (near Stone Street)
Los Angeles, CA
17. Chains of Life 1974 private
Angeles Sawdust Products Corporation, exterior
1516 Grande Vista (between Pico Blvd. and Lorena)
Los Angeles, CA

18. A Story of Our Struggle 1974
First Street Store, exterior
3640 East 1st Street (at Townsend)
Los Angeles, CA
19. Unidos Carnales 1974
4136 Brooklyn Avenue (between Sunaol and Marianna)
Los Angeles, CA
20. Evolution 1974
Alfonso Perez Special Education Center, interior elementary building
4540 Michigan Avenue (at Ford Blvd.)
Los Angeles, CA
21. Search for Identity 1971 owner commission
First Street Store, interior
3640 Est 1st Street (at Townsend)
Boyle Heights, Los Angeles, CA
22. The Learning Tree 1975
Plaza de la Raza, exterior facing parking lot
3540 North Mission Road (at Lincoln Park Ave.)
Los Angeles, CA
23. Read Between The Lines (Cuidense Amigos) 1975 private
Sloan's Dry Cleaners, exterior
4539 East Olympic Blvd. (mural on Ford Blvd.)
Los Angeles, CA
24. Las Novellas 1975
Wascowash Lavanderia (formerly Bank of America), exterior
3051 Wabash Avenue (at Sentinel)
Los Angeles, CA
25. The Short Life of John Doe (La Vida Breve de Alfonso Fulano) 1975
Centro Maravilla, exterior front
4716 Brooklyn Avenue (at Arizona)
Los Angeles, CA
26. Train 1975 CMP
Dakotah Elementary School, exterior
Grande Vista (between Olympic Blvd. and Glenn Avenue)
Los Angeles, CA

27. Untitled 1975
 Stoddard Automotive, exterior
 1721 Workman (at Richmond Street)
 Lincoln Heights, Los Angeles, CA

28. The Murals of Estrada Courts:
 - A. Give Me Life 1973
 3357-3359 Olympic Blvd. (at Lorena)

 - B. Untitled 1973
 3359 1/2 Olympic Blvd.

 - C. Untitled
 3341 Olympic Blvd.

 - D. Untitled
 3331 Olympic Blvd.

 - E. Untitled 1975
 333 1/2 Olympic Blvd.

 - F. Untitled
 3327 1/2 Olympic Blvd.

 - G. Creations of Man 1974
 3301 Olympic Blvd.

 - H. The Sun Bathers 1973
 3787 Olympic Blvd.

 - I. Dreams of Flight 1973-1978
 3241 Olympic Blvd.

 - J. The Artist 1973
 3237 Olympic Blvd.

 - K. Moratorium - The Black and White Mural 1973
 3221 Olympic Blvd.

 - L. We Are Not A Minority 1978
 3217 Olympic Blvd.

 - M. Innocence 1973
 3201 Olympic Blvd.

- N. Two Flags
1364-6 Grande Vista Avenue at Olympic Blvd.
- O. Untitled 1973
1372 Grande Vista Avenue at Olympic Blvd.
- P. Untitled 1976
3207 Olympic Blvd. (walkway)
- Q. Untitled 1976
3227 Olympic Blvd. (walkway)
- R. Untitled
3231 Olympic Blvd. (walkway)
- S. Untitled 1975
3247 Olympic Blvd. (walkway)
- T. Untitled 1975
3281 Olympic Blvd. (walkway)
- U. Sleeping Woman's Dream 1974
3307 Olympic Blvd. (walkway)
- V. Untitled 1977
3335 Olympic Blvd. (walkway)
- W. Untitled 1973
3347 Olympic Blvd. (walkway)
- X. Untitled 1977
3355 Olympic Blvd. (facing parking lot)
- Y. Untitled 1974
3351 Olympic Blvd. (facing parking lot)
- Z. Untitled
3339 1/2 Olympic Blvd. (facing parking lot)
- AA. Untitled 1976
3315 Olympic Blvd. (inside quad)
- AB. Untitled 1974
3311 Olympic Blvd. (inside quad)

- AC. Untitled
3275 Olympic Blvd. (walkway)
- AD. Untitled
3264 Olympic Blvd. (walkway)
- AE. Untitled 1975
3240 Olympic Blvd. (walkway)
- AF. Untitled 1982
3234 Olympic Blvd. (walkway)
- AG. Untitled
1352 Grande Vista Avenue (at Glenn Avenue)
- AH. Zodiac 1976
3250 Glenn Avenue
- AI. American Concert 1974
3254 Glenn Avenue
- AJ. Ocean Fantasy
3280 Glenn Avenue
- AK. Untitled
3265 Glenn Avenue (facing parking lot)
- AL. Orale Raza 1974-1979
1319 Lorena Street
- AM. La Fiesta c. 1973
3370-3372 1/2 Hunter Street (facing parking lot)
- AN. Untitled
3340 1/2 Hunter Street (facing parking lot)
- AO. Olympia 1976
3310 Hunter Street (walkway)
- AP. Untitled
1326 Concord Street (walkway)
- AQ. Metamorphosis 1977
1336 Concord Street (at Glenn Avenue)

- AR. Untitled 1983
3316 Hunter Street (walkway)
- AS. Tribute to the Farmworkers 1974
1311 Lorena Street
- AT. Untitled
3346 1/2 Hunter Street (walkway)
- AU. Untitled
3318 Hunter Street (walkway)
- AV. If We Could Share 1976
3322 1/2 Hunter Street (near Concord Street)
- AW. In Memory of a Homeboy 1973
3328 Hunter Street
- AX. Untitled
3356 1/2 Hunter Street
- AY. Untitled
3384 1/2 Hunter Street
- AZ. Untitled 1973
1301 Lorena Street (at Hunter)

29. The Murals of Ramona Gardens:

- A. To Ace Out A Homeboy 1974 Mechicano Arts Center
3871 Lancaster Avenue
- B. Pray for Peace in the Barrios
Building 1463-77
- C. The Flying Cross 1974
Building 1529-39
- D. Untitled 1974
Building 1451-60
- E. Ghosts of the Barrio 1974 Mechicano Arts Center
Building 2731-37

- F. Untitled 1974
1407 Lancaster Avenue (near Murchison)
- G. La Mujer 1976
1566 Lancaster Avenue (between Indiana and Nieto Lane)
- H. Ring of Fire 1975
2720-26 Alcazar (between Murchison and Evergreen)
- I. Adam y Eva 1975
1501-7 Lancaster Avenue
- J. La Adelita 1976
1581 Alcazar (between Murchison and Evergreen)
- K. Inner Self
Building 1506-20
- L. Untitled 1982
2731-37 Lancaster Avenue (near Murchison)
- M. Generations
Building 1504-10
- N. Untitled
Building 1451-60
- O. Hazard Grande (In Memory of Homeboys and Homegirls)
Building 1425-31
- P. Untitled
2700 Lancaster Avenue (at Murchison)
- Q. Untitled
1348 Lancaster Avenue (near Murchison)
- R. Untitled
Parking lot retraining wall
Lancaster Avenue (near Murchison)
- S. Untitled 1975 CMP
Fowler and Indiana Streets
- T. Untitled 1992
1504-10 Lancaster Avenue (near Evergreen)

30. Untitled (sometimes called AGES) 1976
American Legion, exterior
4910 East Olympic Blvd (between La Verne and Ferris Avenues)
31. Advancements of Man 1976
Self-sponsored
2331 Brooklyn (at Soto), exterior northwest corner
Boyle Heights
32. La Doliente de Hidalgo (The Sorrow of Hidalgo) 1976
Self-Sponsored
Mercado Hidalgo, exterior
4301 City Terrace Avenue (at Miller)
City Terrace
33. Chicano Time Trip 1977 CMP/Crocker Bank
2601 North Broadway (at Daly Blvd.), exterior
Lincoln Heights, Los Angeles, CA
34. Quezalcoatl 1977 CMP
Avenue 20 and Mozart
Lincoln Heights, Los Angeles, CA
35. Untitled 1977 Housing Authority
Community Development Commission, interior
Brooklyn Avenue and Mednik
Los Angeles, CA
36. Belvedere The Education Train c. 1977
Belvedere Elementary School, exterior administration bldg.
3724 East 1st Street (between Rowan and Eastman)
Boyle Heights, California
37. The Four Elements as Plato Saw Them: Air, Fire, Water and Earth 1978
Benjamin Franklin Public Library, interior
2200 East 1st Street (at Chicago)
Los Angeles, CA
38. Ofrenda Maya 1978
Los Angeles Public Library, exterior
City Terrace and Miller Avenues
Los Angeles, CA

39. Tree of Knowledge (aka READ) 1978 CETA/Title VII
Anthony Quinn Public Library, exterior
3965 Brooklyn Avenue at Hazard
Los Angeles, CA
40. Eight-Deer Ocelot-Claw, Mixtec Chieftain or Life of An Aztec King
Edward R. Roybal Comprehensive Health Center, exterior
245 South Fetterly Avenue (at 3rd Street)
Los Angeles, CA
41. Untitled 1978
Hammel Street School, exterior middle playground
438 North Brannick Avenue at Dozier (best view of mural from Marianna)
Los Angeles, CA
42. La Danza de la Aguilas (Dance of the Eagles) 1978
Paseo Alameda (originally the Alameda Theater), exterior
5136 Whittier Blvd. (mural on Woods Avenue)
Los Angeles, CA
43. Mi Raza Es Mi Orgullo (My Race is My Pride) 1978 private
4646 East Olympic Blvd. (near Arizona)
Los Angeles, CA
44. Respect What You See 1979
Brooklyn Hardware, exterior
3734 Brooklyn Avenue (mural on Gage)
Los Angeles, CA
45. Filling Up on Ancient Energies 1979 Shell Oil Company
Shell Gas Station, exterior
Soto Street and 4th Street
Boyle Heights, Los Angeles, CA
46. Noah's Ark
Elias Pet Shop, exterior
Brooklyn Avenue and Mathews
Los Angeles, CA
47. Untitled
Avenue 20 between Mozart and North Broadway
Los Angeles, CA

48. Untitled
Cinco de Mayo Masonic Lodge, interior
2700 Brooklyn Avenue (at Mott Street)
Boyle Heights, Los Angeles, CA
49. Untitled
Odon's Meat Company, exterior
2801 Whittier Blvd. (mural on Camulos Street)
Los Angeles, CA
50. Untitled c. mid-1970's
Corner market
Hammel Street and Record Avenue
Los Angeles, CA
51. Untitled
Ramirez Mini Market, 2 exterior walls
6th Street and Record Avenue
Los Angeles, CA
52. Untitled
Yaqui Food Products (and Tortilla Factory), exterior
4000 Whittier Blvd. (mural on Gage Avenue)
Los Angeles, CA
53. APACHE
Chelo's Bar, exterior
3231 City Terrace Drive (between Hicks and Alma)
City Terrace, Los Angeles, CA
54. Untitled 1980
La Favorita Tortilleria, exterior
600 North Brannick (at Fisher)
Los Angeles, CA
55. MOCTEZUMA 1980 Manuel Duran (cafe owner)
El Moctezuma Cafe, exterior
3277 Brooklyn Avenue (mural on Bernal Avenue)
Boyle Heights, Los Angeles, CA
56. Mustang 1980 private
Salesian High School, interior gymnasium
Soto and 7th Streets
Los Angeles, CA

57. Class Daydream 1980 school
Murchison Street School, lunch pavilion
1501 Murchison Street (between Norfolk and Alcazar)
Los Angeles, CA
58. Nacimiento de un Guerrillero (Birth of a Warrior) 1980
Shell Gas Station, exterior
Whittier Blvd. at Eastern Avenue
Los Angeles, CA
59. Joyas del Mar c. 1980
El Siete Mares Restaurant, exterior facing parking lot
6307 Whittier Blvd. (at Saybrook)
Los Angeles, CA
60. The History of L.A. 1980 private
Argil Building Materials Company, exterior
4754 Floral (near Mednik)
Los Angeles, CA
61. Education Suite - Arte, Ciencia & Filosofia 1981
Los Angeles Community Colleges
Bailey Library at East Los Angeles College, interior stairway
1301 Brooklyn Avenue (near Atlantic Blvd.)
Monterey Park, CA
62. Where Heroes Are Born
1981 self-sponsored
3881 North Broadway (near Mission Blvd.)
Lincoln Heights, Los Angeles, CA
63. LEAF 1981 self-sponsored
1566 Ridge Crest Way (Near Monterey Pass Road)
Monterey Park, CA
64. Untitled 1982
2922 North Broadway (between Johnston and Griffin), exterior alley
Lincoln Heights, Los Angeles, CA
65. The Pride of Our Heritage
1983 TELACU
TELACU Industrial Park
5400 East Olympic Blvd. (at Goodrich)
Los Angeles, CA

66. Life Flows at Aliso-Pico 1983
Aliso-Pico Multipurpose Center, front exterior
1505 East 1st Street (near Clarence)
Boyle Heights, Los Angeles, CA
67. Las Olimpiadas 1984 Goez and LAOOC
East Los Angeles College, exterior front
Brooklyn and Schoolside Avenues (Near Atlantic Blvd.)
Monterey Park, CA
68. Corrido de Boyle Heights 1984 Payless Shoe Source
Payless Shoes, exterior
2336 Brooklyn at Soto (southwest corner)
Boyle Heights, Los Angeles, CA
69. Untitled 1984
1946 East 1st Street (near Golden State Fwy - 5), exterior
Boyle Heights, Los Angeles, CA
70. Untitled 1984 owner
2925 East 1st Street (near Evergreen), exterior
Boyle Heights, Los Angeles, CA
71. Untitled
Obregon Park, exterior
Marianna Avenue (between 1st Street and Michigan)
Boyle Heights, Los Angeles, CA
72. La Nuestra Senor de Guadalupe 1986
Sanctuario de Nuestra Senor de Guadalupe, exterior
East 3rd Street near Downey Road, in front garden
Los Angeles, CA
73. Por Que and Roots 1987 CYGS
Moon's Market, exterior
Fairmont and Fickett Streets, exterior southeast corner
Boyle Heights, Los Angeles, CA
74. A Warrior's Yesterday and Today 1987 CYGS
2530 Brooklyn Avenue (mural on Fickett)
Boyle Heights, Los Angeles, CA
75. In Memory of Payaso 1987 self-sponsored
(alley, between Houston and Malabar - east of Soto Street)
Boyle Heights, Los Angeles, CA

76. Tome Conciencia (Drink Awareness) 1987
One-Stop Immigration and Educational Center (formerly Julian Furniture)
3600 Whittier Blvd. (mural on Esperanza)
Los Angeles, CA
77. Olmos 1988 Time Magazine
El Mercado, rear of parking lot
1st Street just east of Lorena Street
Los Angeles, CA
78. Education is the Path to Success 1988
Plaza Community Center, exterior front
648 South Indiana (between Princeton and Hubbard Streets)
Los Angeles, CA
79. Trucha! Vital Decisions Ahead 1988 Group W Productions
Lincoln Heights Recreation Center, exterior
2303 Workman Street (between Broadway and Manitou Avenue)
Lincoln Heights, Los Angeles, CA
80. Jesus
1104 Spence Street (mural on fence on Beswick Street)
Los Angeles, CA
81. Mujer del Este de Los Angeles (Lady of the Eastside) 1989
418 South Pecan Street (near 4th Street exit off the Santa Ana Fwy - 101)
Los Angeles, CA
82. El Rebano de Jesus (The Flock of Jesus) 1989 Father Janito Fosselman
Church of the Assumption, exterior facing parking lot
Evergreen (between Winter and Blanchard Streets)
City Terrace, Los Angeles, CA
83. Untitled 1989 private
Tony's Transmission, exterior and interior
4327 Brooklyn Avenue (near Eastern Avenue)
Los Angeles, CA
84. Untitled 1989 SPARC
Aliso Pico Housing Project
Gless Street near 4th Street (facing playground)
Los Angeles, CA

85. Hispanic Art in the United States 1989 LACMA
Sunrise Elementary School, exterior eating area
7th Street and Euclid Avenue
Boyle Heights, Los Angeles, CA
86. Untitled 1989 private
Home Savings of America, exterior front
459 South Atlantic Blvd. (at Harding)
Monterey Park, CA
87. History of Medicine 1989
Los Angeles Board of Education
Francisco Bravo, M.D. Medical Magnet Senior High School, interior foyer
1200 Cornwell Street (at Charlotte)
Boyle Heights, Los Angeles, CA
88. Combined Forces 1990 SPARC
2000 Eastlake (mural on Darwin)
Lincoln Heights, Los Angeles, CA
89. Our Children Ask The World of Us 1990 school and Ricardo Renteria
Humphreys Avenue Elementary School, exterior facing playground
500 South Humphreys Avenue (between 5th and 6th Streets)
Los Angeles, CA
90. East L.A. YMCA Mural 1990
Weingart - Est Los Angeles YMCA, interior
2900 Whittier Blvd. (between Dacotah Street and Euclid Avenue)
Los Angeles, CA
91. MECHA 20th Anniversary 1990 Los Angeles Endowment for the Arts
Lincoln High School, auditorium exterior
North Broadway at Lincoln Park Avenue
Lincoln Heights, Los Angeles, CA
92. Untitled 1990
El Mercado, exterior east side
Cheesbrough Lane (at 1st Street)
Los Angeles, CA
93. The Living Temple 1990
Luis and Maria Gonzales
Floral Avenue just east of Eastern Avenue
Los Angeles, CA

94. Aliso-Pico Pride 1990
Clarence at East 1st Street (southeast corner)
Los Angeles, CA
95. 500 Years of Indigenous Struggle 1990
One Stop Immigration and Educational Center (formerly Julian Furniture),
interior
3600 Whittier Blvd. (at Esperanza)
Los Angeles, CA
96. Untitled 1991 Alan Fine
Fine's Food, exterior
2765 East Olympic Blvd. (between Soto Street and Orme Avenue)
Los Angeles, CA
97. Virgin's Seed 1991 Our Lady of Guadalupe Church
David Lee Market, exterior
Hazard Avenue at Hammel Street (one block north of Brooklyn Avenue)
Los Angeles, CA
98. Untitled 1991 self-sponsored
Gonzalez Bookstore, exterior facing alley
2316 East 1st Street (between Soto and Breed)
Los Angeles, CA
99. Resurrection of the Green Planet 1991 SPARC
El Pavo Bakery, exterior
2242 Brooklyn Avenue (mural on Breed Street)
Boyle Heights, Los Angeles, CA
100. Freedom to Learn 1991
Murchison Street School, exterior front
1501 Murchison Street (between Alcazar and Norfolk)
Los Angeles, CA
101. Self Portrait: Culture and Me 1991 Enfoque Magazine
Paseo Alameda (originally the Alameda Theater)
5136 Whittier Blvd. (mural is on Woods)
Los Angeles, CA
102. Todos Los Ninos Son Tuyos (All The Children Are Yours) 1991
Self-sponsored with L.A. Works Early Learning Center, exterior facing
playground
233 Breed Street (between Michigan and Brooklyn)
Boyle Heights, Los Angeles, CA

103. Hacia Al Norte 1991 private
Outdoor Products, interior in the employees' cafeteria
3800 Mission Road (near North Broadway)
Lincoln Heights, Los Angeles, CA
104. Building The Future 1991 private
Salesian Boys and Girls Club, interior
3218 Wabash Avenue (at Alma)
Los Angeles, CA
105. Mayan Rain God 1991 private
El Mercado, exterior facing Lorena
Lorena and East 1st Street
Boyle Heights, Los Angeles, CA
106. Splendors of Mexico 1991 LACMA
First Street School, exterior facing playground
2820 East 1st Street (at Savannah)
Boyle Heights, Los Angeles, CA
107. We Have A Future 1991 Dolores Mission School
Aliso-Pico Multipurpose Center, exterior parking lot
1505 East 1st Street
Boyle Heights, Los Angeles, CA
108. Stairway To Global health 1991 LACAD
Francisco Bravo, M.D. Medical Magnet Senior High School, exterior
1200 Cornwell Street (at Charlotte)
Boyle Heights, Los Angeles, CA
109. Positive Goals 1992 Southern California Edison
Wabash Substation, exterior retaining wall
Folsom Street and Rowan Avenue
City Terrace, Los Angeles, CA
110. Untitled 1992 school
Albion Street School, exterior
322 South Avenue 18 (between Albion and Mozart)
Lincoln Heights, Los Angeles, CA
111. No Greater Love 1992 Ed Ramirez
Ramirez Pharmacy, exterior
Brooklyn Avenue and Soto Street (northeast corner)
Boyle Heights, Los Angeles, CA

112. The Resurrection 1992
St. Mary's Church, interior sanctuary behind the altar
4th and Chicago Street
Boyle Heights, Los Angeles, CA

113. Immaculate Perception 1992 SPARC
Planned Parenthood
1920 Marengo Street
(near L.A. County-USC Medical Center)
Los Angeles, CA

114. Golden Phoenix is Flying 1992 SPARC
Quon Yick Noodle Company, exterior
2730 North Main (at Sichel)
Lincoln Heights, Los Angeles, CA

XIII.

DOCUMENTARY AND NARRATIVE
CULTURAL HISTORY MATERIALS:
A LATINO PERSPECTIVE

Prepared by: Dr. Juan Gomez-Quinones



DOCUMENTARY AND NARRATIVE CULTURAL HISTORY MATERIALS

Exhibits

I. 19th Century

1. The first census of Los Angeles, 1781.
2. Pio Pico correspondence, 1846-1849. California Historical Quarterly, vol. 13 (June 1934).
3. "Editorial," El Clamor Publico, March 29, 1856.
4. "Letter to the Editor," El Clamor Publico, March 21, 1857.
5. "To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives, " Antonio Maria Pico, February 21, 1859. Manuscript HN 514, Huntington Library, San Marino, California.
6. "A Measure of Their Former Power," Carey McWilliams, North from Mexico, (1948), pp. 92-93.
7. "Since 1880 Mexicans," Carey McWilliams, North from Mexico, pp. 168-169.

II. 1900 to 1941

8. "The Colonia Complex," Carey McWilliams, North from Mexico, pp. 217-221.
9. "Que Maravilla," Carey McWilliams, North from Mexico, pp. 223-225.
10. "We are Heading Toward Life," Ricardo Flores Magon, Revolucion, July 1907.
11. "Carta a Raul Palma, Los Angeles," Lucille Norma (daughter of Ricardo Flores Magon), January 12, 1923.
12. "By the Spring of 1922," Alejandro Morales, The Brick People, (1982), pp. 120-121.
13. "Then I Thought About the Time with the Grapes," Anthony Quinn, Original Sin, (1972), pp. 112-114.
14. "The United States, Octavio Decided," Alejandro Morales, The Brick People, (1982), pp. 114-115.

15. "Manifesto," Central Committee of the Confederation of Mexican Labor Unions, Los Angeles, December 1927.
16. "Conditions of Mexicans in California," Governor C.C. Young's Fact Finding Committee, Report, October 1930.
17. "Getting Rid of the Mexican," Carey McWilliams, The American Mercury, March 1933.
18. "Resolutions"; the 1939 Congress of Spanish Speaking People, Los Angeles.

III. 1941 to 1965

19. "Plotting a Riot and the Origin of Pachuquismo," Carey McWilliams, North from Mexico, pp. 235-243.
20. "Blood on the Pavement," Carey McWilliams, North from Mexico, pp. 244-255.
21. Sleepy Lagoon Defense Committee Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities in the United States, Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, 78th Congress, 2nd Session, 1944, vol. 9, pt. 2, pp. 1566-1656.
22. "El Hoyo," Art Godinez, 201 (1982).
23. "Summer Time. Sunday Morning," J.L. Navarro, Blue Day on Main Street, (1973), pp. 50-51.
24. "My Time had Come," Danny Santiago, Famous All Over Town, (1983), pp. 14-15.
25. "We'll Say that Ester is Getting Married," Laura del Fuego, Maravilla, (1989), pp. 15-19.
26. "Pobreza," Luis Rodriguez, 201 (1982).
27. "Each Street, Each Story," Marisela Norte, 201 (1982).
28. "Viva Kennedy," Louis F. Weschler and John F. Gallagher, Political Parties and Pressure Groups (1966), pp. 60-63.

IV. 1965 to 1976

29. "Pocho's Progress," Time Magazine, April 1967.
30. "Los Angeles," Ben Luna, 201.

31. "Tio Tacos are People Too," Frank Sifuentes, 201.
32. "Brown Power Unity Seen Behind School Disorder," Los Angeles Times, March 17, 1968.
33. "Mexican Americans in Upheaval," Jose Antonio Villareal (author, Pocho, 1959), Los Angeles Times, September 18, 1966.
34. "Retrato de un Bato Loco," Marcus Duran, Con Safos (1970).
35. "Catolicos por la Raza," group statement, La Raza (1970).
36. "Chicano Power, Congress of Mexican American Unity," La Raza (1968).
37. "La Campana de Los Pobres," La Raza (1968).
38. "Chicana Symposium, Corazon de Aztlan," La Raza (1969).
39. "Instinctively, we rushed forward pulled by an overwhelming surge of energy," Laura del Fuego, Maravilla, (1989).
40. "August 29," Consuelo Norte (1994).

V. 1975 to 1995

41. "Latinos: Building Power from the Ground Up," Louis Freedburg, California Government and Politics Annual, 1977-81.
42. "Linda Griego for Mayor of Los Angeles," Emily's List, February 1993.
43. Lyrics, Los Angelinos, The Eastside Renaissance, Ruben Guevara, 1932.
44. "Urban Exile," Harry Gamboa, Artweek, vol. 15, October 20, 1984.
45. "Sweet 15 Dispute: Archdiocese Act for Guidelines on Quinceneras," Nuestro Tiempo, April 3, 1990.
46. "Just Another Painter from East L.A., Gronk Goes to LACMA," LA Weekly, March 18, 1994.
47. "Cultural Mystery Tour, Bus Trip to L.A.'s Eastside," Los Angeles Times, July 7, 1994.
48. "Ciudad de Los Angeles," I & III Victor Manuel Valle, 201 (1932).

49. "The Music Moves the Streets," (review of Steven Loza, Barrio Rhythm, Mexican American Music in Los Angeles), Lynell George, Los Angeles Times, Book Review, September 28, 1993.

5. Mestizaje The First Census of Los Angeles, 1781*

Despite the enduring myth that “Spaniards” settled the borderlands, it is quite clear that the majority of the pioneers were Mexicans of mixed blood. In New Spain the three races of mankind, Caucasian, Mongol, and Negro, blended to form an infinite variety of blood strains, and this blending continued as Mexicans settled among aborigines in the Southwest. Thus *mestizaje*, or racial mixture, was so common that today the vast majority of all Mexicans are of mixed blood. Yet until this century the Mexican upper class viewed mestizos as inferior and placed a high value on their own *pureza de sangre* (purity of blood). This view endures among some Mexicans and Mexican Americans today.

The first census of El Pueblo de Nuestra Señora la Reina de los Angeles del Río de Porciúncula, taken in the year of its founding, 1781, reveals the truly Mexican origins of that pueblo's pioneer settlers. Only two of them claimed to be Spanish. The remainder were Indian, mestizo (in its narrowest sense, the child of an Indian and a Spaniard), mulatto (the child of a Negro and a Spaniard), Negro, coyote (the child of a mestizo and an Indian), and chino (the child of an Indian and a *salta-atras*—a person with Negroid features born of apparently white parents). Notice also, the paternalistic nature of Spanish government so evident in this census report.

First Census of Los Angeles Peninsula of California

Census of the population of the City of the Queen of the Angels, founded September 4th, 1781, on the banks of Porciúncula River, distant 45 leagues from the Presidio of San Diego, 27 leagues from the site selected for the establishment of the Presidio of Santa Barbara, and about a league and a half from the San Gabriel Mission; including the names and ages of the residents, their wives and children. Also an

*“First Census of Los Angeles,” trans. Thomas Workman Temple II, in *Historical Society of Southern California: Annual Publications*, 15, Part 2 (1931): 148–49. Reprinted by permission of the Historical Society of Southern California.

account of the number of animals and their kind, as distributed; with a note describing those to be held in common as sires of the different kinds, farming implements, forges, and tools for carpenter and cast work, and other things as received.

(1) Lara, Josef de, Spaniard,	50
Maria Antonio Campos,	
india sabina,	23,
Josef Julian,	4,
Juana de Jesus,	6,
Maria Faustina,	2.
(2) Navarro, Josef Antonio,	
mestizo,	42,
Maria Rufina Dorotea,	
mulata,	47,
Josef Maria,	10,
Josef Clemente,	9,
Maria Josefa,	4.
(3) Rosas, Basillio, indian	67,
Maria Manuela Calixtra,	
mulata,	43,
Jose Maximo,	15,
Carlos,	12,
Antonio Rosalino,	7,
Josef Marcelino,	4,
Juan Esteban,	2,
Maria Josefa,	8.
(4) Mesa, Antonio, negro	38,
Ana Gertrudis Lopez,	
mulata,	27,
Antonio Maria,	8,
Maria Paula,	10.
(5) Villavicencio, Antonio,	
Spaniard,	30,
Maria de los Santos	
Seferina, indian,	26,
Maria Antonio Josefa,	8.
(6) Vanegas, Josef, indian	28,
Maria Maxima Aguilar,	
indian,	20,
Cosme Damien,	1.

(7) Rosas, Alejandro, indian	19,
Juana Rodriguez, coyote	
indian	20.
(8) Rodriguez, Pablo, indian,	25,
Maria Rosalia Noriega,	
indian,	26,
Maria Antonia,	1.
(9) Camero, Manuel, mulato,	30,
Maria Tomasa, mulata,	24.
(10) Quintero, Luis, negro,	55,
Maria Petra Rubio,	
mulata	40,
Josef Clemente,	3,
Maria Gertrudis,	16,
Maria Concepcion,	9,
Tomasa,	7,
Rafaela,	6.
(11) Moreno, Jose, mulato,	22,
Maria Guadalupe	
Gertrudis,	19.
(12) Rodriguez, Antonio	
Miranda, chino,	50,
Juana Maria,	11.

Note

That in addition to the cattle, horses, and mules, distributed to the first 11 settlers, as set forth, they were granted building lots on which they have constructed their houses, which for the present are built of palisades, roofed with earth; also 2 irrigated fields for the cultivation of 2 fanegas of corn to each settler; in addition, a plow share, a hoe and an axe: and for the community, the proper number of carts, wagons, and breeding animals as set forth above, for which the settlers must account to the Royal Exchequer at the prices fixed: with the corresponding charges made against their accounts, as found in the Book of Poblacion, wherein are also to be found the building lots, planting fields, farming utensils, and animals belonging to the settler, Antonio Miranda Rodriguez, which will be granted to him, as soon as he appears at said Pueblo.

San Gabriel, November 19, 1781.

6. "The sacrificial goat"

Pío Pico, 1846–48*

The following excerpts from Governor Pío Pico's official correspondence reveal the desperate situation of a California official who wanted to remain loyal during the Mexican War. In May 1846, even before he learned of the outbreak of war with the United States, Governor Pico warned his home government that hostilities seemed imminent and that reinforcements were needed if the Californios were to defend themselves. Help failed to arrive, however, and by August, Pico had fled to Baja California, exhorting his countrymen to resist and to have faith. Mexico would eventually send help.

Pío Pico remained in exile for a year and a half, begging the central government for help and proclaiming the loyalty of the Californios. By March 1848 even the staunchly patriotic Pico had lost faith in Mexico. None of his letters had been answered by the foreign minister. Embittered, Pico returned to California in July 1848, making a pathetic attempt to regain his office of governor. Clearly, loyalty had not paid.

Pío Pico to the Minister of Foreign Relations,
Los Angeles, May 25, 1846.

Excellent Sir:

The uncertainty in which we find ourselves in this Department concerning the true state existing at this date in the political affairs between our Government and the Republic of the United States of the North, the excessive introduction of armed adventurers from the Nation, leaves us no doubt of the war that we shall have with the North Americans. The critical situation in which we find ourselves constrains me more and more to politely arouse His Excellency the President through Your Excellency's mediation so that he may take care of us efficaciously; providing us with the necessary resources for an honorable resistance, that may serve as a warning to the depraved plans of that piratical Nation.

*George Tays, ed. and trans., "Pío Pico's Correspondence with the Mexican Government, 1846-1848," *California Historical Quarterly* 13, no. 2 (June 1934): 103-4, 122-23, 114, 148-49. Reprinted by permission of the California Historical Society.

shield by which to defend their usurpation; which they have been unable to obtain notwithstanding that they find themselves aided by the influence enjoyed by two or three Mexicans who traitorously embraced the enemy's cause in dishonour of the Mother Country, they being Don Juan Bandini, deputy of the Most Excellent Assembly, Don Pedro C. Carrillo, receiver of the Custom-house of San Diego, and the 2nd Ensign of the Presidial Company of San Diego, Don Santiago E. Arguello, who is now in that post exercising the functions of civil official and of Military Commandant of that post, under the Government of the United States as your Excellency will learn by the note which I attach . . . this officer came to the frontier of Lower California in my pursuit and to raise the enemy flag, trampling that of Mexico on September 23 last.

Pfo Pico to the Minister of Interior and Foreign Relations,
Hermosillo, Sonora, March 29, 1848.

I do not wish to detract Your Excellency's attention with my complaints, but allow me to say this, that for three years I have served the office of Governor of California without having seen during all that time one single *real* of my salary; furthermore, I have paid out of my private purse the salaries of the Secretary of my Administration, the cost of stationery, and various other expenses that have been necessary in my emigration. In my country I possess some wealth, and now with all communications cut between this State and that of my birth I am unable to furnish myself with resources of any kind. This has forced me to request, from Guaymas, that that Ministry might furnish me with some amount on account of my credit, but it has already been seen that no notice has been taken of my request.

.....

I now entreat from His Excellency the President permission to return to my country, since I am not permitted to be of any use or service here, and that I be allowed to withdraw in a way honorable alike for me and for the people whom I have had the honor of governing.

California will undoubtedly cease to belong to the Mexican family, it seems as if Fate has thus decreed it, but let the rest of the Republic take leave of it with decorum, and let it not be delivered to its new

brothers, the States of the North, as if it were a flock of sheep or a band of horses. Let its Governor be treated, and in his person the people of California, with dignity. We want and have always wanted to be nothing if not Mexicans, and we have given brilliant proofs of our affection, but let not our cup of sorrow that our separation naturally brings us be embittered more by humiliating and scorning us.

If our dismemberment is necessary for the health of the rest of our brothers, let us be the victim, the sacrificial goat that shall pay for all the sins of the people. Providence undoubtedly wishes that it shall be thus; but although separated, we would like to conserve some remembrances of past relations and not to remember only that we have been objects of scorn abandoned to misery.

This occasion gives me for the last time the opportunity to offer Your Excellency the expressions of my highest consideration and esteem.

God and Liberty, Hermosillo, March 20, 1848.

Pfo Pico

Marzo 29, De 1856, p.3

El Clamor Público
Periódico Independiente Literario
Francisco P. Ramírez, Editor

Desde que presentamos El Clamor Público a los habitantes de esta ciudad y Estado fué recibido con las más vivas manifestaciones de su aprobación, y desde entonces hemos adelantado nuestra impresa tanto como nos ha sido posible, y por ser el primer año de su publicación, su acogida ha sido muy favorable. Pronto é independiente en sus denunciaciões y abusos del poder, puede haber hecho injusticia temporaria a individuos, pero jamas ha sido infiel a los Principios, ni sordo a los clamores del oprimido ni el injuriado por las leyes y la preocupaci6n. En sus columnas se abogan las teorias para la mejora del bienestar general, y el fomento de la industria y el progreso; mientras que ha resistido firmemente los atentados para degradar y proscribir a cualesquier clase por causa de la diversidad de su naci6n, creencia 6 religion. Y apesar de los más grandes obstaculos El Clamor Público ha adelantado en la apreciación popular desde el día de su origen; particularmente ha sido invaluable para los nativos del país, y agradecidos por sus repetidas muestras de su protecci6n y aprobaci6n de nuestra conducta editorial, continuará siendo el campeón y el más acérrimo defensor de sus intereses.

Ever since we presented The Public Outcry to the inhabitants of this city and state it has been received with the most lively declarations of your approval, and from then on we have advanced our printed matter as much as possible, ~~and for~~ being the first year of its publication, its reception has been very favorable. Quick and independent in its denunciations and abuses of power, could have done temporary injustice to individuals, but never has been unfaithful to Principles, nor deaf to the outcries of the oppressed nor the injured by the laws and the preoccupation. In its columns theories are advocated for the betterment of the general well-being, and the foster~~of~~ of industry and progress; while it has firmly resisted attempts to degrade and proscribe to any class for cause of the diversity of its nation, belief or religion. And inspite of some great obstacles The Public Outcry has advanced in acceptance to the public from its start; particularly it has been invaluable to those native of the country. Grateful for your repeated demonstrations of your support and consent of our editorial conduct, it will continue to be the champion and the most vigorous defendor of your interests.

4. "Hanged as suspects" *El Clamor Público, 1857**

Injustice toward Mexican Americans, and the failure of the law to protect them, was not confined to the gold fields of California, but existed throughout the state. When Coronel returned to Los Angeles, he must have discovered that law enforcement had broken down there, too, and vigilante committees were formed to take over where government officials failed. Although some Californios participated in and approved of vigilante justice, more often the Spanish-speaking people of Los Angeles were its victims. Historian Leonard Pitt found that by 1854 "the Spanish-speaking of Los Angeles felt oppressed by a double standard of justice such as some of them had previously experienced in the gold mines." "Every important lynch-law episode and most minor ones involved the Spanish-speaking."¹

The following letter describes the retaliation made by the good citizens of Los Angeles against a band of thieves who were of Mexican origin. This letter, written from Los Angeles, apparently by an unidentified Frenchman, appeared in the March 4, 1857 issue of *Le Phare*, a French-language newspaper published in San Francisco. It was translated into Spanish by Francisco P. Ramírez, editor of *El Clamor Público* of Los Angeles. Ramírez, a man proficient in French, English, and Spanish, believed that the letter accurately reflected events in Los Angeles. What would have resulted if Mexican Americans had been guilty of similar brutality?

Los Angeles
February 21

Mr. Editor:

Now you must have learned through the newspapers of our city of the sad events that have occurred in the country during the present month. But these newspapers have omitted many circumstances, in spite of their being well known and of public notoriety. Under no pretext should their silence be excused. Journalism is the advanced sentinel of civilization; its life is a life of continual combat, constantly on the defense. . . .

**El Clamor Público*, March 21, 1857. Trans. David J. Weber.

1. Leonard Pitt, *The Decline of the Californios: A Social History of the Spanish-speaking Californians, 1846-1890* (Berkeley:1968), pp. 160, 154.

For three months a band of thieves has run about the streets and outlying areas of this city by night, abandoning themselves to all kinds of wickedness, including the most refined highway robbery. Various persons have complained to the authorities, but the authorities respond: "Do you have witnesses? Do you want to pay to have them arrested?" And the band continued robbing and killing with all security, by the light of day and in the middle of the city under the chin of the police officials who seem to view this as a comedy. This is not strange; [they say] "the Mexicans are killing each other." . . . Four or five Americans have established a Vigilante Committee, made a call to all the population for the public security, and named captains of a company to go in pursuit of the bandits. Here is where the drama begins with all its horrors, and wrapped in a mystery so strange that one is obliged to believe that the bandits were not the persecuted ones. In a few words, a company (all Americans), its captain Sanford, headed toward the Mission of San Gabriel. All the Mexican residents in that place were arrested and treated with unequalled brutality. Two of these unfortunates had been arrested at the entrance of the Mission. They had to submit to an interrogation of the most provocative sort. Intimidated by the threats, and impelled by the instinct of self preservation, they began to run, especially when they saw the captain draw his pistol. But, ay! at the first movement that they made, a general volley followed. One fell wounded from various shots. The other was able to reach a lake or marsh. He abandoned his horse and concealed himself in the rushes. Vain efforts. The American band arrived, set fire to the marsh, and very soon, among the general cries of gaiety, they discovered the head of the unfortunate above the flames. A second volley and all was done.—I deceive myself. It was not finished so quickly. The body, loaded over a horse, was transported to the Mission in the midst of cries and shouts of joy and gaiety. Here, overtaken by horror, thought stops because it is impossible to find expressions to describe the scene which took place and was related to me by many witnesses worthy of trust. The body was thrown to the ground in the midst of the mob. One being, with a human face, stepped forward with a knife in his hand. . . . With one hand he took the head of the dead man by its long hair, separated it from the body, flung it a short distance and stuck his dagger in the heart of the cadaver. Afterward, returning to the head, he made it roll with his foot into the middle of his band and the rabble, amidst the cries and the hurrahs of the greater num-

ber. . . . Is it not horrible? But wait, we have not yet seen all. Another band arrived from another place with two Californios. They had been arrested as suspects, one of them going in search of some oxen, the other to his daily work. They were conducted into the middle of the mob. The cries of "To death! To death!" were heard from all sides. The cutter of heads entered his house, coming out with some ropes, and the two unfortunates were hanged—despite the protests of their countrymen and their families. Once hanged from the tree, the ropes broke and the hapless ones were finished being murdered by shots or knife thrusts. The cutter of heads was fatigued, or his knife did not now cut! Perhaps you will believe that this very cruel person was an Indian from the mountains, one of those barbarians who lives far from all civilization in the Sierra Nevada! Wrong. That barbarian, that mutilator of cadavers, is the Justice of the Peace of San Gabriell . . . He is a citizen of the United States, an American of pure blood. . . .

Afterwards, two Mexicans were found hanging from a tree, and near there another with two bullets in the head.

On the road from Tejon another company had encountered two poor peddlers (always Mexicans) who were arrested and hanged as suspects.

The same issue of *El Clamor Público*, which carried the story of indiscriminate retaliation against Mexicans in the Los Angeles area also published the following notice:

Meeting.

We have been informed that all the individuals of *la raza Española*, residents of this county, will hold a meeting in this city for the purpose of asking the competent authorities to take suitable measures to pass sentence upon the Justice of the Peace of the Mission of San Gabriel for horribly murdering three innocent Mexicans, residents of that place.

9. "Compelled to sell, little by little by little"

Antonio María Pico, et al., 1859*

As Californios found themselves embroiled in costly and time-consuming litigation to confirm titles to their land, they did not stand by as passive witnesses to their demise. Rather, they fought back by any means possible, legal or illegal, to retain their property. As this forcefully argued petition to the United States Congress shows, the Californios understood well the forces working against them. Here they criticize high taxes, which they found ruinous, and the Land Act of 1851. They suggest that the Land Act was unnecessary and that it violated their rights as citizens under the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo.

