NOT SO LITTLE ARMENIA:

CONSERVING ARMENIAN HERITAGE SITES IN LOS ANGELES

by

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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my great-grandparents Harry Muckjian, Eliz Muckjian, George Dulgarian, and Haiganoosh Dulgarian who escaped Ottoman oppression and found new life in Los Angeles.

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I would like to thank my thesis committee chair, Trudi Sandmeier, who for years supported me and encouraged me along this journey. Without your cheerleading I would never have finished. I'd like to thank my committee Jay Platt and Meredith Drake Reitan who provided the critical eye I needed. I'd also like to thank Ani Mnatsakanyan and her grandmother. Without your help many of the sites identified in this thesis would not have been included.

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Abstract

Los Angeles is home to the largest population of ethnic Armenians outside the Republic of Armenia. Throughout the twentieth century, Los Angeles experienced a series of waves of Armenian immigration from throughout the Middle East and Transcaucasia regions. The first wave, from 1890-1924, was made up mostly of Armenians from the Ottoman Empire and to a lesser extent those from the Russian Empire. The first wave is characterized by survivors of massacres and genocide in the Ottoman Empire and Czarist Russia. In 1924, new immigration policy effectively ended a period of immigration for all populations outside Western Europe. By the end of 1920s, three distinct Armenian enclaves had formed in South Los Angeles, Boyle Heights, and Pasadena.

In the 1960s, Armenian immigration resumed once again with the passage of new immigration policy. The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 also known as the Hart-Cellar Act, enabled a new and distinctly different wave of Armenian immigration. From 1965 to the 1990s, this new group of immigrants came to the United States seeking refuge from political and social instability throughout the Middle East during the Lebanese Civil War, Iranian Revolution, the Iran-Iraq War, and South Caucuses during the collapse of the Soviet Union, and economic crash of the Republic of Armenia. These new immigrants strengthened older enclaves while simultaneously creating new ones, shaping the Armenian community one sees today.

Despite the County's large Armenian population, there are few historic resources identified through official surveys and no designated historic resources. This thesis aims to create a cultural context for the Armenian American community in Los Angeles County, identify sites of significance, and present heritage conservation tools in an effort preserve memory and identity for Armenians through the built environment.

Introduction

The Armenian diaspora is complex and far reaching. Following the Armenian Genocide of 1915, refugees scattered around the world. In these new lands, Armenians built new lives while maintaining their strong cultural identity. No other region in the world, outside the Republic of Armenia, tells the history of the Armenian diaspora as well as Los Angeles County which is home to the largest Armenian Diaspora community. In Los Angeles, the various diaspora groups cohabitate and create a uniquely rich tapestry.

Cultural preservation is at the core of Los Angeles's Armenian community. The act of preserving culture and memory is not only a display of resilience, but a conscious act of resistance against those who continue to try to erase their existence. It is within this context that heritage conservation can play an important role by preserving memory through the built environment.

The first chapter of this thesis provides a global and local context for Armenians in Los Angeles. The chapter discusses the events and conditions abroad which caused Armenians to leave their indigenous lands. Over the course of 100 years, two distinct waves of immigration emerge, the first occurring before the restrictive Immigration Act of 1924 and the second after the passage of the Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1965. Prior to 1924, most Armenians arriving in the United States were from Anatolia. After 1965, Armenians arrived from an array of nations throughout Southwest Asia and Transcaucasia. Lastly, this chapter looks at the reasons for Armenian migration to Los Angeles from other parts of the United States.

The second chapter explores the establishment of institutional properties throughout Los Angeles County. These include churches, schools, and an elder care facility. Institutional properties play an important role in cultural preservation by maintaining and strengthening community relationships. They also reveal important trends relating to settlement patterns throughout Los Angeles. Often, institutional properties are established after the enclave reaches a critical mass.

The third chapter introduces the role of business in the Armenian community. The introduction of an Armenian economy developed to support the cultural needs of enclaves.

Food services, shops, media, and non-profit organizations provide Armenian-specific services that are not otherwise met by the dominant culture. Additionally, these businesses allow greater visibility to non-Armenians through goods and storefront signage.

The fourth chapter of this thesis presents existing heritage conservation solutions for Armenian heritage sites. Some of these tools include historic context statements, municipal ordinances, and mapping. At the present time, there is little Armenian representation in Los Angeles's heritage conservation landscape. Less than a handful of Armenian heritage sites have been identified through official historic resources surveys and no formal designations have been completed to ensure significant sites are protected. In addition to the tools presented, this chapter addresses challenges such as community outreach, traditional integrity standards, and the lack of representation.

It is impossible to capture the entirety of Los Angeles's Armenian heritage in this single thesis. Further research and outreach must be completed to tell the complex and multilayered history of this community. This paper is intended to be an initial step for the field of heritage conservation in an effort to illuminate Armenian heritage in Los Angeles and create representation. It is my hope that this thesis will inspire and motivate the community to pursue heritage conservation solutions in an effort to own their narrative and decide what is important to them.

Chapter 1: Origins and Evolution of the Armenian Community in Los Angeles

Los Angeles is the home to the largest Armenian population outside the Republic of Armenia. The story of the Armenian people and the establishment Los Angeles's Armenian community is one of struggle and rebirth. With origins in the Armenian highlands of Southwest Asia, massacres, genocide, revolutions, and civil wars were catalysts for various waves of Armenian immigration to the United States. Many of the first Armenians to arrive in the United States settled in industrial cities in the east. By the turn of the century much of the population moved west upon hearing stories of prosperity in California. This chapter will examine the origin of the Armenian people, how they arrived in Los Angeles, and how the community grew in significance.

Origins

Armenian history begins at the crossroads of the great Eastern and Western empires. Located along the Silk Road, the Armenian Plateau was a strategic region for trade and fought over by Greeks, Romans, Persians, Ottomans, and Russians for centuries. In 301 CE, Gregory the Illuminator successfully converted King Tiridates III, thus establishing the first Christian nation. After his conversion and the formation of the Armenian Apostolic Church, Tiridates named Gregory as its first Catholicos. The Christian conversion of Armenians in 301 contributes to a deep sense of pride for many Armenians around the world often acting as a cultural bond.

Language is one of the most important tenets of Armenian identity. In 406 CE, King Vramshapuh, Catholicos Sahak, and the monk Mesrop Mashtots created the Armenian alphabet. Mashtots is a celebrated figure in Armenian culture, with many schools and institutions named after him. There are two major dialects of the Armenian language, Eastern and Western. The dividing line of these dialects is roughly the historic border between the Ottoman and Persian empires. Throughout the centuries, Armenians remained committed to

¹ Catholicos is the title given to the patriarch of the Armenian Apostolic Church. The Armenian Apostolic Church had been aligned with the Catholic Church until 552 CE when it completely separated because of differences stemming from the Fourth Ecumenical Council of the West in 541 CE.

preserving their language and alphabet despite great pressures to adopt others. The choice to preserve the Armenian language can be seen as a conscious act of cultural preservation.

Ottoman Empire

By the sixteenth century, historic Armenian lands were split between the Ottoman and Persian empires. The divide between eastern and western empires fostered unique cultural identities and experiences that continue to influence the Armenian diaspora today. During the Ottoman Empire, most Armenians lived in rural central and eastern Anatolia. However, smaller but significant populations lived in commercial centers such as Istanbul, Smyrna, Bursa, Samson, Trebizond, Angora, and Caesaria. In Smyrna alone, an estimated 17,000 – 50,000 Armenians lived in the city.²

The largest populations of Armenians lived in the Empire's eastern provinces of Van, Erzerum, Sivas, Bitlis, Diyarbakir, Mamuret-ul-Aziz, Adana, and Aleppo. It is estimated that roughly 1,950,000 Armenians lived in these provinces, about seventy-five percent of the Empire's Armenian population.³ Of the eight provinces, Van, Erzerum, Sivas, Bitlis, Mamuret-ul-Aziz, and Diyarbakir had the highest concentration of Armenians.

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² The city of Smyrna is now known as Izmir.; Robert Mirak, *Torn Between Two Lands: Armenians in America, 1890 to World War I*, Cambridge, Mass: Distributed for the Dept. of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University by Harvard University Press, 1983, 11.

³ Mirak, p.11.

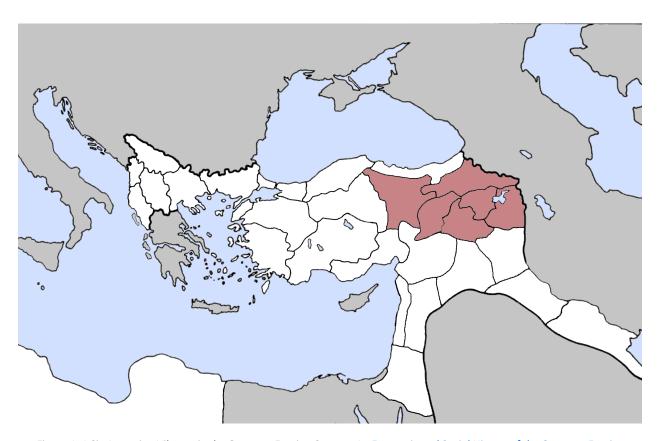


Figure 1. 1 Six Armenian Vilayets in the Ottoman Empire. Source: <u>An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, Volume 2</u> at Google Books by Suraiya Faroqhi, Bruce McGowan, Donald Quataert, Sevket Pamuk. (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Six_vilayets#/media/File:Six_Vilayets,_Ottoman_Empire_(1900).png).

