

VOLUME I

III.

ANACAPA, A SOCIETY UPON A PLACE AND TIME

Prepared by: Dr. Juan Gomez-Quinones

○

○

○

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.

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.

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



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

observations with the 62 member **Gaspar de Portola expedition** and on **August 3, 1769** described the area near the village of **Yang-na**:

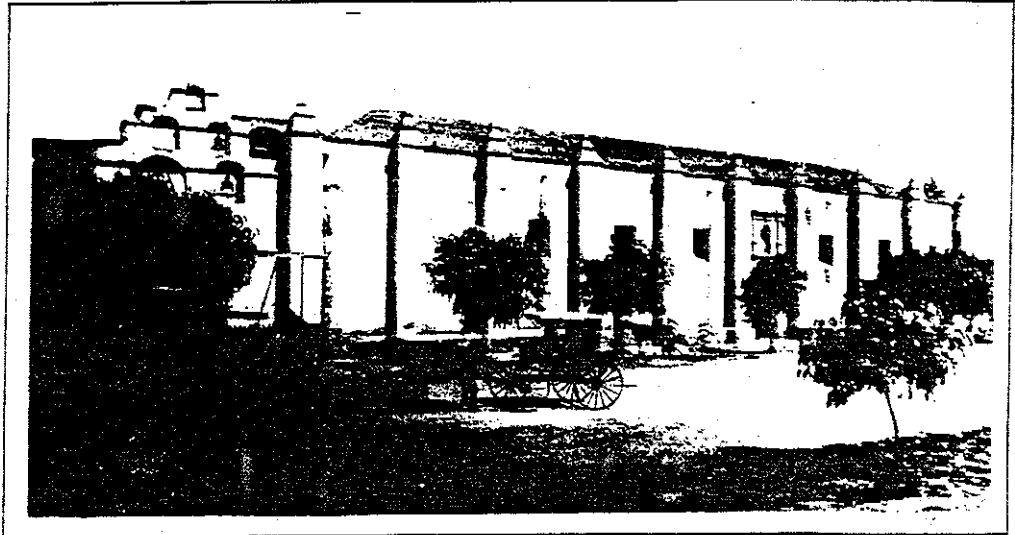
At half-past six we left the camp and forded the Pornicuia River. After crossing the river we entered a **large vineyard of wild grapes** and an **infinity of rose bushes** in full bloom. All the soil is black and loamy, and is capable of producing every kind of grain and fruit which may be planted. 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 Senora 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.

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.



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)



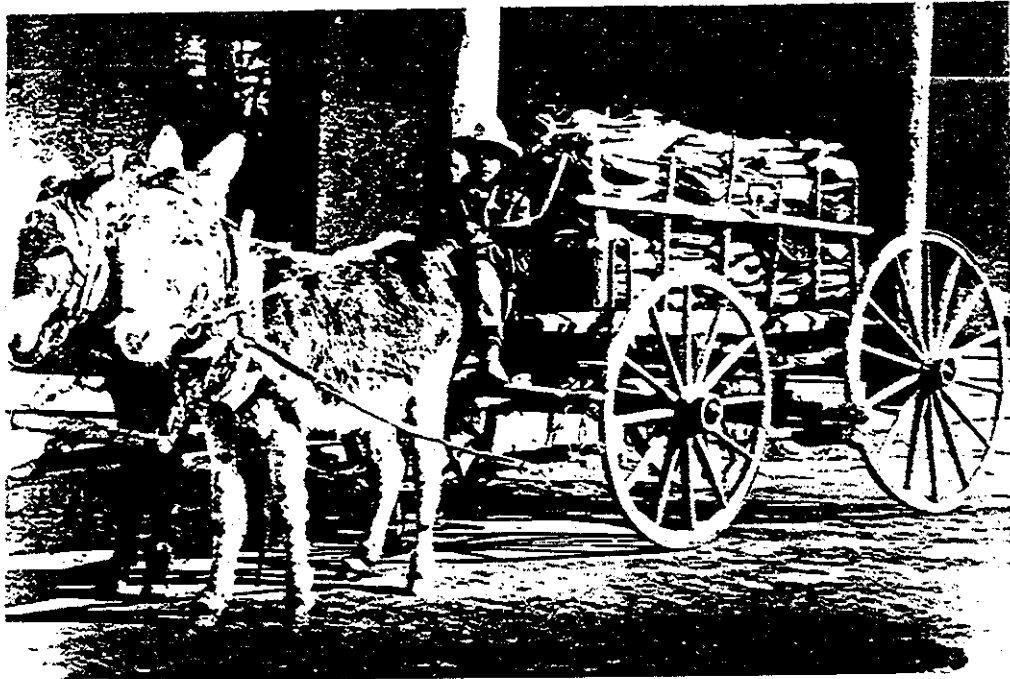
1. The last Mexican governor, Pío Pico, with his nieces and daughter. Left to right: Marianita Alvarado, Leonora Pico, Pío Pico, Trinidad Ortega. Courtesy of San Diego Title and Trust Company, San Diego.

"The last Mexican governor, Pío 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.