Although historian Paul Gates has found that 346 of the 813 claims for Spanish and Mexican period land grants in California were made by non-Mexicans, it is interesting that nearly all of the fifty signatures on this petition belonged to Hispanos. The Spanish-speaking landowners seem to have had greater difficulty than Anglos in adapting to United States judicial procedures.

TO THE HONORABLE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

We, the undersigned, residents of the state of California, and some of us citizens of the United States, previously citizens of the Republic of Mexico, respectfully say:

That during the war between the United States and Mexico the officers of the United States, as commandants of the land and sea forces, on several occasions offered and promised in the most solemn manner to the inhabitants of California, protection and security of their persons and their property and the annexation of the said state of California to the American Union, impressing upon them the great

*Petition of Antonio María Pico *et al.*, to the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States. Manuscript HM 514 in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California. Reprinted by permission of the Huntington Library. This item has previously been published in the appendix to Robert Glass Cleland, *Cattle on a Thousand Hills: Southern California, 1850-1880*, 2nd. ed. (San Marino, Calif.: 1951), 238-43.

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advantages to be derived from their being citizens of the United States, as was promised them.

That, in consequence of such promises and representations, very few of the inhabitants of California opposed the invasion; some of them welcomed the invaders with open arms; a great number of them acclaimed the new order with joy, giving a warm reception to their guests, for those inhabitants had maintained very feeble relations with the government of Mexico and had looked with envy upon the development, greatness, prosperity, and glory of the great northern republic, to which they were bound for reasons of commercial and personal interests, and also because its principles of freedom had won their friendliness.

When peace was established between the two nations by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, they joined in the general rejoicing with their new American fellow countrymen, even though some—a very few indeed—decided to remain in California as Mexican citizens, in conformity with the literal interpretation of that solemn instrument; they immediately assumed the position of American citizens that was offered them, and since then have conducted themselves with zeal and faithfulness and with no less loyalty than those whose great fortune it was to be born under the flag of the North American republic—believing, thus, that all their rights were insured in the treaty, which declares that *their property shall be inviolably protected and insured*; seeing the realization of the promises made to them by United States officials; trusting and hoping to participate in the prosperity and happiness of the great nation of which they now had come to be an integral part, and in which, if it was true that they now found the value of their possessions increased, that was also to be considered compensation for their sufferings and privations.

The inhabitants of California, having had no choice but to dedicate themselves to the rural and pastoral life and allied occupations, ignorant even of the laws of their own country, and without the assistance of lawyers (of whom there were so few in California) to advise them on legal matters, elected from among themselves their judges, who had no knowledge of the intricate technical terms of the law and who were, of course, incompetent and ill-fitted to occupy the delicate position of forensic judicature. Scattered as the population was over a large territory, they could hardly hope that the titles under which their ancestors held and preserved their lands, in many cases for over half a century, would be able to withstand a scrupulously

critical examination before a court. They heard with dismay of the appointment, by Act of Congress, of a Commission with the right to examine all titles and confirm or disapprove them, as their judgment considered equitable. Though this honorable body has doubtless had the best interests of the state at heart, still it has brought about the most disastrous effects upon those who have the honor to subscribe their names to this petition, for, even though all landholders possessing titles under the Spanish or Mexican governments were not forced by the letter of the law to present them before the Commission for confirmation, nevertheless all those titles were at once considered doubtful, their origin questionable, and, as a result, worthless for confirmation by the Commission; all landholders were thus *compelled de facto* to submit their titles to the Commission for confirmation, under the alternative that, if they were not submitted, the lands would be considered public property.

The undersigned, ignorant, then, of the forms and proceedings of an American court of justice, were obliged to engage the services of American lawyers to present their claims, paying them enormous fees. Not having other means with which to meet those expenses but their lands, they were compelled to give up part of their property, in many cases as much as a fourth of it, and in other cases even more.

The discovery of gold attracted an immense number of immigrants to this country, and, when they perceived that the titles of the old inhabitants were considered doubtful and their validity questionable, they spread themselves over the land as though it were public property, taking possession of the improvements made by the inhabitants, many times seizing even their houses (where they had lived for many years with their families), taking and killing the cattle and destroying their crops; so that those who before had owned great numbers of cattle that could have been counted by the thousands, now found themselves without any, and the men who were the owners of many leagues of land now were deprived of the peaceful possession of even one vara.

The expenses of the new state government were great, and the money to pay for these was only to be derived from the tax on property, and there was little property in this new state but the above-mentioned lands. Onerous taxes were levied by new laws, and if these were not paid the property was put up for sale. Deprived as they were of the use of their lands, from which they had now no lucrative returns, the owners were compelled to mortgage them in

order to assume the payment of taxes already due and constantly increasing. With such mortgages upon property greatly depreciated (because of its uncertain status), without crops or rents, the owners of those lands were not able to borrow money except at usurious rates of interest. The usual interest rate at that time was high, but with such securities it was exorbitant; and so they were forced either to sell or lose their lands; in fact, they were forced to borrow money even for the purchase of the bare necessities of life. Hoping that the Land Commission would take quick action in the revision of titles and thus relieve them from the state of penury in which they found themselves, they mortgaged their lands, paying compound interest at the rate of from three to ten per cent a month. The long-awaited relief would not arrive; action from the Commission was greatly delayed; and, even after the Commission would pronounce judgment on the titles, it was still necessary to pass through a rigorous ordeal in the District Court; and some cases are, even now, pending before the Supreme Court of the nation. And in spite of the *final* confirmation, too long a delay was experienced (in many cases it is still being experienced), awaiting the surveys to be made by the United States Surveyor-General. The general Congress overlooked making the necessary appropriations to that end, and the people were then obliged to face new taxes to pay for the surveys, or else wait even longer while undergoing the continued and exhausting demands of high and usurious taxes. Many persons assumed the payment of the surveyors and this act was cause for objection from Washington, the work of those surveyors rejected, and the patents refused, for the very reason that they themselves had paid for the surveys. More than 800 petitions were presented to the Land Commission, and already 10 years of delays have elapsed and only some 50 patents have been granted.

The petitioners, finding themselves unable to face such payments because of the rates of interest, taxes, and litigation expenses, as well as having to maintain their families, were compelled to sell, little by little, the greater part of their old possessions. Some, who at one time had been the richest landholders, today find themselves without a foot of ground, living as objects of charity—and even in sight of the many leagues of land which, with many a thousand head of cattle, they once had called their own; and those of us who, by means of strict economy and immense sacrifices, have been able to preserve a small portion of our property, have heard to our great dismay that new legal projects are being planned to keep us still longer in suspense, consuming, to

the last iota, the property left us by our ancestors. Moreover, we see with deep pain that efforts are being made to induce those honorable bodies to pass laws authorizing *bills of review*, and other illegal proceedings, with a view to prolonging still further the litigation of our claims.

The manifest injustice of such an act must be clearly apparent to those honorable bodies when they consider that the native Californians were an agricultural people and that they have wished to continue so; but they have encountered the obstacle of the enterprising genius of the Americans, who have assumed possession of their lands, taken their cattle, and destroyed their woods, while the Californians have been thrown among those who were strangers to their language, customs, laws, and habits.

.....

. . . It would have been better for the state, and for those newly established in it, if all those titles to lands, the *expedientes* of which were properly registered in the Mexican archives, had been declared valid; if those holders of titles derived from former governments had been declared perpetual owners and presumptive possessors of the lands (in all civilized countries they would have been acknowledged legitimate owners of the land); and if the government, or any private person or official who might have pretensions to the contrary, should have been able to establish his claim only through a regular court of justice, in accordance with customary judicial procedure. Such a course would have increased the fame of the conquerors, won the faith and respect of the conquered, and contributed to the material prosperity of the nation at large.

.....

San Francisco, February 21, 1859.
Antonio María Pico [and forty-nine others]

In Southern California, however, the *gente de razón* retained a measure of their former power and influence for some years after the conquest. Here they were concentrated in sufficient number so that they remained an important political factor through the 1880's. In most elections, from 1849 to 1880, the newcomers were pitted against the Spanish-speaking. "Down to the end of the 1870's," writes Owen O'Neil, "local politics in Southern California were complicated by a natural tendency to diverge on racial lines. Vast and complex family connections would make it impossible to trace these cleavages by any process so simple as noting Spanish names, but they were a real and potent factor which became more evident after 1865, when so many of the old Californians, once magnates of the land, were being crowded to the wall by economic misfortune." Among the first representatives of Santa Barbara County in the state legislature were such individuals as Pablo de la Guerra, Antonio María de la Guerra, Romauldo Pacheco (later lieutenant-governor), and J. Y. Cota. An Estudillo and a Coronel became state treasurers and, in Los Angeles, a member of the Sepúlveda family was elected to the bench. As late as 1870, native Californians outnumbered Anglo-Americans in Santa Barbara, owned more than a third of the property, and occupied most of the political positions; but, by the end of the decade, the native element was almost entirely eclipsed.

Unlike New Mexico, California was engulfed by a tidal wave of Anglo-American immigration after 1848. While the northern counties received the bulk of this immigration at the outset, the tide shifted to Southern California in the 1880's. "This overwhelming horde of new arrivals," wrote Willard, "took possession of the land and proceeded to make things over to their own taste." The Spanish-Mexican appearance of the Southern California towns changed overnight. As much as anything else, this transition was symbolized by the rapid disappearance of the adobes. "Death and emigration," wrote J. P. Widney in 1886, "are removing them [the Californians] from the land. . . . They no longer have unnumbered horses to ride and vast herds of sheep, from which one for a

meal would never be missed. Their broad acres now, with few exceptions, belong to the acquisitive American. . . . Grinding poverty has bred recklessness and moroseness."

If this process of change bore heavily upon the *gente de razón*, it had a simply crushing effect upon the Mexicans. One after another the economic functions for which they had been trained were taken from them. The Mexicans were excellent and well-trained vaqueros but this function disappeared with the collapse of the rancho regime. The rapid rise of the sheep industry after 1860 momentarily provided employment as herders and shearers; but the period of bonanza sheep-raising soon came to an end. The Mexican then reappears in the local annals as a farm worker and livery-stable hand. Long before the livery stables disappeared, however, the Chinese began to displace the Mexicans as farm workers. Visiting Southern California in 1888, Edward Robert noted that the "houses of the Spanish-speaking people are being taken over by the Chinese, who have invaded the adobe cottages." Anglo-Americans infiltrated New Mexico; they engulfed California. The difference in impact was also a function of the size of the Spanish-speaking element in the two states: 60,000 in New Mexico, 7,500 in California. In California, moreover, there was no buffer group to stand between the Spanish-speaking and the Anglo-Americans in the manner that ten thousand well-settled Pueblo Indians stood between Anglos and Hispanos in New Mexico.

With the eclipse of the Spanish-speaking element after 1880, few visible evidences of Spanish culture could be noted in California. Some Spanish words had been incorporated into the speech and important elements of Spanish-Mexican jurisprudence had been woven into the legal fabric of the state. A considerable amount of Spanish-Mexican blood flowed in the veins of local residents with such names as Travis, Kraemer, Reeves, Locke, and Rowlands. Most of the Spanish street names had been Anglicized, although few of the place-names were changed. At the turn of the century it appeared—in fact it was generally assumed—that the Mexican influence had been thoroughly exorcized.

But what had really happened was that the "old life,"—the Mexican life,—of the province had retreated "along the coastal plains that reach from Los Angeles to Acapulco." Just as the Spanish-speaking had retreated from the northern counties to the southern, so they later withdrew, to some extent, to Mexico. But the number of Spanish-speaking residents in Southern California was at all times sufficient to keep vestiges of the earlier life and culture alive. Later, in the period from 1900 to 1920, these surviving elements of the old life were renewed and revived by a great influx of Mexican immigrants and the long-dormant conflict of cultures entered upon a new phase.

Since 1880 Mexicans have made up seventy per cent of the section crews and ninety per cent of the extra gangs on the principal western lines which regularly employ between 35,000 and 50,000 workmen in these categories. In 1930 the Santa Fe reported that it was then employing 14,000 Mexicans; the Rock Island 3,000; the Great Northern 1,500; and the Southern Pacific 10,000. According to the census of 1930, 70,799 Mexicans were engaged in "transportation and communication" mostly as common laborers on the western lines and as maintenance workers on the street-car systems of the Southwest. In Kansas and Nebraska, Mexican settlements will be found to extend along the rail lines while the colonies of Kansas City and Chicago are outgrowths of Mexican railroad labor camps. As late as 1928 the boxcar labor camps of the railroads housed 469 Mexican men, 155 women, and 372 children in Chicago.

The principal large-scale importers of Mexican labor, the rail lines of the Southwest constantly fed workers to other industries since so much railroad labor is seasonal in character. Forever losing labor, the railroads kept recruiting additional workers in Mexico. This process was greatly accelerated as increased freight and passenger traffic paralleled the economic development of the region. Railroad employment naturally stimulated migration, since the companies provided transportation to various points along the line. Just how important the railroads were in setting the tide of Mexican immigration in motion can be seen from a statement made by an investigator for the Department of Labor in 1912. Most of the Mexicans then in the United States, he said, had at one time or another worked for the railroads. For years the prevailing wage for section hands in the Southwest was a dollar a day—considerably below the rate paid for similar labor on the middle western and eastern lines.

Recruited by labor agents and commissary companies, Mexicans were assembled in El Paso and from there sent out on six-month work-contracts with the Southern Pacific and Santa Fe. In 1908 some sixteen thousand Mexicans were recruited in El Paso for railroad employment. Two years later as many as two thousand Mexicans crossed the border into El Paso in a single month at the instigation of the commissary companies. Starting around 1900, railroad recruitment reached its peak in 1910 and 1912. Originally recruited by the Southwestern lines, Mexicans were used after 1905 in an ever-widening arc which gradually extended

through Colorado, Wyoming, Utah, Montana, Idaho, Oregon, and Washington.

As early as 1900 the Southern Pacific was regularly employing 4,500 Mexicans on its lines in California. By 1906 the Southern Pacific and the Santa Fe were importing as many as two and three carloads of *cholos* a week to Southern California. The rapid extension of the Pacific Electric interurban system in Southern California also greatly stimulated the demand for Mexican labor. Wherever a railroad labor camp was established, a Mexican *colonia* exists today. For example, the Mexican settlement in Watts—called *Tajauta* by the Mexicans—dates from the importation of a carload of *cholos* in 1906. While the lines were being built, the *cholos* lived in boxcars and tents. Later the company built row-houses on its property and rented these houses to the employees. Thirty or forty such camps are still to be found in Los Angeles County. Around the initial camp site, Mexicans began to buy lots at \$1 down and \$1 a week and to build the shacks in which their children live today.

In the sparsely settled semi-arid Southwest, the construction of the rail lines was well in advance of actual settlement. Elsewhere in the West and Middle West, settlers had promoted railroads; but here railroads promoted settlement. The first great land "boom" in Los Angeles, for example, was strictly a railroad promotion. In the economic development of the region, railroads have played an all-important role. Prior to the completion of the Southern Pacific and Santa Fe lines in the 'eighties, the Southwest was hardly a part of the United States. In every state in the region, the modern phase in its development dates from the arrival of the first passenger or freight train. Largely built by Mexican labor along routes first explored and mapped by Spanish-speaking people, the railroads of the Southwest have been maintained by Mexicans from 1880 to the present time. All the products of the region,—copper, cotton, lettuce, produce, wool, beef, and dairy products,—move to markets on desert lines dotted at regular intervals by small, isolated clusters of Mexican section-crew shacks lost in time and space.

5. THE *Colonia* COMPLEX

Scattered throughout Southern California outside Los Angeles are, perhaps, 150,000 or 200,000 Mexicans and Mexican-Americans, for the most part immigrants or the sons and daughters of immigrants. Approximately thirty per cent of the total is made up of "aliens" but the alien element is rapidly diminishing. Most of these people—perhaps eighty per cent of them—live in "colonies" or *colonias* which vary in size from a cluster of small homes or shacks to communities of four, five, six, eight, and ten thousand people (3).

The history of these settlements is almost uniformly the same. They came into existence some twenty or thirty years ago when the first immigrants began to arrive. Most of them are located in unincorporated areas adjacent to a town or city but invariably on "the other side" of something: a railroad track, a bridge, a river, or a highway. Site location has been determined by a combination of factors: low wages, cheap rents, low land values, prejudice, closeness to employment, undesirability of the site, etc. None of the colonies was laid out or planned as a community, although a few are located on the sites of abandoned "boom towns." Some are outgrowths of labor camps; others have been grafted on a pre-1900 *barrio*; while a few have come into existence more or less accidentally. For example, the settlement known as Hick's Camp came into existence thirty-three years ago when a river-bottom camp was washed out by a flood. The health authorities and the Red Cross moved

the families to the river bank where a squatter camp grew up because the land was cheap. Nowadays completely surrounded, the *colonia* in San Gabriel is located near the old Mission—one of the few cases where a Mexican settlement is to be found at the center of an Anglo-American community.

North Town, a community near Upland, is a fairly typical *colonia*. Located on the site of an abandoned subdivision, it is within fifteen minutes' driving radius of the wineries, packing houses, truck farms, and citrus groves where most of the residents are employed. Here a few Mexican families lived before the great wave of migration began and to these residents the immigrants attached themselves. Today some 1,500 Mexicans live in the six square blocks of North Town surrounded, on all sides, by agricultural land. North Town has a small grocery store; a pool hall; and a motion picture theater. Most of the residents, however, make their purchases in Upland. Two or three blocks from the village is an elementary school in which the enrollment is ninety-five per cent Mexican.

With as many as three shacks to a lot, the structures are unpainted, weatherbeaten, and dilapidated. The average house consists of two or three rooms and was built of scrap lumber, boxes, and discarded odds-and-ends of material. Ten, twenty, and thirty years old, the houses are extremely clean and neat on the inside and much effort has obviously gone into an effort to give them an attractive appearance. Virtually all the homes lack inside toilets and baths and a large number are without electricity. Almost every family owns an automobile, a radio, and any number of American-made household gadgets of one kind or another. Being unincorporated, almost all forms of municipal service are lacking. Water is purchased from a private owner at rates higher than those paid by the conspicuously successful residents of Upland. North Town is one of dozens of similar *colonias* scattered all the way from Santa Barbara to San Diego. Occasionally the *colonia* is part of an incorporated town or city with the Mexican population comprising from twelve to twenty-five per cent or more of the total population.

It would be misleading, however, to convey the impression that the location of the *colonias* was accidental or that it has been determined by the natural play of social forces. On the contrary, there is a sense in which it would be accurate to say that the location of the *colonias* has been carefully planned. Located *at just sufficiently* inconvenient dis-

tances from the parent community, it naturally became most convenient to establish separate schools and to minimize civic conveniences in the satellite *colonia*. "Plainly," writes Fred W. Ross, "it was never intended that the *colonias* were to be a part of the wider community; rather, it was meant that they were to be apart from it in every way; *colonia* residents were to live apart, work apart, play apart, worship apart, and unfortunately trade, in some cases, apart."

The physical isolation of the *colonias* has naturally bred a social and psychological isolation. As more and more barriers were erected, the walls began to grow higher, to thicken, and finally to coalesce on all sides. The building of the walls, as Mr. Ross puts it, "went on concomitantly from without and from within the *colonia*, layer by layer, tier by tier." While the walls may have the appearance of being natural growths, they are really man-made. For the relationship that finally emerged between parent and satellite community is the civic counterpart of the relationship between the California Fruit Growers Exchange and its Mexican employees.

Living in ramshackle homes in cluttered-up, run-down shacktowns, set apart from their neighbors, denied even the minimum civic services, the residents of the *colonia* have come to resent the fenced-in character of their existence. They are perfectly well aware of the fact that they are not wanted, for their segregation is enforced by law as well as by custom and opinion. That the *colonias* lack swimming pools might be explained in terms of the ignorance or indifference of the Anglo-Americans were it not for the revealing circumstance that Mexicans are also denied access to municipal plunges in the parent community. Hence the ostracism of the Mexicans cannot be accounted for in the facile terms in which it is ordinarily rationalized.

When public-spirited citizens in the parent community have sought "to do something about the Mexican Problem," they have generally sought to impose a pattern on the *colonia* from without. Establishing a clinic or reading-room or social center in the *colonia* has no doubt been helpful; but it has not changed, in the slightest degree, the relationship between parent and satellite community. In the face of this reality, it is indeed annoying to hear Anglo-Americans expatiate about the Mexicans' "inferiority complex" and to charge them with being clannish and withdrawn. Friendly, warm-hearted, and generous to a fault, it would be difficult to find a people more readily disposed to mingle with

other groups than the Spanish-speaking people of the Southwest. Their "inferiority complex" is really a misnomer for a defeatist attitude arising from their frustration at being unable to break out of the *colonia*.

Resenting the implication of inferiority that attaches to segregated schools and being well aware of economic discrimination, a majority of the youngsters have not bothered to transfer from the segregated elementary school to the usually non-segregated high school. Dropping out of school at the eighth grade level, they have been unable to compete successfully with Anglo-Americans for the more desirable jobs and have fallen back on those for which their fathers were imported. According to the census of 1930, only 5,400 Mexicans were to be found in clerical jobs; 1,092 were teachers; 93 were lawyers and judges; and 165 were physicians and surgeons—this in a population of close to three million people. Once the cycle of employment has been repeated in the second and third generation, writes Mr. Ross, "the insidious process, which began so long ago with low wages and relatively low, dominant group hostility, almost swings full circle." By the time this has happened, the hostility of the dominant group is fully reciprocated" (4).

Hedged in by group hostility, the immigrants long ago lost interest in citizenship. Lack of funds, the language difficulty, and illiteracy were important factors but not nearly as influential as segregation and discrimination. Mexicans have never been encouraged, by prevailing community attitudes, to become citizens. Bogardus, who studied the problem years ago, concluded that in both rural and urban areas segregation was primarily responsible for the lack of interest in citizenship. For the last twenty years, the number of Mexicans who have been naturalized has averaged about a hundred a year. In a Mexican community of fifty thousand in California, Bogardus found only 250 registered voters in 1928, not all of whom were of Mexican descent. In the same year, Charles A. Thompson reported that only two or three naturalization petitions a year were filed in El Paso with a Mexican population of fifty thousand. To some extent, of course, this reluctance to seek naturalization may be traced to the fact that so many Mexican immigrants are in the United States illegally; but this, too, has been a secondary factor. Voluntary disenfranchisement, whatever the cause, has perpetuated the caste-like social structure in which Mexicans are encased.

The second generation, however, has begun to show a lively interest in the ballot. Residents of a few citrus belt settlements have, in recent years,

elected Mexican-Americans to school boards and city councils and have begun to exercise a measure of their great potential political strength. Wherever they have "come of age" politically, an immediate change has been noted in the attitude of the Anglo-Americans. Anglo-American politicians cannot afford to ignore the needs of Mexican-American communities if the residents will assert their political rights. Acting in liaison with the well-organized Negro community in Los Angeles, Mexicans could easily become a balance-of-power group.

While a few political victories have been won, it requires no special insight to foresee that a point will soon be reached when a serious struggle will develop between Anglos and Hispanos. The average Anglo-American community will accept, if somewhat reluctantly, one Mexican-American on the city council or the school board; but there are communities in which Mexican-Americans could elect a majority of the officeholders. In these communities, resistances will stiffen for the stakes are high. Once this has happened, Mexican-Americans will have to seek out allies in those segments of the Anglo-American community which are now disposed to cooperate with them, namely, in the liberal-labor-progressive groups. By comparison with Negroes, Mexicans are still novices in the tactics and strategy of minority-group action and politics.

7. *Qué Maravilla!*

The oldest settlers in Los Angeles, Mexicans were pushed aside and swept under by the extraordinary velocity and volume of Anglo-American migration after the first great "land booms" in the 'eighties. Isabel Sherrick, a Middle Western journalist, reported in the 1880's that the Mexicans "little by little are being crowded out and one by one the adobes are falling into ruins or giving way to the thrifty homes of Americans." Some of the sections in which Mexicans formerly lived are today occupied by factories, terminal facilities, and office buildings.

The typical residence of Mexicans in early-day Los Angeles was the "house court" derived from the Mexican *vecindad*: a sort of tenement made up of a number of one- and two-room dwellings built around a court with a common water supply and outdoor toilets. This same type of settlement, similar to the *plaza*, is still quite common in Los Angeles, San Antonio, and El Paso. House-courts multiplied in Los Angeles as the demand for Mexican housing became acute with high land costs and rising rents. In 1916 the city had 1,202 house-courts, occupied by 16,000 people with 298 house-courts being occupied exclusively by Mexicans (5). In some respects, the house-court was not unlike the "bungalow courts" of a later period. The house-court areas quickly became slums as the city pushed westward from its original center in the old Plaza section. One of the first studies of Mexican housing conditions indicated that some twenty or thirty thousand Mexicans were living in the courts of Old Sonoratown, near the Plaza, in the shacks and houses of Chavez Ravine, and similar areas, and in the railroad labor camps. The houses and courts had dirt floors; wood was used for fuel; there were no bathing

facilities; and the outdoor hydrant and toilet, used by a group of families, were universal. Made in 1912, this survey is still up-to-the-minute so far as Mexican housing is concerned, for little improvement has occurred in the last thirty-five years.

When the great wave of Mexican immigration reached Los Angeles, an unincorporated section on the "east side" known as Belvedere became the principal area of "first settlement" for most of the immigrant families. "*Qué Maravilla!*" the immigrants exclaimed when they first arrived in Los Angeles: what a marvel! what a wonderful city! Maravilla was their name for Belvedere and Maravilla it still is to thousands of Mexicans. With a Mexican population of fifty thousand in the middle 'twenties, the Belvedere section has a population today, mostly Mexican, of around 180,000. A city in size, it is still governed by remote control as an unincorporated area.

Aside from Maravilla, Mexicans are nowadays scattered in "pockets" of settlement in Los Angeles. While they are not segregated as rigidly as Negroes, the various pocket-settlements are almost exclusively Mexican and are, if anything, more severely isolated than the *colonias* of the outlying sections. The "pockets" are all similar in character,—Chavez Ravine, Happy Valley, *El Hoyo* (The Hollow), and the rest. Chavez Ravine, located in the hills between Elysian Park and North Broadway, is an old Mexican settlement. Shacks cling precariously to the hillsides and are bunched in clusters in the bottom of the ravine. For forty years or more, the section has been without most of the ordinary municipal services. At various points in the ravine, one can still see large boards on which are tacked the rural mail-boxes of the residents—as though they were living, not in the heart of a great city, but in some small rural village in the Southwest. Goats, staked out on picket lines, can be seen on the hillsides; and most of the homes have chicken pens and fences. The streets are unpaved; really trails packed hard by years of travel. Garbage is usually collected from a central point, when it is collected, and the service is not equal to that which can be obtained in Anglo districts bordering the ravine. The houses are old shacks, unpainted and weather-beaten. Ancient automobile bodies clutter up the landscape and various "dumps" are scattered about. The atmosphere of the ravine, as of *El Hoyo* and the other pocket-settlements, is ancient, antiquated, a survival,—something pushed backward in time and subordinated.

One can make a swift turn off the heavy traffic of North Figueroa or

North Broadway and be in Chavez Ravine in a minute's time. In this socially regressive dead-end, goats bleat and roosters crow and children play in the dirt roads. Were it not for the faraway hum of traffic, a visitor might well imagine that he was in some remote village in New Mexico or Arizona. From the City Hall to Chavez Ravine is a five-minute drive by modern traffic-time; sociologically, the two points are separated by a time-span of between fifty and seventy-five years. Today a great modern highway span is being built over the Hollow. Bulldozers have moved in and houses have been jacked-up and lifted out of the way. The shacks not directly in the way of the juggernaut mechanical progress of the city are now left perched on the sides of the Hollow, thirty years old, still bady in need of paint, gradually falling apart. Thousands of motorists will rush over the new span every hour, travelling so fast that they will probably not even notice that they are passing over the remains of what was once a small Mexican village.

At 720 San Vicente Boulevard, near the intersection of San Vicente and Santa Monica—on the "west side" of Los Angeles—is an ironic little island of Mexicans completely surrounded by middle-class residences many of which have been built in the so-called "Spanish-Colonial" style with white stucco walls, patios, and red-tiled roofs. This "island" is a thirty-year-old Pacific Electric labor camp where forty Mexican families live as they might live in a village in Jalisco. The company has generously provided four "outside" showers for 120 residents. It has even provided them with "hot water"—on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays! The only facilities for washing clothes or dishes consist of outside sinks, detached from the shacks in the court, and used by all the families. Probably not one per cent of the people who live in the surrounding areas know or have ever heard of the camp's existence.

What the Mexican immigrants probably think of Maravilla today is suggested by one of their best-known *corridos*—*El Enganchado** (literally, "the hooked-one"—the labor contractor):

I came under contract from Morelia
To earn dollars was my dream,
I bought shoes and I bought a hat
And even put on trousers.

For they told me that here the dollars
Were scattered about in heaps;

* Quoted from *Mexican Labor in the United States* by Dr. Paul S. Taylor.

VIVA LA REVOLUCION:
WE ARE HEADING TOWARD LIFE

by Ricardo Flores Magon

In the Southwest the *gusto*, ideas, fears, and *corazon* (heart) of the Mexican Revolution had a dual effect. To some it was the signal to conceal their Mexican identity; to others it revived *gritos* of pride and retribution. Ricardo Flores Magon was a newspaper editor and a crusader for La Causa, in the years before World War I, who brought the "revolutionary cosmos" to La Raza in California. He came to believe in anarchism and socialism, condemning the war as an "imperialist" adventure. For this he was jailed, and he died in Leavenworth prison. In his writing, such as this editorial from his newspaper, *Revolucion* (July, 1907), Flores heralded the contemporary Raza movement. (*Antologia Ricardo Flores Magon*, Universidad Nacional Autonoma de Mexico, 1970; this selection translated by Luis Valdez.)

"Every man," says Carlos Malato, "is at once the REACTIONARY of another man and the REVOLUTIONARY of still another."

To the reactionaries—"serious" men of today—we are revolutionaries; for the revolutionaries of tomorrow our deeds will have been those of "serious" men. The ideas of humanity concerning progress are forever changing, and it is absurd to pretend that they are immutable like plant and animal fossils imbedded in geological strata.

But if God-fearing and "serious" men pale with fear and are scandalized by our doctrine, the coming generations are inspired. Faces made ugly by misery and pain are transfigured; down the sunburned cheeks, tears no longer run;

the faces are humanized; better yet, they are deified, animated by the sacred fire of rebellion.

What sculptor has ever sculpted an ugly hero? What painter has ever left the deformed figure of a hero on canvas? There is a mysterious light that surrounds heroes and makes them dazzling. Hidalgo, Juarez, Morelos, Zaragoza, dazzle like suns. The Greeks placed their heroes among their demigods.

We are heading toward life; that is why our heirs are inspired, that is why the giant has awakened, that is why the brave will not turn back. From his Olympus, built on the rocks of Chapultepec, a musical comedy Jupiter puts a price on the heads of those who struggle; his old hands sign blood-thirsty sentences; his dishonorable white hairs curl up like the hairs of a rabid dog. A dishonor to old age, this perverse old man grasps on to life with the desperation of a shipwrecked victim. He has taken the life of thousands of men, and he desperately resists death so as not to lose his.

It does not matter; we revolutionaries are moving onward. The abyss does not hold us back; water is more beautiful in a waterfall.

If we die, we shall die like suns: giving off light.

33. "Carta de Lucille Norman"

Torreón, Coahuila, México
Jan. 12th., 1923

My dear Raúl:*

I can not write you much as my eyes are so bad, and my emotions overwhelm me.

Last night we arrived at Gómez Palacio, Durango, at about 8:30. As we were approaching, the whistling of the factories deafened us. Thousands of people were at the depot with red torches, the depot was decorated the same as in all previous little towns, with the emblem of the conscientious workers; the red flag. All labor element is organized here. Scores of banners representing the different trades unions were there while a patch formed of the people, several blocks long, made way for my darling father's coffin carried on by the sons of toil—shrouded in red and black.

At a local theatre the eloquence of the soul flowed from the hearts of many orators, while classical music vibrated—making the occasion a most solemn one! . . .

Raúl: my heart is so full . . . that no words could ever express my feelings. Our Ricardo's martyrdom was not in vain—the golden dream of his life is now being transformed into vivid reality. His teachings have been embraced as a drowning man takes to a rescuing log. . . . But he did not see this, if he had, I am sure he would bless his darkest moments, to see this wonderful fruit of his work!

I am writing you from our special train, but the electric lights are now out of commission and you may imagine how hard it is for me to write by candle light. I must tell you a little more, though it is quite a sacrifice for my weakened eyes.

As a reflex of the radio of his work, and typical of the purity of the latin blood to appreciate sublimity; the highest functionaries of the government have paid tribute and openly admit that my darling father's pen was the only real factor in bringing Díaz down from tyrannical throne, and that they owe their comfortable positions to his heroism.

In Chihuahua, my surprise and joy was immense. . . . About thirty wreaths were presented at the memorial by organizations. The Governor and members of the State's Legislature came in while the revolutionary Marsellaise was being sung. The leaders of all the Unions are young, enthusiastic and with red blood coursing in their veins to carry on . . . their idealism instead of the passiveness that so lamentively moves our comrades of the "eight hour day and increase of salary!"

In Torreón, as we arrived this morning, the multitude was immense. While the thousands marched through the streets a stop was made in front of the American Consulate where a speaker denounced as pure camouflage the land of liberty."

We are leaving for Aguas Calientes to-night. Will arrive there about 12 A.M., where a greater demonstration is expected. All predict that Mexico City is a volcano ready to erupt at the view of the whitest soul sacrificed for the most unselfish ideal. "The sublime teacher" "The spirit of light," "The second Nazareth" as he is called by the numerous speakers.

This is the reaction of Soviet Russia. The road to them is straight and clear and

they all pledge their gratitude to this awakening to the supreme devotion my father of whose details you and I know so well . . . !

Pray that I get well. I am anxious to feel normal again. So far I have had no relapse and feel stronger only my eye sight is weak and it exasperates me!

How gratifying these wonderful demonstrations which are marking "the beginning of the end" which my dear father so much predicted, would mean to you. All orators have spoken from their hearts, which is the true eloquence, but I know you are privileged with the art of oratory and your words would have a wonderful echo in the hearts of these intelligent workers where there do not seem to be any petty vanities but the desire to progress and honor the memory of my father by following his teachings, nobleness and courage. This is why I wish you were here.

I feel blue for L.A.,* that spot of nature's predilection has nothing to do with the egotism of men, that mars and deforms what must have originally meant to be equally shared by all.

Fraternally yours,

Lucille

[letter from Lucille Norman, adopted daughter of Ricardo Flores Magón]

*Los Angeles

*Raúl Palma

By the spring of 1922, Walter had found a wife, Edit Marian Chalk, who immediately took over running the home Walter had taken her to see on their first outing. She had decorated the house to reflect her musical tastes derived from her years of study in the best schools of music in Canada and the United States, an achievement which made Walter more proud of her. Edit became involved with the Los Angeles Symphony and other musical organizations to which she contributed money and devoted time. She was sincerely excited about the many possibilities that her husband's cute little town had to offer. She was a woman who, along with her husband, enjoyed experimenting with the social structures of the time and felt strongly that Walter, like his brother Joseph, should be a spokesman for brick.

Edit continued her involvement with music in Los Angeles and through her affiliations introduced Walter to associations that would advance him in the area of construction. They entertained many Eastern and Midwestern brick manufacturers until finally the association members voted to have their national convention in Los Angeles. It was the first time the large national industrial body, the Common Brick Manufacturers Association, had crossed the continent to hold its annual convention in California, the place where paradise trembles.

Walter and Edit dedicated hours to the success of the conference. They arranged two special trains which brought the delegates from the Midwest and East to Los Angeles, where the sessions were held at the Biltmore Hotel. Regardless of the long distance which most of the participants had to travel, attendance at the meetings surpassed that of any previous convention. The visitors were profuse in their praise of Western hospitality, especially the arrangements made by Walter and Edit.

One afternoon, the delegates visited the brick plants and enjoyed a special entertainment at Simons. It was provided by Walter and Edit's Mexicans, as the visitors referred to the men, women and children who played instruments, sang and danced to traditional Mexican music. The Simons Mexicans prepared an exceptional variety of regional dishes, the culmination of which was the barbacoa. At the plant, the workers had been ordered to build a stage covered on three sides and roofed with palms. A theatrical performance celebrating the Mexican holiday, the Day of the Dead, was presented for the guests, who were fascinated by the costumes and music. The candy skulls and skeletons were especially a big

hit.

After the food and entertainment ended, Walter extended greetings to the brick men. He said that it was an honor to welcome the association to Los Angeles and he hoped it would come back every year. But most important to the brick manufacturers were Walter's comments on the future of brick in California.

"Los Angeles has an impressive record of more than \$200,000,000 worth of building done during 1922. While Los Angeles is a fine city, more fireproof buildings should be erected. Here lies the great opportunity and challenge for brick manufacturers: whether or not we can keep up with the growing demand for our product. Brick is the material with which great fire calamities, such as the one which befell San Francisco, can be avoided." Walter looked at the audience, pleased that they seemed to agree with him.

"We must educate the people about the safety advantages that brick offers," he continued. "We must have publicity to enlighten the public and to secure legislative enactments that will be fair to brick. We must fight against interests who attempt to deceive or mislead the public. No lie can live. Give the public the truth about brick and we can ultimately win the market. We must do this together. This is the day of cooperation. The man who lives within himself is not a success and will never succeed."

The enthusiastic guests stood to acknowledge his vision of the successful future. Just beyond the circle of light in which the elite brick manufacturers sat, two hundred and seventy-five Mexican workers waited eagerly to produce the brick to build California and make Walter's dream become reality. Among the Mexicans, Octavio neither clapped nor cheered. He watched impassively, rubbing together two twenty-dollar gold coins in each of his jacket pockets.

paper was only three cents, but he'd say, "Keep the change, boy." He'd smile that secret smile I loved. I would watch him as he walked away in that princely way of his.

Later, when I'd sell all my papers, I'd rush across the street to the bakery and buy some dessert for the family, but really it was only for my father. He never let me down. He'd take a spoonful of the cake or pie and roll his eyes toward heaven. He'd pretend he was in ecstasy.

"Nellie," he'd say to my mother, "this is the *greatest* pie I've *ever* tasted in my life."

He'd offer me a piece. I'd refuse, saying I wasn't hungry. Watching him eat *my gift* was greater than any sweet in the world. But on that particular day, I saw him get off the streetcar. I waited for him to approach me as he'd always done. I held the paper out for him to read the headlines.

"Paper, mister."

He looked over my head as if he was searching for someone. Then he walked away without once looking at me. He stood on the corner for a second, then disappeared down the street. Hadn't he seen me? Was he sick?

I couldn't wait to finish selling my last batch of newspapers to get home and find out. I called Carlos Ramirez and asked him to take over my corner. I ran to the grocery store to buy the dessert. A beautiful bunch of grapes caught my eye. They were the first of the season—twenty-seven cents a pound. I blew my whole day's earnings and bought two pounds.

When I got home my father was already seated at the table. My mother and grandmother hovered over him, setting plates of meat, beans and tortillas in front of him. My sister was sitting beside him. When I entered, he barely glanced at me.

I went over to the kitchen sink, washed the grapes, and put them on a plate. I set them in the center of

Then I thought about that time with the grapes.
"Extra, extra, mister—read all about it."

The passengers were getting off the streetcar. My father was not among them.

I looked over at the clock above the lumberyard. It was a few minutes to six o'clock. He would surely be on the next one, due in about ten minutes.

I went back to pitching pennies with the other newsboys. For some reason I can't remember, I got into a fight with one of them. We scuffled on the ground and tore into each other. After a while I heard the streetcar clanging. The fight broke up about then. I ran back to my pile of papers.

Every afternoon I looked forward to the ritual of selling a newspaper to my father. I loved the easy way he jumped down from the streetcar. I admired the hugeness of him. He towered over everyone. He'd walk over to me, look at the headlines. He'd put his hand in his pocket and pull out a five-cent piece. The

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paper was only three cents, but he'd say, “Keep the change, boy.” He'd smile that secret smile I loved. I would watch him as he walked away in that princely way of his.

Later, when I'd sell all my papers, I'd rush across the street to the bakery and buy some dessert for the family, but really it was only for my father. He never let me down. He'd take a spoonful of the cake or pie and roll his eyes toward heaven. He'd pretend he was in ecstasy.

“Nellie,” he'd say to my mother, “this is the *greatest* pie I've *ever* tasted in my life.”

He'd offer me a piece. I'd refuse, saying I wasn't hungry. Watching him eat *my gift* was greater than any sweet in the world. But on that particular day, I saw him get off the streetcar. I waited for him to approach me as he'd always done. I held the paper out for him to read the headlines.

“Paper, mister.”

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I went over to the kitchen sink, washed the grapes, and put them on a plate. I set them in the center of

the table. He ignored the whole action and began making a fuss over my sister, whom he called Princess. My grandmother and my mother were aware that something was wrong between my father and me. My grandmother took me aside.

"Go wash up and then change your clothes," she said.

I went to wash and comb my hair. She handed me a clean shirt. When I went to the table, my father looked up. He smiled.

"Hey, Elephant, where have you been? I looked all over for you when I got off the streetcar. I didn't see you."

"But, Papa, you walked right by me. I went up to you and you acted like you didn't know me."

"I didn't see you. I saw some dirty little Mexican kid who asked me if I wanted a paper. He looked a little like you, but he wasn't my son. My son might be poor but he is never dirty. No matter what he does he stands proud and always looks like a prince."

He looked at the grapes as if for the first time.

"What's this? Grapes!"

He took one and savored it.

"These are the finest grapes I've ever tasted, Nellie."

Now, as I told the doctor about it, I wept. I couldn't hold back the choked feeling I'd felt long ago.

How I'd hated my father when he called me a dirty little Mexican. How I hated him when he said that that boy was not his son.

"Papa, you stupid sonofabitch, does your loving me depend on the way I look, on how I behave? Don't you love me for me, for myself? My mother makes no demands on me. She doesn't care if I am filthy dirty. She doesn't mind if I stink of shit. But you will only accept me if I behave like a prince. I am no prince. I am me with all the fears, the shame, the cowardice,

the frailties and stanches of a growing kid. Can't you love me as I am? Must I always bring my offerings to you, the great Jehovah? What lambs must I sacrifice at your altar? I am from your loins. You made me in your own image. Who in the fuck are you to expect more from me than you yourself can deliver?"

I was weeping. I was back there as a child waiting to beat the shit out of my father for hurting me, for having denied me.

I would surpass the sonofabitch one day. Who in the fuck was he, giving himself airs, when he was just a lousy wetback like the rest of us? I had seen him sweat in the sun driving rail spikes. I had seen him work as a common, ordinary fruit-picker. Who the hell was he? What the hell was his own mother but a Mexican? Did his two spoonfuls of Irish blood make him so superior to the rest of us?