American Missionaries in Ottoman Turkey

It is believed that the Armenian Highlands are at the headwaters of the four biblical rivers, where the Garden of Eden once existed, and Noah's Ark rested atop Mount Ararat. From Ararat, Noah and his kin descended to live on the mountain's slopes. During the Second Great Awakening in the early nineteenth century, American missionaries followed in the footsteps of the Apostles Thaddeus and Bartholomew who went to the slopes of Mt. Ararat to evangelize Noah's descendants.

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) organized in 1810.⁴ Shortly thereafter, the ABCFM sent their first missionaries to Palestine to evangelize Jews, pagans, Muslims, and to convert non-protestant Christians. All but the Armenians seemed

⁴ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, accessed March 10, 2022, https://hollisarchives.lib.harvard.edu/repositories/24/resources/2708.

to resist the missionary's efforts. When the Americans returned from their first mission, the ABCFM decided to refocus their efforts on converting Armenians.

The relationship between American Protestant Missionaries and Armenian immigration to the United States during the 1800s is significant and should not be overlooked. By 1847, the Protestant presence was so strong that a new Ottoman millet was formed in the government. By 1908, the ABCFM's presence in Turkey comprised 269 outstations, 195 missionaries and their wives, 852 teachers, 130 churches, 5 theological schools, 49 colleges, and many boarding and high schools. Through American education, Armenians learned Western concepts of liberty and freedom which led to what historian Robert Mirak calls the "Armenian Awakening." The Protestant network enabled Armenians to emigrate during Hamidian Massacres (1894-97), 1909 Massacres, and the Armenian Genocide in 1915. Once in the United States, Armenians used this network to find work and eventually move west to California.



Figure 1. 2 Magarian Family in Marsovan pre-Armenian Genocide. Several of the Magarian children were educated at schools run by American missionaries. Source: Courtesy of the author's family archive.

⁵ The millet system was the system of government used in the Ottoman Empire to separate religious communities.

⁶ Mirak, 24.

⁷ Mirak, 23.

Massacres and Genocide

A series of acts including the Hamidian Massacres, Armenian-Tartar massacres, and ultimately the Armenian Genocide forced the first Armenians from their homeland. From 1894-1897 the Hamidian Massacres were catalysts for the first wave of permanent Armenian immigration to the United States. In 1891, Sultan Abdul Hamid II organized the Hamidiye Corps, a militia of Kurdish tribesmen. In 1894, the Hamidiye Corps and Turkish regulars besieged the town of Sasoon massacring Armenians. The violence had a ripple effect, spreading to twenty-four villages causing some 20,000 Armenian deaths. Sasoon marked the first in the series of massacres lasting from 1894 to 1896. It is estimated that during the Hamidian Massacres 100,000 to 200,000 Armenian were murdered and another 500,000 Armenians were left orphaned or homeless.

In 1902, a coalition of Young Turks, Armenians, Arabs, Jews, and Kurds formed a revolutionary coalition that would overthrow the Sultan in an effort to form constitutional government in Turkey. On July 24, 1908, the Young Turk Revolution, deposed the Sultan and established a new constitutional government. Shortly after the Young Turks seized power, a brief coup led by Sultan Abdul Hamid II allowed his regime to regain power for ten days. Amid the coup, the Sultan ordered pogroms against Armenians in Cilicia (Adana) using their political, economic, and religious differences as justification for the ethnic cleansing. Despite the Sultans short reign, the massacres persisted. By its end, much of the Cilician Armenian quarters were destroyed and approximately 25,000 Armenians in the region were dead. The massacres during 1894-1909 were only a precursor to the violence that would occur between 1915-1923. The Armenian Genocide is one of the most significant events in modern Armenian history. The unhealed trauma and lack of accountability of the Turkish government deeply affects the Armenian identity more than one hundred years later.

⁸ George Byron Kooshian, "The Armenian Immigrant Community of California, 1880-1935," thesis (Ph. D.) -- University of California, Los Angeles, 2002., 2002., 25.

⁹ Mirak., 31.

¹⁰ George A. Bournoutian, *A Concise History of the Armenian People: From Ancient Times to the Present,* 2nd ed. Costa Mesa, Calif: Mazda Publishers, 2003, 268.

¹¹ Bournoutian, 269.

In 1914, an unprepared Ottoman Empire joined the Central Powers in World War I. On April 24, 1915, the Ottoman Interior Ministry ordered the detention and deportation of hundreds of Armenian intellectuals, civic leaders, and prominent businessmen under the auspices of anti-nationalistic behavior. Those who were arrested never returned home. This event marks the beginning of the Armenian Genocide. Every year on April 24, Armenians around the world mourn their ancestors and call for the accountability of the Turkish government for the atrocities it committed. To this day the Turkish government denies the genocide and has regularly accused Armenians of massacring Turks.

The Armenian Genocide is considered the first genocide of the modern era. Advances in communication and transportation facilitated killings and deportation on a scale never seen. Telegraphs allowed orders to be sent instantly from Constantinople to officials throughout the country who carried out the heinous crimes. Rapid communication paired with vast rail networks extending to all points within the empire allowed Turks to deport Armenians from their indigenous lands at staggering numbers.

In May 1915, Armenians from Van, Bitlis, and Erzerum Provinces were forced from their homes and ordered to resettle in Mosul, Zor Sanjak, Urfa, Aleppo, and the Syrian Province with a goal of reducing the populations to less than ten percent. Men who had not been conscripted were quickly rounded up and killed while the elderly, women, and children were sent on death marches east through the desert. During these marches, Turkish and Kurdish soldiers, and civilians brutalized and plundered Armenian caravans as gendarmes watched. It did not take long for both the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers to run red with the blood of Armenian women and children. Clogged with corpses, dysentery spread to all who drank from them. Individuals fortunate to survive the marches, found new homes in concentration camps.

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¹² Guenter Lewy, *The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey: A Disputed Genocide,"* (Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 2005), 152.

¹³ Sara Cohan, "A brief history of the Armenian genocide." *Social Education* 69, no. 6 (2005): 333+. *Academic OneFile* (accessed May 20, 2019).

http://link.galegroup.com.libproxy2.usc.edu/apps/doc/A138440963/AONE?u=usocal main&sid=AONE&xid=52d97 8fc.

By the genocide's end, approximately 1,500,000 Armenians were dead along with hundreds of thousands of Greeks and Assyrians. The genocide created a global Armenian diaspora that we see today. Many Armenians came to the United States during the genocide, however, many more resettled primarily throughout Southwest Asia, Europe, South America, and Australia.

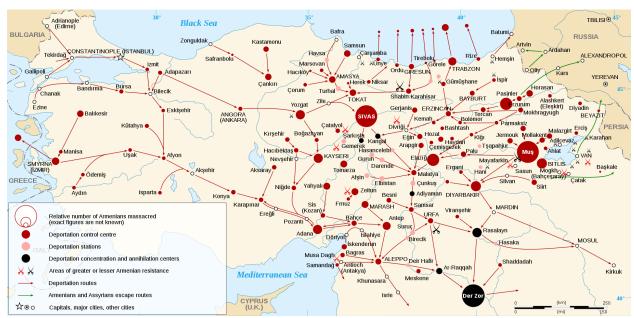


Figure 1. 3 Map of Armenian Genocide and deportation Routes of 1915. Source: Wikicommons/Semhur (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Armenian_genocide#/media/File:Armenian_Genocide_Map-en.svg).

First Wave of Immigration to the United States: 1890-1921

Over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Armenian immigration ebbed and flowed as American immigration policy shifted. Over this period there appears to be two distinct waves of immigration, the first being from approximately 1890-1924 and the second from 1965-2000. For the purpose of this thesis, this section will primarily focus on immigration and settlement in Los Angeles County.

The earliest Armenian immigrants to arrive were affiliated with the American Protestant missionaries in Turkey and typically young men who came pursuing higher education or temporary work. A small number of these men remained in the United States, and the majority returned to home the Ottoman Empire. Armenian immigration records and census data have proved difficult for many researchers. Early data is problematic because most of the records

indicate Turkey as the country of origin and their race as white presenting no information regarding Armenian heritage except for the name. The 1921 Emergency Quota Act and subsequent 1924 National Origins Act drastically limited the number of Armenians that could immigrate to the United States. In 1921 alone, over 10,000 Armenians immigrated to the United States. By World War II, approximately 80,000 Armenians were living in the United States. States. 14



Figure 1. 4 Balayan family deportation Papers. Source: Author's family archive.

Armenian enclaves first formed around textile and industrial facilities in the Northeast and upper Midwest. The oldest Armenian communities in the United States remain present in New York City, Providence, RI, Boston and Worcester, MA. As Armenian immigration increased due to heightened persecution abroad, communities moved west to Chicago, IL, Detroit, MI, and Racine, WI. However, an unlikely farm town in the San Joaquin Valley emerged as the most significant Armenian enclave during the interwar period. Over the next century, California's Armenian population grew to become the largest outside Armenia. From California's Central

¹⁴ Daniel Fittante, "But why Glendale? A history of Armenian Immigration to Southern California," 2017, 3.

Valley, Armenians moved north to San Francisco, but more importantly south into the lower San Joaquin Valley and into Los Angeles County.

San Joaquin Valley

In 1876, Frank Normart became the first Armenian on record to arrive in Fresno, however, his initial stay was short. Soon after the Seropian brothers became the first permanent Armenian residents in Fresno. Hagop, Garabed, and Simon Seropian came to the United States with returning missionaries. Settling in Worcester, MA they opened and operated a small store. When their father died, Garabed and Simon returned home to Marsovan. While his brothers were away, Hagop contracted tuberculosis and, like many others at the time, was advised to move west to California. In 1881, after his brothers returned, Hagop left for California with Simon. Using the Protestant network, the brothers found lodging with two former missionaries in the San Joaquin Valley. After a successful stay in Fresno, the remaining brothers on the East Coast moved west. In 1882, Hagop purchased forty-acres of land becoming the first Armenian to buy property in Fresno. The service of land becoming the first Armenian to buy property in Fresno.