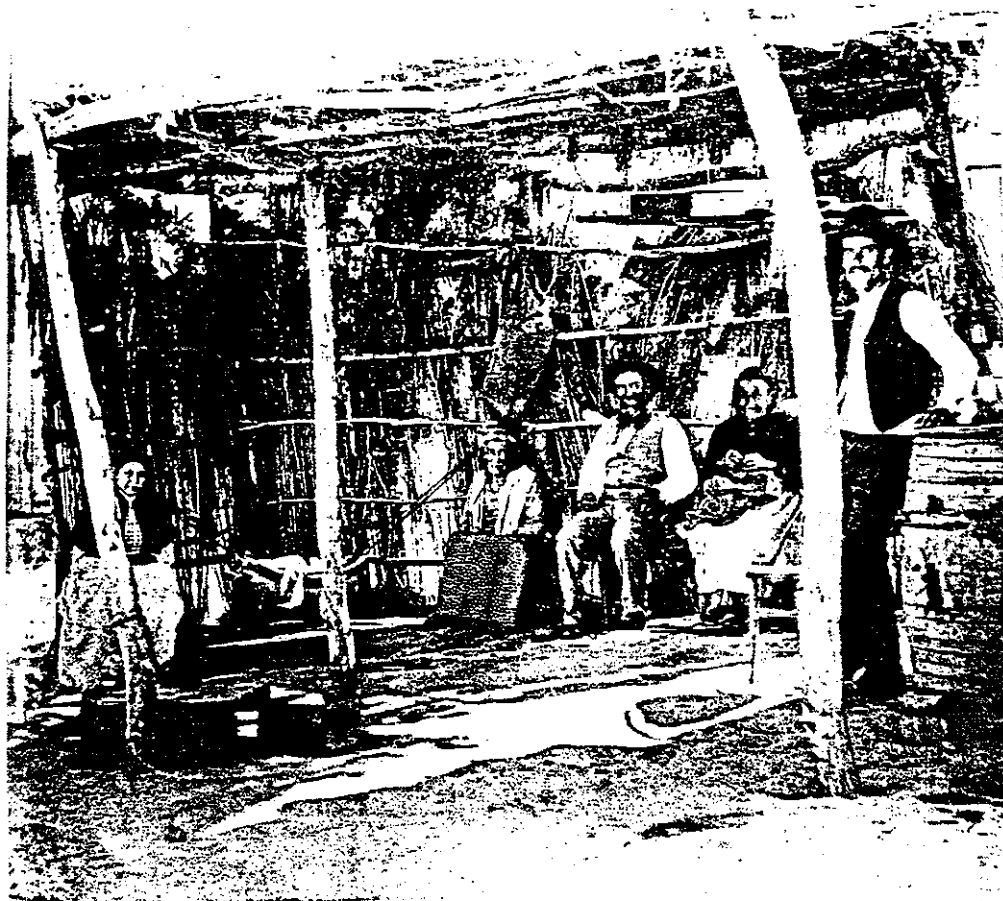
8. Young Mexicanos on an early baseball team. Left to right: Samovar Arguello, Jesús Pacheco (4th from left), José Arguello (7th from left), Miguel Aguirre (10th from left), Carlos P. de la Guerra (13th from left), José Mascarel. Reginaldo del Valle, a future state senator, is the boy with the bat on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



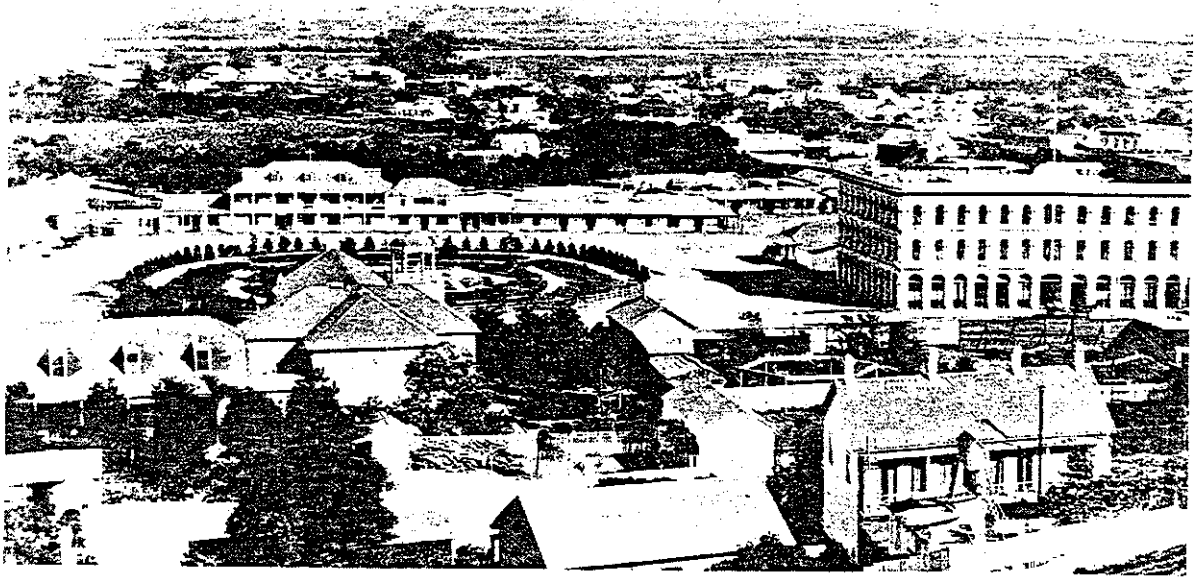
4. Adobe brick-making. Most of the Sonora Town homes built in the nineteenth century continued to be made in the traditional manner. Courtesy of the California Historical Society, Los Angeles.