"I got news for you, Papa. You're no better than the rest of us."

The doctor watched me in silence as I tried to destroy my father. He let me cry myself out.

"Strange, Tony, most of the stories about your father are painful stories and yet I feel that you loved him a great deal."

"Yes, you're right. I guess they do make him sound peculiar. In retrospect, I feel maybe he knew he would die soon and he was in a hurry to get it all in before he left. I think he was in a hurry for me to become a man. I felt he just stayed with my mother because of me. There was some mystery about his stay in Pennsylvania. Mother always claimed he had found another woman there. I don't know, but when he came back to El Paso, Mother feels it was because of me. Yes, his lessons were harsh, but I understood, somehow. I knew they were done with love. I felt he didn't belong in that atmosphere. I felt he was atrophying, being with us. I sincerely felt aware of the sacrifice he'd made because of me. For

instance, just after we'd come back from the fields up north in San Jose and Santa Paula, where we'd followed the different crops—walnuts, apricots, peaches, tomatoes, lettuce, stringbeans—even though I was four or five years old, I felt sorry for my father picking fruit like the rest of us.”

“You felt he was too good to do ordinary labor?”

“Doc, picking fruit is not ordinary labor. Not only is it backbreaking work but it's considered less than menial. It's humiliating. White men have always used minorities—Filipinos, Chinese, Negroes and Mexicans—to do it for them. The pay is poor and the living conditions subnormal. To spend all day on your knees is demeaning, and damnit, I hated to see my father do it.”

“You felt it was all right for your mother and grandmother, but not right for your father?”

“Don't try to catch me, Doc. Nobody should have to earn a living on his knees.”

I told him another story.

When we were living on Daly Street, one of the family rituals was that my father would take me out on Saturday nights. We would go down to Main Street, by the Plaza, and he would wander around looking for friends whom he had known in Mexico during the revolution.

The Plaza was surrounded by little green stands where they used to have small stoves, and inside each stand a woman or man would stand cooking “carne asada.” For ten cents you could get a huge plate of meat with fried beans and rice. My father and I would go over and sit on the benches and get a shoeshine. I used to watch the boy who was shining our shoes to make sure he was doing it right, because I was a very good shoeshine boy myself. Sometimes I would give the boy some advice on how to do it.

One Saturday we were walking around the park and he stopped and talked to a couple of fellows.

Then he said, “All right, Elephant, now we will go and eat.”

On the way over to the stand he reached for the money in his pocket. As he pulled his hand out, a coin dropped and clinked down the sidewalk into a gutter. I ran to get it. My father took me by the arm.

“Don't bend.”

“But Papa, the fifty cents—you've got to pick it up.”

“Come on.”

I was starving. I could smell the frying steaks and the beans and rice. My father started walking away as if he had just had a great meal. I followed him, looking back to see if anyone was picking up the 50 cents. A couple of men were watching my father as if he were crazy, and I knew that the minute we turned the corner they would pick up the money.

“But Papa, why?”

“Son, no money is worth bending for.”

The doctor sat up straighter in his chair, but I launched swiftly into another story.

One time when my sister Stella was six years old and I was nine, I saw a man taking her into a small tunnel near our house where the creek passed by under the street. As I crept up to see what was happening, I saw him playing with my sister; he was touching her between her legs.

I ran into the house and got an ax. I sneaked behind the man and hit him on the head with the flat side of the ax, and kept on hitting him and hitting him.

My sister started screaming when she saw the blood. Some people came and stopped me and took the man off to the hospital. He was half dead.

That night, when my father came home, my mother told him what had happened. The police had been there, and my mother and I had explained to them

that the man had been molesting my sister and nobody bothered me. My father came up to me and said, "Let's you and me go outside." He put his arms around me and said, "I'm very proud of you; you were very courageous. It was wonderful that you saved your sister, but I'm going to whip you." He took off his belt. "The first time you hit the man was for what he was doing to your sister. That was right. The second time you hit him was in anger, and that might have been all right, too; but the third and the fourth time was because you're a potential murderer, and I'm going to whip you so that you'll never lose your temper to where you can kill someone."

I took my whipping like a man.

"You know, Tony, your father was a patriarch. But as you've taught me yourself, the Mexican is in constant struggle between a matriarchal and a patriarchal society. Even in his religion he is much closer to the Virgin Mary than to Christ. Here in America we all tend to romanticize our mothers. I mean, a boy can say he hates his 'old man' and be forgiven—but God help him if he calls his mother a cunt. And let's face it, I'm sure many men have mothers who deserve being called that.

"Historically the world's societies have had this struggle. The Jewish religion—the Old Testament is devoted to a patriarchal concept. But momism has been making inroads for centuries.

"A matriarchal society is romantic and sentimental. It makes little demands on us. As with our mothers, we have unconditional love by just being. We have to do very little to deserve mother love.

"The patriarch demands more from us. We have to deserve God's love. The God of the Old Testament is a demanding one. He wants obedience—He demands perfection on all levels.

"'Gird up thy loins like a man, for I will demand of thee and answer thou me.'

"Then God goes on to list all that he can do. He asks Job if he himself is prepared to challenge God.

"'Hast thou given the horse strength? Hast thou clothed his neck with thunder?'"

The doctor put down the Bible from which he'd been quoting.

"He's a pretty tough guy, this God. He says, 'Okay, son, if you want to challenge me you're going to have a hell of a fight on your hands. But, boy, you'd better gird up your loins like a man.'

"Well, I think the moment has come. The 'unforeseen complication' is that you're looking for the unconditional love of the mother. Of course, she loves you even if you are full of shit. But your father doesn't accept that. He says, 'Boy, if you want my love, you're going to have to deserve it. You're going to have to fight for it. Gird up your loins like a man.'"

I knew what the doctor was talking about. When I'd started working with the "Holy Rollers" I'd read Job. That God of vengeance had scared the hell out of me. He made you feel so insignificant. Sure He could shake mountains and shut up the sea with doors, when it breaks forth. He could bind the sweet influence of the Pleiades, and loose the bands of Orion. But He was God. He had a hell of a head start. And who was *His* father? Whom did *He* have to beat?

"As you know, Tony, it isn't my practice to prescribe, but tonight, if you'll forgive me, I'm not your doctor. I'm your friend and I'm treading on dangerous ground. You have made your father your God. He demands perfection from you. Now what do we do? Do we take him on?"

The United States, Octavio decided, was the place where he would build a house for his own family. Mexico retreated into fading images in his memory, and life in Simons and in Los Angeles became more exciting every day. He worked hard during the day and in the evenings went out to gamble with his uncle Ignacio Sandoval, one year his senior. At first he just observed, but soon he calculated the feel of the luck of the cards. He developed a sense of when to enter and exit a game, when to bluff, when to raise or pass, and he studied the reactions of men when they won and most important, when they lost.

Within months Octavio had men betting on whether he would win or lose, and more often the bets were made on how much he would win. Several financial backings were offered, but Octavio refused, preferring to remain independent and not share his winnings or compound his losses. His calculative genius gained him constant money in his pocket, credit from anyone and respect from the men of Simons. He never asked for money, but he was always willing to lend to responsible fellow workers. He was considered an intelligent man with a special gift.

Octavio gambled in Los Angeles, East Los Angeles, Belvedere, Whittier. Monday through Thursday he played poker, cunquillan or malilla at his home table at Simons. When his father entered the room where the game simmered, Octavio became uncomfortable, and after a hand or two, winning or losing, he would fold and walk away from the game. Damian would then buy in, taking Octavio's place. With a look, Damian would indicate to his son to leave and Octavio always obeyed. To Gonzalo, who played often, beating Octavio became an obsession. When Octavio would get up to leave, Gonzalo, noticeably angered, would throw his cards down.

"Stay, man!" Gonzalo would yell as Octavio pushed away from the financial meal.

"There will be another night for revenge," Octavio would reply, acknowledging Damian, who to Gonzalo's irritation, sat next to him.

Gonzalo respected both men, but he had paid a high price for the great admiration he had for Octavio ... Some day your luck will run out and I'll beat you, thought Gonzalo as the door closed behind Octavio.

Although Prohibition had been imposed, Octavio and Ignacio, his constant companion and fellow gambling traveler, found good Mexican whiskey easy to get in La Calle de los Negros, located at the plaza de Los Angeles in the Mexican section of Los Ange-

les. The closed bars were transformed into restaurants, facades for the infamous speakeasies where whiskey, wine, and beer were as available as before Prohibition.

Liquor was never difficult to purchase for Octavio, the Simons workers and the general population. At first there was a scarcity of alcohol, but soon after the implementation of the law, bootleggers produced enough whiskey, wine and beer to supply most of Los Angeles. Certain parts of the city became known for producing the best wine, whiskey or beer. Spirit production went underground and became a bigger business than before the dry law. For some winemakers going underground meant the survival of a family tradition, a way of life and meeting an economic need.

In his gambling adventures, Octavio had met several alcohol producers who gladly gave him the liquor he needed. In Simons, several families fermented wine or had whiskey or beer distilleries. Simons never lacked for alcoholic beverages. For home bootleggers and gamblers and a number of Los Angeles gamblers and prostitutes, Simons was a safe enclave from law enforcement agencies, including the federal and Montebello police.

The Call

From at least the fall of 1927, perhaps earlier, representatives of Mexican civic, mutualist, and cultural organizations, through a previously organized assembly on the federation of Mexican organizations, held meetings to discuss the need to protect and advance the interests of Mexican workers.²⁸ On November 10 they adopted a resolution to pursue specific steps to encourage union organizing.

The resolution referred to the "deplorable condition of abandonment and isolation" in which Mexicans lived in the United States, "deprived of food, cooperation and mutual help." The resolution argued that, given the conditions of Mexican workers, which forced low salaries upon them to the detriment of their social conditions, organizing was crucial for them.

In accordance with the actions called for in the resolution, Mexican individuals and groups, including workers' associations, held a series of meetings in Los Angeles and other southern California communities. From these some twenty workers' groups, *uniones*, were recognized or

started. These in turn met and formed a *central* for common action. Several committees were formed. During December of 1927, the Confederation of Mexican Labor Unions (Confederación de Uniones Obreras Mexicanas; CUOM) consolidated.

On January 9, 1928, the Central Committee of the Confederation of Mexican Labor Unions issued a manifesto stating the guiding principles of the Confederation; Mexicans in agreement were invited to attend the first convention of the Confederation.

MANIFESTO

From the Active Group of the
Federation of Mexican Laborers' Union
in the United States

Fellow Countrymen:

In view of the difficult situation which confronts approximately a million Mexican laborers residing in the United States, the active group which directs the work of the Federation of Mexican Laborers' Unions which have just been founded in the city of Los Angeles, has decided to publish this Manifest[o] in order to make known its fundamental principles and the point of view it has taken toward a successful accomplishment of the work it has initiated.

It is undisputable that the numerous Mexican Colonies in the United States are composed almost in their whole of working men
...

Social unity is indispensable for the prosperity of the laboring classes, promoting their defense, stimulating remunerative salaries and the constant betterment of the proletarian.

This added to the conditions which prevail among Mexican labor that has come into the United States to lend its work and effort, along with the fact that he is a foreigner, which deprives him of the full protection that is given to the natives and in the present circumstances is compelled to

work at a minimum wage which is not only harmful to himself, but also to the organized American workman.

All this at the present makes necessary an organization capable of uniting as a whole the Mexican laboring classes in the United States. On the other hand it must be understood this movement aim is not to agitate, nor to spread or instigate disolvent ideas. All that is desired is to equalize Mexican labor to American labor and to obtain for them what the Law justly allows them.

The active group recognizes that the laboring Mexican has not come to this country to legislate, and considers absurd propagation of disolvent doctrines which only lead to the ruin of the worker, much more since he is a foreigner.

For the carrying out of these ideas and to form a general plan of activities, a convention will be held in the city of Los Angeles to which all the Mexican Societies established in the United States no matter what their principles and also the unorganized labor are invited to attend, that they may join this movement for their own welfare conscious that the effort that they put on this work shall transform the present concept of the Mexican laborer in the United States.

And so that it will not be supposed that the movement in question is harmful, the Active Group makes known its fundamental principles.

PRINCIPLES THAT THE FEDERATION OF MEXICAN LABORERS WILL UPHOLD

1. To organize all Mexican worker in the U.S. in Unions according to Syndicalist principles.
2. To establish a solid pact with the American and the Mexican working men that any difficulty in the future may be solved mutually.

3. To establish likewise solid relations with the organized Labor of Mexico (Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana) and to try to stop the immigration of unorganized Labor into the U.S. which is harmful to the working men of both Countries.
4. To do away with the exploitation of Mexican victims in the so called employment agencies, and to get the unions to constitute their own employment department in which supply and demand can be carried on without a fee so that the working-man's economical interests may not suffer.
5. To constitute prevision offices with the exclusive object of illustrating to Mexican laborers who for the first time come to the U.S., as well as to those who already reside here, all that is referent to working systems, job revenues, contract, forms, interpretations/ translations from English to Spanish or vice-versa working man's insurance indemnizations etc.
6. To keep Mexican laborers from being exploited in the so called commissary stores that still exist in some regions of the U.S., by substituting in their place cooperative stores in which the working man can get all his needs at just prices.
7. To study and resolve in accord with the Mexican government the best systems of repatriation so that those wishing to go back will form agricultural cooperative and receive the best guarantees.
8. Negotiate with the Mexican Govern[ment] so that the immigration of Mexican Labor into the U.S. may be regulated.

Besides the effort for the realization of these principles, the Federation of Mexican Labor Unions will do all within its power toward the improvement and good reputation of the Mexican colonies in U.S., having as a point of view the following principles.

1. Animate by all possible ways the conservation of our cultural and patriotic principles.
2. To promote a strong cultural campaign giving preference to the education of our children, for which we shall build schools and libraries as is possible.

The authors of this call sought to galvanize and inform; they wanted participants and support and to reassure those who might see them as suspect. They also undercut their claims to equities by emphasizing Mexican labor's immigrant status, and they betray a naiveté in citing existing workers' rights, union ethos, and organization.

On March 23, 1928, the Committee on Laws of the Confederation agreed on a draft constitution. The language and proposed format were modeled on those of CROM. The Declaration of Principles embodied in the constitution went beyond those of the January manifesto:

1. That the exploited class, the greater part of which is made up of manual labor, is right in establishing a class struggle in order to effect an economic and moral betterment of its conditions, and at last its complete freedom from capitalistic tyranny.
2. That in order to be able to oppose the organization, each day more complete and intelligent, of the exploiters, the exploited class must organize as such, the base of its organization being the union of resistance, in accord with the rights which the laws of this country concede to native and foreign workers.
3. That the corporations, possessors of

the natural and social wealth, being integral parts of the international association of industry, commerce and banking, the disinherited class must also integrate by means of its federations and confederation into a single union of all the labor of the world.

part agricultural; nevertheless its influence continued to be felt among industrial and service workers. Although railroad workers were extensively organized in Mexico, the CUOM could not affect that major area of U.S. employment for Mexicans.

For the issuers of these documents, certain questions were of special importance. Organizational coherence and endurance were prime concerns, as was internal democracy. To facilitate democracy a convention was deemed the ultimate authority. The constitution provided for organizational effectiveness through a central committee composed of two delegates from each of the federated unions; this committee would be the body that dealt with domestic and international relations. The central committee would function for the confederation between conventions and would be authorized and instructed by the constitution to arrange external matters related to solidarity agreements with labor organizations, domestic and foreign, as appropriate. It could not, however, weaken in any manner the autonomy of the confederation and its components or alter their membership. Article 18 of the constitution specifically provided that the Central Committee be charged with the responsibility for relations with the Mexican government, particularly those related to Mexican immigration and repatriation.

Clearly the CUOM effort was influenced structurally and programmatically, as well as ideologically, by the Confederación Regional Obrera Mexicana, and also by the actions of the AFL. From January 1928 the central committee of the CUOM took steps toward the unity of workers and a struggle for improved pay and conditions. General convention resolutions were ratified by twenty-one unions representing both agricultural and industrial workers. Emilio Mujica, the fraternal representative from the CUOM, based in Los Angeles, contributed actively to the organizing of Mexican unions in that city. Through 1933 the confederation had at least ten locals, for the most

CONDITIONS OF MEXICANS IN CALIFORNIA

Mounting concern over expanding Mexican immigration characterized the 1920's. Recognizing the economic implications of increasing numbers of Mexican workers, state and federal agencies began to study what they considered a serious problem. In October 1930, an important report dealing with Mexicans in California was published by Governor Clement C. Young's Fact-Finding Committee. A review of this lengthy report follows.

It is conservatively estimated that between 1900 and 1920 approximately 200,000 Mexicans came into the United States illegally. The rush of Mexican immigration commenced during the period of the world war, doubtless as a result of the shortage of labor at that time. . . .

Under the existing Quota Act, more than 40 percent of all alien immigrants declaring California as their intended permanent residence are Mexicans. In brief, the principal immigrant race now coming to California is the Mexican. Neither Mexico's official statistics on emigration nor the United States's figures concerning Mexican immigration are complete. Beyond a doubt, there are now more than 1 million Mexicans in the United States, and under existing immigration legislation, the committee declares, unlimited numbers can continue to come in. More than 80 percent of the Mexicans residing in this country in 1920 were living in three states—Arizona, California, and Texas. The proportion residing in California rose from 7.8 percent of the total in the country in 1900 to 15.2 percent in 1910 and to 18.2 percent in 1920. . . .

In California manufacturing industries there are about eleven

From "Labor and Social Conditions of Mexicans in California." *Monthly Labor Review* (January 1931).

Mexicans in every one hundred wage earners. In factories where there are both Mexicans and other workers, the Mexicans constitute 17 percent of all the employees. The proportion of Mexicans in a number of industries ranges from 2.4 to 66.3 percent. Over 50 percent of all Mexicans in the industries in California are employed in establishments in Los Angeles County and only 10 percent in establishments in San Francisco County. There are probably about 28,000 Mexicans in the manufacturing industries of the state, and at the time of the enumeration there were 2,700 Mexicans in fruit and vegetable canneries.

Based on reports from 159 building and construction companies employing 20,650 workers on June 15, 1928, the proportion of Mexicans in all classes of construction is 16.4 percent. In May 1928, there were 10,706 Mexican laborers on the payrolls of six large interstate and interurban railroads in California. In brief, the report states, Mexicans have secured a strong foothold in the industries of the state and are certainly displacing other immigrant races and the native-born. . . .

In building and construction, Mexicans are employed mostly as common laborers, at pick-and-shovel work, at digging trenches, and in cesspool work; also at grading. Reports from representative building and construction concerns indicate that the hourly rates of Mexicans in the industry run from 40 to 50 cents, and daily wage rates from \$3.50 to \$5, the prevailing rates appearing to be 50 cents per hour and \$4 per day. On railroads, Mexicans are used as "section and extra gang" laborers, their average rates being 38 cents per hour and \$3.06 per day. . . .

The majority of Mexican alien immigrants who come to this country are "laborers," not "farmers and farm laborers."

Mexicans constitute the largest group of unskilled, low-paid labor in California, and they have come into the state willing to occupy the same economic level as in their own country. They have had little or no schooling and are unfamiliar with English. Before they came to this country, they lived on a meager diet, paying little attention to sanitation and hygiene. Their infant mortality rate is high, as is also the rate for tuberculosis and other communicable diseases. They have had a feudal relation toward authority, making it difficult for them to adjust themselves to

American traditions. Furthermore, the committee reports, there is a racial prejudice against them, especially against those of non-European stock who are not white and whose customs and habits are so different from the American standard.

Mexicans in California have a tendency to live in colonies both in urban and rural districts, and this retards their assimilation with the native population. The housing facilities available to most of the Mexicans are often poor and do not conform to proper sanitation standards. Sales agreements frequently prohibit these aliens from buying property in any but Mexican districts. The existing ground-rent system in certain sections results in overcrowding and unhygienic conditions. . . . According to the Los Angeles Health Department, the rate of communicable-diseases cases among the Mexicans is above that of the general population. . . .

There is one Mexican among every ten children receiving state aid in California. In 1928 the proportion of Mexican children in the orphanages of the state was 7.8 percent, and in Los Angeles County over 16 percent of all the children in institutions were of the race in question. Five sixths of the Los Angeles [Community Chest] agencies give no assistance to Mexicans. Those organizations which do serve these people give them a great part of their service. . . .

A house-to-house investigation of Mexican families in Southern California disclosed the fact that the majority of the males included in the survey were unskilled laborers in agricultural pursuits. Many semiskilled and skilled workers, such as blacksmiths, carpenters, electricians, and mechanics, were, however, found among these immigrants.

Of 769 Mexican families covered by the investigation, 40.4 percent had three children or fewer; 54.7 percent, four children or fewer; and 45.3 percent, five children or more. The average number of children per family canvassed was 4.3.

Of the 701 Mexican families for which reports on average monthly income were obtained, 69.2 percent averaged less than \$100 per month; 20.5 percent, \$100 but under \$150; 5.9 percent, \$150 but under \$200; and only 4.4 percent, \$200 or over.

According to a study of the total incomes for twelve consecu-

tive months of 435 families, 47.1 percent had yearly incomes of less than \$1,000; 31.5 percent, \$1,000 but under \$1,500; and 21.4 percent, \$1,500 or over. The average yearly income of these 435 families was \$1,156.15. Of the 403 families with children for whom data were secured in yearly incomes, 142 (35.2 percent) reported 250 children on full-time or part-time work, but mostly on part time.

recipients of Mexican origin back to Mexico, irrespective of citizenship or desire. Los Angeles's rationale for "repatriating the Mexican" is described by Carey McWilliams.

In 1930 a fact-finding committee reported to the governor of California that, as a result of the passage of the immigration acts of 1921 and 1924, Mexicans were being used on a large scale in the Southwest to replace the supply of cheap labor that had been formerly recruited in southeastern Europe. The report revealed a concentration of this new immigration in Texas, Arizona, and California, with an ever-increasing number of Mexicans giving California as the state of their "intended future permanent residence." It was also discovered that, within the state, this new population was concentrated in ten southern counties.

For a long time Mexicans had regarded Southern California, more particularly Los Angeles, with favor, and during the decade from 1919 to 1929, the facts justified this view. At that time there was a scarcity of cheap labor in the region and Mexicans were made welcome. When cautious observers pointed out some of the consequences that might reasonably be expected to follow from a rash encouragement of this immigration, they were shouted down by the wise men of the Chamber of Commerce. Mexican labor was eulogized as cheap, plentiful, and docile. Even so late as 1930, little effort had been made to unionize it. The Los Angeles shopkeepers joined with the industrialists in denouncing, as a union-labor conspiracy, the agitation to place Mexican immigration on a quota basis. Dr. Paul S. Taylor quotes this typical utterance from a merchant:

Mexican business is for cash. They don't criticize prices. You can sell them higher priced articles than they intended to purchase when they came in. They spend every cent they make. Nothing is too good for a Mexican if he has the money. They spend their entire paycheck. If they come into your store first, you get it. If they go to the other fellow's store first, he gets it.

During this period, academic circles in Southern California exuded a wondrous solicitude for the Mexican immigrant. Teachers of sociology, social-service workers, and other subsidized

GETTING RID OF THE MEXICAN

No one knows how many Mexicans were "repatriated" during the 1930's. Many city, county, and state agencies instituted programs to send welfare

From "Getting Rid of the Mexican," by Carey McWilliams. *The American Mercury*, 28 (March 1933). Copyright © 1933, The American Mercury, Inc., P.O. Box 1306, Torrance, California 90505. Reprinted by permission.

sympathizers were deeply concerned about his welfare. Was he capable of assimilating American idealism? What antisocial traits did he possess? Wasn't he made morose by his native diet? What could be done to make him relish spinach and Brussels sprouts? What was the percentage of this and that disease, or this and that crime, in the Mexican population of Los Angeles? How many Mexican mothers fed their youngsters according to the diet schedules promulgated by manufacturers of American infant foods? In short, the do-gooders subjected the Mexican population to a relentless barrage of surveys, investigations, and clinical conferences.

But a marked change has occurred since 1930. When it became apparent last year that the program for the relief of the unemployed would assume huge proportions in the Mexican quarter, the community swung to a determination to oust the Mexican. Thanks to the rapacity of his overlords, he had not been able to accumulate any savings. He was in default in his rent. He was a burden to the taxpayer. At this juncture, an ingenious social worker suggested the desirability of a wholesale deportation. But when the federal authorities were consulted, they could promise but slight assistance, since many of the younger Mexicans in Southern California were American citizens, being the American-born children of immigrants. Moreover, the federal officials insisted on, in cases of illegal entry, a public hearing and a formal order of deportation. This procedure involved delay and expense, and, moreover, it could not be used to advantage in ousting any large number.

A better scheme was soon devised. Social workers reported that many of the Mexicans who were receiving charity had signified their "willingness" to return to Mexico. Negotiations were at once opened with the social-minded officials of the Southern Pacific Railroad. It was discovered that, in wholesale lots, the Mexicans could be shipped to Mexico City for \$14.70 *per capita*. This sum represented less than the cost of a week's board and lodging. And so, about February 1931, the first trainload was dispatched, and shipments at the rate of about one a month have continued ever since. A shipment consisting of three special trains left Los Angeles on December 8. The loading commenced at about six

o'clock in the morning and continued for hours. More than twenty-five such special trains had left the Southern Pacific station before last April.

No one seems to know precisely how many Mexicans have been "repatriated" in this manner to date. The *Los Angeles Times* of November 18 gave an estimate of eleven thousand for the year 1932. The monthly shipments of late have ranged from thirteen hundred to six thousand. The *Times* reported last April that altogether more than 200,000 *repatriados* had left the United States in the twelve months immediately preceding, of which it estimated that from fifty to seventy-five thousand were from California, and over thirty-five thousand from Los Angeles County. Of those from Los Angeles County, a large number were charity deportations.

The repatriation program is regarded locally as a piece of consummate statescraft. The average per family cost of executing it is \$71.14, including food and transportation. It cost Los Angeles County \$77,249.29 to repatriate one shipment of 6,024. It would have cost \$424,933.70 to provide this number with such charitable assistance as they would have been entitled to had they remained—a saving of \$347,684.41.

One wonders what has happened to all the Americanization programs of yesteryear. The Chamber of Commerce has been forced to issue a statement assuring the Mexican authorities that the community is in no sense unfriendly to Mexican labor and that repatriation is a policy designed solely for the relief of the destitute—even, presumably, in cases where invalids are removed from the County Hospital in Los Angeles and carted across the line. But those who once agitated for Mexican exclusion are no longer regarded as the puppets of union labor.

THE 1939 CONGRESS OF SPANISH SPEAKING PEOPLE

†The conditions under which the Spanish-speaking people in the Southwest live are completely at variance with American standards--discrimination in the right of employment, differentials in wage payments, discrimination in relief, lack of cultural opportunities, lack of civil and political rights in many sections--in brief a condition under which in effect the Spanish-speaking people are denied the right of "liberty and the pursuit of happiness".

. . .

"WHEREAS: The strongest unity of purpose for all workers is imperative in a world faced with slavery and concentration camps of fascism, and WHEREAS: The division that now exists in the American Labor Movement weakens the position of the workers whether organized or unorganized, and WHEREAS: A unified Labor Movement can best protect the interests of all American, Mexican and Spanish-speaking workers, and WHEREAS: The Trade Union Movement provides the most basic agency through which the Mexican and Spanish-speaking people become organized and receive the necessary education that will promote a unity of thought action and purpose, therefore BE IT RESOLVED: That the First Congress of the Mexican and Spanish-speaking People of the United States recommends to all Spanish-speaking peoples working in industry or agriculture to take immediate steps to affiliate with the union in their special field."

. . .

"The problems of education among the Mexican people are really vital. Our struggle for more Mexican teachers in schools where there is a high percentage of Mexican children. Fight against segregation and inferior schools for our children. A real fight for "bi-lingual" classes for our children up to the eight [sic] grade so that they may not remain illiterate, and be able to learn both languages. Standardized schools for migratory workers. Adult education by Mexican teachers or Spanish-speaking teachers"

3. PLOTTING A RIOT

If one spreads out the span of one's right hand and puts the palm down on the center of a map of Los Angeles County with the thumb pointing north, at the tip of each finger will be found a community where the population is predominantly Mexican. In each of these neighborhoods, moreover, a majority of the juveniles living in the area will be found to be first-generation Mexican-Americans, sons and daughters of the Mexican immigrants who came to Southern California during the 1920's.

Now, if one believes that Mexicans have an inherent desire to commit crimes of violence, the logical first step, in a crime prevention program, is to arrest all the people living in these areas. Unfortunately for the practice of this cosy little theory, there are well over a hundred thousand people living in these areas who are of Mexican descent. The maximum capacity of the Los Angeles jails being somewhat under this figure, it therefore becomes necessary to proceed on a more selective basis. If one group of Mexicans, say, the young people, could be selected for token treatment, and if sufficient arrests could be made from this group, perhaps this would serve as an example to all Mexicans to restrain their inborn criminal desires. . . .

If this sounds a bit fantastic, consider the following letter which Captain Joseph Reed sent to his superior on August 12, 1942:

C. B. Horrall,
Chief of Police.

Sir:

The Los Angeles Police Department in conjunction with the Sheriff, California Highway Patrol, the Monterey, Montebello, and Alhambra

Police Departments, conducted a drive on Mexican gangs throughout Los Angeles County on the nights of August 10th and 11th. All persons suspected of gang activities were stopped. Approximately 600 persons were brought in. There were approximately 175 arrested for having knives, guns, chains, dirks, daggers, or *any other implement that might have been used in assault cases.* . . .

Present plans call for drastic action. . . .

Respectfully,
JOSEPH F. REED
Administrative Assistant

(Emphasis added.)

On the nights in question, August 10 and 11, 1942, the police selected the neighborhoods which lay at our fingertips on the maps and then blockaded the main streets running through these neighborhoods. All cars containing Mexican occupants, entering or leaving the neighborhoods, were stopped. The occupants were then ordered to the sidewalks where they were searched. With the occupants removed, other officers searched the cars for weapons or other illicit goods.

On the face of it, the great raid was successful, for six hundred people were arrested. The charges? Suspicion of assault, suspicion of robbery, suspicion of auto thefts, suspicion of this, suspicion of that. Of the six hundred taken into custody, about 175 were held on various charges, principally for the possession of "knives, guns, chains, dirks, daggers, or any other implement that might have been used in assault cases." This is a broad statement, indeed, but it is thoroughly in keeping with the rest of this deadly serious farce. For these "other" implements consisted, of course, of hammers, tire irons, jack handles, wrenches, and other tools found in the cars. In fact, the arrests seem to have been predicated on the assumption that all law-abiding citizens belong to one or another of the various automobile clubs and, therefore, do not need to carry their own tools and accessories.

As for those arrested, taking the names in order, we have, among those first listed, Tovar, Marquez, Perez, Villegas, Tovar, Querrero, Holguín, Rochas, Aguilera, Ornelas, Atilano, Estrella, Saldana, and so on. Every name on the long list was obviously either Mexican or Spanish and therefore, according to the Ayres Report, the name of a potential criminal. The whole procedure, in fact, was entirely logical and consistent once the assumptions in the report were taken as true.

Harry Braverman, a member of the Grand Jury who had opposed returning the indictment in the Sleepy Lagoon case, was greatly disturbed by these mass dragnet raids and by the manner in which the Grand Jury was being used as a sounding board to air the curious views of Captain Ayres. Accordingly, he arranged for an open Grand Jury hearing on October 8, 1942, at which some of the damage caused by the Ayres Report might, if possible, be corrected. At this hearing, Dr. Harry Hoijer of the University of California; Guy T. Nunn of the War Manpower Commission (who later wrote, on his return from a German prison camp, a fine novel about Mexican-Americans called *White Shadows*); Manuel Aguilar of the Mexican consulate; Oscar R. Fuss of the CIO; Walter H. Laves of the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs and myself all endeavored to create in the minds of the Grand Jurors at least a doubt that everything that Captain Ayres had said was true. To appreciate the incomparable irony of this situation, suffice it to say that here we were having to defend "the biological character" of the Mexican people months after Mexico had declared war on Germany, Italy, and Japan on May 22, 1942; after the first shipment of 1,500 Mexican workers—the vanguard of an army of 100,000 workers that Mexico sent to this country during the war—had arrived in California on September 29, 1942; and after Henry Wallace, then vice-president of the United States, had declared to a great Sixteenth of September celebration in Los Angeles that "California has become a fusion ground for the two cultures of the Americas. . . ."

On the occasion of this hearing, representatives of the coordinator of Inter-American Affairs made the rounds of the newspapers, calling attention to the serious harm being done the war effort and the Good Neighbor Policy by the newspaper campaign against resident Mexicans. In the interest of winning the war, these officials had suggested, there might well be some abatement in this campaign: we were fighting the Germans and the Japanese, not the Mexicans. With stated reluctance, and obvious misgivings, the newspapers promised to behave and, from October to December, 1942, the great hue and cry either disappeared from the press or was conducted *sotto voce*. That the campaign had seriously interfered with the war effort, there can be no doubt. When the Sleepy Lagoon defendants were convicted, for example, the Axis radio beamed the following message in Spanish to the people of Latin America:

In Los Angeles, California, the so-called City of the Angels, twelve Mexican boys were found guilty today of a single murder and five others were convicted of assault growing out of the same case. The 360,000 Mexicans of Los Angeles are reported up in arms over this Yankee persecution. The concentration camps of Los Angeles are said to be overflowing with members of this persecuted minority. This is justice for you, as practiced by the "Good Neighbor," Uncle Sam, a justice that demands seventeen victims for one crime. (Axis broadcast, January 13, 1943).

The representatives of the Coordinator's Office urged the newspapers in particular to cease featuring the word "Mexican" in stories of crime. The press agreed, but, true to form, quickly devised a still better technique for baiting Mexicans. "Zoot-suit" and "Pachuco" began to appear in the newspapers with such regularity that, within a few months, they had completely replaced the word "Mexican." Any doubts the public may have harbored concerning the meaning and application of these terms were removed after January 13, 1943, for they were consistently applied, and only applied, to Mexicans. Every Mexican youngster arrested, no matter how trivial the offense and regardless of his ultimate guilt or innocence, was photographed with some such caption as "Pachuco Gangster" or "Zoot-suit Hoodlum." At the Grand Jury hearing on October 8, 1942, some of us had warned the community that, if this press campaign continued, it would ultimately lead to mass violence. But these warnings were ignored. After the jury had returned its verdict in the Sleepy Lagoon case and Mr. Rockefeller's emissaries had left Los Angeles, the campaign, once again, began to be stepped up.

On the eve of the zoot-suit riots in Los Angeles, therefore, the following elements were involved: first, the much-publicized "gangs," composed of youths of Mexican descent, rarely over eighteen years of age; second, the police, overwhelmingly non-Mexican in descent, acting in reliance on the theories of Captain Ayres; third, the newspapers, caught in a dull period when there was only a major war going on, hell-bent to find a local scapegoat, "an internal enemy," on which the accumulated frustrations of a population in wartime could be vented; fourth, the people of Los Angeles, Mexican and non-Mexican, largely unaware that they were sponsoring, by their credulity and indifference, a private war; and, fifth, the men of the armed services stationed in or about the city, strangers to Los Angeles, bored, getting the attitudes of the city from its flamboyant press. They entered the plot, however, only at the

climax. Knowing already of the attitude of the police and of the press, let's examine the Mexican "gang."

4. THE ORIGIN OF *Pachuquismo*

In Los Angeles, in 1942, if a boy wished to become known as a "gangster" he had a choice of two methods. The first, and by far the more difficult, was to commit a crime and be convicted. The second method was easier, although it was largely restricted to a particular group. If you were born of Mexican parents financially unable to move out of certain specific slum areas, you could be a gangster from birth without having to go to all the trouble of committing a crime. For Los Angeles had revised the old saying that "boys will be boys" to read "boys, if Mexican, will be gangsters." The only reservation to be noted, of course, consists in the definition of a "gang."

Adolescent boys in the United States are among the most gregarious groups in our society. American boys traditionally "hang out with the gang." Their association is based, of course, on common interests. The boys in the "gang" may go to the same school, live in the same neighborhood or have the same hobbies. There is, however, a difference in the degree to which the members of various "gangs" feel a sense of solidarity. A boy who belongs to a club for those who make model airplanes may have little loyalty toward the club. It serves a particular interest and beyond this interest he must have other associations. But a "gang" of Mexican boys in Los Angeles is held together by a set of associations so strong that they outweigh, or often outweigh, such influences as the home, the school, and the church.

The various teen-age clubs in the better parts of Los Angeles often get together and spend an evening dancing in Hollywood. But the respectable places of entertainment will often refuse to admit Mexicans. The boys and girls who belong to the "Y" often make up theater parties. But the "best" theaters in Los Angeles have been known to refuse admission to Mexicans. Many youngsters like to go rollerskating or iceskating; but the skating rink is likely to have a sign reading "Wednesdays reserved for Negroes and Mexicans." Wherever the Mexicans go, outside their own districts, there are signs, prohibitions, taboos, restrictions. Learning of this "iron curtain" is part of the education of every Mexican-American

boy in Los Angeles. Naturally it hits them hardest at the time when they are trying to cope with the already tremendous problems of normal adolescence. The first chapters are learned almost on the day they enter school, and, as time passes and the world enlarges, they learn other chapters in this bitter and peremptory lesson.

Most of the boys are born and grow up in neighborhoods which are almost entirely Mexican in composition and so it is not until they reach school age that they become aware of the social status of Mexicans. Prior to entering school, they are aware, to a limited extent, of differences in background. They know that there are other groups who speak English and that they will some day have to learn it, too. But it is at school that they first learn the differences in social rank and discover that they are at the bottom of the scale. Teachers in the "Mexican" schools are often unhappy about their personal situation. They would much rather be teaching in the sacrosanct halls of some Beverly Hills or Hollywood school. Assignment to a school in a Mexican district is commonly regarded, in Los Angeles, as the equivalent of exile. Plagued by teachers who present "personality problems," school administrators have been known to "solve" the problem by assigning the teacher to "Siberia." Neither in personnel nor equipment are these schools what they should be, although a definite attempt to improve them is now under way.

Discovering that his status approximates the second-rate school has the effect of instilling in the Mexican boy a resentment directed against the school, and all it stands for. At the same time, it robs him of a desire to turn back to his home. For the home which he knew prior to entering school no longer exists. All of the attitudes he has learned at school now poison his attitude toward the home. Turning away from home and school, the Mexican boy has only one place where he can find security and status. This is the gang made up of boys exactly like himself, who live in the same neighborhood, and who are going through precisely the same distressing process at precisely the same time.

Such is the origin of the juvenile gangs about which the police and the press of Los Angeles were so frenetically concerned. Gangs of this character are familiar phenomena in any large city. In Los Angeles, twenty years ago, similar gangs were made up of the sons of Russian Molokan immigrants. They have existed in Los Angeles since the city really began to grow, around 1900, and they will continue to exist as long

as society creates them. Thus "the genesis of pachuquismo," as Dr. George Sanchez has pointed out, "is an open book to those who care to look into the situations facing Spanish-speaking people" in the Southwest. In fact, they were pointed out over a decade ago in an article which Dr. Sanchez wrote for the *Journal of Applied Psychology* (1).

The *pachuco* gang differs from some other city gangs only in the degree to which it constitutes a more tightly knit group. There is more to the *pachuco* gang than just having a good time together. The *pachucos* suffer discrimination together and nothing makes for cohesiveness more effectively than a commonly shared hostility. Knowing that both as individuals and as a group they are not welcome in many parts of the city, they create their own world and try to make it as self-sufficient as possible.

While the fancier "palladiums" have been known to refuse them, even when they have had the price of admission, there are other dance halls, not nearly so fancy, that make a business of catering to their needs. It should be noted, however, that Mexican boys have never willingly accepted these inferior accommodations and the inferior status they connote. Before they have visited the "joints" on Skid Row, they have first tried to pass through the palatial foyers on Sunset Boulevard. When they finally give up, they have few illusions left about their native land.

It should also be remembered that *pachuquismo* followed a decade of important social change for Mexicans in Los Angeles. During the depression years, thousands of Mexicans had been repatriated and those remaining began to adjust to a new mode of existence. The residence of those who had been migratory workers tended to become stabilized, for residence was a condition to obtaining relief. Thousands of Mexicans were replaced, during these same years, by so-called Okies and Arkies in the migratory labor movement. A greater stability of residence implied more regular schooling, better opportunities to explore the intricacies of urban life, and, above all, it created a situation in which the Mexican communities began to impinge on the larger Anglo-American community.

During the depression years, one could watch the gradual encroachment of Mexicans upon downtown Los Angeles. Stores and shops catering to Mexican trade crossed First Street, moving out from the old Plaza district and gradually infiltrated as far south as Third or Fourth

streets. The motion picture theaters in this neighborhood, by far the oldest in the city, began to "go Mexican" as did the ten-cent stores, the shops, and the small retail stores. Nowadays the old Mason Opera House, in this district, has become a Mexican theater. Being strangers to an urban environment, the first generation had tended to respect the boundaries of the Mexican communities. But the second generation was lured far beyond these boundaries into the downtown shopping districts, to the beaches, and above all, to the "glamor" of Hollywood. It was this generation of Mexicans, the *pachuco* generation, that first came to the general notice and attention of the Anglo-American population.

Thus concurrently with the growth of the gangs there developed a new stereotype of the Mexican as the "*pachuco* gangster" the "zoot-suiter." Many theories have been advanced and reams of paper wasted in an attempt to define the origin of the word "*pachuco*." Some say that the expression originally came from Mexico and denoted resemblance to the gaily costumed people living in a town of this name; others have said that it was first applied to border bandits in the vicinity of El Paso. Regardless of the origin of the word, the *pachuco* stereotype was born in Los Angeles. It was essentially an easy task to fix this stereotype on Mexican youngsters. Their skin was enough darker to set them apart from the average *Angeleno*. Basically bilingual, they spoke both Spanish and English with an accent that could be mimicked by either or both groups. Also there was an age-old heritage of ill-will to be exploited and a social atmosphere in which Mexicans, as Mexicans, had long been stereotyped. The *pachuco* also had a uniform—the zoot-suit—which served to make him conspicuous.