It wasn't long before other Armenians joined the Seropians. Haji Bedros Seferian and S. Minasian soon arrived in Fresno, then came Stepan Shamirian from Marsovan, Melkon Markarian of Mush, and Madhesi Bedros Bedrosian from Garin, all men arriving with their families, a notable difference from earlier immigration. Soon, a sizeable community formed as letters reached the old country encouraging other Armenians to move. In September 1883, a party of forty from Marsovan arrived in Fresno. Word increasingly spread throughout Armenian communities within the United States. Later a sizeable group of families from Kharpert settled in Fresno.

By 1897, 329 Armenians lived and operated 1,800 acres of vineyards in Fresno County.¹⁹ This grew to 500 by 1900, and in 1908 the number was 2,326, owning 12,816 acres. By 1910

¹⁵ Kooshian writes that his real name was Mardiros Yanikian but upon reaching Ellis Island shouted, "Nor mart em!" translated to "I am a new man!" and was given the name Frank Normart by the inspector.; Kooshian, 32. ¹⁶ Merzifon in Turkish.

¹⁷ Kooshian, 33.

¹⁸ Muş in Turkish; Kooshian, 34.

¹⁹ Kooshian, 43.

Armenians comprised more than four percent of the Fresno County's total population.²⁰ In 1914, the year before the Armenian Genocide, the population reached 6,334 in the county.²¹ When the United States' entered World War I, immigration tightened. However, the Armenian population in Fresno still grew by 2,500, revealing migration from within the United States.

By 1930, 84 percent of Armenians living in the United States moved to Fresno after an average of 5.7 years.²² As Fresno's Armenian population swelled, Armenians spread into neighboring towns. From Fresno, Armenians primarily moved south into Fowler, Selma, Kingsburg, Parlier, Reedley, Wahtoke, and Tulare, with smaller settlements in Del Rey, Sanger, Visalia, Turlock, Dinuba, and Yettem.²³ The migration south eventually led to Armenians settling in Los Angeles with a strong network throughout the Central Valley for future commercial development within the community.

City of Los Angeles

In 1900, Parnag Serope Yezdikardashian of Caesarea became the first Armenian to live in the City of Los Angeles. Soon after Yezdikardashian, other Armenian individuals and families began arriving in Los Angeles., At this time, most who arrived entered the Oriental rug business. Avedis Enfiajian and Hovhannes Pashgian from Kharpert both arrived in 1900; Reverend Haigag Khazoyan in 1901; Hovhannes Arakelian, 1902; Mrs. Elmas Dinjian and her son, 1902; Dikran Avakian and his wife, 1903; M. Jamgochian and sons, 1903. By 1905 there were approximately one hundred Armenians living in the Los Angeles area.²⁴

In 1905, Yenovk Ter Stepanian, a protestant pastor moved to Los Angeles from the East Coast for health reasons and began preaching. That same year, seven Transcaucasian Armenian families moved from Kars.²⁵ This group included the Shekerians, Mooshagians, Perumians, Gatanians, Nalians, and Stepanians. In the following year more Transcaucasian Armenians from

²¹ Kooshian, 45.

²⁰ Kooshian, 44.

²² Fittante, "But why Glendale," 5.

²³ Yettem changed its name from Lovell as Armenian residents who renamed it after the Armenian word for "Eden." For more information on Yettem's Armenian heritage, see Ani Mnatsakanyan's USC Master's thesis "Reconstructing Eden: The Armenian Community of Yettem, CA."

²⁴ Kayseri in Turkish; Kooshian, 57.

²⁵ Transcaucasian Armenian will be used throughout this thesis rather than the more commonly used Russian Armenian terminology. Transcaucasia refers the south Caucus region where the present-day Republic of Armenia exists. During the late 1800s, the Russian Empire captured this region from the Ottomans; Kooshian, 58.

Kars and Shirak moved to Los Angeles as did Western Armenians who had spent time in Fresno and the eastern states. It's probable that this early influx of Armenians from the Russian Empire may be connected to heightened persecution during the Russian Revolution of 1905 and subsequent Armenian-Tartar massacres of 1905-1907. By 1911, about 1,000 Armenians lived in Los Angeles. Of these, 520 were Transcaucasian Armenians including those of the Molokan faith that settled primarily in Boyle Heights.²⁶

In 1921, the federal government passed the emergency Quota Act as a xenophobic reaction to rising immigration following World War I. As anti-immigrant sentiment grew, Congress passed the country's first quota system. The law initiated a three percent cap on the total number of immigrants from any nationality already living in the United States. The policy used the 1910 census to maintain Western European dominance in the country. The quota system was devasting to Armenian immigration at a time when many sought refuge following the Armenian Genocide. When the new policy was enacted, less than 3,000 Armenians were allowed to enter the United States from both Turkey and Russia.²⁷

In 1923, University of Southern California graduate student Aram Serkis Yeretzian wrote the first comprehensive study of the Armenian community in Los Angeles. At the time of his thesis, Yeretzian had lived in Los Angeles for a decade during which time he rose in prominence as a leader of several protestant Armenian congregations. His protestant affiliation colors his biases towards non-protestant Armenian communities in Los Angeles. Yeretzian estimated 2,500-3,000 Armenians were living in Los Angeles. At that time, the Western Armenians were primarily from Kharpert, Aintab, Dikranagerd, Cilicia, Adana, and Van, while the Transcaucasian Armenians were primarily from Alexandrople, Yerevan, Nakhichevan, Tiflis, Karaklis, and Kars. ²⁸

Approximately 800 Transcaucasian Armenians lived in Los Angeles in 1923. This group was concentrated in Boyle Heights near the Los Angeles River between East First Street and Seventh Street on Gless, Clarence, and Pecan Streets.²⁹ Yeretzian cites Western Armenian enclaves in West Adams, Hollywood, Glendale and the Wilshire District. Interestingly, Yeretzian

²⁶ Kooshian, 58.

²⁷ Yeretzian, 25.

²⁸ Aintab is Gaziantep in Turkish.

Dikranagerd is Diyarbakir in Turkish.

²⁹ Yeretzian, 53.

does not reference the Armenian enclave near the historic South Central corridor. The South Los Angeles enclave appears to be the heart of Los Angeles's Western Armenian community before World War II. The neighborhood contained a concentration of protestant churches as well as Holy Cross, the first Armenian Apostolic Church located at 424 East 20th Street (extant). Holy Cross remained at this location until 1978 when it moved to its current location in Montebello. This early concentration of Armenians may have been the result of restrictive covenants that barred Armenians from living in other parts of the city.³⁰

In 1924, the federal government passed an even more restrictive immigration act. The National Origins Act of 1924 built upon the 1921 Emergency Quota Act to create a stricter and more permanent quota system that lasted until the 1960s. The new act reinforced anti-immigration sentiment, keeping "undesirable" ethnic groups out of the country maintaining a predominately white protestant nation composed of northern and western Europeans. The government used a new visa system, the one still used today, to implement the quotas. Ellis Island, once a thriving port of entry, was reduced to a detention center for a trickle of immigrants. The 1924 act significantly reduced Armenian immigration to the United States for forty years, leaving many refugees of the Armenian Genocide scattered abroad.

Los Angeles's Armenian community remained relatively small until the 1930s. Farming in the Central Valley continued to be the choice of many throughout the 1920s despite shrinking yields in agriculture. When the Great Depression hit, many Armenian farmers faced foreclosures after defaulting on loan payments for their farms. Many who lost their property moved to Los Angeles, swelling the community's numbers. According to former UCLA Armenian Studies professor Richard Hovannisian, residents became "small shop proprietors, for the most part-mom and pop grocery stores, photo engraving, a number of other things. So, they were the bulk of the community. They got things moving here in Los Angeles." As the population grew, Armenians gained a financial foothold as they moved west from the Central Avenue area into West Adams.

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³⁰ Interviews conducted alluded to deed restrictions although no deeds were researched for this project.

³¹ "Closing the Door on Immigration," https://www.nps.gov/articles/closing-the-door-on-immigration.htm#:~:text=The%20Emergency%20Quota%20Act%20of,the%20quotas%20stricter%20and%20permanent.

³² Fittante, "But why Glendale,"8

Despite quota restrictions, smaller waves of Armenian immigration still occurred.

Nansen passports supplied to refugees through the League of Nations allowed limited number of Armenians to continue to immigrate. Additionally, after World War II the American National Committee for Homeless Armenians (ANCHA) helped approximately 4,500 Soviet Armenians, stranded inside Germany and Italy immigrate to the United States under the Displaced Persons Act.³³ These individuals are commonly referred to as "DPs." The Soviet Armenians who arrived in Los Angeles as DPs, joined their Transcaucasian Armenian compatriots who had now moved from Boyle Heights to Montebello by the 1940s. Although somewhat unknown to those outside the Armenian community, Montebello still retains a significant Armenian population.

Pasadena

Pasadena's Armenian community formed in tandem with Los Angeles's. Pasadena's early Armenian residents were mostly Protestants from Hadjin and the neighboring Cilician towns in southeastern Anatolia. Pasadena Armenians had higher socio-economic standing and affiliations with mainstream Protestant American churches and this first wave of immigrants appears to have assimilated into Pasadena's society with relative ease.