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



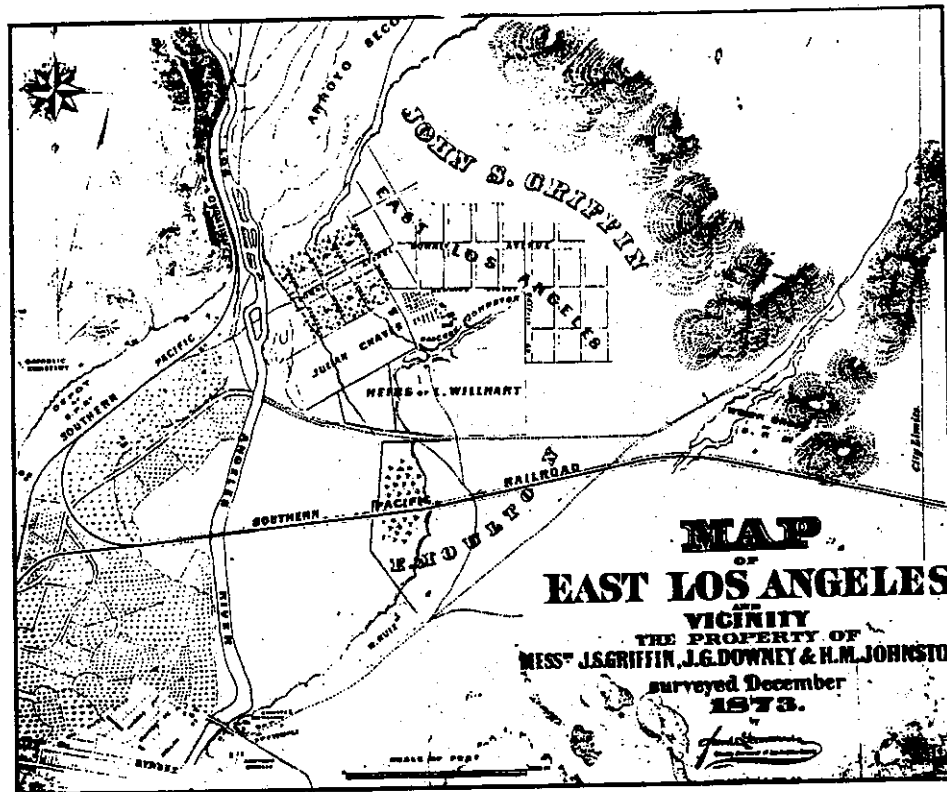
5. A Mexicano family with Gabrielino relatives resting under a *jacal*. Courtesy of Security Pacific Bank, Los Angeles.

"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.

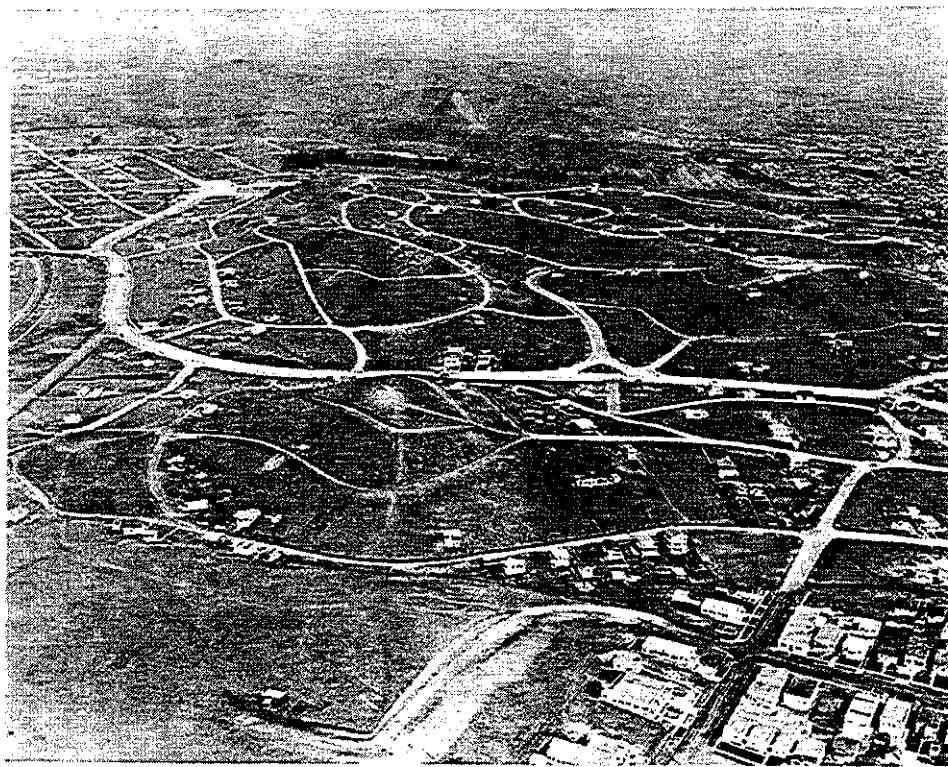
"A view of the Plaza looking east, around 1871" in A. M. Wong Night of the Red Moon, p. 8.