Mexican-American boys never use the term "zoot-suit," preferring the word "drapes" in speaking of their clothes. "Drapes" began to appear in the late thirties and early forties. In general appearance, "drapes" resemble the zoot-suits worn by Negro youngsters in Harlem, although the initiated point out differences in detail and design. Called "drapes" or "zoot-suit," the costume is certainly one of the most functional ever designed. It is worn by boys who engage in a specific type of activity, namely, a style of dancing which means disaster to the average suit. The trouser cuffs are tight around the ankles in order not to catch on the heels of the boy's quickly moving feet. The shoulders of the coat are wide, giving plenty of room for strenuous arm movements; and the shoes are heavy, serving to anchor the boy to the dance floor as he

spins his partner around. There is nothing esoteric about these "sharp" sartorial get-ups in underprivileged groups, quite apart from their functional aspect. They are often used as a badge of defiance by the rejected against the outside world and, at the same time, as a symbol of belonging to the inner group. It is at once a sign of rebellion and a mark of belonging. It carries prestige (2).

For the boys, peg-topped pants with pleats, high waists up under the armpits, the long loose-backed coat, thick-soled bluchers, and the duck-tailed haircut; for the girls, black huaraches, short black skirt, long black stockings, sweater, and high pompadour. Many of the boys saved their money for months to buy one of these get-ups. The length of the coat and the width of the shoulders became as much a mark of prestige as the merit badges of the Boy Scout. But, it should be noted, that the zoot-suit was not universal among Mexican boys. Some never adopted it, while others never adopted it completely. There were all varieties of acceptance. The newspapers, of course, promptly seized upon the zoot-suit as "a badge of crime." But as one zoot-suited boy said to me, with infallible logic, "If I were a gangster, would I wear a zoot-suit so that everyone would know I was a gangster? No, I'd maybe dress like a priest or like everyone else; but no zoot-suit."

With the backdrops all in place, the curtain now rolls up on an interesting tableau in Our City the Queen of the Angels which was founded in the year 1781 by Mexican *pobladores* under the direction of Spanish officers who wore costumes far more outlandish than those worn by the most flamboyant *pachucos*.

regular duty was over for the night. Then, under the command of a detective lieutenant, the "Vengeance Squad," as they called themselves, set out "to clean up" the gang that had attacked the sailors. But—miracle of miracles!—when they arrived at the scene of the attack they could find no one to arrest—not a single Mexican—on their favorite charge of "suspicion of assault." In itself this curious inability to find anyone to arrest—so strikingly at variance with what usually happened on raids of this sort—raises an inference that a larger strategy was involved. For the raid accomplished nothing except to get the names of the raiding officers in the newspapers and to whip up the anger of the community against the Mexican population, which may, perhaps, have been the reason for the raid. . . .

Thus began the so-called "Zoot-Suit Race Riots" which were to last, in one form or another, for a week in Los Angeles.

I. THE TAXICAB BRIGADE

Taking the police raid as an official cue,—a signal for action,—about two hundred sailors decided to take the law into their own hands on the following night. Coming down into the center of Los Angeles from the Naval Armory in Chavez Ravine (near the "Chinatown" area), they hired a fleet of twenty taxicabs. Once assembled, the "task force" proceeded to cruise straight through the center of town en route to the east side of Los Angeles where the bulk of the Mexicans reside. Soon the sailors in the lead-car sighted a Mexican boy in a zoot-suit walking along the street. The "task force" immediately stopped and, in a few moments, the boy was lying on the pavement, badly beaten and bleeding. The sailors then piled back into the cabs and the caravan resumed its way until the next zoot-suiter was sighted, whereupon the same procedure was repeated. In these attacks, of course, the odds were pretty uneven: two hundred sailors to one Mexican boy. Four times this same treatment was meted out and four "gangsters,"—two seventeen-year-old youngsters, one nineteen, and one twenty-three,—were left lying on the pavements for the ambulances to pick up.

It is indeed curious that in a city like Los Angeles, which boasts that it has more police cars equipped with two-way radio than any other city in the world (*Los Angeles Times*, September 2, 1947), the police were

XIII

Blood on the Pavements

On Thursday evening, June 3, 1943, the Alpine Club—made up of youngsters of Mexican descent—held a meeting in a police substation in Los Angeles. Usually these meetings were held in a nearby public school but, since the school was closed, the boys had accepted the invitation of a police captain to meet in the substation. The principal business of the meeting, conducted in the presence of the police captain, consisted in a discussion of how gang-strife could best be avoided in the neighborhood. After the meeting had adjourned, the boys were taken in squad cars to the street corner nearest the neighborhood in which most of them lived. The squad cars were scarcely out of sight, when the boys were assaulted, not by a rival "gang" or "club," but by hoodlum elements in the neighborhood. Of one thing the boys were sure: their assailants were not of Mexican descent.

Earlier the same evening a group of eleven sailors, on leave from their station in Los Angeles, were walking along the 1700 block on North Main Street in the center of one of the city's worst slum areas. The surrounding neighborhood is predominantly Mexican. On one side of the street the dirty brick front of a large brewery hides from view a collection of ramshackle Mexican homes. The other side of the street consists of a series of small bars, boarded-up store fronts, and small shops. The area is well off the beaten paths and few servicemen found their way this far north on Main Street. As they were walking along the street, so they later stated, the sailors were set upon by a gang of Mexican boys. One of the sailors was badly hurt; the others suffered minor cuts and bruises. According to their story, the sailors were outnumbered about three to one.

When the attack was reported to the nearest substation, the police adopted a curious attitude. Instead of attempting to find and arrest the assailants, fourteen policemen remained at the station after their

apparently unable to intercept a caravan of twenty taxicabs, loaded with two hundred uniformed, yelling, bawdy sailors, as it cruised through the downtown and east-side sections of the city. At one point the police did happen to cross the trail of the caravan and the officers were apparently somewhat embarrassed over the meeting. For only nine of the sailors were taken into custody and the rest were permitted to continue on their merry way. No charges, however, were ever preferred against the nine.

Their evening's entertainment over, the sailors returned to the foot of Chavez Ravine. There they were met by the police and the Shore Patrol. The Shore Patrol took seventeen of the sailors into custody and sent the rest up to the ravine to the Naval Armory. The petty officer who had led the expedition, and who was not among those arrested, gave the police a frank statement of things to come. "We're out to do what the police have failed to do," he said; "we're going to clean up this situation. . . . Tonight [by then it was the morning of June fifth] the sailors may have the marines along" (1).

The next day the Los Angeles press pushed the war news from the front page as it proceeded to play up the pavement war in Los Angeles in screaming headlines. "Wild Night in L.A.—Sailor Zooter Clash" was the headline in the *Daily News*. "Sailor Task Force Hits L.A. Zooters" bellowed the *Herald-Express*. A suburban newspaper gleefully reported that "zoot-suited roughnecks fled to cover before a task force of twenty taxicabs." None of these stories, however, reported the slightest resistance, up to this point, on the part of the Mexicans.

True to their promise, the sailors were joined that night, June fifth, by scores of soldiers and marines. Squads of servicemen, arms linked, paraded through downtown Los Angeles four abreast, stopping anyone wearing zoot-suits and ordering these individuals to put away their "drapes" by the following night or suffer the consequences. Aside from a few half-hearted admonitions, the police made no effort whatever to interfere with these heralds of disorder. However, twenty-seven Mexican boys, gathered on a street corner, were arrested and jailed that evening. While these boys were being booked "on suspicion" of various offenses, a mob of several hundred servicemen roamed the downtown section of a great city threatening members of the Mexican minority without hindrance or interference from the police, the Shore Patrol, or the Military Police.

On this same evening, a squad of sailors invaded a bar on the east side and carefully examined the clothes of the patrons. Two zoot-suit customers, drinking beer at a table, were peremptorily ordered to remove their clothes. One of them was beaten and his clothes were torn from his back when he refused to comply with the order. The other—they were both Mexicans—doffed his "drapes" which were promptly ripped to shreds. Similar occurrences in several parts of the city that evening were sufficiently alarming to have warranted some precautionary measures or to have justified an "out-of-bounds" order. All that the police officials did, however, was to call up some additional reserves and announce that any Mexicans involved in the rioting would be promptly arrested. That there had been no counterattacks by the Mexicans up to this point apparently did not enter into the police officers' appraisal of the situation. One thing must be said for the Los Angeles police: it is above all consistent. When it is wrong, it is consistently wrong; when it makes a mistake, it will be repeated.

By the night of June sixth the police had worked out a simple formula for action. Knowing that wherever the sailors went there would be trouble, the police simply followed the sailors at a conveniently spaced interval. Six carloads of sailors cruised down Brooklyn Avenue that evening. At Ramona Boulevard, they stopped and beat up eight teenage Mexicans. Failing to find any Mexican zoot-suiters in a bar on Indiana Street, they were so annoyed that they proceeded to wreck the establishment. In due course, the police made a leisurely appearance at the scene of the wreckage but could find no one to arrest. Carefully following the sailors, the police arrested eleven boys who had been beaten up on Carmelita Street; six more victims were arrested a few blocks further on, seven at Ford Boulevard, six at Gifford Street—and so on straight through the Mexican east-side settlements. Behind them came the police, stopping at the same street corners "to mop up" by arresting the injured victims of the mob. By morning, some forty-four Mexican boys, all severely beaten, were under arrest.

2. OPERATION "DIXIE"

The stage was now set for the really serious rioting of June seventh and eighth. Having featured the preliminary rioting as an offensive

launched by sailors, soldiers, and marines, the press now whipped public opinion into a frenzy by dire warnings that Mexican zoot-suiters planned mass retaliations. To insure a riot, the precise street corners were named at which retaliatory action was expected and the time of the anticipated action was carefully specified. In effect these stories announced a riot and invited public participation. "Zooters Planning to Attack More Servicemen," headlined the *Daily News*; "Would jab broken bottlenecks in the faces of their victims. . . . Beating sailors' brains out with hammers also on the program." Concerned for the safety of the Army, the Navy, and the Marine Corps, the *Herald-Express* warned that "Zooters . . . would mass 500 strong."

By way of explaining the action of the police throughout the subsequent rioting, it should be pointed out that, in June, 1943, the police were on a bad spot. A man by the name of Beebe, arrested on a drunk charge, had been kicked to death in the Central Jail by police officers. Through the excellent work of an alert police commissioner, the case had finally been broken and, at the time of the riots, a police officer by the name of Compton Dixon was on trial in the courts. While charges of police brutality had been bandied about for years, this was the first time that a seemingly airtight case had been prepared. Shortly after the riots, a Hollywood police captain told a motion picture director that the police had touched off the riots "in order to give Dixie (Dixon) a break." By staging a fake demonstration of the alleged necessity for harsh police methods, it was hoped that the jury would acquit Dixon. As a matter of fact, the jury did disagree and on July 2, 1943, the charges against Dixon were dismissed.

On Monday evening, June seventh, thousands of *Angelenos*, in response to twelve hours' advance notice in the press, turned out for a mass lynching. Marching through the streets of downtown Los Angeles, a mob of several thousand soldiers, sailors, and civilians, proceeded to beat up every zoot-suiter they could find. Pushing its way into the important motion picture theaters, the mob ordered the management to turn on the house lights and then ranged up and down the aisles dragging Mexicans out of their seats. Street cars were halted while Mexicans, and some Filipinos and Negroes, were jerked out of their seats, pushed into the streets, and beaten with sadistic frenzy. If the victims wore zoot-suits, they were stripped of their clothing and left naked or half-naked on the streets, bleeding and bruised. Proceeding down Main Street from

First to Twelfth, the mob stopped on the edge of the Negro district. Learning that the Negroes planned a warm reception for them, the mobsters turned back and marched through the Mexican east side spreading panic and terror.

Here is one of numerous eye-witness accounts written by Al Waxman, editor of *The Eastside Journal*:

At Twelfth and Central I came upon a scene that will long live in my memory. Police were swinging clubs and servicemen were fighting with civilians. Wholesale arrests were being made by the officers.

Four boys came out of a pool hall. They were wearing the zoot-suits that have become the symbol of a fighting flag. Police ordered them into arrest cars. One refused. He asked: "Why am I being arrested?" The police officer answered with three swift blows of the night-stick across the boy's head and he went down. As he sprawled, he was kicked in the face. Police had difficulty loading his body into the vehicle because he was one-legged and wore a wooden limb. Maybe the officer didn't know he was attacking a cripple.

At the next corner a Mexican mother cried out, "Don't take my boy, he did nothing. He's only fifteen years old. Don't take him." She was struck across the jaw with a night-stick and almost dropped the two and a half year old baby that was clinging in her arms. . . .

Rushing back to the east side to make sure that things were quiet here, I came upon a band of servicemen making a systematic tour of East First Street. They had just come out of a cocktail bar where four men were nursing bruises. Three autos loaded with Los Angeles policemen were on the scene but the soldiers were not molested. Farther down the street the men stopped a streetcar, forcing the motorman to open the door and proceeded to inspect the clothing of the male passengers. "We're looking for zoot-suits to burn," they shouted. Again the police did not interfere. . . . Half a block away . . . I pleaded with the men of the local police substation to put a stop to these activities. "It is a matter for the military police," they said.

Throughout the night the Mexican communities were in the wildest possible turmoil. Scores of Mexican mothers were trying to locate their youngsters and several hundred Mexicans milled around each of the police substations and the Central Jail trying to get word of missing members of their families. Boys came into the police stations saying: "Charge me with vagrancy or anything, but don't send me out there!" pointing to the streets where other boys, as young as twelve and thirteen

years of age, were being beaten and stripped of their clothes. From affidavits which I helped prepare at the time, I should say that not more than half of the victims were actually wearing zoot-suits. A Negro defense worker, wearing a defense-plant identification badge on his workclothes, was taken from a street car and one of his eyes was gouged out with a knife. Huge half-page photographs, showing Mexican boys stripped of their clothes, cowering on the pavements, often bleeding profusely, surrounded by jeering mobs of men and women, appeared in all the Los Angeles newspapers. As Al Waxman most truthfully reported, blood had been "spilled on the streets of the city."

At midnight on June seventh, the military authorities decided that the local police were completely unable or unwilling to handle the situation, despite the fact that a thousand reserve officers had been called up. The entire downtown area of Los Angeles was then declared "out of bounds" for military personnel. This order immediately slowed down the pace of the rioting. The moment the Military Police and Shore Patrol went into action, the rioting quieted down. On June eighth the city officials brought their heads up out of the sand, took a look around, and began issuing statements. The district attorney, Fred N. Howser, announced that the "situation is getting entirely out of hand," while Mayor Fletcher Bowron thought that "sooner or later it will blow over." The chief of police, taking a count of the Mexicans in jail, cheerfully proclaimed that "the situation has now cleared up." All agreed, however, that it was quite "a situation."

Unfortunately "the situation" had not cleared up; nor did it blow over. It began to spread to the suburbs where the rioting continued for two more days. When it finally stopped, the *Eagle Rock Advertiser* mournfully editorialized: "It is too bad the servicemen were called off before they were able to complete the job. . . . Most of the citizens of the city have been delighted with what has been going on." County Supervisor Roger Jessup told the newsmen: "All that is needed to end lawlessness is more of the same action as is being exercised by the servicemen!" While the district attorney of Ventura, an outlying county, jumped on the bandwagon with a statement to the effect that "zoot suits are an open indication of subversive character." This was also the opinion of the Los Angeles City Council which adopted a resolution making the wearing of zoot-suits a misdemeanor! On June eleventh, hundreds of handbills were distributed to students and posted on bulletin boards in a high school at-

tended by many Negroes and Mexicans which read: "Big Sale. Second-Hand Zoot Suits. Slightly Damaged. Apply at Nearest U.S. Naval Station. While they last we have your Size."

3. WHEN THE DEVIL IS SICK . . .

Egging on the mob to attack Mexicans in the most indiscriminate manner, the press developed a fine technique in reporting the riots. "44 Zooters Jailed in Attacks on Sailors" was the chief headline in the *Daily News* of June seventh; "Zoot Suit Chiefs Girding for War on Navy" was the headline in the same paper on the following day. The moralistic tone of this reporting is illustrated by a smug headline in the *Los Angeles Times* of June seventh: "Zoot Suiters Learn Lesson in Fight with Servicemen." The riots, according to the same paper, were having "a cleansing effect." An editorial in the *Herald-Express* said that the riots "promise to rid the community of . . . those zoot-suited miscreants." While Mr. Manchester Boddy, in a signed editorial in the *Daily News* of June ninth excitedly announced that "the time for temporizing is past. . . . The time has come to serve notice that the City of Los Angeles will no longer be terrorized by a relatively small handful of morons parading as zoot suit hoodlums. To delay action *now* means to court disaster later on." As though there had been any "temporizing," in this sense, for the prior two years!

But once the Navy had declared the downtown section of Los Angeles "out of bounds," once the Mexican ambassador in Washington had addressed a formal inquiry to Secretary of State Hull, and once official Washington began to advise the local minions of the press of the utterly disastrous international effects of the riots, in short when the local press realized the consequences of its own lawless action, a great thunderous cry for "unity," and "peace," and "order" went forth. One after the other, the editors began to disclaim all responsibility for the riots which, two days before, had been hailed for their "salutary" and "cleansing" effect.

Thus on June eleventh the *Los Angeles Times*, in a pious mood, wrote that,

at the outset, zoot-suiters were limited to no specific race; they were Anglo-Saxon, Latin and Negro. The fact that later on their numbers seemed to be predominantly Latin was in itself no indictment of that race

at all. No responsible person at any time condemned Latin-Americans as such.

Feeling a twinge of conscience, Mr. Boddy wrote that "only a ridiculously small percentage of the local Mexican population is involved in the so-called gang demonstrations. Every true Californian has an affection for his fellow citizens of Mexican ancestry that is as deep rooted as the Mexican culture that influences our way of living, our architecture, our music, our language, and even our food." This belated discovery of the Spanish-Mexican cultural heritage of California was, needless to say, rather ironic in view of the fact that the ink was not yet dry on Mr. Boddy's earlier editorial in which he had castigated the Mexican minority as "morons." To appreciate the ironic aspects of "the situation," the same newspapers that had been baiting Mexicans for nearly two years now began to extol them (2).

As might have been expected, this post-mortem mood of penitence and contrition survived just long enough for some of the international repercussions of the riots to quiet down. Within a year, the press and the police were back in the same old groove. On July 16, 1944, the Los Angeles *Times* gave front-page prominence to a curious story under the heading: "Youthful Gang Secrets Exposed." Indicating no source, identifying no spokesman, the story went on to say that "authorities of the Superior Court" had unearthed a dreadful "situation" among juvenile delinquents. Juveniles were using narcotics, marihuana, and smoking "reefers." Compelled to accept drug addiction, "unwilling neophytes" were dragooned into committing robberies and other crimes. Young girls were tattooed with various "secret cabalistic symbols" of gang membership. The high pompadours affected by the *cholitas*, it was said, were used to conceal knives and other "weapons." Two theories were advanced in the story by way of "explaining" the existence of these dangerous gangs: first, that "subversive groups" in Los Angeles had organized them; and, second, that "the gangs are the result of mollycoddling of racial groups." In view of the record, one is moved to inquire, what mollycoddling? by the police? by the juvenile authorities? by the courts? Backing up the news story, an editorial appeared in the *Times* on July eighteenth entitled: "It's Not a Nice Job But It Has To Be Done." Lashing out at "any maudlin and misguided sympathy for the 'poor juveniles,'" the editorial went on to say that "stern punishment is what is needed; stern and sure punishment. The police and the Sheriff's men

should be given every encouragement to go after these young gangsters" (emphasis mine).

Coincident with the appearance of the foregoing news story and editorial, the Juvenile Court of Los Angeles entered a most remarkable order in its minutes on July 31, 1944. The order outlined a plan by which Mexican wards of the Juvenile Court, over sixteen years of age, might be turned over to the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad for a type of contract-employment. A form of contract, between the parents of the youngsters and the railroad, was attached to the order. The contract provided that the ward was to work "as a track laborer" at 58½¢ per hour; that \$1.03 per day was to be deducted for board, \$2.50 per month for dues in a hospital association, and 10¢ a day for laundry. It was also provided that one-half of the pay was to be turned over to the probation officers to be held in trust for the ward. That this order was specifically aimed at *Mexican* juveniles is clearly shown by the circumstance that the court, prior to approving the arrangement, had first secured its approval by a committee of "representative" leaders of the Mexican-American community.

4. THE STRANGE CASE OF THE SILK PANTIES

All of this, one will say,—the Sleepy Lagoon case, the riots, etc.,—belongs to the past. But does it? On the morning of July 21, 1946, a thirteen-year-old Mexican boy, Eugene Chavez Montenegro, Jr., was shot and killed by a deputy sheriff in Montebello Park on the east side of Los Angeles. The deputy sheriff later testified that he had been called to the area by reports of a prowler. On arriving at the scene, he had stationed himself near a window of the house in question and had played his flashlight on the window. A little later, he testified, "a man" lifted the screen on the window, crawled out, and ran past him. When the "man" failed to halt on order, he had shot him in the back. At the coroner's inquest, the same deputy also testified that he had seen another officer remove a pair of "silk panties" from the dead boy's pocket and that the boy was armed with "a Boy Scout's knife."

While incidents of this kind have been common occurrences in Los Angeles for twenty years, in this case the officers had shot the wrong boy. For it turned out that young Montenegro was an honor student at St.

Alphonsus parochial school; that his parents were a highly respectable middle-class couple; and that the neighbors, Anglo-Americans as well as Mexicans, all testified that the boy had an excellent reputation. Accepting the officers' version of the facts, it was still difficult to explain why they had made no effort to halt the boy, who was five feet three inches tall, when he ran directly past them within arms' reach. Before the hearings were over, the "silk panties" story was exposed as a complete fake. Despite a gallant fight waged by Mr. and Mrs. Montenegro to vindicate the reputation of their son, nothing came of the investigation. "Raging Mother Attacks Deputy Who Slew Son" was the *Daily News* headline on the story of the investigation.

. . . On January 23, 1947 the attorney general of California ordered the removal of two police officers for the brutal beating of four Mexican nationals who, with eight hundred of their countrymen, had been brought to Oxnard to harvest the crops. . . . On March 30, 1946, a private detective killed Tiofilo Pelagio, a Mexican national, in a café argument. . . . On the same day affidavits were presented to the authorities that confessions from four Mexican boys, all minors, had been obtained by force and violence. . . . Esther Armenta, sixteen years of age, complained to her mother that she was being mistreated by Anglo-American classmates in a Los Angeles junior high school. "They would spit on her," said Mrs. Catalina Armenta, the mother, "and call her a 'dirty Mex.' Esther would come home in tears and beg me to get her transferred." A few weeks later the girl was in juvenile court charged with the use of "bad language." She was then sent to the Ventura School for Girls, a so-called "correctional" institution. When Mrs. Armenta finally got permission to visit her daughter, in the presence of a matron, the girl had "black and blue marks on her arm" and complained that she had been whipped by one of the matrons. . . . On April 10, 1946, Mrs. Michael Gonzales complained to the Federation of Spanish-American Voters that her daughter had been placed in the Ventura School without her knowledge or consent and that when she had protested this action she had been threatened with deportation by an official of the juvenile court. . . . On the basis of a stack of affidavits, the San Fernando Valley Council on Race Relations charged on May 16, 1947 that the police had broken into Mexican homes without search warrants; that they had beaten, threatened, and intimidated Mexican juveniles; and that they were in the habit of making "wholesale roundups and arrests of Mexican-American boys

without previous inquiry as to the arrested boys' connection—if any—with the crime in question." . . . In 1946 a prominent official of the Los Angeles schools told me that she had been horrified to discover that, in the Belvedere district, Mexican-American girls, stripped of their clothing, were forced to parade back and forth, in the presence of other girls in the "gym," as a disciplinary measure. . . .*

* For a detailed account of still another "incident," see *Justice for Salcido* by Guy Endore, published by the Civil Rights Congress of Los Angeles, July, 1948.

SLEEPY LAGOON DEFENSE COMMITTEE

Canada Lee, Carey McWilliams, and Orson Welles, members of the National Citizens Political Action Committee, are affiliated with the Sleepy Lagoon Defense Committee, formerly known as the Citizens' Committee for the Defense of Mexican-American Youth. According to an official pamphlet of the organization, all three of the foregoing are sponsors. Orson Welles also wrote the foreword of a pamphlet entitled "The Sleepy Lagoon Case," published by the Sleepy Lagoon Defense Committee.

The Report of the Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities in California submitted to the 55th session of the California Legislature (1943) devoted a section to the Citizens' Committee for the Defense of Mexican-American Youth (pp. 216-217), now known as the Sleepy Lagoon Defense Committee. That Report declared, in part, as follows:

Mrs. La Rue McCormick's Citizens' Committee is still operating, even though 17 of the Mexican boys have been convicted in the Superior Court of Los Angeles on the charge of murder . . . The Citizens' Committee for the Defense of Mexican-American Youth, regardless of any other consideration, is a typical Communist front organization. The most recent activity of this group is to expand its agitation into churches, unions, fraternal and civic organizations.

On the inside back cover of the pamphlet entitled "The Sleepy Lagoon Case," the following persons are named as sponsors:

Fav Allen	Philip M. Connelly	F. O. Matthiessen
Charlotta Bass	Frank Corona	Carey McWilliams
Gray Bemis	John Warren Day	Jerome Posner
Harry Bridges	Oscar Fuss	Michael Quill
John Bright	Herbert Ganahl	Mrs. Will Rogers, Jr.
Josefina Fierro de Bright	Jaine Gonzales	Clayton D. Russell
Revels Cayton	Augustus F. Hawkins	R. Lal Singh
Minnabell Cline	Martin Hourihan	Albee Slade
John Cohee	John Howard Lawson	Ferdinand C. Smith
Dorothy Comingore	Canada Lee	Orson Welles

EXHIBIT NO. 1

SLEEPY LAGOON DEFENSE COMMITTEE

Room 302—129 West 2nd Street, Los Angeles 12, California, Mutual 4964

OFFICERS

Cary McWilliams, National Chairman
Harry Braverman, State Chairman
Alice Greenfield, Executive Secretary

SPONSORS

(Partial List, Organizations listed for identification only)

Charlotta A. Bass, Editor, Calif. Eagle	Hon. Vito Marcantonio, Congressman
Gertrude Howe Britton, Organizer, Mexican Relations Committee, Chicago, Illinois	Prof. F. C. Matthiessen, Harvard University
Rev. M. A. Canseco, D. D.	Gabriel Navarro, Editor, El Pueblo
Revels Cayton, Director State CIO Minorities Committee	J. David Orozco
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Philip M. Connelly, Secy. L. A. Ind. Union Council	Dr. Camilo Servin
Joseph Cotten	Herman Shurulin
Dr. Frank Davis, Professor, U. C. L. A.	Ferdinand C. Smith, National Secretary, National Maritime Union of America
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Canada Lee
Hon. Vito Marcantonio, Congressman
Prof. F. C. Matthiessen, Harvard University
Gabriel Navarro, Editor, El Pueblo
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Michael Quill, Councilman, New York City
Mrs. Will Rogers, Jr.
Rev. Clayton D. Russell, People's Independent Church of Christ
Dr. Camilo Servin
Herman Shurulin
Ferdinand C. Smith, National Secretary, National Maritime Union of America
Herbert K. Sorrel, Conference of Studio Unions
Dalton Trumbo
Orson Welles

1566

AUGUST 9, 1944.

Under separate cover your copy of SLEEPY LAGOON MYSTERY has gone forward. By the way, you neglected to enclose the 15¢.

The enclosed bulletin is the first one which we put out, that is, for general consumption. The bulletin began originally as a newsletter to the defendants in the case.

The other material enclosed you may find of interest. Ayres' report is commented on at length in SLEEPY LAGOON MYSTERY.

We hope you will find the MYSTERY interesting and that you will want to distribute copies to your friends. Please note the re-order form at the end of the book when it arrives.

Thank you for your interest and cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

ALICE GREENFIELD,
Alice Greenfield,
Executive secretary.

EL HOYO

Art Godínez

I remember
my turquoise painted house.
It was located in
"El Hoyo Mara"
one of the many barrios of
East Los.
El Hoyo means
the hole.
I guess in a way
it was a hole,
like the kind where you get buried in.
It was a typical barrio—
with little children
tugging the flowered dresses of
fat brown ladies;
where old decayed couples
help each other cross the street,
hand in hand
like two neglected prunes;
winos in an alley,
incoherent conversation,
sharing a pint of Tokay
and companionship;
a foxy bronze man,
waiting for the bus,
while we three middle-aged men
make comments

In front of
my house
we had a chain link fence
which protected
our lawn of dirt
and my mom's
flower bed.
One of the front windows
was broken —
A fast ball that got away from my brother.
It was patched up with cardboard
to keep the cold air
out of my sister's bedroom.
Cats were always in the bottom of the house.
They got in
through the front steps.
We could never rid ourselves
of infant-like
screams at night.
One night,
I went out to go to the bathroom
(our bathroom was outside,
I hated it,
we always caught colds)

I turned the light on
and there
by the toilet seat
lay a cat,
seven newly born
pink stuff
by her side,
I almost threw up.
Not because of
the cat and
her newborn
But rather,
the situation
I found myself in.
Our house had three bedrooms
which gave sleep
to a family of ten.
My mother always kept it clean.
Though she couldn't help
the cockroaches,
termites,
and mice.
At least once a night
the crack of a mousetrap
would rush into the night.
I'd awake
and swear
that the neighbors had heard.
One night
after a mousetrap
woke me up,
I went for a drink of water,
I turned the kitchen light on,
and as usual,
saw before me
the wall to wall cockroaches.
Except this time
they were immobile
and didn't scatter
like usual.
I froze
and stared
at them.
Soon,
they were
thrice their size.
The scene progressed
to bizarre.
Now they were
future 'fat ladies,
old couples,
winos,
foxy women,
and horny men.



Pizza Parlor. Freddy was munching on a huge piece of Mexican sweet bread shaped like a pretzel. He was by himself, which was kind of a surprise. For over a month now he and Big Hugo had been hanging around together like a couple of Siamese twins. The reason being that Freddy had been jumped by a gang from the Eastside while walking his girl Vera home from a dance. Beat the shit out of him. Vera ran screaming for the law. But by the time they got to him he had needed fourteen stitches on his head and a cast for his left arm.

Freddy still wore the cast, and as yet his hair hadn't grown completely out from where the stitches had been. You could still see the red, smeared iodine on his scalp. The scar beneath the bald patch looked nasty. It humped over like a grafted worm on his head. As Gato approached him, Freddy greeted him with his goofy smile that allowed one to see the gold caps on his front teeth.

"What's happening," Gato said.

"Nothing much," Freddy said. "Just standing around."

By now his cast was signed by just about everyone that knew him, and by many more who wouldn't remember what he looked like if he were standing on the line up. He had fallen into the habit of asking everyone he met to put their mark on his plaster, and for this purpose he carried a pencil behind his ear for anyone who might care to register their name on his arm. The cast served as a novelty for him; and it was apparent that the cast had inflated his ego to some extent. He displayed it as if it were a symbol of his savageness, even though he hadn't been much of a savage when he earned it. Still, Freddy waved the cast around like a medal.

Shortly after he got jumped he sort of picked up Hugo to walk around with him. A bodyguard wasn't a bad thing to call Hugo—in Freddy's situation, anyway. Freddy latched onto Hugo and managed to keep him at his side by treating him to cokes and things when they were on the street. Today, though, Hugo wasn't with him.

"What happened to Hugo?" Gato asked.

Gato suddenly got the feeling that he had put Freddy on a bumner. His goofy smile vanished and on came this

WHAT-THE-FUCK'S-THE-MATTER-WITH-YOU
type look.

"I don't know," he said. "I ain't seen him around."

Gato thought he detected a hint of anger in his voice.

"How's your arm?"

"It's okay."

"That's good, man. Hope you get over it soon."

"Yeah." He had that sound in his voice that suggested not wanting to continue the subject. Then he said, "Have you signed it yet?"

"A long time ago. When you first had it put on."

Exhibit 23

4

Summer time. Sunday morning. The sun glowed hot and threw a blinding glare over the neighborhood streets. Gato was walking down Eastern Avenue, heading toward Wilson High, when he saw Freddy coming out of the Mexican bakery just next door to Mama Gloria's

My time had come. Everybody had their eyes on me. I was the Main Event.

"You're fourteen years today," my father said. "And old enough to be my right hand. Now for once don't mess up. And be sure you catch all the blood." He slapped the chicken-killer knife into my hand. I gripped it tight.

"Con permiso?" I asked.

"Pass," they told me in a chorus.

My new boots marched me like an army round the corner of the house, along the side fence and up the back steps to the kitchen. My mother with her swollen belly stood leaning on the stove. Her braids hung tired and heavy down her back and she didn't notice when I came in. Since last month she'd been like half-asleep with her eyes turned inside out to watch the baby grow inside her.

"Hey, where's the pan at?" I asked her.

"What pan?" she wanted to know.

"The one for the blood naturally," I told her and flashed my knife. She looked at it and looked at me.

"You?" she said.

"Why not?" I told her.

My mother groaned when she bended down to rattle the pan out from under the sink. What if she should die? flashed through my head. What if this giant baby killed her while my father and his friends sat drinking on the front porch?

"See you don't cut yourself," she said and tuned me out.

Our backest yard was where the chickens lived. We had nopales solid along the fence reaching up their prickly paws higher than your shoulders. Our tumbledown shed took up one corner. I stood by the gate, knife in hand and watched the stupid chickens peck-peck-pecking through the gravel and complaining about the hard life they had. It was our old red hen I wanted. She used to be a steady layer but now only gave eggs when in the mood.

"Hey Junior, you gonna kill the chickie?"

"Make a circus like your daddy, Junior, huh?"

It was those peisty little kids from next door. I ignored them.

My plan was to imitate my father exactly. I opened the gate and started clowning but those dumb kids never laughed even one time. So then I got disgusted and went after that old hen for real, but she turned track star on me. Twice I missed her and fell against the nopale cactuses and tore my shirt.

"Should I call your daddy, Junior?"

Junior this and Junior that. "Shut up," I told those snotnose kids. Maybe I even threw my knife at them, I don't remember, anyway they left there running. Then I really grabbed that chicken and hit her a good one too, to learn her a lesson. The rope kept tangling. It took three tries to get her legs tied up. Next, I hung her upside down where my father always did and put the blood pan under. With my left hand I stretched her neck out long for the knife, but it felt very funny to me, like something I had possibly felt before, only with feathers on it.

I creeped the knife in till it just barely touched skin. Only one inch more, a half-inch even. But my muscles froze on me. My hand started in to shake. Out front the men were waiting. Out front my father trusted me. He had generously put his own special knife into my hand. There was no way in all this world I could possibly go back to the front porch with that chicken still alive.

We hung there, me and that old red hen, how long—who knows? Till suddenly it came to me: What's so great about my father's crazy Mexican way of chicken killing? Why not try something new for a change, something more up-to-daté? In his closet, in a shoe box, my father had a revolver which he kept loaded just in case. It was another one of those Shamrock Street bargains and he paid \$10 for it. For years my father always warned me, "Don't you ever touch that thing," but today I was fourteen years old which was a man, so I went for it.

God was good to me. My mother didn't notice when I sneaked through the kitchen with the .45 under my T-shirt. It seemed heavier than I remembered, and wanted to wave around when I took aim. So I steadied the barrel on the trash

can just 6 inches away from that old chicken's throat. It was quite important not to miss. I might be criticized.

"SSAAAHHHHSSS!"

It turned out to be the Shot Heard Round The World.

On Shamrock people can tell pistols from firecrackers any day, having heard plenty of both from time to time. No doubt they asked each other, "Did she finally shoot him? Or him her?" There were several well-known trouble spots. So they all came running to see the corpse. But of course it was my father that got to me first.

"Here's your chicken," I told him and held it up.

Nothing in this world was ever deader than that old red hen. It was a perfect shot, just one tiny thread of neck left and the head hanging down. I expected my father to be quite pleased with me. Instead he yelled. He grabbed the pistol. He slammed the chicken in the dirt. He slapped for my face but I ducked under.

"Hey," I told him, "what's wrong with you?"

"You wait!" he shouted and slung me into the shed and banged the door.

"What happened?" somebody outside asked. "Who's dead?"

"Medina's kid just shot a chicken."

"With a GUN?"

Then somebody hollered, "Yaaay, chicken-shooter!" It sounded like Pelón that used to be my friend. Others took it up. I heard that ugly word race up and down the block like a fire engine. But I ask you, "What's the difference how you kill a chicken as long as that chicken gets dead?" Possibly I was the first in history to use a gun. But that's people for you, try anything new and different and they're sure to criticize, my father especially. You had to do every least thing exactly his way or he blamed you for it.

I laid there in the dirt. The sun was shooting blades of light between the boards. There was a big new hole where the .45 blasted through. My hands were all over dirt and blood. My boots were bloody too. Who cared? Let it rot there. From

outside I heard my father chasing people from the yard. I heard Chuchu arguing with him till my father ordered him out too. It got quite quiet. I heard the noise leather makes when you slap it on a wall. And then my father pulled the shed door open. His well-known belt squirmed in his hands like a snake.

Let him kill me. I'll never make a sound.

But behind him, through the door I saw my mother. She came waddling down the back steps. If she argued with him it would only make things worse. She didn't. Instead, she grabbed her belly and screamed a scream like no scream I ever heard before. My father dropped his belt and ran to catch her. I ran too, but it turned out to be a false alarm. The baby took two more days in coming. And I could almost swear I saw my mother wink at me while my father carried her inside.

On the freeway, the engine hummed in tune as Lorraine, Carmen, and I joined Diana Ross singing, "*Baby love, oh, baby love, oh, how I miss you so.*"

"Where we going?" Corky asked.

"I have an idea," Esther said. "Why don't we go try on wedding dresses?"

"That sounds dumb," Corky said.

"I'd rather hang out in the sun," Lorraine said, reaching for the wine.

Carmen handed her the bottle. "Just one drink, *esa.*"

Lorraine took a long slug.

"I think I wanna try on wedding dresses anyway," Esther said.

"Oh, no," Corky hissed.

"It's her brother's car, so she gets to call the shots," Lorraine said.

"OK, let's do it," I said.

"Alright," Carmen said.

"You guys are weird," Corky moaned.

We got off the freeway and cruised through the L.A. traffic, past the business district, into the garment district, and found a place and parked, then walked the couple of blocks to "Ida's Wedding Parties and Accessories."

"OK," Carmen said, "you guys gotta act like you got some class."

"Look who's talking!" Lorraine snorted.

"Take a picture, it'll last longer," Carmen said, glaring at Lorraine.

"Ay, *cayate,*" Corky shrilled.

"I'm gonna tell you somethin'," Carmen said with her hand on her hip. "We're gonna have to be cool. We'll say that Esther here is getting married and we're gonna be her bridesmaids." Esther smiled wanly.

Carmen led us in, adjusting her winged rhinestone glasses.

Maravilla

A saleslady, dressed in a discreet black dress and smelling of Estee Lauder, glided over.

"May I help you?"

"Yes," Carmen said. "We'd like to see some wedding and bridesmaids' dresses."

"Which one of you girls is the bride?"

"She is," Carmen said, pointing to Esther.

"Come over here. I'll show you what we have."

We followed her to a rack of fancy looking dresses.

"Would you like something lacy, full, with a train?"

"I'd like something with a lotta lace," Esther said.

The saleslady pulled out a stiff lacy dress. In unison we chanted, "Wow! Ooh, ahh!"

"Would you like to try it on?"

"I guess so." Esther blushed.

The saleslady unhooked the dress and led Esther to the dressing room, calling back over her shoulder, "Stella, can you help these young ladies? They're looking for bridesmaids' dresses."

Stella, in a discreet beige suit and a waft of Tabu trailing behind her, guided us to a rack of different colors and brusquely pulled out several long gowns. Another chorus of "oohs" and ahhs" followed.

"Why don't you girls pick out one you like?"

"I'll take this one," I picked out the coral taffeta with matching bow and elbow length gloves. Carmen selected the smallest since she was the skinniest. It was lime green with a matching pillbox hat and short gloves. Corky grabbed the bright yellow with matching beanie and long gloves, leaving the large, hot pink one for Lorraine.

"Hey, man, I don't think I'm gonna be in the wedding after all," Lorraine said, sulking.

"Aw, go on," I prodded her.

"Anyways, it ain't gonna be for five..."

"Shh!" Carmen hissed.

"I'll show you girls to the dressing room," Stella said.

As we were departing, Esther glided out, smiling like a toothpaste ad, decked out in a white, lacy dress with a high neckline and long tight sleeves. The skirt hung in a bowl around her feet, and a train with layers of stiff material

Maravilla

trailed behind her. A veil topped with a crown of little, plastic white flowers sat on her head.

"Wow! Groovie, Esther!" We all flocked around her hooped skirt, except for Lorraine who hung back scowling.

"You look fabulous, girl," Corky said. Lorraine snorted. Carmen glared at her.

"Since you're not gonna be in the wedding, why don't you go wait in the car?"

Lorraine snapped her gum. "Louie's a jerk. I hope she doesn't marry the creep."

"We better try these on," I said, shoving past Lorraine to follow the saleslady.

I took the dress and hung it on a hook on the wall. Stripping off my sweater, being careful not to mess my hair, I peeled down my half-slip and pantyhose, unhooked my bra, removed my shoes. I unzipped the stiff, shiny dress and pulled it over my head.

Halfway up my back, the zipper stuck. I felt hot and sticky perspiration roll down my sides and under my arms. Then, presto, unruffled in the hundred-degree heat and smelling as if she had bathed in a quart of perfume, Stella appeared. With an air of efficiency, she zipped me up and began assisting me with the bow.

"Thank you," I said as she led me out to a full length mirror. I knew immediately that there had been a mistake. My head looked lopsided and coral was definitely not my color. Maybe it was the lighting, but I appeared to have a layer of gray powder on my skin.

Carmen loped out of the dressing room, frowning and looking like a scarecrow with her pillbox hat askew. She pointed at me rudely and began giggling. Next Corky marched out with her chin set like concrete. Carmen and I looked at each other, then quickly glanced away. I could see Carmen's back heaving up and down as the saleslady tried to adjust Corky's yellow beanie and pull the gloves neatly up to her elbows. The three of us stood looking at ourselves in the mirror.

"You look like a guy in a dress," Corky said to Carmen.

"You look like my fat *tia*, Dora," Carmen said.

Lorraine stood behind us, biting her fingernails and staring sullenly.

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Meanwhile, Esther had tried on another wedding dress. We all stood around looking at each other, giggling and trying to be tactful, then flocked over to the display case and asked to try on different hats and veils, exchanging bows and gloves, helping Esther adjust her lacy dress and rhinestone tiara.

After trying on most of the accessories, I went back to the dressing room and changed.

We filed out of the shop with Carmen waving at the door. "Thank you. We'll be back soon."

Stella sailed over, offering her card.

"If you come back, ask for me."

"OK," Carmen said, adjusting her glasses.

"You guys are too much," Lorraine chortled on the way out.

"Let's hit another store," I said. "This time, I'll be the bride."

"No way," Lorraine grunted.

"Let's flip a coin," I said.