The first Armenian families to live in Pasadena were the Pashgians and Khazoyans who established oriental rug shops serving wealthy residents of Pasadena and Los Angeles. Situated on what is referred to as the "rug belt," oriental rugs have been a significant part of Armenian culture for centuries.³⁴ Throughout history, Armenian rugs became valuable products well known for the quality of their weavings and dyes and Armenian merchants became well known in the trade. Today in Yerevan, the capital of Armenia, there is a national rug museum. The Khazoyans started their business in Los Angeles, later opening a satellite location in downtown Pasadena on South Raymond Avenue. Both businesses remain in operation today. Chapter four of this thesis will provide greater context for Armenian rug businesses in Los Angeles. The few other Armenian residents of the time appear to be professionals, including Dr. Hozarbed B. Yacoubian a physician living in the Orange Heights neighborhood.

³³ Armenian lands in Transcaucasia were captured by the Soviet Union from Turkey following World War I.

³⁴ While offensive when used to describe people, the term oriental may be used as a descriptor for products including rugs.

Pasadena's early Armenian community remained small until the 1920s. Between 1903 and 1919, city directories show none of the Armenian organizations that would appear in later directories.³⁵ The founding of the Armenian Cilicia Congregation Church in 1922 signaled a critical mass of Armenians in Pasadena.³⁶ The reference to Cilicia in the church's name is significant as it reflects the demographics of its congregation. For much of its history, Cilicia Congregational Church held services in Turkish rather than Armenian or English. Originally meeting in congregants' homes, the church moved into the Psychic Science building at 495 East Villa Street. After eleven years there, the congregation purchased its own property at 920 North El Molino Avenue (1936, extant).³⁷

Pasadena's early community grew as extended families from other parts of the country moved together. Some of the early Armenians included the Pashgian, Khazoyan, Constantian, Sohomonian, Gertmenian and Salisian families. As this community grew, occupations expanded beyond merchants and professionals. By the mid-1920s, a large percentage of Pasadena's clothing repair, shoe repair and cleaning businesses were owned by Armenians. Once the community established itself, Armenian organizations such as the Varoujan Literary Club and the Friends of Armenia formed.

With the exception of Pasadena's earliest upper middle class Armenian families, the majority of Armenians tended to live north of Villa Street between North Raymond and Lake Avenues. Another concentration of Armenians was east of Hill Avenue and south of Washington Boulevard. By the mid-1920s there were Armenian-owned businesses on the 1400-1500 blocks of Washington Boulevard. The community, that formed near Washington Boulevard formed the foundation for a growing Armenian population in the second half of the twentieth century.

| 1900s and 1910s | Emergent enclaves include |
|-----------------|---------------------------|
| | Los Angeles |

³⁵ Pasadena, p. 59.

³⁶ The congregation formed under the name Armenian Congregational Mission of Pasadena.

³⁷ Kooshian, 286.

³⁸ Pasadena, p. 61.

| | South Central Neighborhood (Primarily Western Armenians from Kharpert, Aintab, Dikranagerd, Cilicia, Adana, and Van) Boyle Heights (Eastern Armenians from Transcaucasia) • Pasadena Orange Heights neighborhood (Western Armenian Families from Cilicia) • Glendale Casa Verdugo Neighborhood |
|-------|---|
| 1920s | Los Angeles South Central (established), West Adams (emergent), Hollywood (emergent), Boyle Heights (established) Pasadena Orange Heights (established) Glendale Casa Verdugo (emergent) |
| 1930s | Los Angeles South Central (established), West Adams (established), Hollywood (emergent) Boyle Heights (established) Montebello (emergent as Boyle Heights community moves east) Pasadena Orange Heights (established) Glendale Casa Verdugo (emergent) |
| 1940s | Los Angeles South Central (established), West Adams (established), Hollywood (emergent) Boyle Heights (declining) Montebello (established) Pasadena Orange Heights (established) Glendale Casa Verdugo (emergent) |
| 1950s | Inglewood (emergent) Los Angeles South Central (declining), West Adams (established), Hollywood (emergent), San Fernando Valley (emergent) Montebello (established) Pasadena Orange Heights (established) Glendale |

| Casa Verdugo (emergent) |
|-------------------------|
| |

Table 1. 1 Timeline of first wave immigration to Los Angeles County.

Second Wave of Armenian Immigration

The second wave of Armenian immigration to Los Angeles County is distinctly different from that of the first. Under the Johnson Administration, Congress passed the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, also known as the Hart-Celler Act. The act formally ended the quota system established under the 1924 National Origins Act. Congresses' choice to change the 1924 act resulted from the Civil Rights Movement and an understanding that restrictive immigration policies conflicted with the progressive spirit of the period. Under the new policy, Armenians throughout Southwest Asia were eligible to immigrate to the United States just as instability grew throughout the region.

The new wave of Armenian immigration came "in the wake of the political tumult of or leading up to the Lebanese Civil War (1975-1990), the Iranian Revolution (1979), the Iran-Iraq War (1980-8), the facilitation of emigration from the USSR due to the Jackson-Vanik amendment (1974), collapse of the Soviet Union (1991), the economic crash of the Republic of Armenia (1992-onwards), and other international events."³⁹ By the 1960s, many of the second and third generations of Armenian Americans had moved out of early enclaves. However, this new influx of immigrants concentrated the Armenian community into denser ethnic enclaves that included Hollywood and Pasadena and turned Glendale into an Armenian ethnoburb. From Glendale, Armenians spread deeper into the San Fernando Valley into Burbank, North Hollywood, and Tujunga, among other neighborhoods.

Hollywood

In Yeretzian's 1923 thesis, Hollywood is briefly mentioned as a neighborhood with Armenians, but it was not until the 1970s that Hollywood grew into the Armenian enclave Angelenos know today. The area now known as Little Armenia, is roughly bounded by the 101 Freeway to the west, Hollywood Boulevard to the north, Vermont Avenue to the East, and Santa Monica Boulevard to the South. Throughout the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, Armenians were not the only ethnic community to settle in the vicinity. The Thai community in this area

³⁹ Fittante, "But why Glendale," 12.

grew as well forming what is now known as Thai Town. The growth of these immigrant communities came about because of Hollywood's high density and affordable housing in the 1960s-1990s, East Hollywood became a port of entry for many new arrivals.

Propelled primarily by families fleeing the Soviet Union, Hollywood's Armenian community coalesced into a densely populated Armenian enclave. In an interview with Maggie Mangassarian Goschin, she recalled a small cluster of Armenians living on Madison Avenue near Los Angeles City College as one of the first concentrations of Armenians. Nearby Bezjian's Grocery at 4725 Santa Monica Boulevard (extant) supported the growing community.⁴⁰

Mikhail Gorbachev's Glasnost allowed Armenians to emigrate from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). In 1979 and 1980 approximately 9,500 Armenian emigres arrived in the United States, many of whom settled in Hollywood. From 1980 onwards, Soviet Armenians immigrated in waves dependent on political conditions in their home country. Between 1987 and 1988 over 10,000 Soviet Armenians arrived in Los Angeles County, making it the area's largest refugee group since the resettlement of Vietnamese in the late 1970s. In 1989, another wave arrived following the devastating Spitak Earthquake in Armenia. The earthquake left over 25,000 dead and hundreds of thousands homeless. During this same period, the Nagorno-Karabakh war between Armenia and Azerbaijan created a steady stream of refugees who arrived directly to Los Angeles.

With the large influx of emigres, restaurants, markets, and shops catering to the Armenian population flourished. Carousel Restaurant and Banquet Hall became an important gathering place for large Armenian dinners, Jon's Marketplace grew into a supermarket chain, and Parseghian Records influenced Armenian music throughout the diaspora. Even Armenian newspapers, including the widely read Asbarez, once based in Fresno relocated to Hollywood. These new immigrants did not face the same pressure to assimilate as those in the first wave had, allowing for Armenian ethnic identity to be celebrated throughout the neighborhood.

⁴⁰ Interview with Maggie Goschin from the Ararat Home.

⁴¹ Mark Arax and Esther Schrader, "County Braces for Sudden Influx of Soviet Armenians," *Los Angeles Times*, March 8, 1988

⁴² Esther Schrader, "Dispute Clouds Future for Armenian Emigres," Los Angeles Times, July 10, 1988.

Pasadena

Pasadena's Armenian community that settled near East Washington Boulevard during the first half of the twentieth century laid the foundation for those who arrived during the second half. Pasadena appears to be a unique enclave as it has remained primarily Western Armenian throughout the century. As noted, before, early settlers were almost all Cilician Armenian. The second wave of immigrants to arrive in Pasadena were primarily Lebanese Armenians fleeing Lebanon during the Civil War. There is a historical connection between the two groups that likely accounts for the arrival of Lebanese Armenians in Pasadena.

Following the Genocide, many Armenians from Cilicia and the surrounding area found new life in refugee camps near Beirut. Before the genocide, only a small number of catholic Armenians lived in Lebanon. After World War I, France controlled Cilicia until it ceded the territory to Turkey in 1922 as part of a land swap for Turkish held lands in the Levant. The swap caused a mass exodus of Cilician Armenians into Lebanon. In 1939, another wave of Armenian immigration occurred when France relinquished the occupied Sanjak of Alexandretta to Turkey. At the outbreak of the Civil War, Lebanon's Armenian population is estimated to have been about 200,000 and by its end only 75,000 Armenians remained.

Between 1980-85, approximately 8,000 Armenians moved to Pasadena, a nearly 50% increase totaling approximately 17,000.⁴⁵ The large influx of Armenian immigrants mixed with a strong Armenian lobby, pushed the City of Pasadena to enact legislation recognizing Armenians as a protected class for purposes of affirmative action.⁴⁶ In a 1985 article for the *Los Angeles Times*, Mark Arax wrote, "Up and down Washington Boulevard in Pasadena-along the storefronts of pastry shops, small vegetable markets and convenience stores – refugees from war and persecution have created a new home, a new Armenia."⁴⁷ In 1991, eighty percent of the one hundred businesses along the Washington Boulevard corridor were Armenian-owned giving it the moniker Little Armenia before Hollywood earned its official title.⁴⁸

⁴³ Chapter 2 will discuss Armenians of the Catholic faith and their significance in Los Angeles at greater detail.