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)

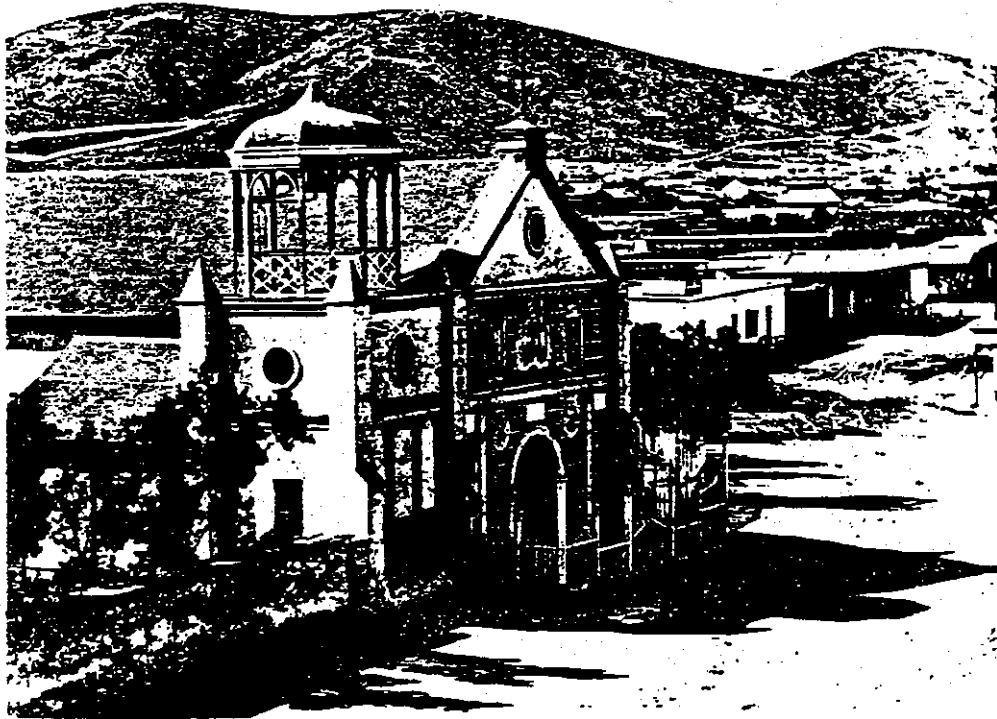


1877: Boyle Heights Views, Panoramic - View of Los Angeles from the East-Brooklyn Heights.
Photograph: Security Pacific National Bank Photograph Collection/Los Angeles Public Library.



Boyle Heights Residences (Date not available)

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



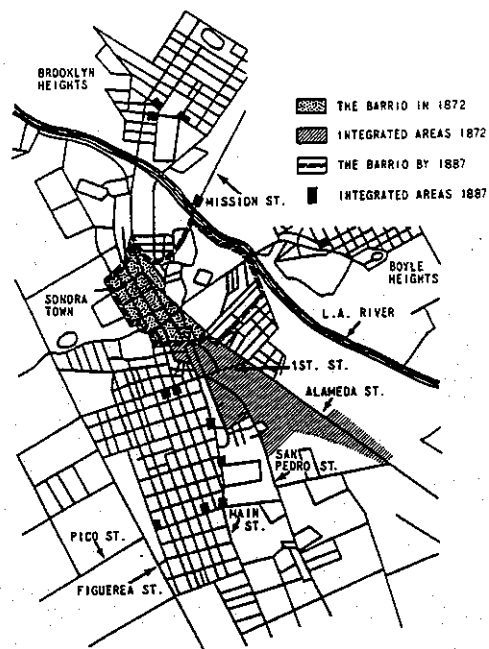
14. The pueblo church, Nuestra Señora la Reina de Los Angeles, east of the plaza in 1875. Notice how the church's architecture has been changed by Anglo-American influence. Courtesy of the Huntington Library.

"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)

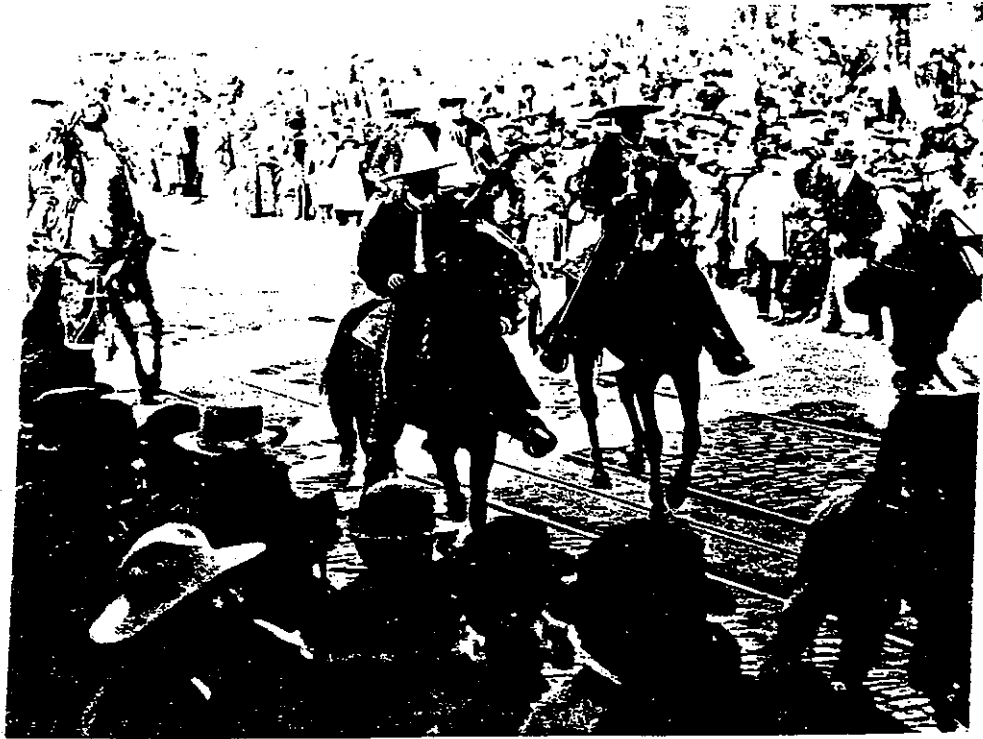


Antonio Coronel demonstrating a traditional dance for author/photographer Charles Lummis (circa 1888). Courtesy of Seaver Center for Western History Research, Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County.