"OK," said Esther. "Tails."

"Heads," I said, flipping it. I won.

"Come on," I said, leading them down the street to the Bride Shoppe.

This time I coaxed Lorraine into trying on a yellow bridesmaid's dress. I selected a full-length, lacey white dress, white gloves, and shiny, white, pointy high heels. A saleslady helped me to dress. With the long train gathered in my arms, I teetered out of the dressing room, over to the display case, and picked out a tiara with a full-face veil. As I was adjusting my crown, Lorraine lumbered over with a panicked look.

"Help, Cece." Her zipper was stuck, of course. I tried forcing it down and the seam began to tear.

"Quick, go back and take it off."

"I can't!" she said, glaring at me and tugging at the bodice.

"OK, be quiet." I shielded her as we both slunk back to the dressing room. "Take a big breath and hold in your stomach," I whispered, trying to force the zipper up and down in a seesaw motion. My scalp felt sweaty and itchy, and the crown was beginning to feel like little needles stuck in my head.

The zipper wouldn't budge, so we forced it down over her gargantuan hips, ripping out the seams, and she kicked it away.

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She dressed and I handed it to her.

"Sneak it back and don't let anyone see you," I said, thrusting my head out to see if the coast was clear. "OK, go on!"

On my way back to my dressing room I noticed that a saleslady was going through the rack where Lorraine had stashed the torn dress.

I motioned to Carmen. "Help me outa this thing!" She began unbuttoning the forty or fifty tiny buttons that trailed down my back.

"Hurry up!" I groaned. It felt like bugs were crawling up my spine. She finally unbuttoned me and we tried pulling it down over my hips, but the waist was too narrow. So we tried pulling it up over my head. I was bent over, my arms dangling with the dress pinning them straight up against my temples.

"Shit, get this thing off before I tear it off!"

"OK, OK, calm down. Don't get twittered out. It was your idea, wasn't it?" Carmen said, tugging at the thing as the saleslady entered. The three of us pushed and pulled this way and that until it came off, making my hair stand on end. Carmen put her hand over her mouth, stifling a giggle as the grim-faced saleslady stiffly draped the dress over her arm and left.

"Ga, girl you look fried."

"I know. Let's cut out."

The girls were back in their street clothes, standing around looking bored.

"It's about time," Lorraine said as we scurried out.

Outside, the light was a flat gray, and carbon monoxide fumes permeated the air. We walked back to the car through the crowds and traffic and ate our lunch.

Afterwards, we went to a movie at the Old Broadway, a theatre built in Hollywood's heyday. The plush, red carpets were faded and dirty. Tiny dim lights glittered from the art deco ceiling.

We bought popcorn, Cokes, and Mister Goodbars, then walked up a long, narrow corridor, past the lounge and bathrooms to a rickety staircase on which the antique, gold paint was chipped and peeling, then wound our way up into the balcony.

wash. You play football in an alley with wads of newspapers, under the unsteady gaze of *tecatos* (junkies) and under the symbols and writings on the walls—*con safos*.

Our little family would grow with our *abuelita* Catita (Mama Piri) staying with us, and other relatives like Tio Tomas, Tia Chucha, or my cousins from Juarez like Pancho, Rafas, Lilo and Bune. They joined the swelling ranks of the Rodriguez family. We became cramped together and there were many arguments. As children we learned to create out of the tensions.

We created nicknames. My brother was known as "Rano," (Frog). My sister Ana was called "La Pata" (Duck), my niece Ana Seni was called "Pimpos" (a name that has no real meaning) or sometimes "Beanhead" (by my brother). My other niece, Aide, was known as "La Banana" and my youngest sister Gloria was "La Cucaracha" (Cockroach). As for me, I was known as "Grillo" (Cricket) or "Jarabe." Many times it was "Grillo Pelon" (Bald Cricket) because my mama would practically shave my head when I was a young boy.

Those names stood by us. We were uprooted children, halfway between two worlds. Our real names were usually distorted; often forgotten. We would create new ones and why not? Who could confine us?

There is pain in poverty. Pain of taking baths in cold water during the winter time because the gas is shut off. The pain of not celebrating a birthday, or when we did, giving everybody a little toy so we could share in it. The pain of eviction. Of flushing mice down the toilet or finding cockroaches in your bread. The pain of corn flakes for dinner, tortillas and butter for lunch, and non-fat powdered milk for breakfast. And the pain of the family quarrels, the silent sobs at night.

As we grew older, we played between boxcars among the green moss of the LA River bed and beneath the industrial waste of the "Alameda Belt." You shoot up and get loaded in the same place that served as a playground in younger days. You write your *placa* on the wall where years before you raced in a game of hide-and-seek.

At that time my jefito was landing jobs teaching at the local high schools in East and South Central LA such as Jordan High, Roosevelt High and Lincoln High. These jobs came after years of going from *jale* to *jale*. Even though he had gone to universities in Mexico and in the United States, even though he had written books and had been well known in his native land, in Watts he had to start from scratch. Because he did not speak good English, because he was a recent immigrant, because he lived in Watts, his employers degraded him. They made him start from the bottom, working in small plants, construction, and selling insurance. But he would not give up. He knew he was worthy of much more. Teaching at those high schools, some of the worst in the city, was not exactly what he was capable of, but it was a job.

Then something happened. He got a job teaching in a more affluent, mostly Jewish neighborhood. When I was about eight years old we moved out of Watts.

We moved to the San Fernando Valley. We found a large house with a real yard. We had new furniture and a real Christmas, with a tree, toys and good food. We had good neighbors. There were hassles too. My brother did all right because he was from Watts and could fight better than anybody. But as for me, I had to run home from school often, throwing blows with dudes who wanted to pounce on a "spic."

It was like a dream world, one in which we shared but for a brief moment in our lives. After a year, my jefito lost his job teaching Spanish to the Jewish kids. We lost the furniture, the bunk beds, the swing set, and along with it, the house. It was like what happens when you give a hungry kid a box of cookies. He'll eat them til he gets sick. We ate our affluence up, til we could do nothing but vomit it out. We had nowhere to go so we moved in with Seni again...cuddling up close to our old companion, *pobreza*. □

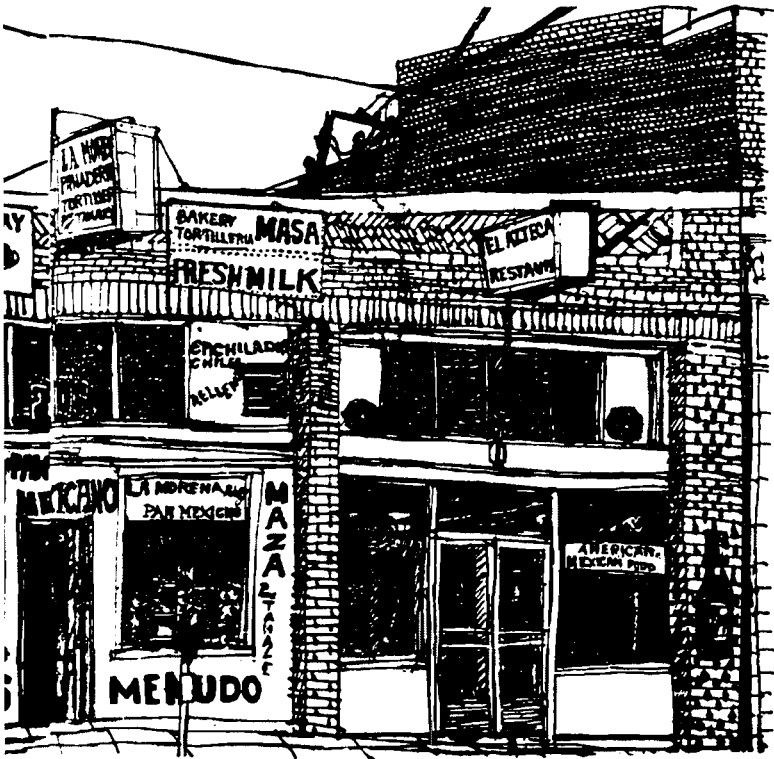


Illustration by Frank Hernandez

POBREZA

by Luis Rodriguez

Poverty is a parasite. It feeds on the soul, on the *sueños*—on all the things that make life bearable. Poverty takes all energy, inspiration and *esperanza*. It leaves boredom, a feeling of no escape, and bitterness.

We lived in three different houses in the Watts area. The last house was on 111th Street. It was a two-story house situated in an older part of South Central Los Angeles and later got torn down to build Locke High School. It was the *chante* of my sister Seni, her husband and their two daughters.

My sister Ana and I slept in the attic among the cobwebs and cockroaches. Every morning we greeted the sun as it swept through the little attic window. I would look onto the street. There would be *gente* cleaning their yards, getting ready to leave for work or taking their children to school. I would get dressed and run down the creaky stairs. Across the steps was an old chair put there by my sister Seni to keep the "cucui" (bogey man) away.

I would go in the street to play. Poverty, when one is young, is a playground. Your fun is made up of junked cars, trash, broken glass, and holes in the wall. There is the stale odor of dead cats, the continual yelling of desperate mothers, the shrieking, piercing cries of a hungry baby, the dirt roads, and the wooden shacks—the sights and sounds of a barrio child's playground.

Poverty is going to school without a meal in your stomach or the *jando* to buy lunch with. When school is over you spend time with your *camaradas* at the dump or the sewer



Exhibit 27

Leo Limon

EACH STREET/EACH STORY

by Marisela Norte

Once it was like seeing the night for the first time. Only someone dangled black ice cubes in front of my eyes. Each street/each story melted on a page.

An upholstery shop opened passed midnight. In the back a fading light bulb persists overhead as the men gather to drink. They talk about women. Women at bus stops with slits in their secretarial skirts. Catholic girls with too much lipstick—New Wave Santitas cuddling school books, teddy bears and suddenly religious boys.

MUCHACHAS BAILANDO EN BIKINI! I pass these joints and I must look. Possibly I am searching for those who search for the anonymous body in the pink bathing suit. I hear the trampling of their feet. Men knocking doors down to get a good look at a pair of fishnet stockings. And for every man laying out the family bills on the bar there is another one pale and miserable who simply wishes he wasn't there. And the juke box still plays "YO QUIERO UNA MUCHACHA COMO TU."

Laundromats are crowded with bored children who must wait for what seems to be an endless rinse cycle. Babies drink red Kool-Aid out of plastic bottles/they chew on nipples that never collapse.

A woman on a bus bench rests against a smiling Credit Dentist as the RTD exhausts her with Nicotine Shock. Dr. X continues to offer E-Z payments and a thousand pink receipts.

At the Jack in the Box the orange vinyl is polished to perfection by a neighborhood kid afraid to lose his first job. There are no customers tonight. I tried to imagine bullet holes in the clean glass.

Women still walk the Boulevard swinging those blue bags from Lerner's. Cinnamon nylons/legs like Josie Rubio.

Radios blast each other on the streets de Boss Angeles con SALSA PICANTE, SABADO SALSA Y SALSA EL PATO tambien. Musica con ambiente y una cuba libre. And in another corner of the city some chavalito sneaks out the screen door to play in the garage. He crawls into an old washing machine, sings himself to sleep only he never wakes up.

The Cavalry Cemetery pretends to be an island too far from my reach. Still, I go with my pile of love letters to read. "Always a bridesmaid never a bride." Inscriptions written by friends and enemies. Too old to be a poet/too young to be martyr.

The Latin Lover, The Secret, The Sweetheart Cafe: Bars. A melange of sorrow and mixed primal excitement lined up against a wall. Tight, gaunt men with grey chins and skimpy suits. They flex and converge inside their tired skin. Ashen entities too far from the planets and twice removed from any immediate family.

I feel myself spilling through my fingers breaking into little pearls of Mercury, praying for rain to soothe the hot pavement, our souls, some dying lawn in a Sub-Urban post card. The heart breaks, it breaks like an old woman's arm, it breaks like Mother's china crashing like a hopeless silver jet hitting the ground like Hiroshima.

Sir Lonely puts his shades on. His Imperials pierce the moon. So a page from the Puppet Zone falls over the blue night. Baby Loca carries 45's and checks out all the guys. Impalas slide around the corner in dangerous love as three stars hang heavy over the East. □



In downtown Los Angeles there is an area known as Olvera Street. This area presumably was the civic center of Los Angeles when it was a Spanish pueblo and later when it was under Mexican rule. Olvera Street includes several shops and restaurants, among them an old adobe, which are maintained in the style of Mexican California. On November 2, the last Wednesday before the election, Kennedy had lunch in the restaurant now located in the old adobe. After a brief meeting with Roybal and others, he walked around the quaint street and shops, shaking hands with many of the hundreds of persons who had come to see him. Viva Kennedy buttons were in style that day. After the luncheon, attended by most of the Mexican-American leaders from the Los Angeles area, he pushed westward to the Shrine Auditorium to give a major address to downtown businessmen and community leaders.

The culmination of John F. Kennedy's personal connection with Viva Kennedy came in a campaign speech at 8:30 that night. Advance publicity had stressed that this was to be Kennedy's last major speech before returning to Hyannis Port and resting. The speech was to be given on the campus of East Los Angeles Junior College at a moderately sized football stadium which seats 22,500. Since this stadium is on the edge of *Maravilla*, the speech was a natural attraction for Mexican-Americans. By the time Senator Kennedy arrived some 35,000 persons were in and around the stadium, with thousands more milling around outside the stadium fence. The President-to-be gave one of his prepared, standard speeches, emphasizing equality of opportunity, jobs, economic growth, and the like. The meeting was well attended by the elite of the entertainment world, including Sammy Davis, Jr. and Frank Sinatra. Senator Kennedy received several minutes of sustained applause and as he left, the female shrieks of thousands

of girls and women of all ages poured forth.

Of course, Ralph Guzman and his five *gringos* were there, although the five students had to stand outside the fence—they didn't get there on time to get seats inside. Even the staunch supporter of Adlai Stevenson and the prophet who felt Nixon had won, way back on convention day, were now convinced Kennedy partisans. Nothing remained but the hard work on Monday and on election day to make sure that as many Mexican-Americans as possible got to the polls.

Election Day: "Do you have your election stub?"

The main problems of getting out the vote on election day are well known. For working men and women, there are only a few hours in which they may get to the polls. Housewives and the elderly often find it difficult to reach the polls during voting hours. In California the polls are open from 7 a.m. to 7 p.m.³ and are usually located in small sized neighborhood precincts. Although most people live near their polling places, many people who have put in a hard day as a janitor, stevedore, laborer, house-cleaner, cook, or gardener have little volition to rush to the polls directly from work. Yet, if gently reminded, they will try to do so. Telephone campaigns and door-to-door canvassing are often most effective. In *Maravilla*, these jobs were mainly done by Ralph Guzman's Spanish-speaking personnel. The *gringos* were assigned to go from polling place to polling place to check rumors of illegal interference with voting rights.

In a few precincts, some Mexican-American voters were being challenged before they even reached the polls. Typically they were asked, "Do you have your registration stub?" (This is a small slip of

³ Except in the City and County of San Francisco where the polls stay open until 8 P.M.

paper given to the voter by the registrar at the time of registration.) "You know that you can't vote if you don't have it, don't you?" Or, "Can you read English? You can't vote if you can't read." Or, "Can you prove you are a citizen? You must have proof to vote."

All of these challenges are illegal acts in California. The only requirement for being able to obtain a ballot at the polling place is to have your name on the precinct list, which is posted in plain sight on the door of the polling place. A registered voter's name is invariably on the precinct list in his neighborhood.

After voting in West Los Angeles in the morning, the five *gringos* rushed to *Maravilla* and spent the day walking from polling place to polling place, looking for persons who were being turned away and trying to convince them they were qualified to vote. In addition, they strongly suggested to those persons disseminating erroneous information that it might be nice if they went elsewhere. Also, Guzman had arranged for his Spanish-speaking "get out the vote" teams to tell each person they saw to pass the word about the untruthfulness of the challenges and to stress that if one was registered, one could vote.

While little publicity was given these acts in the mass media and little empirical data is available on the effect of these illegal challenges, there is no doubt that considerable numbers of eligible voters were turned away. On the other hand, once the story got around, there was a strong reaction among the residents of *Maravilla*: "Why should these *Anglos* try to keep us from our rights. Let's show them we can fight fire with fire." Perhaps this attempt to intimidate voters actually pushed the turnout up.

In any event, about 82 percent of the registered voters of *Maravilla* voted on November 8, 1960. In comparison with predominantly Negro areas and comparable white areas of Los Angeles, this was

very high. It was also high in comparison to past elections for *Maravilla*. Of those Mexican-Americans who voted in *Maravilla* that day, approximately 80 per cent voted for Kennedy. This ranked among the highest bloc votes Kennedy received in California and in the nation. In all, President Kennedy received about 59,000 Mexican-American votes in Los Angeles. The Viva Kennedy clubs were obviously a major success in the 1960 election.

The success of the Viva Kennedy clubs and the strong support Kennedy received in *Maravilla*, however, were not enough to carry the state for the Senator. Kennedy carried Los Angeles County by about 21,000 votes, but lost the state by about 35,000 votes. Despite this, the Viva Kennedy movement suggested that the Mexican-Americans of *Maravilla* could become a vital force in Democratic politics in California.

Postscript

Since 1960, the organizational strength of Viva Kennedy and MAPA has melted away. The Mexican-Americans, as a political bloc, are again a "paper fighting bull." Part of the reason stems from the death of John Kennedy and the factional nature of the Mexican-American community and its politics; but another reason is that *Maravilla* itself is changing. The southern and western portions are becoming part of the central Los Angeles Negro ghetto, and competition between the two groups is sharp. When Edward Roybal was elected to Congress in 1962, a Negro rather than a Mexican-American was appointed to his seat on the City Council. Yet, even in 1962, there was enough Mexican-American solidarity to elect two "native sons" of the community, John Moreno and Phillip Soto to the State Assembly in the 50th and 51st Districts of *Maravilla*. In 1964, however, Moreno was defeated while running for reelection.

MINORITIES

Pocho's Progress

Americans are reminded almost daily of the Negro's checkered progress toward equality. Seldom, by contrast, are they apprised of the social and economic lag that afflicts the nation's second largest disadvantaged minority: the 4,677,000 Mexican-Americans of the U.S. Southwest—proud, poor and increasingly protest-minded. From the Rio Grande to the Russian River, in the bleak barrios of East Los Angeles and the tar-paper *colonias* of the San Joaquin Valley, the Mexican minority is struggling to articulate its anger.

Vague and inchoate, it is directed toward at least three targets: the "Anglo" for his cavalier indifference to Latin contributions to Southwest history and culture; the Negro, for having won respect and attention by rioting in city ghettos while the Mexican-American kept cool in his own ghetto; and his own people, for their self-defeating passivity and insistence on remaining alienated.

TIME, APRIL 22, 1968



BRAVO IN FRONT OF EAST LOS ANGELES BANK
Out to alter the Anglo makeup.

their ancestral homeland. The Mexican-American, after all, is predated in the Southwest by only the buffalo and the Plains Indian; he has never put his psychological signature to the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which ceded the Southwest to the U.S. after the Mexican War of 1846.

Bottles & Olés. Throughout the Southwest's "serape belt," Mexican-Americans are feeling strapped. Federal poverty projects in the Negro neighborhoods of Los Angeles outnumber by 3 to 1 those for Mexican-Americans. From 1950 to 1960, the Mexican-American high school dropout rate held steady at 35%, while the Negro was making significant strides forward in education. More than a third of the nation's Mexican-American families (most of them in Texas) live below the poverty line of \$3,000 a year, while their birth rate, sustained by Catholic-inspired resistance to contraception, is soaring far higher than that of any other group. Though 35% of all Mexican-Americans are *pochos*—native-born citizens of the U.S.—many speak only Spanish or just enough English to deal with cops and employers.

Nowhere is the *pochos*' plight—or potential power—more evident than in the monotonous, sun-scabbed flatlands of East Los Angeles, where 600,000 Mexican-Americans live. At the confluence of the swooping freeways, the barrio begins. In tawdry taco joints and rollicking cantinas, the reek of cheap sweet wine competes with the fumes of frying tortillas. The machine-gun patter of slang Spanish is counterpointed by the bellow of lurid hot-rod blares given by tattooed *pachucos*. The occasional appearance of a neatly turned-

who has adapted to Anglo styles) clashes incongruously with the weathered-leather look of the *cholo* (newly arrived, often wetback Mexican laborer). To the barrio dwellers, the rest of the world is *Gringolandia*. Few venture forth except to attend the fights at Olympic Auditorium, where their ebullient *olés* and accurately hurled wine bottles give much needed support to Mexican club fighters with more guts than science.

Aztec-Modern. The same lack of science in the political arena is largely responsible for the Mexican-American's lack of collective clout. Though the *pochos* are 90% Democratic by registration and traditionally vote the straight party line, they have received little in the way of socioeconomic remuneration for their loyalty. Politically, they fare even worse: only one Mexican-American, Democratic Congressman Edward Roybal, 51, has made it to the House of Representatives, and he, as many *pochos* point out, is a New Mexican-born aristocrat who pays little attention to the problems of the barrios.

One Latin leader who has reconnoitered the corridors of power is Dr. Francisco Bravo, patriarch and prime philanthropist of the Los Angeles barrio. A bald, bullnecked surgeon who worked his way up from the vineyards and orchards of Ventura county to become a real estate millionaire, Bravo, 57, established the first free clinic for Mexican-Americans in Los Angeles (opened in 1941, after Bravo won his medical degree from Stanford), founded a scholarship fund that has dispensed more than \$100,000 to brainy *pochos*, and owns an Aztec-modern bank, with assets of \$4,000,000, in East Los Angeles.

Mavericks & Machismo. Bravo vivified the "Viva Kennedy!" drive in 1960, which helped win the state for the Democrats against Native Son Richard Nixon. And in 1966, it was Bravo who led the defection from Democrat Brown's camp: Ronald Reagan carried 24% of Los Angeles' Mexican-American vote, thus tripling the usual G.O. total. Republican Senator Thomas Kuchel does even better in Latin neighborhoods, thanks to his excellent command of Spanish. But the man who wins Mexican-American backing most consistently and heartily is Democrat Sam Yorty, whose maverick manner as mayor of Los Angeles appeals to the Latin sense of *machismo* (masculine independence).

Though Mayor Yorty has installed a Spanish-speaking complaint bureau in city hall, Los Angeles' government is still overwhelmingly Anglo in makeup. Last week, Bravo and one of his Angelino protégés, Valley State College Historian Julian Nava, 39, were making the first major effort to alter that situation. Running with Bravo's backing for the nonpartisan school board, Nava—the son of an indigent harp maker and winner of a Bravo scholarship loan to finish Harvard—was courting the city in his green Volkswagen in a catalytic campaign against Incumbent Charles Reed Smoot, who has alienated the city's minorities by publicly opposing textbooks with added chapters on minority groups' contributions to America.

If Nava defeats Smoot in the May 31 runoff, he will become the first Mexican-American ever to sit on the city school board. That, for the *pochos*, would be a major step from self-pity toward self-representation.

DENNIS TAYLOR—RIVERSIDE PRESS ENTERPRISE



MEXICAN-AMERICAN PICKETS IN RIVERSIDE, CALIFORNIA
Proud, poor and increasingly protest-minded.

*T*he summer nights
Are pleasant there
On Hammel Street
Where I was born.
The people dream in Spanish
And live as best they can.

Ben Luna
From Los Angeles

CHAPTER II, Recuerdos

TIO TACOS ARE PEOPLE TOO
by Frank Sifuentes

When I read that El Heraldo de La Raza, a Chicano paper run by commies, called me a Tio Taco simply because I had said that if the people of East Los Angeles did not keep their parks clean they did not deserve them, I was stunned. They also blamed me because I had supported the move to trade a park in East L.A. for valuable land on the West Side. Those commie bums didn't even know what a good deal it was. But I held my temper pretty good until they started calling me Tio Chueco also, which really was dirty since I had been wounded in the leg during World War II and had won the Bronze Star. Imagine...I had fought in Germany to keep the Germans from making mince-meat of the Reds, and now they were calling me Tio Taco and Tio Chueco. And like I said, I was furious...so furious that I wanted to go to Chief Roddent's office to talk him into giving me a dozen of his best trained police officers to lead an attack on El Heraldo's headquarters and murder those foul-mouthed commies.

But I held back knowing they wouldn't let me. And besides some funny things started to happen, things I never would have thought of. First I learned that the anger would destroy me if I didn't control it. I learned that after the Bill of Rights even the dirty radicals and communists had to be allowed to print what they felt, and that it was good to know what they were saying. While I didn't mention it to anyone, I began to feel a newly found sense of importance; I was no longer just a successful American of Mexican descent...no, the charges of being a Tio Taco, a sell-out, a vendido, actually gave me a newly found prestige. The heads of other departments began to invite me to their functions and I was invited to become a police commissioner which appealed to me more than Parks and Recreation Commissioner. I even became less self-conscious of my limp, which, up to this point, had been nothing but a curse, even when I made people believe I had gotten it in the war when in fact I had gotten it because I had polio at an early age. Yes, I began to stop being just a cripple and was no longer terrified to speak a few words in behalf of the Mexican community during the mayor's banquets. The truth is that for the first time I really felt like one of the good guys.

My real estate business began to flourish and occasionally I could even go to the City Planner's office to get invaluable information that gave me a better idea of what lots and homes to invest in. Best of all, my credit at the banks improved. I could borrow almost twice as much as before even though my profit and loss statements had not grown that much better. In fact, it was only a year from the time that the communists came into the barrios that I was able to buy a five bedroom house in Azusa which made my wife happy for the first time in a long time that I could really recall. Before she was so unhappy having to bring up our two daughters in the barrios where narcotics were more plentiful than water and tortillas.

One day, while I was in the middle of transacting a minor sale of property for twice the amount I had invested, I got a call from the District Attorney's office. At first I was terrified, afraid they had caught up with some of the deals I had gambled on when I was younger and more desperate.

They wouldn't tell me what the D.A. wanted, but assured me that it had something to do with a plan they had that I could help them with. Later, to my great delight, I found out that they were getting ready to move on the communists and that I was being invited to be a part of the intrigue. I even wondered if they would let me choose the kind of weapon I wanted and began to see myself shooting them down and shouting: "This will teach you to call me a Tio Taco, hijos de la chingada!"

The plan called for a raid on the headquarters of El Heraldo de La Raza where they were sure they would find evidence of what they called "a conspiracy to cause insurrection." All they wanted to know from me was whether I thought the community would give the communists support that would prove embarrassing to the police and the D.A.'s Office. I told them that the Mexican Americans would never support commies because they had made so much trouble in Mexico during the so-called revolution. I also told them that I thought they would like it better if they raided the headquarters and got rid of them once and for all. But they admonished me and told me that even to get rid of commies, we had to use the democratic process. I felt embarrassment, for I had been brought up to believe that the good guys had a right to shoot down the bad guys. The D.A., after a while, sensed I had dropped into doubt and depression, and took me aside. He told me that if he could, he would give me a medal for just wanting to shoot it out with the commies and told me that while it would be the quickest way, there would be too much doubt in the minds of the people about who these men really were. Especially difficult, he told me, would be the troubles he would have with the socialists, the young leftists and the relatives of those involved. Besides he said, "This is the best and most thorough way to expose their ugly lies." He assured me that it would all be done very systematically and scientifically.

I left his office still a bit depressed but more than anything confused.

The next day I read the headlines of the Los Angeles papers. "COMMUNIST PLOT UNCOVERED. THIRTEEN ARRESTED FOR CONSPIRACY.".... and the next time I met the D.A., he reminded me that while the arrest went smoothly he was disappointed in me because I had underestimated the kind of response they would get from the community. I tried to tell him that since I had moved to Azusa I was not as close to the people in the barrios anymore, and reminded him that the people have often been known to react against the police.

And to tell the truth, I wanted to tell him that the guys he had arrested didn't really seem to be communist after all; but I didn't say anything because all I wanted to do was leave his office. □

“BROWN POWER” UNITY SEEN BEHIND SCHOOL DISORDERS*

DIAL TORGERSON

“We want to walk out,” a group of students at Lincoln High School told teacher Sal Castro last September. “Help us.”

The students, like Castro, were Mexican-Americans — at a mostly Mexican-American school deep in the belt of east-of-downtown districts which together comprise the United States’ most populous Mexican-American community.

“Don’t walk out,” Castro told them. “Organize.”

And — as has now been seen — they did.

What resulted was a week-and-a-half of walkouts, speeches, sporadic lawbreaking, arrests, demands, picketing, sympathy demonstrations, sit-ins, police tactical alerts and emergency sessions of the school board.

It was, some say, the beginning of a revolution — the Mexican-American revolution of 1968.

In the midst of massive walkouts and police alerts, Dr. Julian Nava, only Mexican-American on the Los Angeles Board of Education, turned to Supt. of Schools Jack Crowther.

“Jack,” said Nava, “This is BC and AD. The schools will not be the same hereafter.”

“Yes,” said Crowther, “I know.”

First Mass Militancy

And, in the vast Mexican-American districts of the city and county of Los Angeles — the “barrios” (neighborhoods) where 800,000 people with Spanish names make their homes — leaders of a movement to unite what they call “La Raza” swear the barrios will never be the same, either.

Since World War II the Mexican-American community has had leaders calling for unity, change, better education, civil rights, eco-

* *Los Angeles Times*, March 17, 1968, page 1, Section C.

conomic opportunity and an end to what they called second-class citizenship.

But the community never backed them up. Except for a few instances of picketing, nothing happened.

Then came the school walkouts, the first act of mass militancy by Mexican-Americans in Southern California. "Viva la Revolucion," the youngsters' signs read. "Viva la Raza." (Raza translates "race" but is used in a sense of "our people.")

And, surprisingly to some, stunningly to others, the community backed them up.

The men and women of the once-conservative older generation jammed school board and civic meetings, shouting their approval of what their children had done. Parents of students arrested during demonstrations even staged a sit-in in the Hall of Justice.

"The people are with us, now," one young leader says.

Observers within the community say it heralds the entry of a powerful new force on the American scene: a newly united Mexican-American movement drawing a nationalistic, brown-power fervor from 4.5 million people in five Southwestern states.

With underground newspapers, cooperation with Negro groups, plans for political action and economic boycotts, leaders say they will show the country a new type of Mexican-American: one proud of his language, his culture, his raza, ready to take his share of U.S. prosperity.

Some experts, less swept along in the spirit of the movement, say they'll wait a while before they'll believe a few thousand school children can lead the typically divided, splintered Mexican-American millions into becoming a unified power.

But there's no doubt at the grassroots levels, where earlier pleas for unity never reached before—in the minds of the younger men and women on the streets of the barrios, from East Los Angeles to Pico Rivera, from the fringes of Watts north deep into the San Gabriel Valley.

Listen to the voices there of La Raza—and the message observers say these voices bring to the Anglo world:

... the scene is a rainy sidewalk outside East Los Angeles Junior College. A white panel truck halts and four young men in brown berets and mixed, cast-off Army fatigues and boots jump out, craning their heads left and right to see if they are pursued, and then file into the campus for a meeting.

They are members of the Brown Berets, the most militant of East Los Angeles Mexican-American groups. They have been accused of inciting high school students to riots, using narcotics, being Communists. There are several hundred of them here and in the Fresno area, their leaders say.

Frankly Admiring Students

"The deputies and the cops have really been harassing us," said David Sanchez, a college student who dropped out to be chairman of the Berets. "Sixty-five Brown Berets have been arrested in the past month. There are warrants out now for five of us because of the school walkouts."

The four sit on a concrete bench and speak in quiet voices to a newsman, glancing at times down the wet, windswept walkway toward the street, nodding in reply to greetings from frankly admiring students with the slightly superior air of young men slightly past 20, slightly revolutionary, and slightly wanted.

"Communism? That's a white thing," said Carlos Montes, mustachioed minister of public relations for the Berets. "It's their trip, not ours," said husky Ralph Ramirez, minister of discipline. Added Montes:

"It's pretty hard to mix Communists and Mexican-Americans. Che (Che Guevara, the late Cuban revolutionary some Berets seem to seek to resemble) doesn't mean a thing to the guy in the street. He's got his own problems."

Despite their vaguely ominous look, the Berets claim wide community support. "A lot of mothers' clubs help us with contributions," said Sanchez. "Men's clubs, too. They're happy to see there is finally a militant effort in the community. And they like what we're doing with the gangs."

In each barrio there are kids' gangs (The Avenues, the Clovers, the White Fench, Dog Town, Happy Valley) which have long shot up each other, and whole neighborhoods, and senseless warfare.

"Gang fights are going out," said Montes. "We're getting kids from all the different gangs into the Brown Berets. It's going to be one big barrio, one big gang. We try to teach our people not to fight with each other, and not to fight with our blood brothers to the south."

Police say the Berets were among the "outside agitators" who helped cause the student disturbances. "The Chicano students were the main

action group," said Sanchez. (Chicano is a term for Mexican-Americans which members of the community use in describing themselves.)

"We were at the walkouts to protect our younger people. When they (law officers) started hitting with sticks, we went in, did our business, and got out." What's "our business?" "We put ourselves between the police and the kids, and took the beating," Sanchez said.

Significance Explored

What significance lies behind the militant movement?

"They've given these people a real revolutionary experience," said Dr. Ralph Guzman, a professor of political science at Cal State Los Angeles. "No Marxist could do better. They're making rebels. When they see police clubbing them, it's the final evidence that society is against them — that existing within the system won't work."

"I don't know what's going to happen. I'm worried. I think there will be violence. I'm not predicting it. But from what I've seen — I saw riots in South America and India when I was with the Peace Corps — I think we all have a potential for violence."

The scene is Cleland House, a community meeting hall in East Los Angeles. Two hundred people, most of them adults, jam the hall, facing representatives of police and the sheriff's and district attorney's office invited there by a civic group.

Student Gives Version

"We were at the alley, just breaking out, when the cops charged at us," said Robert Sanchez, 17, a student at Roosevelt High. "If I could be allowed to express myself with dignity, I'd do so. But if they're grabbing me, or hitting me, and there's a rock or a brick there, I'd throw it."

"The only reported injury," said Police Inspector Jack Collins, head of the patrol division, calmly, "was a police officer hit in the eye with a bottle . . ."

"Parents got beat up, too!" yelled a man's voice.

"Now try to get out of that one!" shouted Sanchez.

In an office, later, Lincoln High teacher Castro explained the walkouts:

Teacher Tells His Story

"It started with the kids from Lincoln," said Castro, 34, a social studies and government teacher who himself grew up in the East Los Angeles barrios. "They wanted things changed at the school. They wanted to hold what they call a 'blowout' — a walkout.

"I stopped them. I said, 'Blow out now and everyone will think it's because you want short skirts and long hair. Organize. What do you need?'"

"They said they needed some help in making signs, printing up demands, things like that. We got them help from college kids — mostly from the United Mexican-American Students at the different colleges. A blowout committee was established at each of the four East L.A. schools. And there was one committee with kids from each school.

Original Plan

"The original plan was to go before the Board of Education and propose a set of changes, without walking out — to hold that back to get what they wanted. Then, at Wilson High Friday (March 1), the principal canceled a play they were going to do ("Barefoot in the Park") as unfit, and the Wilson kids blew out. It was spontaneous.

"Then Roosevelt and Lincoln wanted to blow, too. Garfield, too. Later on (March 8) Belmont, which was never in on the original plan, came in, too.

"These blowouts in the other schools, like Venice and Jefferson, weren't connected with the Chicano blowouts, but they may have been in sympathy. Some of the kids from schools uptown asked us to send representatives to tell them how to organize.

"What do you think of that! The Anglo schools asking the Chicano kids to help them organize. They should've told them 'Ask your dads how they organized to oppress us all these years.'"

Significance Weighed

And what significance lies behind the sudden surge of student activism?

"These things weren't thought up by the kids," said Philip Montez, western program director for the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

"Eight years ago the Council on Mexican-American Affairs was asking for bi-cultural education, one of the things the youngsters want now.

"But all attempts to move the community were abortive. Movements would start and peter out. We could never get a commitment. We were dealing with older people, conservative, with livings to make, kids to raise.

Up 'til now the Mexican-American community hasn't had the sophistication for organization or movement. But things are different now.

"The kids are close to being anglicized and middle class -- which is apparently what it takes to bring them closer to being able to work a system. That's why they're the leaders.

Identity-Seeking

"Tied in with it is an identity-seeking process. These kids say proudly: 'I'm a Mexican, and I want to learn about my culture.' It used to be, when I was a kid, we'd play it pretty cool about that Mexican thing. Someone would say, 'Are you a Mexican?' and you'd say, 'Well, y'know . . . ' and change the subject, or make a joke.

"But the society has changed, too. Always before in the Mexican-American community there was a faith and belief in the Democratic society, that through good graces you'd achieve success. Be conservative. Family-oriented. Know God is on our side.

"But they don't believe it any longer. There's a higher level of sophistication. They don't want to sit around and wait. They see they've got to make it work. That you've got to grease the wheels of democracy.

"That's what the kids were doing when they walked out -- and it caught the imagination of the adults. Now, for the first time, the community is behind them. And the adults are asking: 'Why did the kids have to show us why we make mistakes?' "

. . . The scene is Belmont High School, on the other side of the Civic Center from the East Los Angeles barrios. Only one-third of the students there have Spanish names, as compared with 90% of some Eastside schools. Yet Belmont, too, joined the demonstrations.

"I was arrested," said Frances Spector, 16, an A12 at Belmont who was charged with disturbing the peace. She has light brown hair and blue eyes, but feels strongly about the demonstrations -- and what

happened to her. "I was told to go home by a school official, and police stopped me on the street and put me in the police car. They said they were taking me home. But we went to the police station."

(Ten of the 15 persons arrested during the demonstrations were picked up during the Belmont walkout, in which police say outsiders played a large role: of the 10 arrested, 9 were nonstudents.)

View on Demands

How does she feel about the student demands?

"At Belmont," said Frances, "you look at the industrial arts classes, and it's all Chicano and black. You look at the college preparatory classes, and it's all Anglos and Asians.

"That can't be the way they really fit! They can't be getting the right counseling. They're just putting people where they think they belong because of what color they are."

Is there any significance to students' complaints that Mexican-Americans are being pushed into shop courses, and discouraged from taking academic courses?

"I was graduated from Roosevelt High in 1945," said Dr. Nava, now 40, who got his Ph.D. from Harvard in history. "I was told to take auto shop. And I did. I did as I was told. Then I went into the Navy -- and I wasn't a Mexican anymore, I was just Julian. It opened my eyes.

Served in Navy

"But, then, in the Navy I was an auto mechanic -- so I can't say that the advice was all bad. A lot of those decisions were based on what the high school counselors considered 'a realistic assessment of the chances of success.' They realized the chances, then, of a Mexican-American getting through college.

"I'm just worried for fear they're still making those 'realistic assessments.' I just wonder how many other Julians have ended up in an auto shop, somewhere. And stayed there.

"They had me believing my oldest kid, Hector, wasn't too bright," said Charles Erickson, whose wife came from Mexico and whose children went to East Los Angeles schools before he became a public relations man in Sacramento. "All he could get were Cs.

"The counselor told me Cs were fine, all we could expect. They said he had no leadership potential. He never had any homework. Then we moved to Sacramento, and he went into a school where he's the only Mexican-American. They call him 'Taco.' And he gets all As and Bs and is president of his class."

"It's wrong when people say, 'We have a terrible school system,' " said Dr. Guzman. "All in all, it has an excellent reputation in our country. But it may not be effective in certain corners of society. The policy is established downtown for all the areas and all the schools."

"But, in some areas, such as the Mexican-American areas, they find that somehow these rules don't apply. Their tests don't work. And they wonder why. You know why? They don't understand our people. They're not trying to."

Scene at UCLA

... the scene is UCLA, where, late last month, hundreds of delegates from 25 different Mexican-American groups gathered at a symposium sponsored by the Associated Students of UCLA and the United Mexican American students.

"Integration is an empty bag," said Rudolfo (Corky) Gonzales, of Denver, head of the Crusade for Justice, a Colorado civil rights group he says numbers 1,800. "It's like getting up out of the small end of the funnel. One may make it, but the rest of the people stay at the bottom."

"Our young people reject politics. All the new leaders we developed a year ago are now working for the poverty program. They were bought out. They are not provoking a revolution. They're putting water on fire. Young leaders! Don't spend your time trying to educate a racist majority. Teach your own people. Tell them to be proud of their names, their values and their culture."

Willing to Die?

"Ask them if they're willing to fight for their rights and dignity. And ask them: are they willing to die for it?"

"The violence in New Mexico was the moment of awakening for La Raza," said another speaker, Reyes Tijerina — "El Tigre," the Tiger, leader of the militant Alianza (Alliance) of Indio-Spanish peoples of northern New Mexico. (Because their ancestors date to Spanish

conquistador days, before there was a Mexico, Tijerina's followers prefer Indio-Spanish to Mexican-American. Often, in Colorado, New Mexico and Texas the term "Spanish-American" is used.)

Tijerina came to the symposium while free on appeal bond for his conviction on charges of aiding and abetting an assault on two federal officers — forest rangers held by Alianza members when they invaded a national forest in October, 1966. Last June raiders shot up the courthouse at Tierra Amarilla, N.M. and Tijerina is charged with numerous counts on which trial is still pending.

"Since Tierra Amarilla," said Tijerina in Los Angeles "there has been a closer association. People realize the need for closer cooperation in different parts of the Southwest. As we get closer to danger, the brotherhood tightens in closer."

"I myself am not a violent man. I don't believe in outright violence. But in dealing with our government, we find it urgent and natural to make our demands in a different way from 30 to 40 years ago."

Bert Corona, head of the Mexican-American Political Association, urged the Mexican-American community to fight for power politically — but the militancy of the meeting, which primed much of the young Chicano leadership for the demonstrations of March was best illustrated by Luis Valdez:

"We're in the belly of the shark," said young Valdez. "In occupied California."

He worked for a time helping efforts of Cesar Chavez, leader of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, in Delano. Chavez achieved notable success in unionizing Mexican-American farm workers in the San Joaquin Valley — and then, disturbed by threats of violence by some Mexican-Americans he said were "seeking a short-cut to victory," went on a highly publicized 25-day fast to dramatize his nonviolent approach.

He had been scheduled to speak at the UCLA symposium, but couldn't because of his fast. That same week Tijerina was making numerous appearances in the Los Angeles area, flanked by Brown Beret bodyguards, embracing and praising Black Nationalist leaders, and stirring young militants with hints at violence and calls for valor and a willingness to die, if need be, for La Causa — the cause.

Valdez, wearing a Che Guevara type costume, attacked the "bagachos" — a Mexican-American term for Anglos — and showed a militancy more characteristic of Tijerina than Chavez:

"It's time for a new Mexican revolution," he said. "And which Chicanos are going to lead the next revolution? The ones in the belly of the shark! Nosotros! We're going to lead that revolution!"