⁴⁴ George A. Bournoutian, A concise History of the Armenian People, (Costa Mesa, Mazda Publishers, 2003), 345.

⁴⁵ Mark Arax, "Pasadena's Armenians," Los Angeles Times, August 4, 1985.

⁴⁶ Arax, "Pasadena's Armenians."

⁴⁷ Mark Arax, "Clash of Old, New Challenges Growing Colony of Armenians," Los Angeles Times, 1985.

⁴⁸ Ginger Hope, "A taste of Old Country in 'Little Armenia,'" Los Angeles Times, August 11, 1991.

Pasadena proved to be a microcosm for the Armenian community throughout Los Angeles, as tensions between Armenian immigrants and second and third generation Armenian-Americans. At the core of the tensions were disagreements around what some called "Armenian terrorism," and others called freedom fighting. Growing out of the politics and militias of the Lebanese Civil War, Armenian militant groups sought justice for the Genocide that the international community failed to deal. From 1975 to 1985 Armenians assassinated twenty-two Turkish diplomats. In 1982, Harry Sasounian, who emigrated from Beirut to Pasadena, assassinated Turkish Consul General Kemal Arikan on Wilshire Boulevard in Westwood. Armenians had become such an important demographic in Pasadena, that in 1985, City Director Rick Cole proclaimed that those who carried out the assassinations were not "terrorists" but "freedom fighters" rightfully seeking vengeance. ⁴⁹

Glendale

Glendale is the largest and most recognizable Armenian community in Los Angeles County. From Glendale, the Armenian community spread deep into the San Fernando Valley. With its history as a "sundown town" and bastion for the American Nazi Party during the twentieth century, Glendale may seem like an unlikely place for Armenians to settle. Before the 1960s, Glendale's Armenian community remained small. For the first two decades, only a handful of Armenian families lived within the city. Around 1909 the Pampaian family moved to Glendale, living at 1312 Valley View in the Casa Verdugo neighborhood. Around the same time the Jamgochian family lived at 633 San Fernando Road. Paul Ignatius, grandson of the first Jamogchians to live in Glendale later became Secretary of the Navy during the Johnson Administration.

Glendale's rise as an Armenian ethnoburb really began with wealthy Iranian Armenian students studying at Glendale College. In his article, Daniel Fittante describes Armenian immigration to Glendale as "a tripartite trajectory: (1) from the late 1950s until the early 1970s, [Glendale] began to experience a scattering of non-Anglo newcomers. Following the growth of

⁴⁹ Mark Arax, "Pasadena's Armenians."

⁵⁰ Yeretzian.

suburbanization throughout the U.S., Armenians (as well as other groups) began moving to Glendale in small numbers. (2) Between the mid-1970s and the early 1990s, Armenians came in increasingly larger numbers. Unlike their predecessors who came largely from only a few locations, these newcomers were far more multi-local in origin. They came from the Soviet Union, Lebanon, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, etc. these newcomers were also far more socio-economically mixed than their more affluent predecessors.... (3) from 1990 until today Glendale has become a global symbol of the Armenian diaspora."⁵¹ Glendale's image is so engrained in the Armenian zeitgeist that there is a housing development in Yerevan named after the city.

Unlike other Armenian groups immigrating to the United States during the 1960s and 1970s, Iranian Armenians often arrived with significant resources because of Iran's strong economy and oil revenues under the Shah. Glendale College proved an appealing destination for wealthy Iranian Armenians who came the United States to study. Early Iranian Armenians who moved to Glendale in the 1950s and 1960s included Larry Zarian and Kosti Shervanian whose famial and social networks attracted other wealthy Iranian Armenians to the city. In the following decades, Shervanian founded Western Waste and Zarian became Glendale's first Armenian mayor.

Because of their socio-economic class, Iranian-Armenian immigrants were able to purchase homes in Glendale unlike their refugee compatriots who were settling in Hollywood. Where Hollywood was a densely developed urban environment, Glendale was by and large a wealthy suburb of single-family residences. However, by the late 1960s a shift was occurring in city government that created a pro-development environment in the 1970s.

In 1974, the Glendale Galleria broke ground, ushering a new wave of commercial and residential development. As Anglo property owners sold their land, developers purchased property for multifamily housing development. The increase in apartment units in the southern part of the city created a port of entry for Armenians of all socioeconomic classes who were fleeing political unrest in Iran, Iraq, Egypt, Armenia, and Lebanon. The chart below, taken from

⁵¹ Ethnoburb, a term coined by Dr. Wei Li to describe a suburban community that is home to a large ethnic community. Li used this term to describe the Chinese presence in the San Gabriel Valley and Daniel Fittante has used it to describe Glendale.; Fittante, "But Why Glendale?" 9.

Daniel Fittante's article *The Armenians of Glendale* shows the Armenian population growth from 1990-2010 using places of origin.

| | 1990 | 2000 | 2010 |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| | (identity/origin) | (identity/origin) | (identity/origin) |
| Iran | 13,404 (17,126) | 18,853 (25,123) | 22,405 (27,480) |
| (Post) Soviet | 7,549 (8,432) | 16,327 (18,313) | 28,616 (29,503) |
| Lebanon | 2,114 (3,043) | 2,540 (4,364) | 2,094 (3,313) |
| Iraq | 982 (1,284) | 1,595 (2,280) | 1,975 (2,811) |
| Syria | 900 (1,266) | 1,384 (1,796) | 557 (1,583) |
| California (outside | 2,576 (54,561) | 7,932 (58,385) | 15,364 (60,773) |
| Glendale) | | | |
| All Countries | 29,996 (17% overall | 52,249 (27% overall | 74,511 (39% overall |
| | population) | population | population) |

Table 1. 2 Armenian population growth from 1990-2010 using places of origin. Source: Fittante, "Armenian's of Glendale."

Fittante acknowledges that this is not an exhaustive list and that Armenians arrived from other countries of origin. However, the countries above make up the largest groups who came to Glendale during the selected periods.

Despite their minority status, Armenians have made a significant impact on Glendale. To support the growing ethnic population, an Armenian economy became more visible. Like other Southwest Asian communities that are categorized as white on official census data, Armenians have not always fit within the Anglo-American ideals of whiteness. Strong ethnic identity and cultural customs caused many of Glendale's Anglo population to marginalize Armenians. In 1995, a preservation battle erupted when the Apostolic Church acquired a landmarked 1926 First Church of Christ, Scientist building at 500 S. Central Avenue pitting the established Anglo community against Armenians. ⁵² Glendale a once conservative sundown town is now an Armenian ethnoburb central to America's Armenian diaspora. ⁵³

⁵² Steve Ryfle, "Culture Clash of Glendale Church Building: <u>Large Armenian congregation wants its historic structure</u>, <u>built by Christian Scientists in 1926</u>, <u>off protected list. Preservationists oppose the move</u>," *Los Angeles Times*, April 18, 1995.

⁵³ Sundown towns were white communities that did not allow Black individuals to be within city limits after sunset.

During the twentieth century, Los Angeles County emerged as the epicenter of the North American Diaspora bypassing enclaves in eastern cities. Armenians escaping Russian pogroms, Hamidian Massacres, and the Armenian Genocide, formed the County's first enclaves in Boyle Heights, South Central Los Angeles, and Pasadena. As more Armenians immigrated and socioeconomic standing rose, Armenians in Boyle Heights moved east into Montebello and from South Central into West Adams. Following the Immigration Act of 1964 new waves of Armenian immigrants arrived from countries throughout the Middle East escaping political unrest. During the second half of the twentieth century, today's most visible enclaves in Hollywood and Pasadena were coined "Little Armenia" and Glendale emerged as an ethnoburb. The following chapters will explore historic resources in each of these communities.

| 1960s | Inglewood (Established) Los Angeles West Adams (declining), Hollywood (emergent), San Fernando Valley (established) Montebello (established) Pasadena Orange Heights (established) Glendale (emergent) |
|-------|---|
| 1970s | Inglewood (Established) Los Angeles Hollywood (established), San Fernando Valley (established) Montebello (established) Pasadena (established) Beginning of Lebanese Civil War refugee immigration Glendale (emergent) Growing number of Iranian Armenians from political tensions |

| 1980s | Inglewood (declining) |
|-------|---|
| | Los Angeles |
| | Hollywood (established with growing number of Soviet Armenians |
| | immigrating) |
| | San Fernando Valley (established and growing with various diaspora |
| | groups) |
| | Montebello (established) |
| | Pasadena (established) |
| | Massive influx of immigration from Lebanese Civil War refugee • Glendale (Established) |
| | Massive influx of Iranian Armenians caused by Iranian Revolution and Iran-Iraq War |
| | Increased multifamily housing options allow lower income refugees to settle in Glendale |
| 1990s | Los Angeles |
| | Hollywood (established, continued growth from collapse of Soviet |
| | Union and economic issues in Armenia) |
| | San Fernando Valley (established) |
| | Montebello (established) |
| | Pasadena (established) |
| | Continuation of Lebanese Civil War refugee immigration |
| | Glendale (Established) |
| | Continued growth of Iranian Armenians |
| | Increased multifamily housing causes migration from Hollywood and |
| | other recent immigrant groups |
| | Increased migration from other Los Angeles neighborhoods as |
| | Armenians rise in socio-economic status |

Table 1. 3 Timeline of Second Wave of Immigration

Chapter 2: Institutional Properties (Houses of Worship, Schools, and Care Facilities)

Institutional properties, such as churches, schools, and care facilities help to tell the evolution of the Armenian community in Los Angeles. Through these property types, we see enclave formation, disappearance, and migration. As discussed in the previous chapter, the Armenian Church became firmly rooted in Armenian culture and identity because of both the Ottoman millet system and the lasting effects of the genocide. Within Los Angeles County there are over thirty Armenian churches and nearly twenty Armenian day schools. Throughout Armenian migration to Los Angeles, the church has not only played an important role in identity but as a community space where Armenians are able to gather and preserve their cultural heritage in a wider context than solely religion. Generally, these schools are organized around church organizations including the Armenian Apostolic church, as well as international Armenian organizations such as the Armenian General Benevolent Union (AGBU).