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

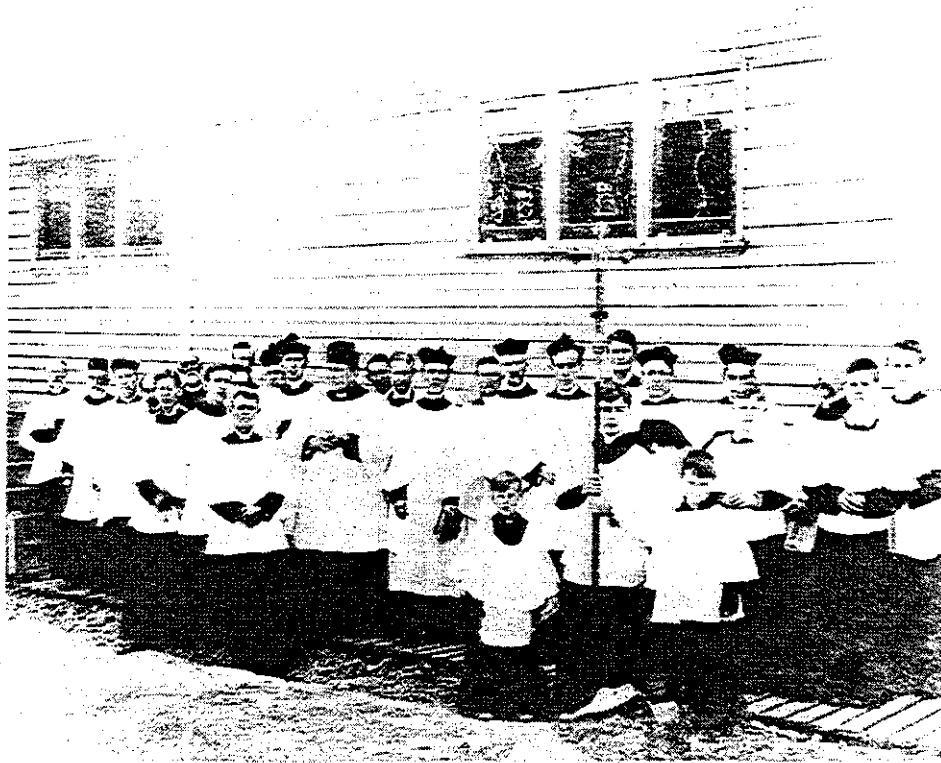


"Mexican Musicians, 1890's" in A. R. Bustamante, An Illustrated history of Mexican Los Angeles 1781-1985, p. 74.

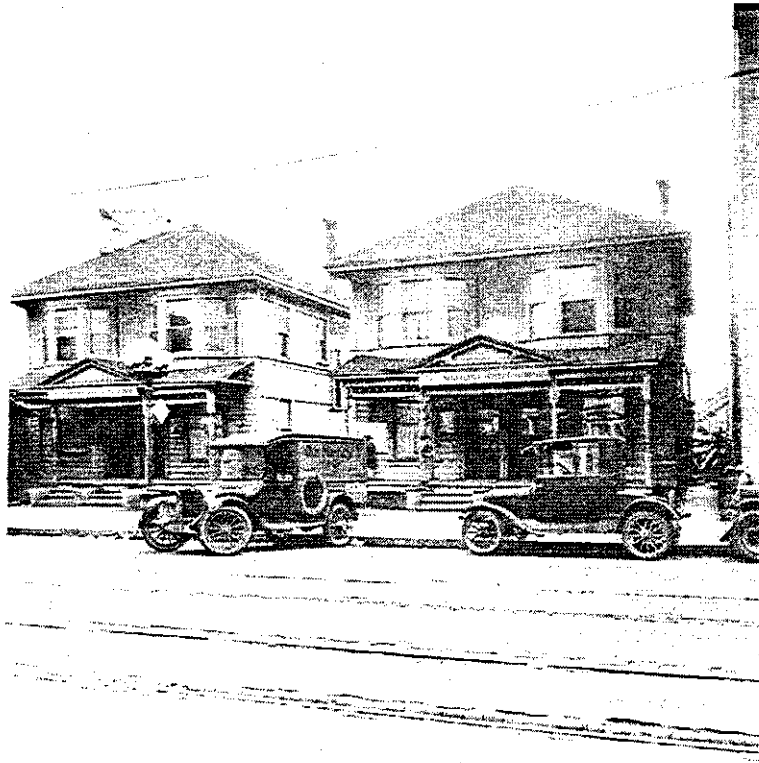


11. Mexicano caballeros parading down Main Street as part of a fiesta celebration, 1895. Courtesy of the Huntington Library.