Denounces 'Lousy' System

"We've got to stand up and talk straight to the gabachos -- say, hell, no. I won't go, to their whole lousy system. I won't go to your suburban barrio. I won't talk your language. I won't eat your food!"

Amid cheers, he added: "Support Tijerina! And Viva la Raza!"

Has this revolution, as some say, already started? Were the New Mexico raids and the San Joaquin Valley strikes a prelude to the beginning of a real grass-roots movement in Los Angeles?

"These things sometimes appear in a flash," said Dr. Leo Grebler, an economist who is chairman of the committee for the Mexican-American Study now underway at UCLA. "And, then, they disappear in a flash."

'Hard to Tell'

"Since it is so new, it's hard to tell. I don't know of any criteria to predict if it will be a permanent force. In the past, attempts to unite, to draw in other Spanish-speaking people, have been flashes. I maintain an attitude of skepticism. I have to think in my terms, and my terms are skeptical, based on past performances."

"But, then, the Mexican-American population is younger than the rest of us (50% of the community is under 20), and youth feels the social issues more severely than the older leaders."

"Numerically, the importance of the young will stay with us for at least this generation. The young are here, and they'll stay with us. What they'll do with their power we'll have to wait and see. I'd like to take a look, say about 1970 or 71, and see what changes occurred."

"But we can't predict it. All we can do is wait, and see, and then record it."

At the end of the week the Brown Power movement had achieved one objective -- the school board had agreed to meet in East Los Angeles. Will it all end there? In the barrios they say no. Next, they predict, will come economic boycotts, political drives, perhaps more demonstrations.

The history Dr. Grebler plans to write is already under way, they say. Because history, say Southern California's young Chicanos, is something which is happening now.

Villarreal is author of Pocho, an important novel about La Raza set in Santa Clara, California, in the 1930's.

No minority group in California today suffers the same type or degree of social neglect known to the Mexican American of this state. The discrimination directed against him is not so overt as the discrimination the Negro finds, but the depth of the exploitation practiced against him is far greater. The facts are: that 76 percent of the Mexican adult population in California is employed in unskilled occupations, that they are two years behind the Negro in scholastic achievement, and that they are four years behind the non-minority citizens of the state.

Most appalling, the situation is not improving; it is worsening. A recent study at UCLA showed, for example, that the Californian of Mexican descent lives today on a smaller per capita income than any other group in the population, including Negroes. Although *median* family income among Mexican Americans is higher than non-whites, the study showed, the larger average Mexican American family cuts into this advantage measurably. Thus, the average child of such a family is reared on \$1,380 a year, compared with \$1,437 for non-whites and \$2,108 for the total population. . . .

The history of inequities suffered by California's citizens of Mexican descent is long and is still being written. The great mass of Mexicans in California arrived, or were born to those who arrived, during the years from 1910 through 1930. Much of today's prejudice still stems from that period, when the United States was caught up in a wave of fear over the immigrants from southern and eastern Europe that flooded into the East Coast, or the Orientals who were arriving in the West in increasing numbers. Public sentiment pushed through legislation to prohibit Japanese from becoming naturalized citizens. Behind the slogan of "America for Americans," Congress enacted the Johnson Immigration Act, which President Coolidge signed in 1924.

Despite this widespread attitude, the Mexican's position within the framework of the California society is a study in paradoxes.

Although the Mexican in a legal sense is a Caucasian (many Mexicans here and in Mexico come of European stock), it is common practice to use the term "Mexican" to denote race. Even sociologists and educators, as well as sophisticated Anglos who are *simpatico* to the cause and should know better, have been known to make the distinction between "Mexican" and "white." Still, this does not impede the Mexican, if he can pay the price, from enjoying every right his white neighbor enjoys, even though he is continually reminded of the plight faced by most people of his ethnic background. He knows that the Mexican is discriminated against more for his educational and economic shortcomings than for his ancestry. . . .

Yet there remain areas in California where ostracism, discrimination, and prejudice are as prevalent as ever. Even the Church—both Catholic and Protestant—sometimes helps to perpetuate the caste system, usually in agricultural areas. Here in farm towns of from one to five thousand people, communication between whites and Mexicans is virtually nonexistent. Here can be found the same social conditions that so many Mexicans knew forty-five years ago: stereotyped attitudes toward the Mexican as an inferior being who is incapable of learning and is going to be a stoop laborer anyway, segregated seating in school and church, and special treatment for the white Anglo-Saxon Protestant (WASP) students. The teacher rejects the Mexican student, subtly or overtly, carrying him only as long as the law demands it. By the time he reaches the eighth grade, the Mexican child is legally allowed to drop out and join his father in the fields. Unbelievable, but it happens today in the great, progressive state of California. (In the Salinas area last year, Mexican political activists uncovered the fact that school authorities planned to hold segregated classes for the children of migrant laborers in house trailers rather than bus them to WASP schools nearby.)

Ironically, this portion of the Mexican community, although subjected to the worst prejudice and the most overt discrimination, is most neglected by the reformers from their own ethnic group, simply because they are not an important political force. This is essentially why César Chávez, disenchanted by the emphasis placed on the needs of the urban Mexican community,

gave up a directorship in the Community Service Organization in Los Angeles to lead the Delano grape strike.

The semiprofessional man, the professional man, the businessman attracted to the CSO paid little more than lip service to the needs of the farm worker. Not until he began to organize the National Farm Workers' Union did Chávez find the action he desired. . . .

There is another group that is not concerned with politics or social reform. A large group of citizens of Mexican descent in the medium-income level are apathetic simply because they do not now know discrimination. They have been able to assimilate, yet retain a part of the culture of their fathers. They may live in the middle-class areas of Oakland, San Francisco, Los Angeles, San Diego—or in a subdivision in the Santa Clara Valley, or near Norwalk. Many are ex-GIs, or children of ex-GIs. Like their lower-middle-class Anglo neighbors, they may not even be interested in voting, although in traditional American spirit they will be vaguely disturbed about taxation and the size of government. They are usually buying their homes and share with most of their Anglo friends the fear that the Negro may come into their neighborhood and depreciate values. . . .

But they know they are Mexican. And, with a smugness that would never permit them to deny it, call themselves Mexican. Twice a year, on the fifth of May and sixteenth of September, they attend Mexican national patriotic events with a Mexican pride that is formidable, dressing their children (usually two or three, because they have also adopted the middle-class Anglo fear of overpopulation) in the traditional costume of the *charro* or *china poblana*. . . .

Another group within the framework of Mexican society in California is the professional man: the doctor, lawyer, engineer, the businessman and the educator. And from this group with its academic or economic advantages come the majority of the political activists. . . .

The idea that social and economic reform for the Mexican in California could best be achieved by his participation in local and state government and by the consolidation of a voting bloc stemmed from the disillusion of the veteran of Mexican descent

after World War II. Rightfully proud of the distinguished record those of his ethnic group had compiled in conflict around the world, the Mexican American ex-GI had hopes that many of the old rancors at home had dissipated. He was disillusioned when he attempted to get a GI deal on a home and found that his background barred him from living in specific areas. He was disillusioned again when he tried to find employment, and the final hurt was inflicted when he tried to collect the five years of college the federal government and the state of California guaranteed to him under Public Law 346 and he found that the third-rate schools in his barrio had not prepared him for college. He had no direction. . . .

There is the angry, militant young intellectual, usually a lawyer or educator, driven not only by a zeal to deliver his people but also by personal ambition. Typical is Robert E. Gonzales, a San Francisco attorney, who, while still young, has already made a good run for County Supervisor. . . .

There is also the older, embittered veteran who has fought the hard fight (many times alone), whose ambition has been thwarted by the passage of time, and who sees the newcomers receiving state appointments and otherwise reaping the fruits of his labor. Or he may be an old lawyer with years of service to his community who has also struggled long and has been more than once passed over for a younger man when a judicial vacancy came up. Either of them may feel that it's time for a change.

There is also the other ancient, who has given his time and himself to the cause but has no ambition for either wealth or position. He just wants his world made better. And yet he is not without the qualities of leadership, or the cunning and the wisdom of age. Such a one is Eduardo Quevedo, immediate past state president of MAPA, a *manito* from New Mexico with an authentic Mexican accent, an actor. Although not particularly literate, and not especially articulate in either English or Spanish, he is self-made, self-assured, competent, and astute. He is idolized by many of the younger men, who approach him solicitously because he is aging and ailing and they have been trained to respect age. Although he plays the part of a democratic leader, he is often arbitrary and bulldozing. A Franklin Roosevelt Democrat, he is

the force that helps keep MAPA, although expressly a bipartisan organization, also expressly committed to the Democratic party.

There are also crooks, those who are out only for what they can get, quickly but not necessarily honestly. They are not a force in the Mexican American community, any more than they are a force in the Anglo community. They are an irritant to both, but that is all.

Finally, there is the tool, the *Tío Tomás* (Uncle Tom), who, for an appointment to a minor office or responsibility, will betray his people, while professing that he is doing good for them. There is for the politician, after all, a value to having a Spanish surname listed on his staff. And for the Mexican staff member, it is justified as being proof that Mexicans can improve themselves. But to him, this is the limit of the improvement. For he has believed the propaganda that he is an inferior being, that the Mexican has neither the capacity to learn nor the native ability to compete with the Anglo on intellectual or creative terms. A leading official of the city of Los Angeles has such a man on his staff. He is not there to serve as a link between the official and the Mexican community, to provide meaningful expression to the official of this community's needs, but rather to keep alive the idea of a democratic city government which would place even one of Mexican descent in such a position of trust. The man's greatest sense of pride is the fact that no Mexican became a turncoat in Korea and that none has given his community a bad name by becoming a prominent Communist.

Retrato de un Bato Loco

Marcus Duran

"You know, ese, like I gotta have that geeze today. Like I've gotta kick cold turkey at that place called El Proyecto Del Barrio. I'm hurtin', ese. I'll pay you some other time."

The Horse stood blinking under the morning sun. He was decked out in ragtag khaki pants that had seen better days. He stood there knowing he had to feed a line of bullshit to the Dude for the half gram of stuff, otherwise he'd have to go out of the Barrio and hustle some loot, and that was a drag especially because of the way he was feeling at that precise moment. He was really hurting for a quick fix of junk.

"Orale, ese," he kept on, "come on, man, just this one time. My P. O. tells me either I go over the Proyecto, ese, and straighten, or like it's back to the joint. And I mean the big house on 'Frisco Bay. An' that ain't what I'm gonna do, ese, so before I split I need one last fix on credit. So how 'bout it, Carnal? Just one. I'll get the bread. I'll pay."

The Dude was one cool Chicano. He was cold, cold when it came to money. He had carga all right—he had it inside his mouth. He was loaded, and as he looked at the Horse his eyes were glazed and dilated. The Dude didn't answer right away. Sitting there in front of his clapboard shack, nodding, he was barely aware of the Horse's voice. He was thinking instead about the boss brown junk he'd brewed just that morning. It had dropped him against his bed when he'd jolted it into his scarred vein. He smiled. Good junk.

The stuff had come into his possession late last night. It was the kind of Chicano stuff that came in once in a great while, the kind you paid four C-notes for just a piece. The cut with sugar milk went four to one ounce, and it was really the best kind of junk. One ounce procaine made it five ounces. Twelve C-notes of Chicano junk. That was big time money. The Dude was happy. Business was going to pick up all right this week.

He looked up at Horse and squinted. *Yeah. He could afford to go along with the play and help the Horse out. A half gram. Anyhow, even though the Horse was splitting he'd pay sometime. Sometimes a little credit was good for business anyway. Beside, he sorta liked the Bato.*

"Ese, Caballo," the Dude said as he swatted away a fly buzzing around his head, "tell you what. I'm gonna give you a good taste, man. Like I dig the scene you've gotta make." He dropped a small piece into the Horse's trembling hand. "It's solid carga, man, so don't do it all up at once. Now, get outta here, man, you're putting heat on my pad. See you later when everything gets cool with you."

The Horse mumbled something, dropped the carga into his mouth, and ran tumblingly along the path leading to the Barrio street. As he turned the corner of a building he ran headlong into one of the Bato Locos from the Barrio. It was Benny.

"Orale, ese," Benny said, stopping him.

The Horse eyed the Bato and he knew Benny was out to hustle some cotton. His eyes were watery and Horse could tell he was one sick Bato.

"You gonna score from the Dude, ese?" Horse said as he started to pass Benny by, but Benny held onto his arm.

"Yeah," Benny said, hanging on. "You get some, ese?" Benny was out to hustle, if he could.

"Yeah," Horse said, releasing Benny's hold gently. I got some from the Dude, ese. But not enough. I mean, I told him I had to split the scene or they're gonna send me to Q. He gave me some, ese, on credit, but not enough."

"The Batos say you gotta dry out, ese. You supposed to be goin' over to the Proyecto." Benny's brown eyes and clear brown skin reminded Horse of the leaves on the Oak tree in the Dude's yard.

"Naw, ese," Horse answered, irritated. "I ain't going on over to that Proyecto. I ain't gonna kick cold turkey for no motherfucker. My P. O. and all them lame putos can go fuck themselves. They ain't gonna get on me. I'm heading home, ese and do me in this carga I got; then I'm splitting."

Benny stared at him. "Yeah, ese, fuck it. Well, man, I've got to make the scene. Later, ese, Caballo."

"Later, Benny."

The Horse made it trotting to his pad and tiptoed inside the shabby living room. His grandmother wasn't around and he breathed a sigh of relief. She was always bugging

him about fixing around the house. He quietly opened the door to the bathroom and went inside. His outfit was hidden behind the washbowl. He pulled out the bundle and unrolled the dirty piece of rag. His hand was shaking and the bent spoon fell into the toilet bowl. Sweat was breaking out on his brow, and he could feel the first symptoms of withdrawal. He scooped out the spoon and made the preparations. He knew he was strung out, but it wasn't too bad yet. Anyway, there was no way out. He had to take that last geeze before he split from the Barrio and hid out. He knew he could get some chiva wherever he went. Everybody was hooked. The shit was everywhere, so he wasn't worrying about scoring. He sure as hell wasn't going to no Proyecto and let them cold turkey him, fuck it!

He broke the red balloon and spilled out the brown carga into the match-burn blackened spoon. Then he ripped off five matches from the paperbook that lay on the toilet seat. The needle and eyedropper were ready. He cooked the junk and felt his guts turning inside out, and he was already choking with the puke that came up to his throat. He put all of the carga into one good jolt.

The Horse pressed the nipple of the eyedropper and carefully withdrew the jet-black carga from the spoon. The rag was tight around his upper right arm where the muscle bulged with the pressure. The needle penetrated his flesh into the mainline vein and blood sucked back into the eyedropper. Everything was going right, for sure, that was for sure.

Then the Horse felt what he'd never felt before. It was a blinding flash, and he felt his knees buckling under him. He didn't know, couldn't know, what was happening, but he knew things were sweet, nauseatingly sweet, and his body flew in space, and all that was a part of him was suddenly a part of the darkness that came after the flash, a darkness that disappeared a moment, making him briefly aware of his grandmother's piercing, haunting scream, the darkness wavered, and he gave himself up to the completeness of it.

Catolicos por La Raza

We wish to share with you the feelings which gave rise to Catolicos por La Raza. As Mexican-Americans and as Catholics you have a right to know.

Members of Catolicos por La Raza (CPLR) are Catholics. We have gone to Catholic schools and understand the Catholic tradition. Because of our Catholic training we know that Christ, the founder of Catholicism was a genuinely poor man. We know that he was born in a manger because His compatriots refused Him better housing. We know that He not only washed and kissed the feet of the poor (Mary Magdalen) but did all in His power to feed and educate the poor. We also know that one day He rode through Jerusalem on a jackass and was laughed at, spat upon, and ridiculed. We remember, from our Catholic education, that Christ, our hero, did not have to identify with the poor but chose to do so. We also were taught that one day Christ went to the established church, a church which identified with the rich people, with people who were never ridiculed or laughed at or spat upon, and He took a whip and used it upon the money-changers of His day who, in the name of religion, would dare to gather money from the poor. And, finally, we know, as all Christians know, His love for the poor was so great that He chose to die for poor people.

We know these things because our Catholic education has taught us that these were the things Christ did, Christ who founded the Catholic Church. And we know further

that if you or I claim to be Christian we have the duty to not only love the poor but to be as Christlike as possible.

It is these feelings within us, as members of Catolicos por La Raza, which led us to look at our Catholic Church as it presently exists: a Church which, for example in Los Angeles, would dare to build a \$3,500,000 church on Wilshire Boulevard when you and we know that because of our poverty our average education is 8.6 years and many, too many of our people, live in projects. How many churches, let alone million-dollar churches, did Christ build? We looked further and found that, although as a matter of faith all of us are members of the Catholic Church, nonetheless no Chicanos are able to participate in decisions within the Church, which are not of purely religious nature. Would you have voted for a million-dollar Church?

So many other considerations led to the creation of Catolicos por La Raza. We do not have the time or the money to print them all. But we do ask you to remember, as Mexican-Americans, as Catolicos, as Chicanos, that as members of the Catholic Church, it is our fault if the Catholic Church in the Southwest is no longer a Church of blood, a Church of struggle, a Church of sacrifice. It is our fault because we have not raised our voices as Catholics and as poor people for the love of Christ. We can't love our people without demanding better housing, education, health, and so many other needs we share in common.

In a word, we are demanding that the Catholic Church practice what it preaches. Remember Padre Hidalgo. And remember that the history of our people is the history of the Catholic Church in the Americas. We must return the Church to the poor. **OR DID CHRIST DIE IN VAIN?**



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chicano power



About 550 delegates, representing more than 50 community organizations, participated in the convention of the Congress of Mexican-American Unity held at Roosevelt High School last Sunday, February 25th. This Community Convention saw the emergence of "blocks" of organizations which seem to define the new sources of power in

the community. The main blocks, in order of strength and voting power were labor, the Town Halls, UMAS, and MAPA chapters.

The only "disputed" nomination was the one for the 40th Assembly District between Gonzalo Molina and James Cruz. James Cruz had more committed delegates from the beginning due to the strong alliance of the labor and Town Hall blocks. The decisive votes were cast by the UMAS block, but only after James Cruz agreed to sign an endorsement of the Complete Platform of the Southern District of the United Mexican American Students (UMAS). Gonzalo Molina withdrew from the race "in the interests of unity and to insure victory," receiving a standing ovation by all the delegates. Alex Garcia, one-time field deputy to Congressman Ed Roybal, refused to submit to the Convention Rules and disqualified himself for community endorsement.

Let us now pull together and make victory for the community our only goal.



Photos: Ernie Gutierrez

COMMUNITY CANDIDATES

Richard Calderon

27th State Senatorial District

James Cruz

40th Assembly District

Phil Ortiz

51st Assembly District

Charles Pineda

45th Assembly District

Ralph Guzman "drafted"

29th Congressional District

Ed Roybal

30th Congressional District

VIVA LA CAUSA,



LA CAMPANA DE LOS POBRES

Washington es el centro del gobierno, y el gobierno federal tiene el poder y los recursos para acabar con la pobreza y la injusticia. Pero el gobierno no lo ha hecho. Entonces, La Campana de los Pobres va a demandar reformas en el gobierno.

Nosotros presentaremos demandas definitivas en empleos, salarios y una vida decente para todos los pobres, para que podamos controlar nuestro destino.

Familias enteras estaran en Washington. Transporte, Comida y alojamiento no costara. Doctores y dentistas cuidaran de nuestra salud, y abogados nos daran consejo legal. Habra escuela para jovenes y ninos, y recreacion para todos.

POOR PEOPLE'S CAMPAIGN

Washington is the center of government, and the federal government has the power and the resources to end poverty and discrimination. But the government has failed to do this. Therefore the Poor People's Campaign will demand government reforms.

We will present to the government a list of definite demands involving jobs, income, and a decent life for all poor people so that they will control their own destiny.

Whole families will be in Washington. Transportation, food, and lodging will be provided free of cost. Fifty doctors and fifty dentists will take care of their health; fifty lawyers will supervise the legality of all the demonstrations. There will be schooling and training for youth of all ages, and recreation for everybody.

Los pobres de America—miles de ellos—van a demostrar en Washington y en sus comunidades en toda la nacion durante Mayo y Junio, o hasta que el gobierno responda.

The poor people of America—thousands of them—will demonstrate in Washington and in local communities all over the nation during May and June, or until the government responds.

el Poder de los Pobres

Mas de 35 millones de personas son "pobres" en este pais. La gente pobre no tiene buenos trabajos o salarios, educacion adecuada o escuelas decentes, casas o tratamiento medico apropiado, gobernantes o policias decentes. A la gente pobre ni se le respeta como humanos. Mas de 7 millones reciben beneficio publica, los mas son ninos, ancianos, enfermas, y madres que no pueden trabajar. El gobierno malgasta mas dinero en poder militar que en el bienestar publico, mas dinero en un mee en Vietnam que en un ano de la llamada "Guerra Contra la Pobreza."

La gente pobre permanece pobre porque no tienen el poder. Tenemos que crear "El Poder del Pobres."

Poor People's Power

More than 35 million people in America today are "poor." Poor people do not get decent jobs, decent incomes, decent housing, decent schools, decent health care, decent government, decent police. Poor people do not even get respect as human beings. More than 7 million people in America today are on welfare, mostly children, old people, the sick, and mothers unable to work. America spends 10 times as much money on military power as it does on welfare. America spends

more money in one month to kill in Vietnam than it spends in a year for the so-called "War on Poverty."

Poor people are kept in poverty because they are kept from power. We must create "Poor People's Power."

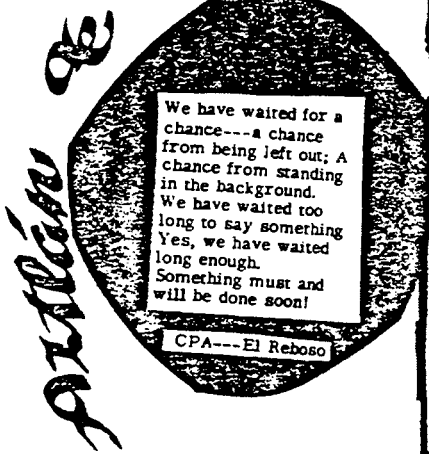
LA CAMPANA DE LOS POBRES

FOR INFORMATION:
call LA RAZA 225-5981

FOR REGISTRATION:
call Plazo Community Center 268-1107

Chicana Symposium

Corazón



We have waited for a chance---a chance from being left out; A chance from standing in the background. We have waited too long to say something Yes, we have waited long enough. Something must and will be done soon!

CPA---El Rebozo

The "Corazon de Aztlan" symposium at UCLA was announced by MECHA for November 25, and the more worldly Chicanos breathed deeply and said, "about time." There were enough desparaging remarks too. But the fact that some Chicanos were involved in the creation of the symposium has to mean that perhaps the novelty of women's liberation will soon wear out, and we can get down to business.

That over 1,000 Chicanas and Chicanos participated in the symposium shows that many more Chicanas are seeing themselves as capable of contributing much more creatively than in the past. The degree of her participation, as well as the areas of her activity will be more thoughtfully selected. She will choose more, and cease sitting on the shelf waiting to act as a temporary stop gap, or emergency secretary.

Active Chicanas in the southwest composed the panel. They discussed the activity of their organizations, as well as its ideology. This was not too different from any other rap given by panelists at any other conference. But there was more. Their own particular role as women (first in the context of their own organizations, and then in the greater Chicano Movement) was the thing that directed us back to the topic of liberation. Here the panelists could have come out a little heavier. There was not enough discussion on the reality of where the liberation movement for the Chicana goes from here.

All this has made some Chicanos upright. This is not entirely a bad thing. There is no reason for anyone to get upright. The attempt is to bring up the other end of the circle, to create a whole unit---the Chicano Movement. For example, the speakers themselves are very important contributing factors to their organizations.

Again in terms of units composing wholes, the age level of the symposium panelists alone would give us the impression that liberated Chicanas are generally over 30. Yet, the symposium was sponsored by young students, and the majority of those in attendance were young chicks.

The generality that could be drawn from this is that the older Chicanas are living liberation, while the younger ones are still planning their move toward it. Chicana liberation is on its way, and in order to prevent stagnation, the Chicana from the barrio, the campus, from fifteen years old to fifty years old must direct it together.

The reason for having conferences and symposiums is not to sit around talking about the liberation movement in terms of the Chicanas own particular problems (as in comadriando), but rather to discuss the REALITY OF WORK in the movement, or the "what" of our practical contribution.

But besides the usual differences in ideology, the Chicana must contend with social problems involving her and the Chicano. One outstanding example is the issue of anglo chicks and brown dudes. Chicanas have never dug it, and now they are protesting loudly. The dudes have always rationalized it away from any meaningful discussion. Emotions ran extra high at the symposium when this and its related subject of anglo involvement in the Movement were discussed. Both of these are very heated topics around today.

Comments from the panelists on the question of anglo participation in the Movement ranged from liberal to ultra-nationalistic. Of course, their frame of reference was from their own particular organizations and sections of the country, and no attempt was made by them to impose their positions on anyone. The conclusion was: that to define the anglo's role in the movement throughout the entire southwest is simply ridiculous.

All in all, the symposium brought about some interesting and vital discussion, and is one more important step toward crushing the notion of the liberation movement as a mere novelty, and then concentrating on it as a necessity.

It is beneath the dignity of the Chicana to quibble about where her place is. She is where she best serves the movement. There must be respect for her ability to decide. There is no room for patronizing males. We must be Companieros en la lucha. Mano en mano.

ADELANTE!

works

with her hands



to create a whole



MOVEMENT.

Palabras para Las Chicanas de AZTLÁN

- hermanas,
tus ojos must not be closed
que veas el sol without clouds if i fall
- hermanas,
mi madre must not loose her garden,
que no le falten roses and flowers, if i fall.
- hermanas,
mi fusil no temblara in your hands,
may my rifle fall not silen: if : fall.

Maravilla

corner and saw squad cars darting by one after another, four cops in each car, armed with high powered rifles, tact helmets pulled down over their faces. I felt the adrenaline rush of fear shoot through me. You could see their black and white cars and eerie, flashing lights blinking all up and down the street. They were moving fast. There must have been over a hundred of them, turning both ways up the street, blocking off exits, stopping traffic.

Instinctively, we rushed forward, pulled by an overwhelming surge of energy. My blood was pumping like crazy. I felt as if we were being swept into some awful swirling vortex. As we approached the Boulevard it looked like the end of the world. The whole place seemed to have burst into flames. And the entire L.A. tact squad and police force had descended like an invading army in some kind of science fiction nightmare. There was a terrible clamor of screaming, shouting and shattering glass, people running down the street, gunshots going off. Fire trucks lined up on the road and firemen were spraying torrents of water from their gigantic hoses onto the smoldering, burning buildings as looters scrambled by. There were pockets of angry people everywhere. I saw a woman in high heels trying to stop a cop from dragging off some guy. She was knocked down and shoved into a squad car. Groups of shouting, jeering people stood in clusters, yelling at the police who were randomly arresting passersby who ignored or defied their orders to disperse. One man ran down the street, tossing a molotov cocktail into a store front whose window had been shattered. It burst into black and orange flames.

We were being jostled and shoved through the crowd toward the sidelines where cops patrolled, ordering, "Move on! Don't loiter!" Shocked and stupified, we stood watching the horror. Someone ran by saying that Ruben Salazar had been shot down in a bar on the corner. A woman started to cry. We shifted down the street to see if we could get a glimpse of something, but all we saw was the insane melee of firemen and cops swarming the place. A woman who had fallen and hurt her knee bumped into us, asking if anyone could get her out of there. She had her two kids with her, and her car, she said, was blocked off on the street nearby, in flames. We pushed through the throng of people and headed to where Marcos had

Exhibit 39

Right before he left, the three of us, Marcos, Gerry and I decided to go to the show at the Golden Gate on Whittier Boulevard. It was a gross, smoggy day. Hot and muggy and claustrophobic. There was a tension hanging in the air, a tangible feeling of agitation and anxiety. I attributed it to the fact that Marcos was leaving soon. As we walked toward the theater I saw huge clouds of black smoke rising above the buildings. I was thinking that there must be a fire somewhere. Then I heard the sounds of screaming sirens. We turned the

Maravilla

parked, a couple of blocks away. The woman was crying. Her kids were wide-eyed and silent as we drove them home.

On the news that night we heard that earlier in the day a man had been arrested for a minor offense. Instead of ticketing him, the police tried to take him to jail. His wife had vehemently protested, struggling to wedge herself between her husband and the cops, yelling to passersby about what was going on. The cops handcuffed her and threw her into the squad car in front of their three children. A couple of men took notice and angrily approached them, disputing the arrest. They were ordered to leave and threatened with "disturbing the peace." A few more people quickly gathered around and within moments a hostile, enraged crowd had congregated and surrounded the squad car, demanding the couple's release, rocking it back and forth, threatening to damage it. The cops pulled out their guns. Someone started a fire in the squad car, and before anyone knew what was happening the whole thing had erupted out of control.

Afterwards, people got together to march and protest. Maria and some of her friends were attending a candlelight vigil at City Hall in memory of Ruben Salazar who had died from a gunshot wound the day of the riot, and to protest police brutality. My mother and I joined them. We marched around City Hall in a solemn procession, then over to the civic center carrying placards and lighted votive candles in paper cups, singing and chanting "*No venceremos, no venceremos!* Justice now! Justice now!" Before it ended there was a long silence dedicated to the life and memory of Ruben Salazar. Maria told me that he was a committed Chicano activist who had stood up and fought for his rights and those of his community. Now he was dead. I found it more than odd that one of the most outspoken and radical people in the Chicano community had died accidentally from stray gunshots.

Two days after the march at City Hall Marcos left for boot camp.

Consuelo Korte,
August 29, 1970

LATINOS:

Building power from the ground up

Reprinted from *California Journal*, January 1987

BY LOUIS FREEDBERG

If he feels a little lonely now, don't worry. It won't be long before he has company," Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley told the crowd at the city's annual El Grito reception.

He was referring to City Councilman Richard Alatorre, host of last September's event. Alatorre was in high spirits on that warm evening as blue-ribbon guests mingled beneath a floodlit city hall, savoring Mexican food and brassy mariachi music. For the first time in memory, a Latino was hosting the event commemorating El Grito (the cry) — the day in 1810 when Father Miguel Hidalgo shouted "Viva Mexico" and rang his church bells, initiating Mexico's long and bloody war for independence. Later that evening, underneath a huge portrait of Hidalgo, the 43-year-old Alatorre, the first Latino since 1963 to sit on the Los Angeles City Council, rang a bell on city hall steps to coincide with a similar ceremony in Dolores, Mexico.

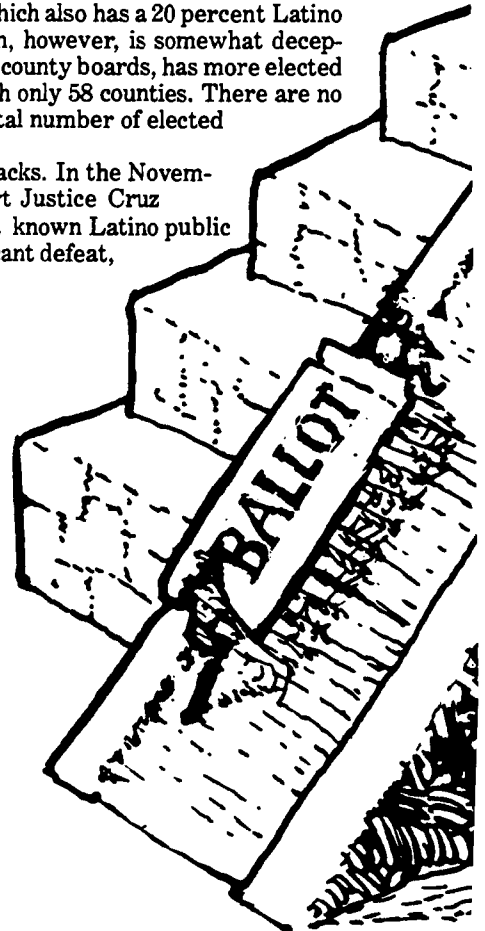
Ironically, as Bradley's political fortunes seem to be waning, the future appears bright for Alatorre and his fellow Latinos. From San Diego's barrios to San Francisco's Mission District, a new, locally-based Latino activism is emerging that could reshape California politics.

Currently, there are few visible signs that Latinos are coming of age politically. Nationally, the Latino leadership was divided on the immigration bill, one of the most crucial pieces of legislation affecting Latinos in decades. Without clear direction from the 11-member Latino Caucus in Congress, the bill unexpectedly passed both houses. Weakness in national politics is reflected in organizations like the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), the Mexican American Political Association (MAPA) and the American G.I. Forum — weak parallels of Black organizations like the NAACP and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference which gained prominence during civil-rights struggles of the 1950s and '60s.

In California, figures on political representation are also unimpressive: A state with 5.7 million Latinos — officially

21.6 percent of the population — had only 450 Latino elected officials in September 1986. That contrasts with 1466 Latinos in elective office in Texas, which also has a 20 percent Latino population. (The comparison, however, is somewhat deceptive because Texas, with 254 county boards, has more elected officials than California, with only 58 counties. There are no accurate estimates of the total number of elected officials in either state.)

And there have been setbacks. In the November elections: Supreme Court Justice Cruz Reynoso, probably the best known Latino public figure, went down to significant defeat,



T. McGee

Louis Freedberg is an editor at Pacific News Service who has written extensively on Latino politics.

Exhibit 41

While Proposition 63, the English-only initiative, was resoundingly approved by the voters.

It is also clear that Latinos do not vote in a monolithic block: They don't vote overwhelmingly Democratic, and they don't automatically vote for what, on the surface, appear to be "Latino" issues. According to exit polls conducted by pollster Mervin Field after last November's elections, 46 percent of Latinos voted for Republican George Deukmejian. Thirty-nine percent voted *against* the confirmation of Justice Reynoso (compared to 47 percent who voted against Justice Grodin), and another 41 percent supported the English-only initiative. As these figures indicate, approximately 40 percent of Latino voters will support Republican candidates and conservative initiatives. But as pollster Field points out, the Latino voter may be very different from the Latino population at large. "Once they become voters, they're no longer monolingual, they're economically better off and are better educated than other Hispanics," says Field.

Mistake to dismiss

It would be a mistake to dismiss Latino political clout by focusing only on the dismal Latino turnout at the polls. Although an estimated 7 percent of those who voted in November were Latinos (considerably less than their proportion of the state population), in local races with concentrations of Latinos, the Latino vote can — and does — make a difference. It is on the local level that one finds the best indicators of Latino politics. It is there that Latinos are pushing open the doors to city halls, boards of education and other local institutions. Strong networks are helping Latinos transcend traditional ethnic differences and elect representatives who will articulate concerns about high drop-out rates, bilingual

"Power is never given. Power is taken. You can't just expect the Democratic Party to give to us because we are good people."

— Los Angeles Councilman
Richard Alatorre

education, economic development and other high-priority issues in Latino communities.

The far-flung signs, still hidden from the mainstream, are difficult to ignore:

- In San Francisco — with no Latino representation in Congress or the state Legislature — Bolivian-born Rosario Anaya, 40, was resoundingly reelected to the board of education in November 1986. She was easily the top vote-getter in the city-wide election, dramatizing the ability of a Latino to win widespread support, even outside the Latino community. Her victory emerged out of a rancorous battle involving, among others, Assembly Speaker Willie Brown and state Superintendent of Public Instruction Bill Honig, both of whom backed other candidates.

- On the fringes of Los Angeles County, in the town of San Fernando (population 20,000), Latinos last April took control of city hall for the first time. The mayor of this 67-percent-Latino community is Jess Margarito, 39, one of the founders of the La Raza Unida Party in the San Fernando Valley. La Raza Unida marked a genuine attempt in the 1970s to form a Latino third party. In more radical days, Margarito ran on the Raza Unida ticket in 1972 but was defeated by a two-to-one margin after accusations that he was a Communist. Twelve years later he finally made it to the council, becoming only the third Latino in the town's history to be



Roybal



Gonzalez

elected to city hall. To get there, he says he had to join the Kiwanis Club to "show them I don't bite."

- In San Jose, with a 33-percent-Latino population, Blanca Alvarado, 55, remains the only Latino on the city council. But her two aides, Gary Serda, 27, and Pete Carillo, 34, have recently been elected to local school and community college boards, making Alvarado's office a focus of Latino activity. Since 1982 fifteen Latinos have been elected to school boards throughout Santa Clara County.

By the year 2030, Latinos will comprise 38.1 percent of the state's population, compared to 38.4 percent Anglo, 16.8 percent Asian and 6.7 percent Black, according to the Washington-based Population Reference Bureau. One certainty of California politics is that Latinos will eventually become the state's leading minority force. Like the great California earthquake, it is hard to predict when this will happen.

But happen it will.

Los Angeles

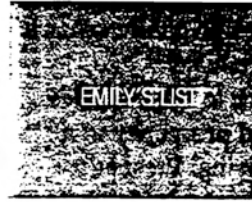
It is to Los Angeles that one must turn to observe emerging Latino power in California. There, after almost twenty years of virtual exclusion, Latinos are now making inroads into city politics. Alatorre, elected to the council after 12 years as a state assemblyman, is the first Latino on the council since now-Congressman Ed Roybal was elected to Congress in 1962. On February 3rd there will be a special election to elect another Latino to the council — the end result of a 15-year redistricting shell game that has carved out another Latino district.

The heart of Latino California rests on Los Angeles' East Side, a confusing label that refers both to the East-Side barrios that are part of the city of Los Angeles and to East Los Angeles, an unincorporated town in Los Angeles County.

In spite of a shift away from the street politics of the 1970s protests and demonstrations, raw anger over years of mistreatment and exclusion by the political establishment is just a finger scratch below the barrio's hardened, weathered skin. The anger surfaced recently when the state Assembly voted to put a prison in an industrial lot close to East-Side neighborhoods. Hundreds of residents gathered on a bridge leading across the Los Angeles River to East Los Angeles to protest prison plans. Initiated by a group of Catholic mothers, the protests helped stall the prison. (The demonstrations also underscored that Latino politics is now urban, an evolution from the 1960s rural politics of Cesar Chavez and the United Farm Workers.)

For the first time in years, the community was saying "enough" to policies that brought freeways slicing through neighborhoods, repeated incidents of police brutality, run-down schools and other symptoms of inner-city decay. The demonstrations also signaled that East Los Angeles — and, by extension, Latino California — was far from dormant

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Linda Griego For Mayor of Los Angeles

Linda Griego, former deputy mayor for economic development, is running for Mayor of Los Angeles. She is the only viable woman and Latina candidate in a field of 31 candidates vying to replace retiring Mayor Tom Bradley.

Griego has an impressive record as a trailblazer for women's rights and economic opportunity. She grew up in the small town of Tucumcari, New Mexico and was the first member of her family to graduate from high school and college. Griego left New Mexico after high school, taking the bus to Washington, DC on a discount fare and arriving with \$50 in her pocket. She got a job working for a congressman, and then later Senator Alan Cranston. Later she moved to California and worked her way through college.

Griego took a job with the telephone company and became one of the first women supervisors of a line crew, climbing telephone poles for a living. In the late 1970s, Griego opened a restaurant, The Chili Stop, on \$5,000 in savings and \$10,000 in loans. The success of that venture enabled her to start another restaurant in downtown Los Angeles that employs 55 people.

Mayor Bradley appointed Griego deputy mayor for economic development in 1991. In the aftermath of the riots, Griego's office successfully helped small businesses acquire disaster loans and cut through red tape from city, state and federal bureaucracies.

The Political Situation

The demographics of Los Angeles are perfect for Griego's candidacy. Women make up 52.6 percent of voters and Latinos comprise 11.9 percent. As the only viable woman and Latina candidate, Griego should have a strong base from these groups.

Of the 31 mayoral candidates who will be on the ballot, four are considered Griego's stiffest competition. City councilmen Michael Woo and Joel Wachs, state Assemblyman Richard Katz and wealthy businessman Richard Riordan will all have more than \$1 million for the primary. Griego

must raise \$1 million to be one of the top two finishers in the April 20 primary and qualify for the June 8 runoff.

The Issues

As mayor, Griego will have four main priorities. First, she will work to rebuild the city's economy and create jobs. She is now in the process of preparing a detailed economic strategy for Los Angeles which focuses on encouraging small businesses and manufacturing. Griego believes that this type of business growth is the only basis to assure the city's future prosperity. During Griego's administration, she will work for massive changes in city government practices and the bureaucracy. Her goal is "cut red tape and make city government a friend, not the enemy, of economic change," says Griego.



Exhibit 42

Under this proposal, the city and its mayor will become an advocate for business and, in return, business must agree to create jobs locally and to work with public schools to hire youths who stay in school and graduate.

Second, she will work to bring peace to Los Angeles. Griego recognizes that nobody can build prosperity in a war zone. She supports community policing. Presently, only a small percentage of Los Angeles police officers are on the street at any time. She supports tougher law enforcement against gangs and targeted economic opportunity for youth.

By nature a consensus builder, Griego recognizes that prosperity, crime reduction and reduced racial tensions are inextricably linked. She will work to develop new programs to teach racial tolerance and understanding in the schools, use the Mayor's office as a platform to work for unity, and will create recreational programs to increase peaceful interactions between races.

Griego's efforts to rebuild Los Angeles's economy are grounded in the understanding that economic rivalries exacerbate racial tensions. Her job creation programs will be designed to increase opportunities for all residents of the city. Her proposals to revitalize the city's economy rely heavily on the development and encouragement of small businesses, which provide the majority of new jobs and opportunities in minority communities.

As mayor, Griego will also work for more drug education and tougher drug enforcement in public schools. She will develop a strategy to combat violence and improve race relations in the classrooms. She will work to expand after-school programs to keep kids off the streets.

Third, Griego will be a strong advocate for a woman's right to choose an abortion. As this fight is being won at the national level, the battleground has shifted to the local streets — and Operation Rescue has targeted Los Angeles. As mayor, she will work with the police to protect women from Operation Rescue. And, she will work with private agencies to see that family planning clinics like Planned Parenthood are opened and protected.

Fourth, Griego will bring reform to City Hall. She will propose banning city commissioners from doing business with city agencies. She will fight to take the perks out of City Hall. She will sell the city's half-million dollar yacht and crack down on fiscal abuses, like the recent purchase of a \$35,000 conference table.

Griego will also work to make sure that Los Angeles becomes a leader in innovative child care policy. She hopes to accomplish this by working with businesses and parents to increase the supply of affordable, quality child care.

Griego's environmental priorities will focus on recycling, transportation, and parks and recreation. As deputy mayor, Griego led the effort to seek out new businesses to be markets for the use of recycled waste materials in the city.