Religious

Armenian churches are significant cornerstones of the community that facilitate support networks and cultural preservation. Armenian churches are often identifiable by their architecture. Since the 1920s, churches constructed by Armenian congregations and parishes are predominately contemporary interpretations of classical Armenian church architecture. Character defining features of Armenian churches include austere stone construction to resemble the volcanic tufa used in the Armenian highlands, polygonal domes and cupolas, and a vertical emphasis. While this is the prevailing church style, some Armenian churches in Los Angeles adopted more regional styling that include Spanish Colonial Revival architecture or moved into already constructed sanctuaries. Apostolic and congregational churches are the most prominent Christian sects in the Armenian community. However, there are Catholic and Pentecostal sanctuaries that are included in this section.

Protestant and Congregational Churches and Organizations

The Gethsemane Armenian Congregational Church was Los Angeles's first Armenian Protestant congregation. In 1908, the congregation formally organized under the leadership of

Reverend S.H. Babasinian. The church's first service was led by Reverend Haigag H. Khazoyan in a small room at the First Congregation Church of Los Angeles. In 1910, Aram Yeretzian, author of the 1923 USC thesis on Armenians in Los Angeles, became involved with the church ministry. Three years later, in 1913, Yeretzian was ordained as reverend of the congregation, which bought a sanctuary at 1001 East 28th Street (extant) in 1917, one block west of Central Avenue.⁵⁴ [Figure 2.1] The congregation purchased the building across the street from the YMCA from the Salem Congregational Church for \$1,000.⁵⁵ On Christmas Day, January 6, 1917, the Gethsemane Congregational Church held its first service at its new church building.⁵⁶ The Church was active in the community, even conducting missionary work in Los Angeles's Transcaucasian Armenian community in Boyle Heights.⁵⁷

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⁵⁴ "Open A Church for Armenians: To be Known as Gethsemane Congregational," *Los Angeles Times*, January 13, 1917. The church building is listed on the National Register of Historic Places as a contributor to the 27th Street Historic District. The district is listed for its association with African American Heritage.

^{55 &}quot;Open A Church."

⁵⁶ "Church Center for Armenians: Edifice will be Dedicated Tomorrow Morning," *Los Angeles Times*, January 19, 1918

⁵⁷ Transcaucasian Armenians are those who emigrated from the South Caucus region. Today, this region generally refers to the land area that is made up of the Republic of Armenia, Georgia, and Azerbaijan.



Figure 2. 1 Armenian Congregational Church location at 1001 East 28th Street. Source: Photo by author.

By 1923, the Armenian Gethsemane Congregational Church had an average attendance of 250 for Sunday service. ⁵⁸ On February 25, 1925, approximately fifty Turkish speaking members left the congregation to start the Masis Congregational Church. ⁵⁹ In 1940, the Masis Congregation constructed a church building at 3068 San Marino Street (extant) between Vermont and Western Avenues in Koreatown. ⁶⁰ [Figure 2.2] In 1941, the Gethsemane Congregational Church constructed a new and much larger church at 2085 South Hobart Street (extant) in the Harvard Heights neighborhood. ⁶¹ [Figure 2.3-2.4]

⁵⁸ Kooshian, 283.

⁵⁹ Most of these Turkish speaking Armenians had immigrated from Aintab in Cilicia.

⁶⁰ Los Angeles Department of Building and Safety Permit No. 7483, March 1940.

⁶¹ Los Angeles Department of Building and Safety Permit No. 15259, June 23, 1941.



Figure 2. 2 Former Masis Congregational Church at 3068 San Marino Street. Source: Photo by author.



Figure 2. 3 Former Armenian Gethsemane Congregational Church sanctuary at 2085 South Hobart Street. Source: Photo by author.

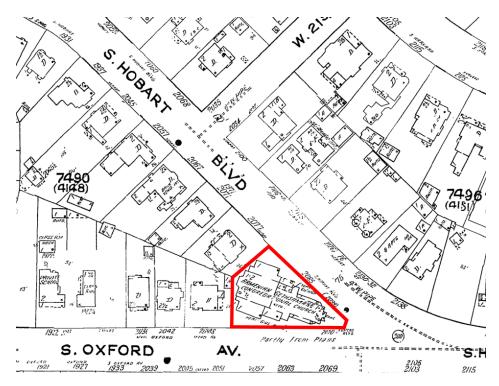


Figure 2. 4 Armenian Gethsemane Congregational Church on Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from 1940. Source: Los Angeles Public Library.

During the 1950s, the youth groups from Masis and Gethsemane Congregational Churches expressed their desire to merge churches after socializing. In 1959, church leaders began to discuss a merger which officially took place in January 1963. The merging of the two churches led to the formation of the United Armenian Congregational Church. One year later, the Armenian Congregational Church of the San Fernando Valley joined the newly formed church. In June 1965, the congregation held a groundbreaking ceremony for the Church's current location at 3480 Cahuenga Boulevard (extant) near the Cahuenga Pass. The merger and relocation of the church to Studio City likely reflects congregant migration from West Adams and Koreatown neighborhoods to the San Fernando Valley. Since leaving their respective locations, the sanctuaries used by Masis, and Gethsemane Congregational Churches have been adapted to meet the needs of other religious groups.

In 1930, Reverend Yeretzian left the Gethsemane Church to help form the Immanuel Armenian Congregational Church. From 1930-1933 the congregation met at a Seventh Day

^{62 &}quot;Our History," Accessed November, 10, 2021, https://uaccchurch.org/our-history/.

^{63 &}quot;Our History," Accessed November 10, 2021, https://uaccchurch.org/our-history/.

Adventist Church located at 38th Street and Vermont Avenue across the street from Exposition Park.⁶⁴ In 1933, the congregation purchased a permanent church building at 1401 West Washington Boulevard (extant) in the Pico-Union neighborhood.⁶⁵ Reverend Yeretzian died in 1938 and to this day, the congregation still hangs his photo in the north annex of their church. In the late 1970s, the congregation moved to Downey selling their church location on Washington Boulevard. The congregation held services in the Immanuel Mennonite Church of Downey for a year and a half before moving to their current location at 9516 Downey Avenue (extant). ⁶⁶

The Armenian Evangelical Brethren Church began with services in private homes in the early 1920s. Meetings soon moved to a mortuary on Main Street and then to an old YMCA in the 1920s. The YMCA played an important role in many of the early Los Angeles congregations due to its likely ties to pre-World War I missionaries and involvement with the Armenian relief efforts following the Armenian Genocide. As the congregation grew, services moved to a Seventh Day Adventist Church in 1928. In 1945 the congregation broke ground on a new church building at 3200 London Street (extant) in Silver Lake. Congregants performed much of the labor themselves and the church was completed in 1949 just as the Hollywood Freeway opened. The congregation remained in Silver Lake until 2006 when the church relocated to its current location in Glendale.

Pasadena's early Armenian community consisted mostly of Protestants from Hadjin and other Cilician towns. On June 3, 1922, families began meeting under the leadership of Stephen Salisian and Setrak Timourian and organized the Armenian Congregational Mission of Pasadena.⁶⁸ On April 7, 1927, the Armenian Congregational Mission changed its name to the Armenian Cilicia Congregational Church. Early on, services were conducted in private homes and then for two years at the Pasadena YMCA. In 1924, the congregation used the chapel at the

⁶⁴ "History," accessed November 10, 2021, https://www.immanuelacc.org/history.

⁶⁵ Los Angeles Department of Building and Safety Permit No.

⁶⁶ "History," accessed November 10, 2021, https://www.immanuelacc.org/history.

⁶⁷ Carmen Ramos Chandler, "CSUN Exhibit Highlights Role YMCA, Americans Played in Armenian Relief Efforts Following World War I," *CSUN Today*, October 17, 2019, https://csunshinetoday.csun.edu/arts-and-culture/csun-exhibit-highlights-role-ymca-americans-played-in-armenian-relief-efforts-following-world-war-i/

First Methodist Church and then for eleven years at the Church of Psychic Science building at 495 East Villa Street. In 1935, Stephen Philibosian, visiting from St. Louis, Missouri purchased a lot on the corner of El Molino Avenue and Mountain Street for \$1,000 and donated it to the church.⁶⁹ On March 31, 1936, the congregation broke ground at 920 North El Molino Avenue (extant).⁷⁰ [Figure 2.5] Architect Luther Eskijian designed the church building with Samuel Mardian as the contractor. Parishioners supplied much of the physical labor and construction related services and in 1937, the church was dedicated.⁷¹



Figure 2. 5 Former sanctuary of the Cilician Congregational Church at 920 El Molino Avenue. Source: Google Maps.

The congregation, although primarily Turkish speaking, did have some Armenian speaking individuals who began to resent the use of Turkish in services as it was the language of the oppressor. Eventually Armenian language was introduced into the service and Turkish was phased out as the Turkish speakers had become older congregants by that time. Finally English became the predominant language in an effort to retain the younger American-born Armenians. Despite its efforts, the congregation continued to dwindle, and the property was sold in 1974. In the late 1970s and 1980s, increased Armenian immigration breathed new life

⁶⁹ Kooshian, 286.