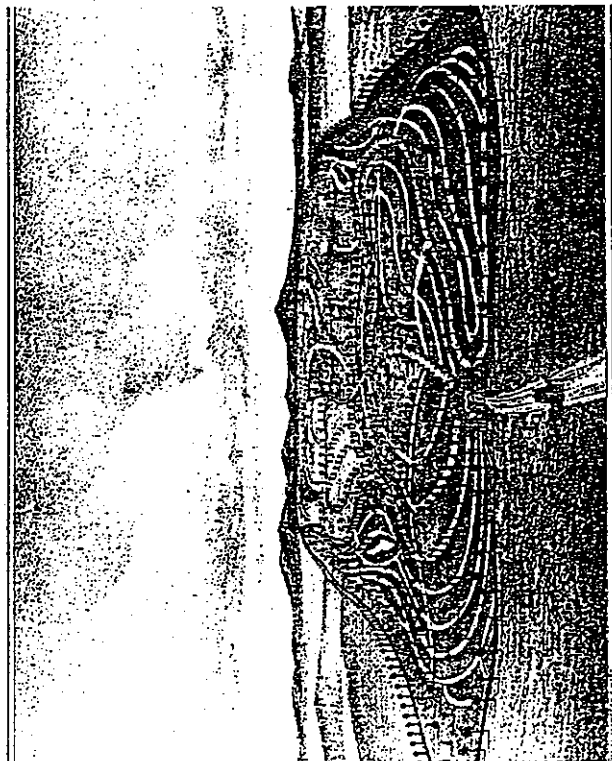
"Mexicans caballeros parading down Main Street during fiesta celebration, 1895" in R. G. del Castillo, The Los Angeles Barrio, 1850-1890, p. 129.



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.

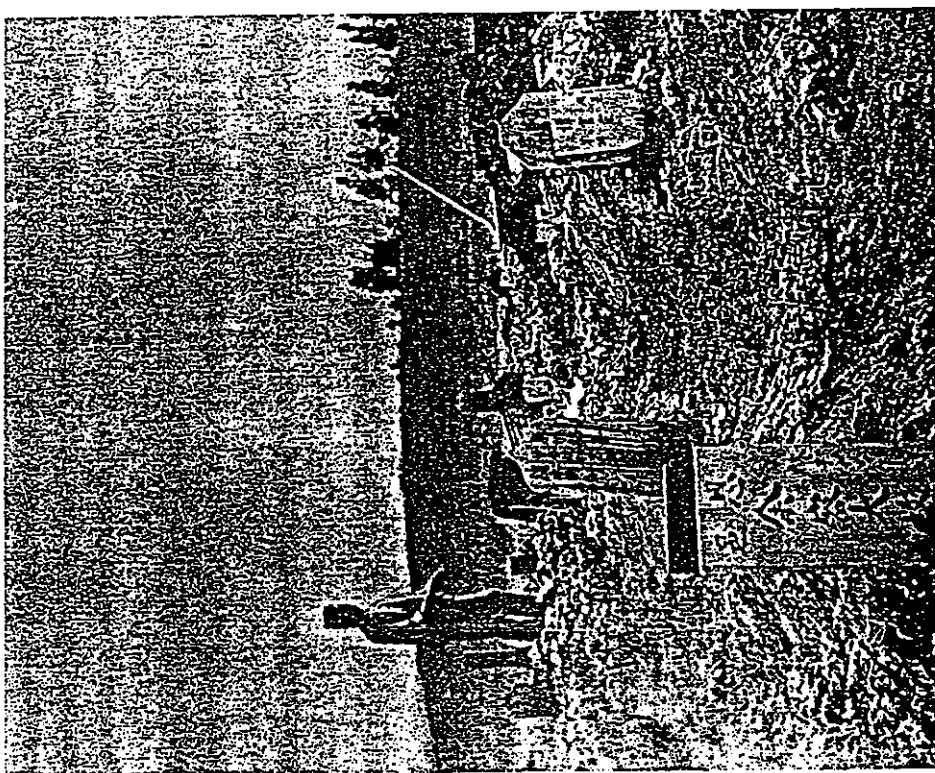


All Nations Methodist Clinic, Library and Club House in Boyle Heights (Date Not Available)
Photograph: Security Pacific National Bank Photograph Collection/Los Angeles Public Library.

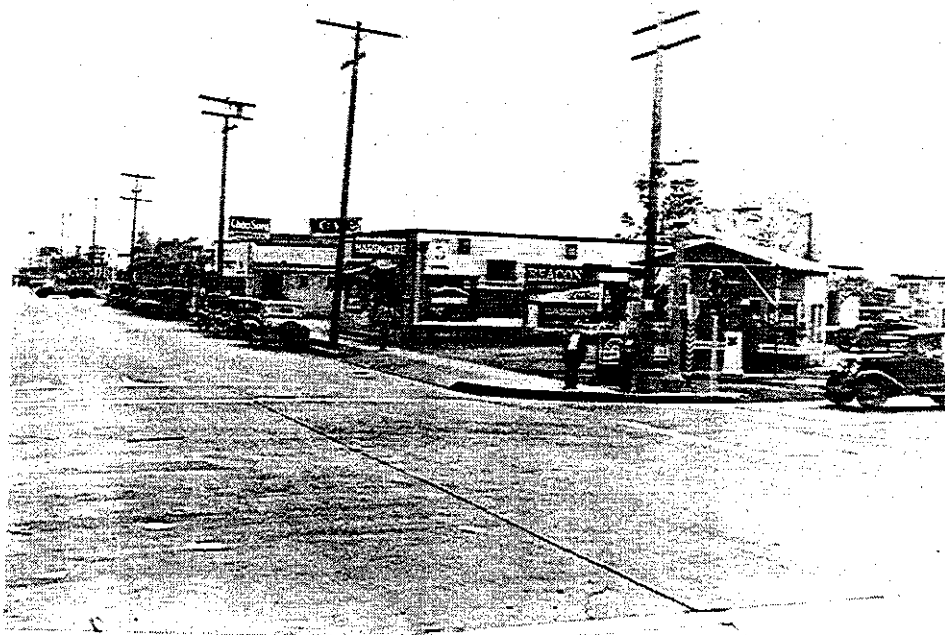


EVERGREEN CEMETERY,
LOS ANGELES, CAL. OWNED BY THE LOS ANGELES CEMETERY ASSOCIATION.