Griego believes that Los Angeles is too reliant on the automobile. She has pledged to use her appointments on the regional air, transportation and planning boards to pro-

mote more efficient use of Los Angeles' existing transportation infrastructure and to ensure that new developments reduce reliance on automobiles.

Griego also supports creating new priorities which favor recreational programs in low income neighborhoods. She will create a network of parks and open space to serve Los Angeles's growing multi-ethnic population.

As an advocate for women's rights, Griego supports a concerted effort to ensure that women are fairly represented on all city commissions. She strongly supports the Freedom of Choice Act, and passage of the Domestic Violence Act, which is presently before Congress. ■

February 1993

To support Griego make your checks payable to:

Griego for Mayor

and mail to:

EMILY's List
1112 16th Street, NW
Suite 750
Washington, DC 20036

Paid for by EMILY's List and authorized by
the Linda Griego for Mayor Committee, ID# 930090.

SIDE ONE

LOS ANGELOS The East Side Renaissance

"ACHIN"

I love the taste of lipstick
Cigarette smoke
The deep club lights
Your dress - it's a mess

I love the way you stand
Share nite
Holding your cigarette
You Jukebox maniac

Chorus:
I'm achin', achin' to break
Your heart (2x)
I'm achin', I'm achin'

I love your polka dot dress
Reminds me of your scream
Patlin' staggering (2x)

A flashing cross in your eye
A flashing cross in my dream
It's times when you're ugly
Meets being with you fun

I'm achin', achin' to break
Your heart (2x)

Chorus

PLUGZ - "ACHIN"
Words & Music: Tito Larriva
Place Music/Bug (BMI)

THE BRAT - "THE WOLF"
Words: Therese Covarrubias
Music: Rudy Medina

"THE WOLF"

A star spangled Wolf comes,
says that
This land was made for all
So hard to grasp the logic
Foaming from its Rabid Call

You say this democracy believes
In our equality
You lie!

The Wolf and the Lamb
And we are the Lamb

The country runs right through us
And it doesn't even blink an eye
Living off the poor man's labour
Sucking all our spirits dry

We say this Democracy
is laced with Hypocrisy,
It's true!

The Wolf and the Lamb
And we are the Lamb

Your claw of Justice
Knows no boundary lines
Tell me O' Wolf of slaughter
How many peasants died?

With this one Democracy's
Atrocious foreign policy
Yeah
The Wolf and the Lamb
And we are the Lamb.

"BOYS AND GIRLS"

Chorus:
All the boys - All the girls
All the boys - All the girls

Verse:
Once I had a great love
It's all over now
No more! No more!
In the classroom when the lesson
was given
We were looking at each other
Y ya, Y ya

Chorus:
All the boys - All the girls
All the boys - All the girls

Verse:
And you took me over to meet your parents
I was shaking, I wanted to be alone!
We played football, went to the movies
And we studied
I didn't see you anymore, Y ya, Y ya

Solo.....

Repeat Chorus.....

Verse:
The prom night came - everything
was destroyed
It's all over now, no more! No more!
You have a new love,
I was just one more - I didn't see you
anymore
Y ya, Y ya

Chorus.....

FELIX AND THE KATZ - "BOYS
AND GIRLS"
Words & Music: Felix M.
Katz Music

"HIGH SCHOOL"

Catholic High School's just a game
Driving kids like me insane
Walk around in short gray skirts
Looking cute, I'm looking worst

Chorus:
High School Dance, Romance,
Everyone's so happy
Looking cute, and looking fine
Looking for the best

(Repeat first verse and Chorus)

Didn't learn a Goddamn thing
Didn't buy that fuckin' ring
Won't prance, won't make
romance
Wish I could but I can't

Chorus:
High School Dance, Romance,
Everyone's so happy
Looking cute, Looking fine
Looking for the best

THE BRAT - "HIGH SCHOOL"
Words: Therese Covarrubias
Music: Sid Medina

"MOVING YOUR MOUTH"

Moving your mouth I'm sorry
Changing your style in line
Doing it all for glory
Fighting your mind in fame

This is your heartbreak story
Making your mark in time
Doing it all for glory
Ride in a limousine

Finding the ends and corners
(You keep) moving behind the walls
I've just giving them all the gimmick
Put it inside your pocket

This is your heartbreak story
Tucking it all in tight
Searching for fools who'll follow
Enticing that certain power

We're all the same (moving your mouth)
We're all the same (moving your mouth)
We're all the same (moving your mouth)
We're all the same (moving your mouth)

Moving your mouth I'm sorry
(You keep) changing your style in line
I've just fighting to be a big star
Ride in your limousine

I'm sorry

ODD SQUAD - "MOVING YOUR
MOUTH"
Words: Eddie Ayala
Music: Angela Vogel
Ordinary Music

"C/S"

L.A.
City of the Angels.

Founded in 1781 by Felipe De Neve
And settled by
Mexican Pobladores,
El Pueblo de Nuestra Señora La
Reina de Los Angeles
de Porciuncula

L.A.
City of the Angels.

We came to work your fields
of plenty.

We made you rich - You paid us
penicils.

We laid your railroad over trails
that once were ours.

We taught you how to mine
your gold

Rope your cattle and irrigate
your land.

C/S

March, 1942, it was 'Tape' for
the 'Japs.'

You put them all in concentration
camps.

Who was left to scrape your goat?
The Mexicans. Why not. We were
your favorite joke.

Three thousand years of
civilization:

Olmec - Maya - Toltec - Aztec
Three thousand years of
civilization

To wind up in L.A.
A people in Damnation

C/S

June, 1943 - A month of infamy
The 'Aimighty' Hearst press had
discovered a 'menace' to L.A.

You had found your Sacrificial
Lamb Special of the day

Thirsty for blood and hungry
for sales

Your headlines screamed;
"Mexican Zoot Suitors
planning to attack
servicemen - Be downtown
between 6 & 10."

On the night of June 7, your Zoot
Suit Riots began L.A.

A mob of Sailors, Soldiers and
Marines marched to the
middle of town to bust those
dirty Mexican Zoot Suitors
down.

C/S

LAPD stood by and watched
as boys, some only twelve
and thirteen were kicked,
beaten and stripped to
'keep our city clean.'

Con Safon - What's that strange
writing on the walls?
Con Safon! - If you have any ball!

Go 'head Santa spray
your Emblems.
Go 'head White Fence. Paint your
Coat of Arms.

Go 'head Santa spray
your Emblems.
Go 'head White Fence. Paint your
Coat of Arms.

Go 'head Santa spray
your Emblems.
Go 'head White Fence. Paint your
Coat of Arms.

Go 'head Santa spray
your Emblems.
Go 'head White Fence. Paint your
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your Emblems.
Go 'head White Fence. Paint your
Coat of Arms.

Go 'head Santa spray
your Emblems.
Go 'head White Fence. Paint your
Coat of Arms.

SIDE TWO

**"YOU REALLY DO WANT MY
LOVE"**

Tear down all your doubts
lovely lady
And open up the door to
your heart
Let me turn on, our darling, let
me turn the key
Just let it be me and you right
from the start

Chorus:
'Cause you, you really do want
my love
You, you, you, you really do (2x)

My love had been waiting
patiently for someone
Just like you to come along
so I know darlin' I know whatcha'
goin' through

But trust your heart, I swear it
won't let you down

(Chorus)

(Bridge):

Now I don't know if you'll ever
feel the same way I do
But girl if you don't try,
you'll only guess
I'm takin' a chance hoping you
don't break my heart
But if I got to take that chance
I wanna take it with you

(Chorus)

(Repeat 1st Verse) (Lay Down)

(Chorus)

(A Cappella)

(Chorus)

THEE ROYAL GENTS - "YOU
REALLY DO WANT MY LOVE"
Words & Music: Charles R. Cota
Chaonta Music/Bug (BMI)

"ELECTRIFY ME"

I've got this fire burning inside me
'Cause of a love I lost in the alley
She appeared, then disappeared
into a cloud of graffiti!

She electrified me

Redloptive hair stuck in the sky
A plastic bag - A gun inside
Green cowboy boots and black straight
legs
She electrified me
She electrified me

She danced and pogo'd all night long
She bobbed her head like a toy tin doll
She shook her shoulders around so free
She even danced on the ground with me

She electrified me

She electrified me

PLUGZ - "ELECTRIFY ME"
Words & Music: Tito Larriva
Place Music/Bug (BMI)

"MUSIC OF THE PEOPLE"

This music that we play is the
Sound of everyone

The idea was born from the heart
of the Chicano

With the reason to unite all
people with this hot rhythm,
with this ardent rhythm

We also would like to express the
voice of the people,

It shall be heard, utilizing the
music to communicate the
situation of our people.

This music that we play is the
sound of everyone!

Listen! The Music, The Music,
The Music, The Music

There are musicians who play to
heal themselves from a
grieving heart, it's a
bad scene, with the music,
you will always feel
tranquillity

The Music to heal yourself, the
music of sadness, the Music
of a grieving heart, the
Music to heal

We are the group "Calfas" and
we express to you
in a special manner, something
deep.

Deep inside we receive inspiration
from everyone

Something so profound!
The Music, The Music,
The Music, The Music

The Music - from everyone, The
Music Oh so beautiful
and loving

The Music - of Latin America,
The Music of the land so fine

The Music - Listen Chicano
people, educate your children

The Music - Come on sister &
brother, give a shout! A!

The inspirations from everyone is
something so profound,
The Music, The Music the sound
of the whole world!

The rhythms and messages are
the strength of the people
Let loose with your shouts,
Come on let's GO!

CALIFAS - "La Musica De La
Gente"
Words: Marcos Loya, Irma
Rangel

Music: Marcos Loya
Califas Music/Dug (BMI)

"LADY LOVE"

Without you in my life
How can I survive
There's just a lonely heart waiting
inside me

Can't you see I love you
For now and forever
I'll give you everything that life can bring

Chorus:

Kiss me once again
'Cause I love you
Tell me you're the one

'Cause I need you
Take me in your arms
Let me hold you

'Cause you're mine, Oh

Don't you know you're the one?
And our life's just begun?

So be my love, my wife, let's live together

'Cause you know I need you
I need you every day and night to be
near me
So be my lady love, my lady love,
my lady love.

(Repeat Chorus)

THEE ROYAL GENTS - "LADY LOVE"
Words & Music: Ron Gonzales
G-Rhythm Music/Bug (BMI)

"WHAT AM I GONNA DO"

I've got a message for you girl
This guy is crazy about you,
I'm mistake

You won't get away so fast
I've got my mind made up at last

It's been a long, long time
Since I fell for someone like you
But you say you can't stay
I just don't know what to do

Chorus:

Ooh, what am I gonna do?
I've got my mind made up to
love you

Ooh, what am I gonna do?
Never mind about someone new

Ooh, what am I gonna do?
I've got my mind made up to
love you

Ooh, what am I gonna do?
Without you!

And ever since that day
I haven't really been the same
I've got to get my thoughts together
'Til I find a way

Right back in your arms
Where I long to be everyday
And if you still won't stay
I guess it doesn't matter anyway

(Repeat Chorus)

MESTIZO - "WHAT AM I
GONNA DO"
Words & Music:
David Vidaurragaga
Mestizo Music

The Music of the world
The Music of Mexico
The Music of Africa
The Music of California
The Music of my little
Cuban Brothers

The Music of Puerto Rico
The Music of the Poor People,
(that's the way it is, Ay!)

The inspirations from everyone is
something so profound,
The Music, The Music the sound
of the whole world!

CALIFAS - "La Musica De La
Gente"
Words: Marcos Loya, Irma
Rangel

Music: Marcos Loya
Califas Music/Dug (BMI)

Vatos Locos. Damn right!
Vatos Locos. Die or Fight!

Go 'head Dreamer spray your
Epitaph.

Go 'head Chavez sign your treaty
of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

A Treaty that was supposed to
guarantee equality.

Go 'head Vatos Locos
Children of Artisan
Spray your metallic blood
'Till all the walls come down.

C/S. Look at me.
C/S. Know me.
C/S. Listen to me!

I am somebody!
I am!
I am somebody!
I Yo Say!

C/S

Listen to what the walls have to say!

Viva Los Angeles!
Viva Mi Terral
Long Live L.A.!

CON SAFOS - "C/S"
Words: Ruben Guevara
Music: Ruben Guevara,
Geoff Lee, Hector Gonzales
Cerro Blanco Music/Bug [ASCAP]

"THE BALLAD OF THE CALIFORNIA
COALITION TO END BARRIO
WARFARE"

All the way to Mexico it is known that
our barrios have changed
And are different and that our people are
awakening.

The homework of the barrios are
destroying their ignorance.
Together we will march against the
drugs of habit to clear
our minds and purpose.

Long live our education
Death to the evil of corruption
Long live the barrio in general.

From the barrios to the schools
From the schools to the barrios
We are victorious and strive to control
our own destiny.

Through the barrio streets you can hear
our cries of peace
and justice and the deaths of our
loved ones inspire us in the struggle
to end all barrio warfare.

Long live our education
Death to the evil of corruption
Long live the barrio in general.

Stop the war in the barrios
Put an END TO THE KILLING
Yes it can be done with action!

Throughout California we cruise in our
chevy cars of yesterday
Visiting our people and they watch us
and they say

"Hey stranger, where you from?
Here you stand
Or here you'll die."

We are all from a very special barrio
It is the same as a family
And that family is our people.

Long live our education
Death to the evil of corruption
Long live the barrio in general.

Throughout the streets of the barrio
the warrior spirit is born
And grows in our lives
And the mothers and the fathers nurture
The pains and errors of their sons
and daughters.

And in this way we continue struggling
to raise consciousness
and reconstruct the barrio.

Long live our education
Death to the evil of corruption
Long live the barrio in general.

Long live our education
Death to the evil of corruption
Long live the barrio in general.

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Death to the evil of corruption
Long live the barrio in general.

URBAN EXILE

This article is a transcript of a talk given at a public symposium hosted by the Museum of Contemporary Art and sponsored by the The Social and Public Arts Resource Center and the California Chicano Mural Documentation Project. A Spanish-language version has appeared in La Opinion.

Harry Gamboa, Jr.

The changing identity of Chicano art can be a matter of trick mirrors that reflect fluctuating images of social incongruities and/or personal maladaptation. In the City of Los Angeles it is easy to lose one's own innocence or to have one's own naive idealism drown in the shadowy sea of cultural sewage. As a somewhat polarized brew of talented mixed-media artists, Chicano artists of the eighties can appear to us as exploited painters, radical illustrators, broom muralists, sociopathic conceptualists, up-and-coming born-again capitalists who deride the welfare state, propagandistic photographers, choirs in jester clothing, Olympic tokens, misguided fingerpainters, true believers of Aztlan/La Raza Cosmica, jealous plagiarists, zealous pledge-of-allegianceists, those who connect the dots, those who erase the Border, those who color by the numbers on their multiple grant checks; and in this primary crowd we will discover works which create anxiety and exotic fantasies of assimilation, or which portray the frenzied fiasco of depersonalized survival in the urban environment.

It is difficult to delineate this changing identity because it is undergoing a relishing schizophrenic turmoil of perceptual flux. What we have is an identity of multiple personalities that speak concurrently in disharmonic voices. What we have is filtered statements which are only sparingly reproduced by mainstream and quasi-alternative mass media for their artistic/hyperbolic/political/commercial propriety. We have voices that speak to the poor class/upper class/middle class/no class. We have voices that promote the snitch mentality (that kind of voice that resonates with a self-hating paranoia). We have voices which are pragmatic/dogmatic/automatic. But in most cases, we have voices which are silent. It is an in-

sidious silence that speaks to no one.

In this voiceless vacuum we find apathy, neglect, denial, disillusionment, an impoverishment of social consciousness, a retraction of social commitment; it is here that we discover a muted/co-opted enthusiasm for social and political change. Maybe it is here, too, that we can locate a disordered sense of survival in a mainstream system where poverty, official misinformation, racism, sexism and militarism are viewed as basic by-products of citizenship, that aspect of the dominant culture which can be hypnotically erased by the promise of popularity, the pretense for art stardom, the prospect of total acceptance and the promise of sky-rocketing sales.

It is within the context of this wide-angle view that I'd like to focus our attention onto the peripheral distortion of the contemporary urban Chicano experience: the contention that Chicanos, in general, are passive, violent, passively violent, violently passive, passive, passed out, pissed off, is a matter of racial stereotypic opinion, is an image and idea that calls newspapers and television series, but it is a concept which is unacceptably offensive, counterproductive and qualitatively unverifiable. However, since it is impossible to arrive at an absolutely objective definition of the collective experience of a group of people, it is necessarily important to create subjective versions of the individual's experience with interpretations that express the individual's dual role as participant-observer of that culture.

Artists have traditionally served as the catalysts in abstracting their culture. They have processed those abstractions, analysed/recombined/verified their findings, and have created new forms in a wide variety of media that help to articulate the meaning and meaninglessness of their culture via their experience of it. It is the social and inherently political impact of the artists' work which is ultimately relevant to the culture which is being represented. It has become increasingly difficult to impact on one's own environment without fully utilizing the available support systems which include the mass media, finances, public-political contacts and private sector influence. These pragmatic considerations

have served to redirect many of the original goals, ideas and images which were set forth by many Chicano artists who have been continuously active in creating work since the 1970s. In some cases, artists who have been astute in their development of a viable support system have done so at the cost of losing cultural validity, personal integrity and artistic quality. The use of art as a form of protest was popular in the seventies. The use of art as a form of acquiescence is now popular in the eighties. Fortunately this is not a truism for all instances of contemporary Chicano art.

The compromises which are involved in securing private-for-profit gallery representation, continued corporate grant funding and the good graces of locally established critics makes for good art business. But does it make for good art? Without financial support of the artist's community, the artist is subjected to various pressures which may negatively affect that artist's commitment towards that same community. Art can be bought and so can artists. You do not buy the starving artist with bread, but with cake. If the Chicano artist of the eighties expects to succeed in the mainstream art world, the contradictions, distortions and compromises must be swallowed whole along with that cake. But for those artists who prefer the taste of pan dulce, without having to chew on the bitter aftertaste of defeat, an alternative approach must be taken which goes beyond the confines of mainstream sanctification.

The Chicano artist who chooses to make statements on the neocolonial quality of barrio life, who decides to express concerns over contemporary racist public/private policies, who comments on the unequal sharing of America's souring pie, is most certainly going to find it difficult to achieve the rewards which are available to less socially and politically threatening artists. But these are urgent times, when entire families are allowed to go hungry, when children can be held hostage by the Immigration and Naturalization Service, when the mentally ill are wandering aimlessly on the city streets and in the White House, when nuclear war can ruin your day. These are times when silence is an

empty promise of apathy, but this silence chooses a deeper sense of fear and loathing for oneself and for others.

The fact that contemporary Chicano culture is as multifaceted and is as valid as any other global culture should be reflected in its art. To create works that are concerned with the urban Chicano experience is to be placed onto a desynchronized track that does not blend easily with mainstream concerns or compassions. To quote Gronk from a published interview, "Some people think that art is a melting pot but if you ever mix chocolate with vanilla, you don't get vanilla." For the artist to become involved in creating images and concepts that defiantly oppose the false mystification and negativism which has been popularized against Chicano culture, the artist is then effectively participating in a form of self-imposed urban exile. The artist who is exiled is free to question, to denounce, to mispronounce, to bring ugly truths to the surface. These truths can be the psychologically damaged goods which are strewn over a wide area of intercultural conflicts, including the loss of self-esteem and the adoption of fake identities.

The artist must also be adept at poking holes into the eyes of skeptics. The elements of humor, ridicule, sarcasm, satire and ironic wit are essential mediums for the development of effective visual and auditory statements. With the artist in exile, how is the work made accessible to the public? It is inevitably the artist's responsibility to promote his or her own work regardless of the initial lack of popular support. The support must be generated from among others who feel an affinity to the artist's perceptions of self and society. The artist has access to a loosely knit constituency, a group that is similarly attracted and appalled by the glitter and gangrene of urban reality. However, the competition for ideas and images is acute. How does one point out the subtleties of the Chicano experience without being drowned out by the static of racist commercials, regurgitated folklore and the phony quaintness of imitation culture?

The Chicano artist must be determined to succeed, must be technically qualified to execute the images and concepts, must be effective in scaling the walls of resistance to the urban Chicano experience. The artist must draw from personal experience, must extract the significance from events, must engage a hyperactive imagination

and, hopefully, create works that will result in meaningful pieces of cultural information. The creative output of the Chicano artist should have a social application that will facilitate the growth of the viewer's understanding of the artist's interpretation of the individual-as-producer-of-culture.

There is a social responsibility which the artist is confronted with: it is the responsibility for creating beauty, controversy, real and surreal visions, absurd versions of actual events, symbolic interpretations of his/her environment, and also to express the universality of our culture's uniqueness and our culture's interdependence on cross-cultural understanding. □

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Harry Gamboa, Jr., is a conceptual performing artist who incorporates writing, photography, video and performance in his work. He is a member of Asco, the East Los Angeles performance group, and has written various articles on Chicano artists for La Opinion.

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MARSHA TRAEBER / Los Angeles Times

- Cecilia González kneels at the altar of Reseda church during her quince años ceremony.
- Cecilia González celebra sus quince con una misa en una iglesia católica de Reseda.

Archdiocese Hit for Guidelines on Quinceañeras

By JEORDAN LEGON
TIMES STAFF WRITER

The day her daughter turned 14, Cecilia González started to plan for the teen-ager's next birthday party. González wanted to give her daughter, Cecilia, a traditional coming-of-age quinceañera ceremony on her 15th birthday.

"My daughter deserves it," González, 35, said in Spanish. "My parents were poor," González said, and she did not have a quinceañera of her own. "But I promised that, if I had a daughter, I would give her that pleasure."

González needed to take care of an infinite number of details to prepare for the ceremony. But the top priority on her list was finding a Catholic church that would bless Cecilia on her 15th birthday.

"They had told me that it would be hard to find a church willing to do the Mass, but I never expected so many problems," said González, a Canoga Park resident who visited four churches before finding one that would perform a quinceañera Mass exclusively for her daughter and would allow 14 couples to accompany the teen-ager, as is customary.

González is among a growing number of Latinos who are frustrated over a set of guidelines published by the Archdiocese of Los Angeles that they say alter the *fiesta de los 15 años*, a 400-year-old Latino tradition that has been likened to the coming-out parties of debutantes, but one that emphasizes religious renewal at the same time.

The "Pastoral Guidelines for Preparation and Celebration" of the quince años were distributed to all churches in the Los Angeles archdiocese in January.

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Católicos Piden Cambiar Pautas de Quinceañeras

Por JEORDAN LEGON
REDACTOR DE LOS ANGELES TIMES

Desde el día en que su hija cumplió los 14 años, Celia González empezó a planear la próxima fiesta de cumpleaños de la joven. Quería dar a su hija, Cecilia, la tradicional ceremonia de quinceañera.

"Mi hija se lo merece", dijo en español González, de 35 años. "Mis padres eran pobres y yo no pude hacer los 15 años, pero prometí que, si tenía una hija, yo le iba a dar ese gusto".

González tenía que ocuparse de un sinnúmero de detalles al hacer los preparativos para la ceremonia, pero lo más importante era encontrar una iglesia católica dispuesta a bendecir a Cecilia en su día.

"Me habían dicho que iba a ser difícil encontrar una iglesia que me hiciera la misa, pero nunca esperé tener tantos problemas", dijo González, quien reside en Canoga Park y acudió a cuatro iglesias antes de hallar una que se prestara a celebrar una misa quinceañera exclusivamente para su hija y que le permitiera las acostumbradas 14 parejas de chambelanes y

Favor ver QUINCE, Página 12



MARSHA TRAEBER / Los Angeles Times

- Some of Cecilia González's 14 attendants at church service.
- Algunas de las 14 damas de Cecilia González durante la misa.

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Father Douglas G. Ferraro, who heads the office of pastoral and parish services that published the guidelines, said their purpose is to raise the awareness and the understanding of the ceremony among priests in the archdiocese.

Father Anastasio Rivera, director of the Hispanic ministry in the Los Angeles archdiocese, said the guidelines were also a response to a shortage of Spanish-speaking priests in the archdiocese.

"There are a lot of churches that have been pushed against the wall because of the desperate need for priests who can lead Masses in Spanish," said Rivera, who added that Latinos make up close to 60% of the church's following in the Los Angeles archdiocese. "Some parishes are having to choose between doing weddings and baptisms in Spanish or quinceañera ceremonies."

Rivera said the suggestions stress the solemnity of the event and play down the social aspects of it.

"Many times people forget the true purpose of the quinceañera tradition, which is to reaffirm your faith. There is alcohol served at the party after the Mass, and people spend money that they don't have," Rivera said.

A group that was formed soon after the booklet was published says the guidelines are preventing Latinos from celebrating the quinceañera Mass in a traditional fashion. The group claims that many parishes have interpreted the suggestions as hard-and-fast rules that do not allow for deviation.

Some parishes have stopped conducting quinceañera Masses altogether, said Luis Yáñez, the president of the Grupo Latino por Nuestras Tradiciones (Latino Group for Our Traditions). Yáñez said 400 people have joined his group since its inception in January.

"They have no right to take away part of our culture like this," said Yáñez. As owner of a bridal shop in Reseda that designs and makes dresses for quinceañeras, Yáñez acknowledges that he also has a business interest in seeing the tradition continue unaltered.

Yáñez said members of his group are outraged by what they call a lack of understanding the authors of the guidelines seem to have about the quince años tradition.

The group takes issue with statements in the booklet asserting that there is no tradition that mandates 14 couples (each one representing a year in the life of the quinceañera) to accompany the young woman during the Mass. This was one issue that was high on the list of complaints the group sent to Archbishop Roger M. Mahony.

A national authority on quinceañeras, Sister Angela Erevia, said it is true that nothing mandates the presence of 14 couples during the Mass, but a majority of parents opt for the couples.

"Nothing is written in stone about quinceañera ceremonies. They are not a sacrament like a baptism or a first communion," said Erevia in a telephone interview from Victoria, Tex. "But people have passed the

ritual from mother to daughter from generation to generation."

Another guideline that may conflict with some Latinos' tradition, Erevia said, is the suggestion that churches should hold a quinceañera Mass for three or four teen-agers at a time, something Rivera said has become necessary in Los Angeles because of the shortage of Spanish-speaking priests.

González, who wanted both 14 couples and a Mass exclusively for her daughter, said the first four churches she visited in the San Fernando Valley were following the guidelines and turned down her requests. On her fifth try, she found a church in Reseda that had not adopted the guidelines, St. Catherine of Siena.

"The other churches wanted my daughter to share one of the most special moments of her life with another three girls, and they would allow neither the maidens nor their escorts," González said. "I decided that I would either find a church that would do it the traditional way, or I'd call off the whole thing."

In an attempt to have the guidelines revoked, Yáñez and other concerned Latinos have met with Rivera, who said the guidelines may have been misinterpreted by some priests.

"There are priests who say the ceremonies are too... excessive... and too much trouble. They have opted to do the Masses once a month or not at all now that they have received this booklet," he said. "That is a misinterpretation. We need to review the guidelines and possibly revise them."

Father Domingo Zúñiga of Our Lady Queen of Angels in downtown Los Angeles said that he is concerned over families spending too much money on the celebration, but that the church should not interfere in how the families spend their money. Yáñez, the bridal shop owner, said the average family spends about \$3,000 on a quinceañera, but he said some families have been known to spend up to \$25,000.

Zúñiga's church, which is affectionately referred to by Latinos as La Placita, has not adopted the guidelines and up to four traditional quinceañera Masses take place there every Saturday.

"Sometimes the amount of money that people spend is a bit shocking," he said in Spanish. "But we consider the quinceañera a family celebration here, and we respect the family's traditions."

Zúñiga said the only requirements for quinceañeras who want a Mass at La Placita is that they have been baptized, have completed their first communion and have attended an intensive daylong preparatory class offered by the church. A number of churches have started offering similar classes to teach young people about "the spiritual importance of the event," Zúñiga said.

González, whose daughter's Mass was held a few weeks ago, said the Catholic Church needs to treat Latinos with understanding and accept their traditions.

"A lot of Protestant churches are willing to offer [services] for the quinceañeras," González said. "I believe that, if the Catholic Church doesn't value our Latin traditions, a lot of people will leave it."

Just Another Painter From East L.A.

In the summer of 1985, Glugio Gronk Nicandro participated in his first major exhibition at the Museum of Contemporary Art. A Chicano artist from East Los Angeles, Gronk's contribution to MOCA's "Summer 1985" exhibition was to paint a 300-foot installation on a museum wall. He refused to call it a mural. With the giant piece as a backdrop for a courtroom drama, Gronk played the irreverent defendant, taking the stand to testify that the defacement of revered "masterpieces" — such as *Guernica* and Michelangelo's *Pietà* — could be considered creative acts.

During the proceedings, Gronk peeled away strips of paint from his own non-mural and filled the spaces with red paint. By creating the impression that his own painting was bleeding, he was responding to the art establishment's blunt and narrow approach to criticism, to a perspective that failed to appreciate the implications of his work.

The prosecutor in the mock trial charged that Gronk's "career had been a calculated attempt to undermine seriousness in art," and asked that the wily defendant be sentenced to "a life of hard labor painting festive murals in economically depressed ethnic neighborhoods." This was not hype designed to entertain museum patrons on opening night. Gronk's performance, *Morning Becomes Electricity*, was the expression of a Chicano artist torn between aesthetic ideals, political responsibility and commercial success, a man who was just as uncomfortable having his work ghettoized as "folk art" — with derisive code words such as *mural* — as he was with his impending entrance as a token player in the avant-garde art world. During the trial, a familiar character from Gronk's paintings known as "Tormenta" had her back turned on the viewers. Perhaps Tormenta, some critics

speculated, was the artist himself, thumbing his nose at the established art world.

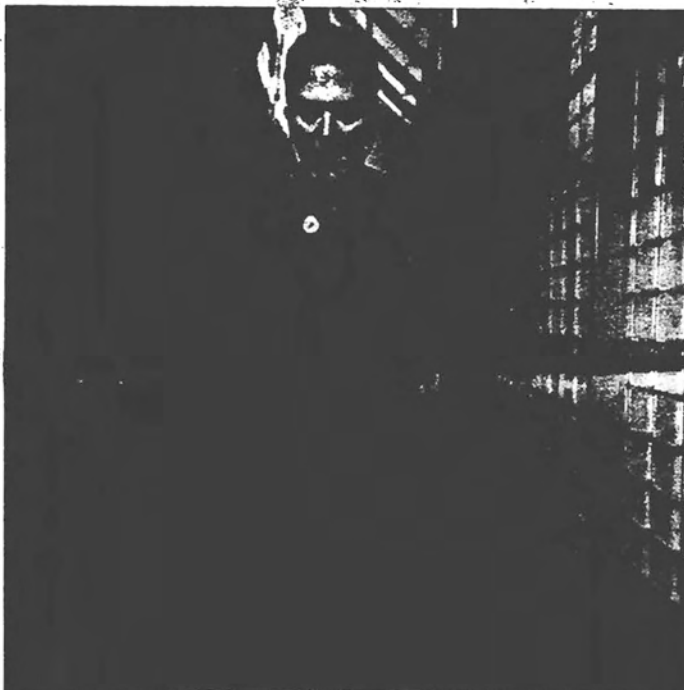
The *L.A. Weekly* art critic of the time, Peter Plagens, dismissed Gronk's MOCA installation as "one of the fluffiest pseudo-angry murals ever slapped up on a vertical surface." Other critics responded with mixed reviews. "[Gronk's] huge wall mural proves him a painter of formidable energy and touch," wrote William Wilson in the *Los Angeles Times*. "However, the subject, if there be one, is but trivial light satire about a youth's right of passage into the consumer culture. It looks like street art domesticated for Precocious Upscale Professional Youth (puppies)." Nevertheless, soon after the MOCA appearance, Gronk managed to capture the attention of prominent art dealers and collectors.

One of the dealers was Daniel Saxon, who planned to open a gallery on the Westside in the spring of 1986, with his partner, Candice Lee. Saxon featured Gronk's paintings to open his gallery. Before the MOCA show, *La Tormenta*, perhaps Gronk's most recognized painting, sold for \$250 in a downtown bar. After the Saxon-Lee show, Gronk's works commanded several thousand dollars. In 1994, an original Gronk painting can sell for more than \$20,000.

It has been eight years since the MOCA exhibit and 22 years since Gronk and other members of the performance-art group Asco traveled from East Los Angeles to the Westside and signed their names with black spray paint onto the entrance of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art. That short-lived guerrilla installation, which was white-washed within 48 hours, came in response to a museum curator who said, according to Gronk's recollection, "Chicanos don't make real art." In those 22 years, Gronk, the performance artist, painter and set designer, has participated in several group exhibitions of Chicano art at LACMA, but "iGronk! A Living Survey, 1973-1993," which opens at the County Museum this week, establishes Gronk as the first Chicano artist to have a solo show at the museum.

It's tempting to say that Gronk has come full circle from artistic rebellion to mainstream acceptance. But in fact, Gronk has never fit neatly into either the political Chicano orthodoxy dazzled by visions of Aztlan or a fine-art arena that still is amazed that he speaks English so well. A short man with brown skin, close-cropped hair and a clean-shaven face that defies age, Gronk is a charismatic person who seems to thrive on sarcasm, conducts his speech with quick waves of his hands, and admits to passions for coffee, opera and Fellini. He confesses to being an escapee of the Hormel school of acting: his exaggerated gestures and melodramatic tone of voice have their roots in overwrought *fotonovelas*, Spanish-language soap operas, and Mexican tabloids such as *Alarma* that feature gaudy photos of death and the supernatural.

These days, Gronk lives in a 2,000-square-foot downtown loft with 7-foot windows that open onto a rooftop patio. A gregarious but intensely private man, Gronk rarely discusses his personal life and laments that fans are often more interested in his personality — and his sexual orientation — than in his artwork. "I am what I do," he insists. "I am my art."



Gronk goes to LACMA

(Above) Gronk's digs: "My community went beyond East L.A. And I found myself on a larger stage."

METRO

CULTURAL: Lesser-Seen Side of L.A.

Continued from B1

"Jobs are the best antidote to crime and gang activity in our neighborhood," Boyle told the visitors, who were gathered in a chapel used at night as a shelter for illegal immigrants.

Organizers, who financed the tours through donations, initially hoped to attract some of the hundreds of foreign and out-of-town reporters here to cover World Cup matches in Pasadena. However, those assigned expressly to soccer coverage have expressed little interest, so organizers turned to other journalists and people in the tourism industry.

In coming days, participants are scheduled to take similar alternative tours of the Pico-Union/Koreatown area, Hollywood and South-Central Los Angeles. For weeks, residents of the poor and working-class neighborhoods have been meeting and devising itineraries designed to highlight their diverse districts, which are rarely part of official promotions of the region's \$8-billion tourist industry.

"I'm glad people have come to see that our community is not as bad as it is painted," said Juana Beatriz Gutierrez, a mother of nine who is co-founder and president of the Mothers of East Los Angeles, an activist group that helped plan Wednesday's tour.

As the tour bus—on loan from the Metropolitan Transportation Authority—cruised down Whittier Boulevard in East Los Angeles, Jesus Salvador Trevino, a filmmaker who was reared on the Eastside, spoke over the intercom about the infamous events of Aug. 29, 1970, when protesters and police clashed in what is remembered as the largest Chicano demonstration ever.

Further on in the tour, he pointed out a shuttered synagogue, mute testament to Boyle Heights' once-thriving Jewish community—whose former prominence surprised many tour participants.

The spider web of freeways that converge on the Eastside, Trevino noted, were built at the expense of tens of thousands of Mexican American families who were forced to move. "The story of Mexican Americans is the story of dislocation," Trevino said.

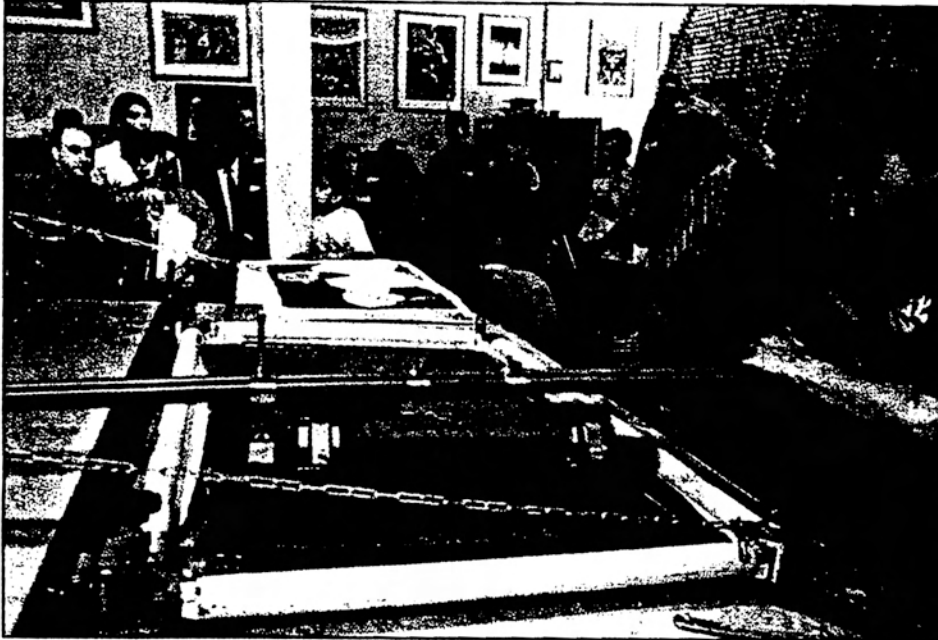
For Daniel Bernheim, who writes from Los Angeles for the Glasgow, Scotland-based Herald, the visit provided a pleasant contrast to his media-shaped preconceptions of the Eastside. "I had a certain image from these sensationalistic headlines," Bernheim said.

Like others, Bernheim was struck by the volume of people out walking, a rarity in car-crazed Los Angeles. "People, even children, aren't afraid of being on the streets," he noted.

At Self-Help Graphics, a nonprofit arts center, Margaret Garcia, a neighborhood native, was creating a silk-screen print as the visitors arrived. "There's a lot more going on here than the stereotypes," Garcia explained.

When the tour was over, most seemed to agree that they had learned about a part of town hitherto obscured in news reports of drive-by shootings and other misdeeds. Some, such as Huell Howser, host of a weekly program on public television in Los Angeles, said the visit would spur them to return.

"Anything that encourages Angelenos to visit other parts of their city is commendable, and very much needed," Howser said afterward, as he and others munched on Mexican food from La Parrilla restaurant. "I've met people whom I wouldn't have met and seen things I wouldn't have seen if I hadn't been on this trip."



Photos by VINCE COMPAGNONE / Los Angeles Times

Journalists on a tour of the city's Eastside visit Self-Help Graphics, where they watch Jose Alpuche do silk-screening.

Cultural Mystery Tour

■ **Visitors:** Bus trip to L.A.'s Eastside kicks off a series that will showcase the city's often-overlooked multiethnic attractions and counter negative media images. Koreatown, South-Central are among future destinations.

By PATRICK J. McDONNELL
TIMES STAFF WRITER

As West Coast correspondent for the Cairo daily Al-Ahram, Soraya Abdoul Seoud seldom ventured across the river to Los Angeles' Eastside.

"I was afraid to come to this area," Abdoul said Wednesday as she rode in a bus down bustling Cesar E. Chavez Avenue, one of the neighborhood's main drags. "All you hear about in the media is the negative side."

Abdoul and other foreign journalists were among three dozen participants in a novel bus tour of the district that has long stood as the heart of Los Angeles' Mexican and Mexican American communities. The visit is the first in a series of "Insight Tours," designed to coincide with World Cup festivities, that will focus on several Los Angeles neighborhoods often viewed from the outside as simmering caldrons of gang violence and ethnic tension.

"L.A.'s neighborhoods have really been maligned, but that's where you find some of the richest areas of the city," said Madeline Janis-Aparicio, executive director of the Tourism Industry Development Council, the nonprofit group sponsoring the tours. "You can experience the cultures of 80 countries in a half-hour drive through L.A.—and we want to show that off."

The idea, organizers said, is to showcase the city's multiethnic vitality and give journalists and visitors a touch of Los Angeles distinct from the glitzy image prevalent in glossy tourist brochures and promotional videos. Hollywood chic and beach cool this was not. Disneyland wasn't mentioned.

Participants on Wednesday viewed the Eastside's acclaimed murals, learned about the Chicano rights movement and were able to talk with area artists, activists and even gang members.

"We're glad to have a job, that someone gave us a chance," Frank Rangel, a 25-year-old in baggy shorts and high-top sneakers, told the group. "This is an opportunity to make it honestly."

Rangel and other gang members and ex-gang members are employed at Homeboy Bakery, a project of Dolores Mission, the



The World Cup journalists look at the work of Martin Garcia and others in the etching studio at Self-Help Graphics.

Roman Catholic church and social service center in Boyle Heights. One tour participant wanted to know if gang rivalries ever disrupted business.

"When we come past that [bakery] gate," Rangel said, "we're all brothers."

Earlier, Father Gregory Boyle, acclaimed for his work with gang youth in the area, spoke of the pressing need for employment.