⁷⁰ "Our History," accessed November 10, 2021, https://www.ciliciachurch.org/our-history.

⁷¹ "Our History," accessed November 10, 2021, https://www.ciliciachurch.org/our-history.

⁷² Kooshian, 288.

into Pasadena's oldest congregation. Since the sale of the El Molino property, services had been held at the Seventh-Day Adventist Church at 1280 East Washington Boulevard and then at the Altadena Congregation Church at 943 East Altadena Drive. On June 2, 1991, the congregation purchased a new sanctuary at 339 South Santa Anita Avenue in Pasadena where services are still held.⁷³

Today, there are many other Armenian protestant churches throughout the County From the northernmost part of the San Fernando Valley to Montebello. The formation and evolution of these congregations is important to the history of Armenians in Los Angeles.

Armenian Apostolic Churches

The Armenian Apostolic Church gained a foothold in the United States after the Armenian Protestant and Congregational churches and faced more challenges establishing itself in the new country. As George Kooshian wrote, "Individualism, Protestantism, and the separation of church and state, the principles upon which the nation was founded, profoundly affected the institutions of every immigrant group. The established churches of the old world were disestablished in the new."⁷⁴

In the Ottoman Empire, the Apostolic Church exercised civil power, controlling taxes, community, and marriage. The government used passports to identify individuals as Armenian and those documents were validated by an individual's baptism in the Church. In the United States, no such authority was given to the Church and its survival was now based on the voluntary actions of its congregants. With a hierarchy centered in Constantinople and Echmiadzin, America's early Apostolic churches faced many challenges in establishing themselves and at times plunged into chaos threatening their very existence. However, after the Genocide, the Church's power strengthened as it became inextricably linked to Armenian identity. This powerful connection to cultural identity caused rival political factions to fight for control of the Diocese and local parishes.

⁷³ "Our History," accessed November 10, 2021, https://www.ciliciachurch.org/our-history.

⁷⁴ Kooshian, 90.

In 1902, the Catholicos of Echmiadzin authorized the formation of the Eastern Diocese of the Armenian Apostolic Church in Massachusetts. The new American Apostolic jurisdiction and hierarchy allowed for greater independence for American churches. No longer were requests required to travel to Patriarchate in Constantinople for approval. The Western Diocese was created in 1928 to meet the needs of the blossoming West Coast community. At the time of its establishment in Fresno, five churches in California fell under its authority. They were Holy Trinity in Fresno (consecrated in 1900), St. Gregory the Illuminator in Fowler (consecrated in 1910), St. Mary in Yettem (consecrated 1911), Holy Cross in Los Angeles (consecrated in 1923), and Saints Sahag-Mesrob in Reedley (consecrated in 1924). Throughout the twentieth century, the Apostolic Church became increasingly polarized by politics. Disagreements between international Armenian political parties, namely the Social Democrat Hnchakian,

Dashnaktsutyun (also known as the Armenian Revolutionary Federation), and Sahmanadrakan Ramkavar drove wedges between parishioners and became the catalyst for new parishes nationally and in Los Angeles. In 1933, political divisions were so bad that Archbishop Ghevont Tourian in New York City was assassinated during mass. To the formation of the form

In 1907, Armenians in Los Angeles organized the Holy Cross parish as an emotional response to the death of Catholicos Khrimian Hayrig. ⁷⁶ From 1907 to 1917, the parish relied upon traveling clergymen from Fresno to conduct services. On Palm Sunday in 1917, the parish celebrated its first Divine Liturgy in the Episcopal Church under its first permanent priest Adom Kahana. ⁷⁷ In January 1921, a building committee was elected, and Father Adom traveled to Armenian communities throughout the United States raising a total of \$21,179 for the new church. Of the total, \$10,305 was donated by Armenians in Los Angeles. ⁷⁸ With that money the parish purchased a lot at 420 East 20th Street in South Los Angeles. On March 26, 1922, Holy Cross held its cornerstone ceremony, and the church was completed in 1923 (extant). [Figure 2.6] Holy Cross remained deeply divided politically until on April 18, 1942, when non-

⁷⁵ "Armenian Feud Kidnaping Seen as New York Boy Disappears," Los Angeles Times, July 22, 1939.

⁷⁶ Kooshian, 114.

⁷⁷ At the time it was not uncommon for new Apostolic parishes to hold services in Episcopal churches when they did not have their own sanctuary.

⁷⁸ "History," http://www.montebelloholycross.com/cathedral-history/.

Dashnaktsakans under Locum Tenens Vartan Dzairakuin Vartabed Kasparian, left Holy Cross to establish St. James Armenian Church.⁷⁹



Figure 2. 6 Original Holy Cross Church at 420 East 20th Street. Source: Photo by author.

In 1953, at a general membership meeting parishioners of Holy Cross unanimously voted to leave the Western Diocese and join the newly formed Western Prelacy which operated under the Auspices of the Holy See of Cilicia rather than the Holy See of Echmiadzin. The decision to leave the Western Diocese was a political act as congregants feared the Soviet influence on the church. In 1978, Holy Cross began relocating to its current church building in Montebello at 900 Lincoln Avenue (extant). Groundbreaking took place on June 1, 1980, and on September 6, 1981, Holy Cross Cathedral held its first Holy Mass. In 1984, His Holiness Karekin II

⁷⁹ Kooshian, 437.

⁸⁰ "No Prayers for Stalin: Armenian Church Here Severs Russian Ties," Los Angeles Times, August 16, 1953.

of the Great House of Cilicia consecrated the cathedral.⁸¹ The move from South Los Angeles east to Montebello reflects a demographic shift and the growing Montebello community.

When the split occurred in 1942, the more politically conservative St. James parishioners purchased a house with a large yard at 3200 West Adams Boulevard which was converted to church use. In 1947, the parish constructed a new church building on the property designed by architect Edward H. Fickett and engineer K. Bardizbanian (extant). On the day of the first service at St. James Church, cars lined Adams Boulevard as Armenians from across the city attended the Devine Liturgy. The parish grew rapidly following World War II as more Armenian families moved to Los Angeles during the Post-War boom. In 1949, the parish built a new auditorium and later a new sanctuary and classroom building in 1957. In 1958, the Western Diocese moved its office from Fresno to St. James Parish. During the 1960s, additional Diocesan offices were located at 821 South Crenshaw Boulevard (extant), and 4511 Orchid Drive. These offices operated out of residential properties that may have served as the residences of the bishops.

In 1964, the parish acquired land further west at 4950 West Slauson Avenue. The first structure on site was constructed soon after and used for church services. On May 19, 1968, His Holiness Vazken I Supreme Patriarch and Catholicos of All Armenians officiated the groundbreaking of the new sanctuary which was completed and consecrated in 1971 (extant). In 1974, the parish constructed Sunday school classrooms and in 1975 dedicated the Haiganoosh Dulgarian Hall (extant). St. James Church remains Los Angeles's oldest Armenian Church under the auspices of the Western Diocese and has played an important role in community development in West Adams, Inglewood, and other Westside communities in the twentieth century.

Following Saint James parish, Saint Gregory the Illuminator parish was established in 1947 to serve a growing Pasadena community. In 1958, Saint Peter Apostolic Church at 17231 Sherman Way (extant) became the first San Fernando Valley parish, followed by Holy Martyrs Apostolic Church in Encino in 1961 (extant). During the mid to late 1970s, the first Armenian Apostolic churches were established in Hollywood's Little Armenia community. These are Saint

^{81 &}quot;History," accessed November 10, 2021 http://www.montebelloholycross.com/holy-cross-brief-history/

⁸² "History," accessed November 10, 2021, https://stjamesla.net/st-james-church-history.

John Garabed Armenian Church established under the Western Diocese in 1974 (extant) and Saint Garabed Armenian Apostolic Church under the Western Prelacy in 1977 (extant). Saint John Garabed became the Diocesan Headquarters until it was moved to Saint Gregory the Illuminator Armenian Church in Pasadena in 1994 after the Northridge Earthquake. In 2003, the Diocesan Headquarters moved to its current location in Burbank.

In 1985, Saint Mary's Armenian Apostolic Church became the first Apostolic parish in Glendale. When the parish purchased the 1926 First Church of Christ, Scientist at 500 South Central Avenue (extant), the church building became the center of the tension between the established Anglo and the bourgeoning Armenian communities as the parish sought to erect an Armenian style dome atop the church. However, historic preservation laws in Glendale prohibited the construction of the dome that is a distinct symbol of Armenian culture. Many Armenian churches throughout Los Angeles boast contemporary interpretations of classical Armenian churches. Notable examples of this architecture are St. James Armenian Church, United Armenian Congregational Church, and St. Gregory Armenian Catholic Church.

Armenian Pryguny Molokans

A relatively unknown religious sect, Los Angeles's Armenian Pryguny Molokans or "Spiritual Christians," is the smallest of the dedicated Armenian houses of worship. Armenian Molokans primarily immigrated to the United States from the village of Karakala in the Kars Oblast during the early 1900s. So Originating in central Russia and not indigenous Armenian lands, followers of Molokan faith rejected the doctrines of the Russian Orthodox Church. A sect of Christianity, the Molokans share similarities with Mennonites, Quakers, Dukhobors, and Pentecostals.

Around 1828, the Czarist government forcibly relocated Russian sectarians en mass, moving populations to the most remote parts of the empire. As a result, a group of Molokans were resettled to Kars Oblast in Transcaucasia. A small population of indigenous Armenians

⁸³ Ryfle, "Cultures Clash."

⁸⁴ St. Gregory will be discussed in a following section of this chapter.

⁸⁵ Yeretzian, 49.