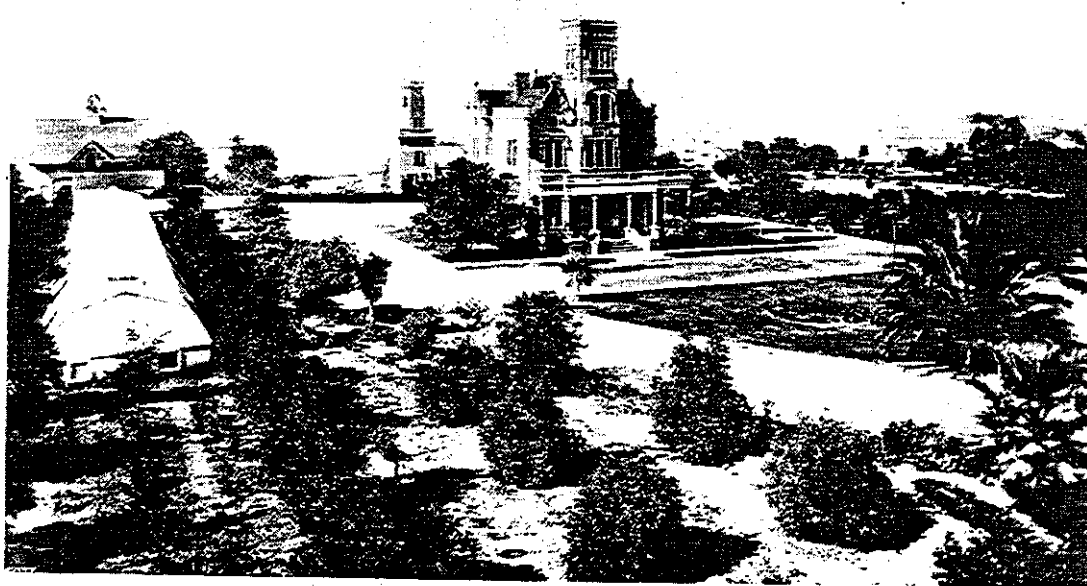
Evergreen Cemetery, from Thompson & West's 1880 Los Angeles county history. Author's collection.



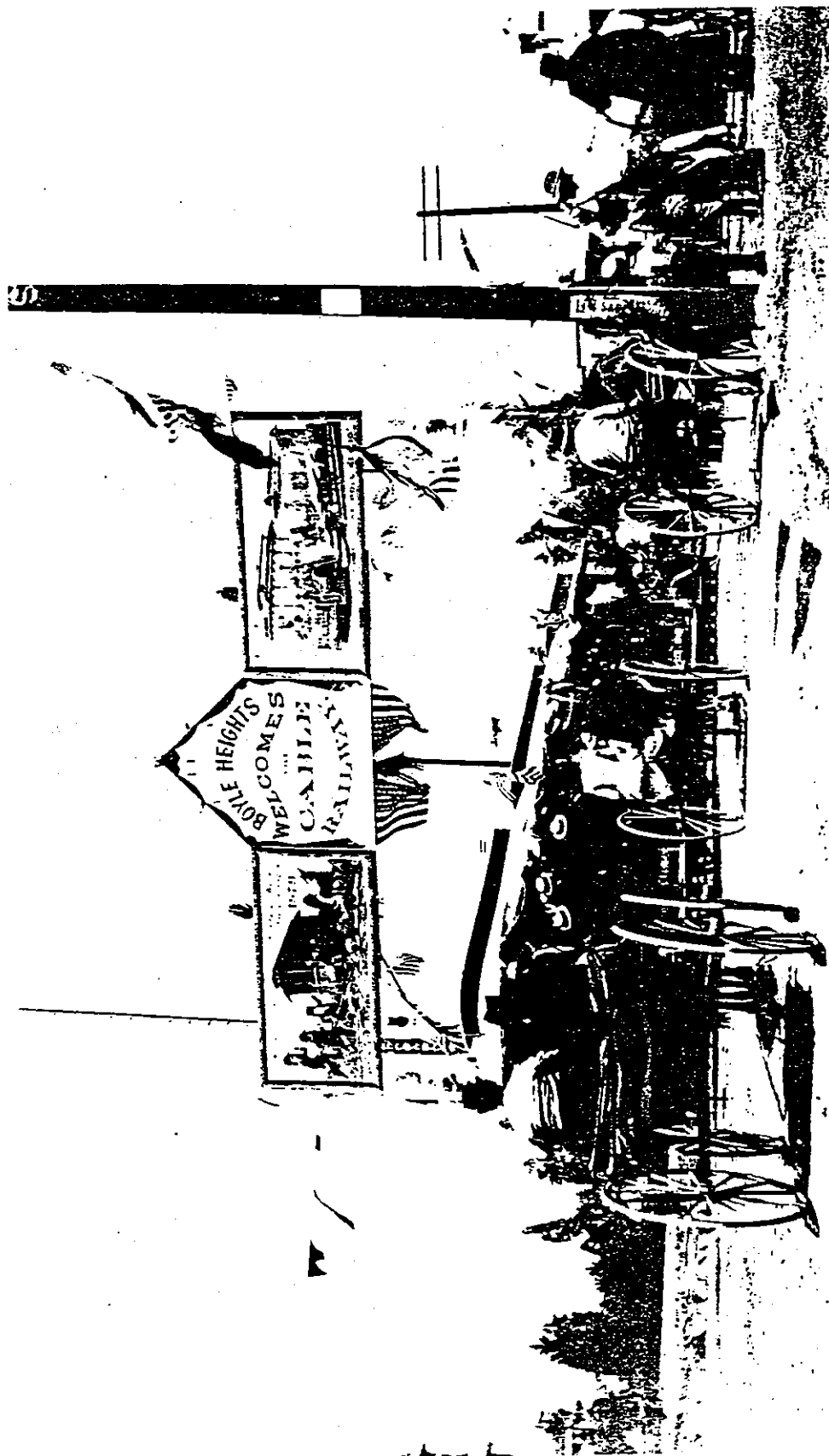
Almost certainly the Chinese cemetery at the east end of Evergreen. Photo by Olive Percival, probably 1897. Huntington Library.