Please see CULTURAL, B4

Definitely not east,
but west from New York,
from a St. Louis wagon stop
and inheriting the stigma
of a dirty cattle town
with dust thrown up in clouds by horses
and wagons scratching out

La calle central,
La calle alameda, la figueroa
on higher ground between winter rivers,
el arroyo seco de verano
listless,
los oriundos de habla Shoshone
with scars in their eyes—

Los Serranos and their children
began to die when the padres
called them pacíficos

And the random
eating of lomas began around Sonora town,
bridges over rivers that flooded
to Maravilla, El Hoyo, El Sereno
now no cienegas or muddy rivers,
instead dead cement
over aluvial paths
This was one stroke across the map,
recent impulse to unfurl a destiny
ocean to ocean

And the older impulse, always presence,
not a frontier for those south
siguiendo a pie las aristas llovidas
de la sierra Cora desde
los esteros de Tecuala,
desde Aztatlan del Río
subiendo hasta La Quemada, Chalchihuites
de las turquesas
recorriendo el espinazo de sierra,
siguiendo los que bajaron
entre épocas de hielo, épocas verdes, secas,
abriendo y cerrando la puerta brava,
entrando por el Río Colorado
de los Yuma, Havasupai, Tusuyan,

subiendo por el Río los Conchos,
Pecos, Bravo
hasta Chaco, Acoma, Yambé
y pueblo Taos

and before we knew it had a name
Paquimé, pochteca merchant city de la Gran Chichimeca
where California mother-of-pearl
was traded for Taos copper bells,
Hohokam pottery and turquoise traded
for obsidian knives,
for gold Texcoco nose plugs,
filigrane pectorals adorned with
emerald and ochre feathers
of Guacamayos y guajolotes thriving
in adobe cages

y tenían el juego de pelotl
80 miles from the Arizona border,
america's flood control system
in the year 1,000,
y asaban los magueyes enteros
en grandes hornos de piedra
para hacer el sotol de las fiestas—

Los Mexicanos siguen los mismos caminos
pasando por El Paso
o bajando la Rumorosa a Tecate
en Camión Tres Estrellas
para entrar a Tijuana de madrugada,
ofrecer tus manos en una cicina,
y fregar trastes para un bacado,
porque si no,
gastas la feria que le toca al coyote,
y si no llevas feria,
te pasas por un agujero en la noche
y caminas el desierto hasta Brawley,
o te agarras de un tren
y haber si te lleva
a los angeles



Illustration by Frank Hernandez

The Music Moves the Streets

BARRIO RHYTHM

Mexican American Music in Los Angeles

By Steven Loza

(University of Illinois Press: \$16.95 paper, \$42.50 cloth)

Reviewed by Lynell George

In Echo Park most Saturday nights, long after afternoon has softened to evening, mariachis strolling *al talon*—from cantina to cantina—drift east along Sunset Boulevard, voices tipped to the sky. Alongside them, late 1970s Monte Carlos and Thunderbirds proceed, low and slow, to their own soundtrack: Kid Frost rapping the word of these streets, sounding as "straight outta Compton" as they come. Frost infuses his rhymes with the power and force of black "gangsta rap," but trades English for Spanish—and sometimes blurs the borders.

The vibrant tapestry of L.A.'s Latin music is too often viewed as mere remnant, a faded mural depicting only fuzzy details of immigrant musician lives that no longer occupy the present. Rescuing these lives from storage, Steven Loza's "Barrio Rhythm: Mexican American Music in Los Angeles" explores the music on the streets as the music that moves the streets; a music that is ongoing, ever evolving. He presents an enduring, largely indefinable music form—electric in its immediacy—as the wool and warp of the city's fabric.

An unwieldy hybrid, the lyrics and the pulse behind them in Loza's telling communicate more about the city we live in than any sun-bleached Beach Boy harmony, or the imported grunge wording its way down from soggy Seattle, because it incorporates the rhythms, the dreams, the fusions of the collective Angeleño experience—from swing, to jazz to rough-hewn rock 'n' roll.

"Both rhythm and *el barrio* are complexes of space, motion and destination," writes Loza, underscoring the properties of restlessness with a bold stroke.

Loza explores the music as if it is a metaphor for *terra firma*, strains on rolls of sheet music to be blazed like trails. The music has changed radically and swiftly through the eras, with dabblings in jazz, disco and punk; but amid all the trends it still reflects, and thus pays tribute to, traditional Mexican forms, richly echoing of the past.

Los Angeles' Chicano/Mexican American communities, as well as the music that swells from the various quarters, or the lips of its progenitors, defies broad-brush definition. Absorbing the many tone colors of experience, the verse and melodies reflect a complex relationship with a capricious city; the city that eagerly invites, yet abruptly throws up its hands, then makes wild impatient gestures toward the door. L.A., with its messy history of restrictive housing covenants and exclusionary hiring practices, has been for too long the rash and temperamental host.

Like African-American field

Lynell George is a Times staff writer for View.

PAGE 12/SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 26, 1993



Three Midnights, godfathers of the East Side Sound, on their 1965 album.

songs rich in metaphor and euphemism, the music of the L.A. Chicano has served well as a tool of resistance spanning generations and class designations. As well it has become a mechanism to vent frustration, dissatisfaction when working through contradictions of life in America. The key to the persistence of this subculture, Loza suggests, is a "complex matrix of interdependence, ethnic identity and cultural survival."

Loza's meticulous study is dense; as expansive as it is exhaustive (and at times exhausting) in its scope. His ambition is large: to trace the history of a people through dates and other numerical milestones (record sales, for example), immigration, migration and social upheaval while paralleling it with the delicate process of assimilation and acculturation—and to show how it all serves to feed a song.

From morning vespers and early recordings of the Mexican *cancion* captured by writer-photographer Charles Lummis on wax, to the mainstream big-band crooner Andy Russell (nee Andrés Rábago) and the reawakened post-'60s voices of "La Raza" embodied by El Chicano, Loza illuminates the path from the 1980s "Eastside Renaissance" to punk and post-punk (The Brat and Los Illegals) and is hot on the trail of Los Lobos.

Though the music has fit its soul into various forms, it hasn't lost sight of its purpose as an instrument of communication and education, nor as a living artifact of "cultural survival." "To what extent will the Latino subculture assimilate into mainstream?" asks Loza. "Some will agree that this will never occur to the extent it has with other minorities. Mexico is simply too close—geographically, historically, economically and in final analysis culturally."

In excavating this community's history and philosophy, Loza tilts the traditional classroom history book point of view. To those peering in from the outside, Mexican communities have existed either as romanticized tableaux or fictions riddled with holes, empty of insight

and full-to-bursting with stereotypes. Loza does not so much *redefine as define*, casting the past and present with an optimistic eye toward the future of this Mexican city. Utilizing a self-constructed model, Loza leaps far beyond simply "finding" a community. Rather he has attempted not just to amplify its voice, but to find the source of its spark and its color. The culture flickers into focus through oral histories, the reminiscences of musicians, club and record store owners, interviews with DJ's, and Loza's careful dissections of the multi-layered shades of a song.

Loza's first section, "History," reads like it—dead worlds far removed, arid, ponderous, with texts borrowed (heavily) from various secondary sources. Slowing the pace further is a lengthy meander (when a short glimpse would suitably illustrate his point) through the pages of *La Opinion* for a

paragraph-by-paragraph listing of the newspaper's musician profiles, club advertisements and calendar listings—sadly devoid of rhythm, the lot reading like uninspired blank verse.

Loza, however, has another voice, which, oddly enough, enters only rather timidly through brief epigrams heading chapters, or bridges spanning eras. These brief notes link themes and often play like winsome flirtation or notebook poetry. More of his lyric voice would have been welcome.

When "Barrio Rhythm" jumps to life, it's through the voices of those who bore witness. Most poignant are two testimonials of the exhausting climb toward fame, and how location (physical and social) was negotiated by two artists of the same era. Lalo Guerrero drifts through "the golden years of the *musica Latina*," through a downtown L.A. lit up with a commin-

gling of Latin inspirations, from Carlos Gardel's Argentine tangos to the tropical Afro-Cuban union. A gifted musician and respected club owner (Lalo's in East L.A.), Guerrero held on to his crossover dream. But his "Indian" features and accented tongue impeded his U.S. crossing, while his Americanized lifestyle, as viewed by those across the border, left Guerrero labeled *pochó*: not authentic enough.

Juxtaposed with Guerrero's struggle is the ferocious success of Andy Russell—a Mexican-American version of Cuba's Desi Arnaz. Though struggling with his own issues of pride and place, Russell knew his crossover was possible because he could pass—physically—as well as belt out a ballad to fill a cavernous ballroom dance-floor in unaccented English: "I wanted," Russell recalls, "all my life to be something in the American atmosphere."

Yet no matter the social station, all wrestled with the complex construct of identity.

As demographics shifted, blacks and Latinos lived and labored side by side, as the products of leisure—tally, food, dance and music—fused. Swing, rumba, jazz all strutted out of the *sinfonía* (jukebox) as Mexican tunes wended their way through Tin Pan Alley, fitted with English lyrics. Jump blues became the battle cry of the defiant, zoot-suit-clad pachuco—the lyrics sung in the Spanish hipster dialect—*Caló*—as the voice of Mexico entered mainstream consciousness, albeit at first in clandestine form.

The stigma of *pochó* fueled musings about forgotten identity. And while the music industry's artificial boundaries were challenged, they were formidable and slow to come down. In the wide-span between the pop-styled The Midnights and El Chicano's vamps on pride and identity to the R&B-drenched ballads of Tierra, the canvas, these artists proved (even if society chose to ignore it), had no limits.

Whether or not there is a movement on the wind as organized as an Eastside Renaissance, as musician Ruben Guevara holds to be true, the unifying and undying theme is one of cultural survival, giving a nod to the mix and the articulation of pride through the powerful conduit of music.

Rapper Kid Frost, as Loza cites, proudly displayed his colors in his 1985 album: "Hispanic Causing Pain." The single "La Raza" contained mighty echoes of El Chicano's "Viva Tirado," the piece composed fittingly enough by African-American jazz musician Gerald Wilson. The wash of rhythms speaks to interdependence, the evolution of sound acknowledging the influences one can pull out of air. It is the sound of perpetual motion. But the music far outlives the fervor of a movement or a moment. Movements jump track, loose steam, are rendered outmoded—or die. As Los Lobos' Conrad Lozano so keenly observes: "We didn't carry the flag... we just carried the guitars."



The new-wave Los Illegals, in 1984.

DAVID J. PHILLIPS

BOOK REVIEW/LOS ANGELES TIMES

XIV.

AN INTERVIEW WITH
CONGRESSMAN EDWARD R. ROYBAL

**AN INTERVIEW WITH
CONGRESSMAN EDWARD R. ROYBAL**

January 10, 1995

The following is a transcript of a personal interview held with Congressman Edward R. Roybal at his Institute for Applied Gerontology at California State University, Los Angeles. The Los Angeles County Metropolitan Transportation Authority was interested in learning of Mr. Roybal's firsthand experiences, observations and hopes for the Eastside community.

Roybal: [In relation to the Metro East Side Extension project] again, going back to the final acceptance program, it should be done on the basis of need, not monetary or political considerations. Had the money been deleted, it would be impossible to construct anything.

But I still don't believe based upon my associations, meetings and discussions that [MTA] has yet bought the concept of fairness. Sure, they are going to build something they have planned, but when the time comes they will award the contract to some firm that does not know nor care about the area nor its people, and some lame excuse will be made for not awarding the contract to one of our qualified Latino firms. That would be the biggest mistake they could make. Somebody has to educate these people to that fact that transportation is suppose to be for people who need it, not those that don't. And that our qualified Latino firms, made up of people who have lived there all their lives, can best design any one of those stations and do justice in design to the culture of its people.

MTA: **To perhaps change that tide, what would you say needs to be done at this point? Are the elected officials that represent the area now working hard enough? Is there something else that could be done at this point?**

Roybal: It is not the work of the elected officials that are involved. At this time, you already have the funding for the improvement as far as it goes now. The funding for the future is going to be, not next year, but the next cycle and it will take time. Years from now. When you get to that one point, a decision has to be made as to whether you go south or east. It seems to me that you should plan the whole thing now and not in pieces. Suspicion is that it is not going to go east. Any planner of any consequence would not plan just part of the whole thing. There are no plans to go east beyond a certain point.

MTA: Where beyond Atlantic do you see it potentially going, to Montebello, Monterey Park or some of these cities eastward?

Roybal: Yes, and then going all the way to the next County line. I thought that perhaps we could follow the freeway going to Covina and service the young communities that we have in East Los Angeles County. And the young communities, again, are not in the westside nor East Los Angeles, but beyond. You have to plan for the future, and going south is not planning for the future. It just seems to me that this program is most valuable, it is so important that it should be planned in its entirety. And my criticism is that it has not been planned in its entirety. It's a piecemeal situation that could change depending on what the politics are. We should plan to service the young families that find affordable housing in eastern Los Angeles County.

MTA: To change the topic just a little bit, one of the significant comments that MTA has received over the last couple of years in the community meetings has been in relation to the artwork in the stations. A lot of folks believe that MTA can do a better job in terms of reflecting the community, reflecting the history of the community in the stations. What's your thought about that and what would be your ideas about what should be in the stations?

Roybal: Well, first of all, I think that the stations should reflect the history and the background of the community. But I would not be the one to do the organization. We have young men and women in our own community who are engineers and architects and they should be given the opportunity to participate as Latino firms and make those recommendations. Another criticism is that they were forced to do that. They didn't have enough brains to see that you don't bring someone from the outside as an expert to do something in the community in which people have lived in for a long time. These young men and women that are now professional architects, professional people, they were born and raised in this community. They know what it is and there is no need to go any place else to get an expert because they are the experts. But they are being shoved aside. Now if I had my way about it, I would give them the prime contract and then hire sub-contractors from the outside community.

MTA: The substance of our talk today is going to be included in the Cultural Needs Assessment which is really aimed to help the artists and architects that are hired to do the work in the stations understand what the history of the community has been so that they can absorb that and reflect it in the stations. So we wanted to get some thoughts of your history, what your experience has been on the eastside and some of your earliest recollections of some of the obstacles and challenges that you experienced and some of the big events that happened on the eastside... going back to the Zoot Suit Riots, the building of the freeways, the Viet Nam War era where there were the walk-outs and the moratoriums. Any significant thoughts that come to your mind with these events that have happened and shaped the eastside? What are some of your thoughts?

Roybal: First of all, I haven't given much thought to what you're suggesting. But on the other hand, something can be reflected in the kind of station that you build. I don't think that you can devote the whole picture to history in every station, to get everything. But you do have to have taste from the past to the present. I would like to see... for example, the [Metro Link] station here [at Cal State]... to [be dedicated toward] education, to the opportunities of education. The fact that over a period of years, we have developed in our community experts in all fields. I, for example, met this morning with two young men from CalTech. They were telling me about their early experience at CalTech. They are professors now at CalTech. They were telling me how they were inspired by what they saw, what they heard, and the encouragement others gave them, the opportunities they had. Maybe something like that could be put into one of these stations. I am not someone that could design anything like that. But it seems to me that someone who has expertise in that field can actually do that. A Latino artist can best reflect the Latino culture in his work.

This station here at Cal State, could be the education station. The station in East Los Angeles maybe could be devoted to the participation and accomplishments of the American soldier of Mexican descent, the contribution that they made to the war. Not only the first World War, but the second World War as well as Korea and Viet Nam. They could go back in history which tells us that medals were given to people of Mexican background in the Civil War. My great grandfather fought in the Civil War in New Mexico when the South was taking gold from California back to the Southern states. They were stopped there at New Mexico. There was a three-day skirmish and they were able to take the gold away from the Southern troops. New Mexicans claim that they were responsible for winning the Civil War. Let them take the credit if they want. But the truth of the matter is that they did make a contribution to the war.

There is also a tremendous amount that can be done in other stations. A big thing I would say is the history of the first settlements in Los Angeles. And the fact that California was first Spain, then Mexico. One could portray, I would think, some of the land grabs that took place, the injustice that took place, and what that meant to the history of California. All of these things, I think, can be included in every one of these stations. Someone who knows how to do that, artists and architects now in our own community can do that.

MTA: **When did your family first come to the Eastside?**

Roybal: We came here in 1921. We came from New Mexico. My family was suppose to have been there in a settlement near Santa Fe since the year 1610. They lived in a little village called Pecos, it's still there. And from Pecos, my great grandfather use to say, they went from Pecos to the founding of Santa Fe in 1610. That was 10 years before the Pilgrims landed on Plymouth Rock! Here in Los Angeles, Mexican Americans started to come here from all southwestern states. They had their clubs... the New Mexico clubs, the Arizona Club, the Colorado Club and they would invite

each other to their dances. So the people coming from the southwestern states had a close relationship. And then came the people who came from Mexico. They were not totally accepted until they became "compadres," more friendly and later inter-married. The evolution of the species goes back many, many years. This idea that there is a pure and superior group is just not so.

I found the discrimination existing in the Congress of the United States. I found it at City Hall. I was the first Mexican-American elected to the [Los Angeles] City Council in 100 years. The way I remember the City Council was on the Committee on Health. I noticed that when I chaired my first meeting, most Councilmen were there. I asked the Clerk if Members of the Council were always present. She said, "No." I quickly realized why, as they started to raise Parliamentary questions, they wanted to know if I knew how to handle the meeting. Before I went to Council, I studied the [City] Charter and I also knew Robert's Rules [of Order]. I suppose they were surprised that a kid from Boyle Heights was well versed in both the City Charter and Robert's Rules.

The other thing that showed discrimination was a City Councilman from the San Fernando Valley, very closely associated with the motion picture industry, would have a party once a year. He would invite all the Members of Council except me. And then came the time when Moshe Sharet was coming to the United States. He was the first prime minister or some high official of Israel. At that time, the formation of Israel had not been fully accepted. The City Councilmen were asked to receive him, but no one wanted to. So the President of the City Council assigned me to do it. I organized the reception. We had a lot of people there, including all the Jewish community organizations. Because the day was very successful, Members of the City Council joined in at the platform. The mayor, who didn't want to accept or take responsibility, also showed up.

At another time, the president of Mexico was suppose to come. I was also given charge of that. I invited to the affair the Councilman that had not invited me. My purpose was to let him see that we also know how to use a fork and knife, and have table manners, in many respects even more superior than his. He sat in my place next to the president. The next day, he comes in and says "Ed, I want to apologize for not inviting you to my parties. Please come to dinner at my house." I said, "You come to my house for dinner first and then I will go to your house for dinner." Well, he came to my house for dinner, I went to his and we were friends after that. Again it took a process of education that hadn't been used before in order to do away with some of the prejudice they had, first of all against the Jews and then against a Mexican-American or the community as a whole. He held us in such low-esteem, because he had contact only with his ranch workers, all of Mexican background, to whom, I was told, he paid less than the minimum wage. Well, he started to change his mind and his attitude about Mexican Americans.

Well anyway, after having gone through all of that, and having experienced some of the things I did with officials of the MTA, I would say that they, too, need a change of attitude.

MTA: In the earlier days, [discrimination] was also something that you saw at different levels, not only in the halls of Council, but with other public agencies. I was told to ask you about traffic tickets, how they use to write "MEX" on traffic tickets...

Roybal: This was very common. And in East Los Angeles, a horn would sound in the city of Los Angeles at exactly 9:00 p.m. This meant you had to leave the playgrounds and go home. The police started to leave their station at 9:15 p.m. By the time they got to Evergreen Playground and other playgrounds, it was about 9:20 or 9:30 p.m. If you were at the playground, you were taken to the station. I was taken in three or four times. And then they would call my grandfather. I thought it was the worst thing they could have done. My grandfather, a friend of the sergeant, would beat the heck out of me and my dad would follow after that. Well anyway, this was done not only in Boyle Heights, but also in the Black community. But it wasn't done on the westside for the same whistle that we heard on the eastside was heard also on the westside, but it wasn't done there. So when I campaigned for the City Council, my platform was to stop police brutality.

The first time I took my wife out on a date, we stopped to eat at a place there on Fourth and Soto. With 25 or 35 cents we could get their special plate and eat in the car. On Saturday night, we stopped there after a dance, and I'll be darn, the police pulled up, made the men put our hands over the car, they went through our pockets, not asking us to do it ourselves. I started to complain about it, but it didn't do a bit of good, for if you got a little argumentative with them, they would beat you up.

My experience with that has a real long story. While a Member of the City Council, the chairman of the Police Committee had gone on vacation, so they appointed me to fill that vacancy during those three weeks. I got the police pension plan put on the calendar to be considered by the City Council. The day it was being considered, I was giving a speech at Jefferson High School. And a policeman showed up with a little note that said I was needed at the City Council for a vote on this issue. Well, instead of making a 15-minute talk, I made it a five-minute talk. I got in my car and coming down Central Avenue, a policeman stopped me. I was violating the law. I was going 40 mph in a 25 mph zone. So I said to him that I was going to the City Council to cast a very important vote. He still gave me a ticket. When I got to the City Council, I was the deciding vote, putting that ordinance on the ballot and that is now the best police pension in the whole country. Then the old-timers started to change their attitude about me.

During the time, when I was running for Lt. Governor and for Supervisor, the police would follow me no matter where I went, trying to get something on me. They even planted good-looking women to pay a little bit of attention to me. You know,

coming from Boyle Heights you're not that dumb. You know the street very well. It was too easy with these gals. So immediately, even a dumb guy like me, realized it was a plant. Well all this is based on discrimination, based on the belief that we were different from everyone else.

I'll be conducting a seminar talking about various periods when [this] happened. It is going to be something that the younger generation would not really believe. They don't even believe that there was a Depression in which people almost starved. The fact of the matter is that we almost did starve.

MTA: **What was it like [during the Depression]?**

Roybal: What I remember mostly was the lack of food, and the fact that my father did not want to go on [General] Relief. He went on WPA. He worked on WPA, but he wouldn't receive any food. It came to the point that it got so bad that we had to go back to Pecos, New Mexico, to my grandfather's farm where he had stored all the food in what he called the "dispensa." He had cows, milk, we had everything. So for 14 months back in New Mexico we lived off the land. While here in Los Angeles, it was very difficult. An apple, for an example, if we ever got one, we would divide it into eight pieces, just a sliver for each one of us. And that holds the same for everything else. We use to eat a lot of turnips. I'd go to the Central Market and this man would throw out a turnip on the floor and I would pick it up. Anything on the floor I could pick up. If it hadn't been for that man, I wouldn't have anything to eat. Now, it's hard to believe, but that's the way it was. With my father and mother, there were 10 of us, eight kids. With whatever my father could get and the little I could get, we would make it. And if you haven't been to Pecos, you haven't lived! It's a one-horse town without a horse. It hasn't improved in all these years.

MTA: **You still have family in Pecos?**

Roybal: I still have family there and I have family near Santa Fe, they all suffered during the Depression. This was a general depression... men out of work. In order to eat, they sold apples and used the money to buy groceries. We were losing our home [on Fifth and Mott Streets], but President Roosevelt put in what they called the Homeowners Loan Corporation and they made a loan per family for the house and knocked [the rate down] from 15%, which is what we were paying, to 2.5%. So that saved the house. A lot of people did the same thing. If it hadn't been for the Roosevelt Administration, I don't know what would have happened to this country. Because when people like that start suffering, the wealthy also suffer because people are not buying their goods, making it necessary to close down the business.

The best thing that ever happened to me was going to the [Civilian Conservation Corps] camp. I graduated from Roosevelt High School in June and the following week I went to CCC camp. I stayed there nine months and when I came back I enrolled in UCLA. I would keep \$5 for myself and I sent home \$25 to help my

family. But of course, \$25 would buy then what we could buy now for \$125. Thank God, we finally got out of it. And hopefully we never see that again.

MTA: **What did you do after graduating from UCLA?**

Roybal: When I got out of school, I took an examination for a job. The Standard Oil Company had advertised that they wanted someone with a background in accounting, but particularly cost accounting. They gave this examination to students who applied throughout the State. About 12 applied from different schools. I got the highest score, and quite a bit higher than the others. The one that was next to me was about 10 to 11 points lower. Well, almost immediately they started to contact my home, they sent me a wire: "Would I be able to leave within 48 hours to South America?" And my answer was that I would. Well, anyway, I finally went to the interview. I had never been to Standard Oil, a beautiful office. I talked to a young lady, I told her who I was. She seemed surprised. She asked me to sit down and later escorted me into the office of the hiring executive. Before he even asked me to sit down, he said, "Well I am sorry young man, but this job requires a blonde." I said, "what the [hell] does the color of your hair have to do with cost accounting?" He said that is the policy and he said "we can refer you somewhere else." I said, "No, thank you." Anyway I didn't blow my top, and I am glad I didn't.

MTA: **What year was this?**

Roybal: 1939 or 1940. The job was paying \$250 a month. Good pay. You could not take your family until you got settled, then they would pay to send your wife. But \$250 a month at that time was like \$10,000 now! Because everyone was working for \$10 to \$17 a week, if they were lucky to have a job. Anyway, it could have been a tremendous opportunity. Well, because of that, I decided not to ever buy a product of Standard Oil and asked myself "Why did I study accounting if I couldn't get a job?"

It turned out, I suppose, for the best because I got into another exam and got a job with 20th Century Fox. It was from there that I went into public health education. And if it had not been for public health education, I would not be here today. I trained under Saul Linskey in Chicago, I took several of his seminars. They were two-week seminars. I stayed at his home. Bishop Shields from Texas introduced me to Saul Linskey and recommended him highly. Saul Linskey took a liking to me and we were friends. Later Cesar Chavez trained under Saul Linskey, taking the same seminars I did, and learned community organizing from the foremost community organizer in the nation. The techniques that I learned about community organizing I applied them to politics. I was defeated the first time by 338 votes. This was for City Council in 1947. What I did was apply those principles of organization, but not long enough. When I was defeated, I got a telegram from Saul Linskey that said: "What the hell are you going to do next?" And that's all he said. Outside of the members of my family, I had 17 people on my campaign committee and we

organized the Community Service Organization. I then asked Saul Linskey to send someone out here to help me organize, and told him that what we have in mind is a program of [voter] registration.

He asked me to get together the richest people I knew. I knew that some in our community were well-off and that Jewish people could help. I sent him 40 names of people he could invite to this luncheon at the Hillcrest County Club. I had never been there in my life. And what he was going to do was raise the money so that someone could be paid to come out here to help me with the Community Service Organization. I had heard of Fred Ross, but I never met him. And to me, Fred Ross was acceptable. Well anyway, at that one luncheon, only 16 out of the 40 showed up. Each gave \$1,000. It was with that money that we paid Fred Ross. Fred Ross needed \$12,000, we had \$16,000 and the rest was for moving expenses and other things that he would need for that one year. Our job was to continue to raise \$16,000 a year.

What we did with Fred Ross was set up a program of registration and very quietly got the County of Los Angeles to accept Hispanics as registrars of voters. The only Hispanic that registered voters then were my wife and another lady, only two women. But in this instance, with the Registrar, we were able to qualify 125 deputy registrars. We went door to door systematically. We registered 17,000 new voters. Of those 17,000, 13,000 had Spanish surnames. On Election Day, we went back to them, got them all out to the polls, and 96% of them voted that day. It surprised all the political experts for nobody thought I would ever get elected.

Well, that was the program we had. And it was done because there was a system, because there was a will. And if there's a will, you can accomplish almost anything. I wish that MTA would come to that conclusion. If they had the will to get out all the way east, they could do it without fussing around. And actually do some of the things we are talking about. Getting the stations to reflect the background and the histories of the various communities.

MTA: **Talk about the relationship between the Jewish community and Latino community way back when.**

Roybal: Well, in Boyle Heights, there was a Jewish section, a Russian section, an Armenian section and a Mexican section. If I wanted to get into a fight, all I had to do was cross Brooklyn Avenue and fight the Jews. Same thing if you wanted to get into it with the Russians, go to Russian Town at Hollenbeck. Everyone had their sections. There were very few Blacks at that time. Very few. It was mostly then Jewish, Mexican-American and a few other minorities. We respected one another's religion, but that's all. There was very little communication between groups. My father, for example, would let me go to my [Jewish] friend's house when they had their religious days. And my father was a very devout Catholic. But his philosophy was that there is only one God. Each religion doesn't have a God of their own. Well, he

taught me that you must respect someone else's religion and that's what I am trying to say.

The time came when World War II started. And World War II, as disastrous as it was, it was the beginning of a new era for the Mexican Americans. Because in the participation of the war, you are equal. Equal only when you were on the battlefield, but not equal when it came to the draft issue. In Boyle Heights, we use to leave from the YMCA on Whittier Blvd., it is still there. And toward the time when I went, they were scraping the bottom of the barrel. I had two children at this time. But I noticed they were drafting mostly Mexican-Americans. They took a busload every Tuesday. There were other ethnic groups living in Boyle Heights they hadn't drafted because of their defense jobs. When I got to Basic Training, I was in charge of the platoon there and we heard Mrs. Roosevelt that evening, talking about the fact that it was the policy of the United States that men with children would not be drafted. So I asked the fellas who were there, "Are there any here who have children?" They all raised their hand. I only had two, but some had four. Well, the policy of the United States was not applied fairly.

We were being trained for the Battle of the Bulge. We were paying, at that time, very little attention to the other part of the war, the Japanese. Now those who were drafted with me, the only ones that came back were the few that were wounded. All the others were killed. I went through that Basic Training and then I stayed back in Basic Training to help train others. Then after the 12 weeks, they gave me my orders. There we were in this long train, and we were all going overseas. So they called the name of eight people. I was one of the eight. We each got our order to take the train as far as Los Angeles and from there we would receive other orders.

When we got here to Los Angeles, we got another envelope and were ordered to proceed to Fort McArthur. It so happened that seven of the eight were Certified Public Accountants. I was the only one that was not a Certified Public Accountant. So I was in charge of the accounting section. And our job was to go through all the files of those men that were killed to be sure the widows got everything that was coming to them. And I won the war behind a desk. So it didn't turn out that bad. But the truth of the matter is that, even in times of war, there was discrimination.

After the war, there was very little acknowledgement of the fact that the contribution made by American soldiers of Mexican descent was tremendous! The same was true after the Korean and Viet Nam War. A kid next door to me went to Korea and was killed. He got the Congressional Medal of Honor, but very little was done about that. During the time I ran for [L.A. County] Supervisor, one of my programs was that I was going to set up a park with his name. Today it is the Eugene Obregon Park in East L.A.

Today discrimination is more subtle. They'll do it with a smile, whereas before they just did it. Now, it is so subtle that you have to watch your back every minute.

Today, you also have to be prepared to cope with it. This is why education for our youngsters is so important. And this is why the preservation of the culture is so important. And that has to be done no matter what we deal with. Transportation is part of our everyday life and I think that the historical backgrounds of the communities can be reflected in the way the system is constructed.

MTA: **What was it like when they built the freeways on the Eastside?**

Roybal: On the City Council, the only freeway I didn't fight was the Pasadena [Freeway], because that was built before I got there. But I fought every other freeway, not because I was against the freeway, but I was fighting for the people whose property would be stolen by the law that we had that gave the permission to steal. It is called the law of "eminent domain." And these people actually had their home stolen. And what I was proposing was that there be three appraisers. That the government have its appraiser, the individual homeowner have his appraiser. And then if there was no agreement, there would be a third appraiser and that the government would pay the highest of the three appraisals. Well, they wouldn't go for that. Anyway, it was a big struggle.

The same thing was true with Chavez Ravine. I fought -- many people say -- I fought the Dodgers. I didn't fight the Dodgers. I wanted the Dodgers to come in. But I didn't want O'Malley to steal the property, which he did! O'Malley also promised that he would set aside, of all that acreage -- there were 376 acres -- that he would set aside 40 acres and would build a farm for the training of young boys of this area for baseball. So that could be the place where he could recruit for his Dodger team young boys from East Los Angeles. He promised that within the contract. He never did it.

Again going back to that, the mayor of city at that time, his name was Polson. He made the offer to O'Malley. He also told O'Malley a baseball park called Wrigley Field was for sale. And that we want to sell it to you for \$256,000 and then we will trade 376 acres for it. And to boot, [we will] build all the roads going into the park at taxpayers' expense. O'Malley would have been a darn fool if he hadn't accepted. I fought against that. I didn't think the taxpayers should pay a dime. But everyone was for the Dodgers as indicated by the people's vote. You know where he got the most votes? My district! Of all the city, they got the most votes from East Los Angeles. Right in the same area they wanted baseball. There was no bigger fan than the Hispanic. Well, anyway, again it was not a very popular position. The people who remained and were the last ones to leave, got more money per square foot than those who sold before.

Well, they did the same thing with the freeways. You know the freeways only went through [residential areas]. The brewery that use to be there [near] the freeway in Downtown Los Angeles was not taken. They narrowed the freeway to save the brewery. So that bottleneck existed for many years. Until just a few years ago, they

decided to change the brewery from there to some place else, so they knocked down the building. This is how far they use to go. They would save a brewery, but never a home. They wouldn't protect the family who had children growing up in a home they had already paid for. These people went out and had to buy another house that was a lot more than the money they received from the government. It didn't make sense, it wasn't fair. And that was the struggle of the time.

MTA: Given your public record, what were some of your most significant accomplishments now as you look back over the years.

Roybal: Well, I don't know if they were accomplishments, but I think I brought attention to the fact that there were certain injustices that existed. That someone had to bring to public attention and that's what I did. In Congress I concentrated on funding health and education. In the City Council, I fought injustice. There was one time when I thought that my lone stand would be the end of my career. The Chief of Police of Los Angeles proposed an ordinance that he as the Chief would make the final determination as to who was suspected of being a communist.

MTA: What year was this?

Roybal: Oh, it must have been in the early 1950's. Yes it was, because I got elected in 1949, so it was 1950 or 1951. So he proposed a Communist Registration Ordinance that gave him the full authority to determine who was and who was not [a communist]. And it would be based on informants, for an example, turning in your name as a suspect. He would investigate you, and he, the Chief of Police, would make the final determination. I thought that was wrong. I thought that it was unconstitutional. Well, when the ordinance came before the City Council, I voted "no" the first time, and it went out over to the following week. So for a whole week, I had people saying to me, "You are going to ruin your reputation, your political career. What for? Everybody's for it, except you." I said, "It's unconstitutional."

Anyway, I was the only one who voted against it. And I thought it was the end of my career too. Well, I was dreading going into a luncheon meeting at the Biltmore. It was a luncheon meeting and I got there just as they were sitting down. And when I walked in, they started to applaud. First one started, and then the others. And pretty soon even those who didn't agree joined in.

Well, all these things are documented in my papers at UCLA. And my papers for Congress are here at Cal State L.A. and I have some stuff, not here, but at my other office. I'm working now in trying to get these together and maybe do what you are doing now, record it, and maybe someday someone will write it.

I think an accomplishment on the City Council was that discrimination in employment ended. They use to give examinations, but the Hispanics, regardless of grades were always flunking the oral. We also changed the fact that people who

were reviewing or examining that individual also changed. They were not the same people who served for the whole year. Now that changed the system to the point where more and more Mexican-Americans started to get employment at City Hall. They no longer discriminated in the oral. And so that's one of the things I did that I thought was important. The other was, I think -- whether the Police Department agrees or not -- I think I had a lot to do with their pension.

MTA: You must have been tempted to vote against it because of getting a ticket that time...

Roybal: No, no I wasn't, because I understood that the fellow who gave me the ticket was brand new and was doing his duty. I use to kid him about it later. He became a lieutenant and retired. I don't know if he is still living or not. But we became friends.

MTA: It seems that a real key to your success is always maintaining your relationships.

Roybal: Well, it is good to maintain relationships. It's good to be critical, like I am being critical about some of the things that are being done. But that doesn't mean I can't shake hands with someone, complement them for the good things they do and support them when they too need help.

MTA: What have been some of your disappointments?

Roybal: Well, my biggest disappointment has been the fact that there have been misunderstandings on part of the general public with regard to some of the things I did which I think are positive. For example, I am the author of the Bilingual Public Education Act. Well, that came about one time when we were going to Mexico City to the inauguration of the president of Mexico with Lyndon Johnson on Air Force One. Senator Yarborough and I were sitting at a table, the president came in to talk to us and he told us about the fact that he was -- when he graduated from college -- he was a teacher. And he was teaching the 2nd and 3rd grades in a local Texas school. So he noticed that after the first year that his children were not doing as well compared to other 2nd and 3rd grade teachers' children. And he concluded that the reason was that he was not able to communicate with them. So he started to -- besides cussing in Spanish, according to him -- learning a little bit more. And he did. And then he also noticed a change [in his students]. So he said to Yarborough and me, "Why don't you fellas, when you get back to Washington, draft a law that would make it possible for the system to use the language in the home as a vehicle for the learning of English?"

Anyway, when we got back to Washington, Yarborough and I drafted our bills. He did his version, I did mine. In his version, he had "Spanish." I had "the language of the home." Finally, it came to the time, when we were in agreement. We drafted the same thing, and we each went to the Education Committee. Powell was the

chairman of the Education Committee. A very powerful individual. He did more for education than anyone in the history of the country with the exception of Gus Hawkins of California. Well, anyway, it went to his committee. But he frankly told me that he would not accept it.

So I went to Gus Hawkins, chairman of the Sub-Committee, and he agreed to put the whole thing under Title VII of the Education Act. Hearings were held all over the country and we passed it as Title VII of the Education Act without the strong opposition of Chairman Powell.

Well, the truth of the matter is that even in our own community, there are people against that. But I challenge them to learn Yiddish or Hebrew by immersing themselves, in a conversational sense, with people who speak only Yiddish, Hebrew, German or whatever it is. If you use the language of the home, they learn faster. Many believe that that's not so. The people who are mostly against bilingual education are the monolingual educators. They only have one language and they don't speak that one language well either. So they are against bilingualism. So the politics of the whole thing is that those monolingual experts have ganged up against the bilingual teachers with a great deal of jealousy. I think a lot of progress has been made, but has not really been recognized by some as progress at all.

There's a school right here in Chinatown that uses the bilingual system. You see students there that speak English, Spanish, Korean, Vietnamese, Japanese and by the time they get to high school, they'll have at least some knowledge of the fact that there is a different language besides English. We are the only country in the world that sends diplomats to various countries that don't know the language of that country. Then there is the "English Only" concept that makes it very pro-America if you want English only. There is nothing wrong with knowing English and many other languages.

MTA: **What is your hope now for the Eastside and its future, having seen all the changes and the growth.**

Roybal: Well, my hope is based on education. I don't think that the educational opportunities are made available on an equal basis. I think that even the scholarship programs favor those with very high IQs. I was not an "A" student in school. So the scholarship that I give from the money that I had left over from my Campaign Committee – almost \$500,000 – I put in a trust fund and out of the interest from the account, I provide scholarships for youngsters to come to [Cal State L.A.] to the School of Health and Human Services. The scholarship is four years and paid for by the Edward R. Roybal Foundation. I have eight going now. I look at the grades and put that aside. Then I go back to their financial statement. First of all, they must qualify for admission to this university. You can come to this university and you don't have to have a 3.5 [grade point average]. I think the lowest you can have is a 2.9 or 3.0. I give that scholarship to the poorest of the applicants. They come first.

The poorer they are, the more chances they have of getting that scholarship. And not a single one of those that I have given scholarships to have left the university. They have not all graduated as yet. But not a single drop-out so far.

So I say educational opportunities should not be made available to just those who are very bright. Those who have certain capabilities and do college work, even though they may not get "A's," but a "B" and "C," they can become successful. They can develop people here. When I have been with a group of educators, I've asked them, "Were you all straight "A" students in college?" They weren't and they made it.

I think we should do more, first of all, with the church, regardless of religion -- Protestant or Catholic -- the moral issue is most important. A good home and a family that starts talking about college when that kid is two years old. My sister wanted to go to college, but my dad said, "Y para que?" ("And what for?") You don't need a college degree to have babies. My sister said, "Well, I am not even thinking about having babies!" After a long discussion with my mother leading the way, he was convinced that she should go to college. We have to do more with the families now. Families must start teaching that "high school is not enough." And start teaching at an early age the evils of gangs, drugs, etc.

The reason for the high drop-out [rate] is the lack of incentive for the individual, with no incentive being created by the so-called "power structure" in the school. There is little effort on the part of some teachers to encourage individuals. Then when he gets home, the parents don't care if they drop-out. There has to be a process where the family works with the educators to provide more equal opportunities to an education and to educate not only the straight "A" students, but educate those who are capable of doing college work.

MTA: **How well do you think we are doing in Boyle Heights [and the Eastside]?**

Roybal: As an example, one of the young fellas that I appointed to Westpoint had a rough time at Westpoint. But today is a successful engineer. Our young people are better educated and better prepared than we were. The difference is better educational opportunities. That's what we need! And that is the philosophy that needs to be instilled in the community, particularly the parents. Because the home, I think, is the foundation. Everything else is secondary. But the home is first.

Anyway, a continuous problem there seems to be no way of solving. But there is a way of bettering the situation, and that is involve the community, involve the people. Saul Linsky would say it is possible. He did it with the Back of the Yards Movement, we did it with the CSO, others have done it in Texas and New Mexico. New Mexico had its first [Hispanic] representative to the Congress of the United States in 1912. And then finally we had Dennis Chavez who was there for 35 years. And with his experience, he made a lot of opportunities for many as he helped fund education, and other social programs.

You find in New Mexico that they speak a little bit different Spanish than others do. You ask anyone born in New Mexico, "Que eres tu?" "Soy Mexicano." (What are you. I am Mexican.) Ask them in English, and they say, "I am of Spanish background." That makes them a little bit better than the other Mexicans there. I criticize that as being a New Mexico trait.

MTA: **Well, thank you for this interview. This is exactly what we were looking for. We want this project to be more than just an engineering project, we want to acknowledge the contributions that people have made. This has been very good, very helpful.**

Roybal: Well, I am not sure how helpful it is going to be. The thing is that we talk about the truthful reality. And I think that there is a problem. And that it is not one that cannot be solved. And it is something that can be improved in the Eastside. And that improvement will result in the betterment of areas that will be served. And some bureaucrats have to realize that total community involvement is the key to a public project.

MTA: **Thank you for your time. We took up all your lunch hour.**

Roybal: That doesn't bother me. What bothers me is the fact that we really don't have enough time to develop a real program. I'd like to see of MTA the finalization of a complete program. Because I don't see how you can plan in pieces.

Well, when I was elected to the City Council, I was told that a big building here on the corner of Beverly and Atlantic had a great big sign there: "GI Homes for Sale." But they did not sell to GIs of Mexican descent.

Monday morning I presented to the agent my discharge papers, \$250 deposit for the purchase of a home. He said, "I'm sorry, but I just can't sell to you." I said, "Why not? I'm a GI. I have an honorable discharge." "Oh, there's nothing wrong with your papers," he said. "If I had my way about it, I, of course, would sell to you, but I can't, because my orders are not to sell to Mexicans." I went back to my car and I was getting ready to leave, when he comes to my door. I can sell to you because you are different." All of sudden I was different.

Well, anyway, I went to City Council, got unanimous consent to address the Council for 10 minutes and told them the story that I just told you. There wasn't a major newspaper in the whole country, I don't think, that didn't have the headline: "GI Refused Federal Housing" or something like that. What we did was set a picket line that evening. We started a picket line for 24 hours. By the third day, they called me and wanted to negotiate, and we did. That was a good example of a community working together. A united community can win.

One final thing, the final acceptance program of the East Side Extension project should be awarded on merit, firsthand knowledge of the area, and strict compliance to the original guidelines. I am afraid that this is not being done. It would be a tragic mistake if contracts are awarded on political considerations. Community activists continue to call me concerned about the fact that the only qualified firm with offices in the area, who know its people and the area best, made it all the way to the top, but washed out on the oral interview. They were not recommended for a contract. Was it because it was a Latino firm they ask? They should realize, they told me, that there is no community help to be expected when there is no pride in having something built for us by a firm that doesn't know or care about us, particularly when our own Latino firm is not permitted to finish the job it was found qualified to do in the first place. We believe, they said, that there is something wrong here. I agree with them and think they have a point.

Note: The final paragraph was added by Congressman Roybal during final edit of the interview transcript.