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.



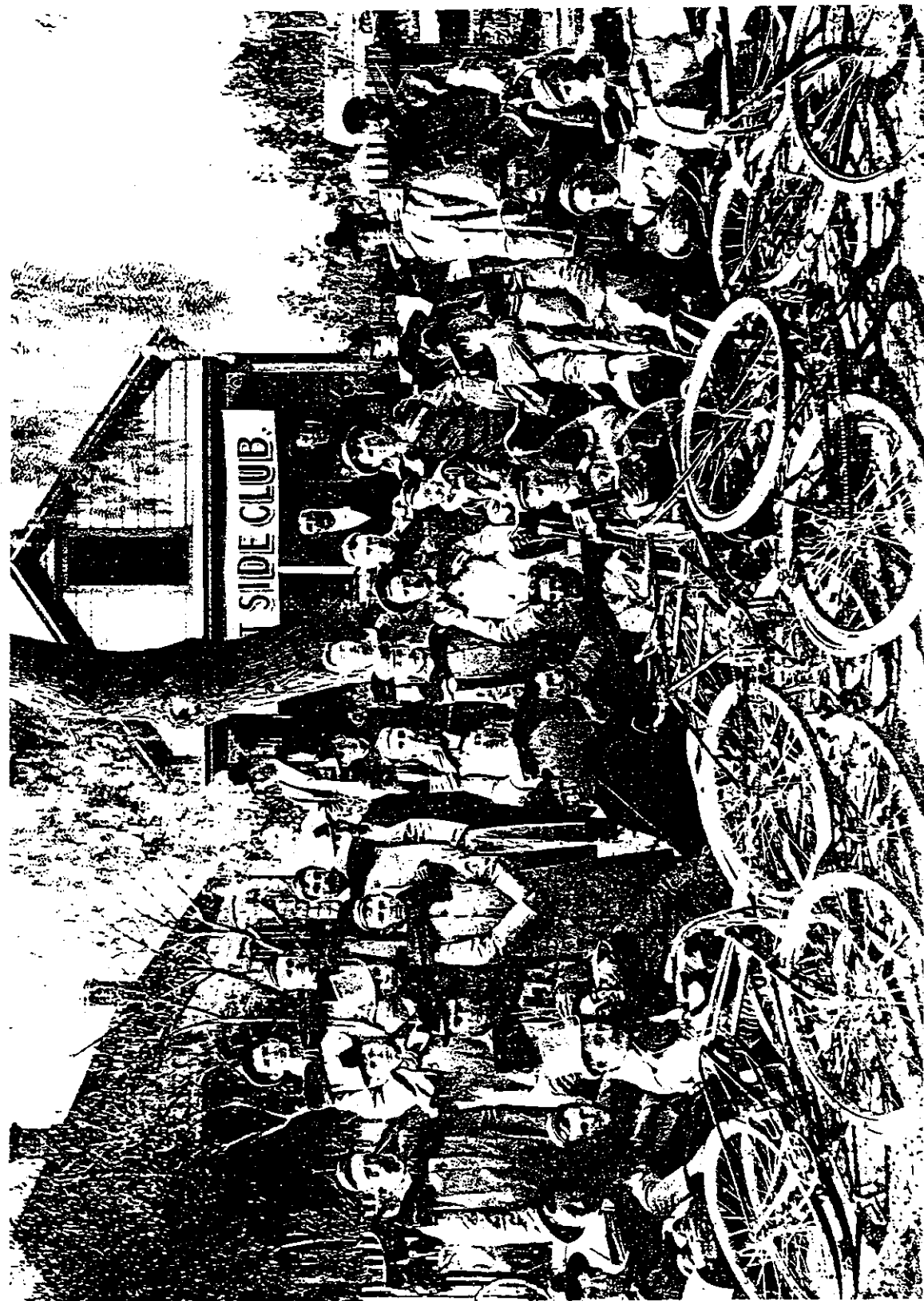
1887: Brooklyn Heights Residence of Mimie Perry Davis
Photograph: Security Pacific National Bank Photograph Collection/Los Angeles Public Library.



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)



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.