⁸⁶ Kooshian, 99.

soon began converting to and intermarrying with the new Russian Molokans. The Molokans who settled in Kars were members of the Pryguny sect, so named because of their jumping and ecstatic dancing during worship.⁸⁷ Beginning around 1878, prophecies of impending destruction at home and refuge abroad began to proliferate amongst the group. These prophecies coincided with the government's change in policy that no longer exempted religious pacifists from military service.⁸⁸ In 1900, Efin Gerasimitch Klubnikin began travelling from village to village within the Kars Oblast and Erevan Governorate spreading his warnings. Klubnikin warned the Armenians that if they did not flee, they would suffer a fate far more severe than that of their Russian brethren.⁸⁹

The first Armenian Molokans left Kars Oblast in 1904 and settled in Boyle Heights, in the area known as the "Flats" or "Russian Flats." ⁹⁰ That year the *Los Angeles Herald* reported six families from Kars living in the "Flats." ⁹¹ The area eventually grew into the Transcaucasian Armenian enclave discussed in the previous chapter. The Armenian Molokans first held meetings in homes on Boston Street, then in a large room at 431 S. Pecan Street. ⁹² Eventually the group secured a permanent home for the First Procohladnoye Church of Russian Molokan Spiritualist Christian Holy Jumpers of L.A. at 320 South Gless Street (extant). [Figure 2.7]

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⁸⁷ The Russian word prygun translates to jump or leap.

⁸⁸ Ethel Dunn and Stephen P Dunn, "THE MOLOKANS IN AMERICA," Dialectical anthropology 3, no. 4 (1978): 349–360, 353.

⁸⁹ Kooshian, 100.

Whether or not the prophecy was divine, Karakala was destroyed in 1918.

⁹⁰ Kooshian, 101

⁹¹ C.P. De Blumenthal, "Members of Odd Brotherhood Make This City Their Home," *Los Angeles Herald*, July 17, 1904.

⁹² Kooshian, 101.



Figure 2. 7 Former sanctuary for the First Procohladnoye Church of Russian Molokan Spiritualist Christian Holy Jumpers of L.A. at 320 South Gless Street. Source: Photo by author.

By the 1930s, "The Flats" became one of the most impoverished areas in Los Angeles and a target for slum clearance. In the 1940s, much of the neighborhood was razed for the Aliso Village housing project and construction of the Santa Ana Freeway. In 2000, Aliso Village was demolished for the Pueblo del Sol housing project. Today, only a small section of the neighborhood remains along Gless and Pecan Streets between Third and Fourth Streets and along Clarence and Gless streets between First and Third Streets. In 1933, three other Molokan congregations came together to form the First United Christian Molokan Church on East Third Street. In 2012, the church building was relocated to 635 Lorena Street within a multifamily development. [Figure 2.8]

⁹³ Susan, Briante, "Utopia's Ruins: Seeing Domesticity and Decay in the Aliso Village Housing Project," CR (East Lansing, Mich.) 10, no. 1 (2010): 127–139.



Figure 2. 8 First United Molokan Church at 635 Lorena Street. Source: Photo by author.

From "The Flats," many Molokans moved up the hill between Eighth Street and Whittier Boulevard. When the East Los Angeles Interchange was built, many of the Armenian Molokan residents moved east towards Montebello. The second location of the Pryguny church was at 1101 Goodrich Boulevard (extant) in the City of Commerce. This community continued to move east over the decades, and descendants of these Molokans now hold services at the Hillside Armenian Pentecostal Church located at 125 West Road in La Habra Heights (extant).

Many of the original Armenian Molokans are buried at the Old Russian Molokan

Cemetery located at 4319 East 2nd Street (extant). [Figure 2.9 - 2.10]When observing the names on the headstones, it is quickly apparent that many of those buried in the cemetery hold Armenian surnames. Having reached capacity in the late 1930s, the Molokan churches purchased a new cemetery at 7201 Slauson Avenue in the City of Commerce (extant).⁹⁴ The

⁹⁴ Hugo Martin, "Laid to Rest Among Their Ancestors," Los Angeles Times, September 14, 1998.

latter cemetery sits in the middle of an industrial zone. There are three other cemeteries in the immediate area, two of which are Jewish, shedding light into the area's pre-industrial past.



Figure 2. 9 Old Russian Molokan Cemetery at 4355 East 2nd Street Source: Google Maps



Figure 2. 10 Old Russian Molokan Cemetery at 4355 East 2nd Street. Source: Photo by author.

Catholic Churches

There are only two Armenian Catholic churches in Los Angeles County. Prior to World War II, the number of Armenian Catholics was relatively small and many attended masses at other catholic parishes. In Europe, after the war many Soviet Armenians were temporarily resettled in Stuttgart, Germany as Displaced Persons. Father Michael Akian traveled from Los Angeles to the refugee camp to meet their spiritual needs. For four years, Akian worked with Armenians at the camp. 95 Eventually many of those individuals were resettled in Montebello with the established Transcaucasian Armenian community which had first settled in Boyle Heights. In 1952, the Armenian Catholics were awarded their own parish. It was a modest A.C. Martin designed church facility at 1327 Pleasant Avenue (extant) in Boyle Heights. [Figure 2.11] The Our Lady of Martyrs Armenian Catholic Church is adjacent to the original Transcaucasian

⁹⁵ "History," accessed November 10, 2021, https://www.ourladyqueenofmartyrsacc.com/our-church.

Armenian settlement in the "Flats." The location of the parish may be indicative of an Armenian population that remained in Boyle Heights despite the majority having moved to Montebello.

In 1989, Father Raphael Minassian was appointed as the first Ardzivian congregation priest to the mission in Los Angeles. The goal of this mission was to establish a second parish from Our Lady Queen of Martyrs Church. Father Raphael saw a need for a new church project in Glendale because of the growing Armenian population. In 1997, the mission purchased a Lutheran church at 1510 East Mountain Street in Glendale where Saint Gregory Armenian Catholic Church remains today.



Figure 2. 11 Our Lady Queen of Martyrs Church at 1327 Pleasant Avenue. Source: Photo by author.

Education

Beginning in the 1960s, Armenian K-12 schools emerged within Los Angeles's Armenian community. K-12 schools help ensure the passage of knowledge related to intangible heritage through courses in history and culture. A key focus of Armenian schools is language

preservation for the diaspora, with courses in Armenian guaranteeing students can read and write the Armenian language. Before the founding of Armenian K-12 schools in Los Angeles County, Armenians relied on church courses to teach youth the Armenian language. More often than not, church courses failed to meet that goal. The blame cannot be solely placed upon the Church and its programs. Previous generations of Armenian children who grew up in American public schools faced intense pressures to assimilate. It wasn't until the mid-1960s that the concept of an Armenian K-12 program became financially feasible.

In 1964, the Western Prelacy's Holy Martyrs Armenian Church in Encino opened the Holy Martyrs High School on the church campus. The new high school became the first Armenian day school in the United States with an initial enrollment of twelve students. During the summer of 1965, Principal Gabriel Injejikian traveled throughout Armenian communities in the United States and Canada to raise funds for the new school. In addition to the money raised on this tour, the school received a sizeable endowment from the Mateos Ferrahian estate for \$235,000, prompting the school's name to change to the present Ferrahian High School. ⁹⁶
Beginning in 1969, the school acquired three and a half acres adjacent to the church property for the school, leading to the 1974 ground-breaking for the school's a new two-story building. By 1978, 200 students were enrolled and there were ten full-time and twenty part-time faculty. Soon, elementary and kindergarten classes were added. Enrollment grew as Armenian immigration increased. In 1988, the school purchased an additional property in North Hills. In 2007-2008, 750 students were enrolled at Holy Martyrs Cabayan Elementary & Ferrahian High School.

In 1964, the Western Prelacy established the nation's first Armenian elementary school in Pico Rivera in addition to its new High School in Encino. Throughout the following decades the school expanded to include middle school and high school classes and is now the largest Armenian school serving Montebello's Armenian community. Today the Prelacy operates five K-12 campuses including the Rose & Alex Pilibos School in Hollywood. Pilibos School is the largest Armenian school in Los Angeles County. [Figure 2.12]

⁹⁶ "History," accessed November 10, 2021, https://www.ferrahian.com/apps/pages/index.jsp?uREC_ID=1314949&type=d&pREC_ID=1515572.

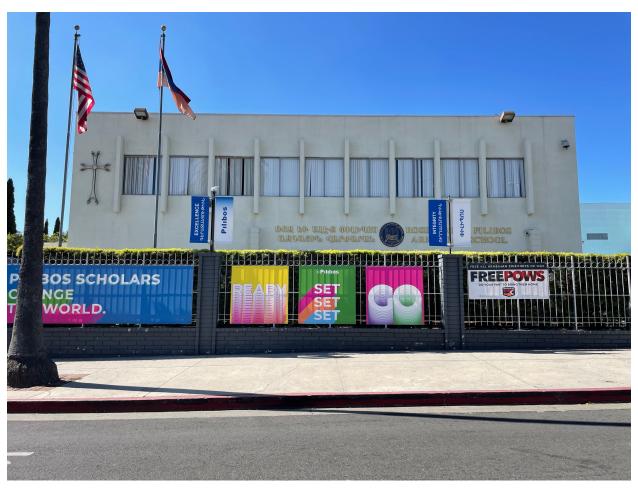


Figure 2. 12 Rose and Alex Pilibos School at 1615 North Alexandria Avenue. Source: Photo by author.

The Manoogian-Demirdjian School, located at 6844 Oakdale Avenue in Canoga Park is another large Armenian day school run by the Armenian General Benevolent Union (AGBU). In 1976, the AGBU founded the school on the grounds of the nearby Saint Peter Armenian Apostolic Church. In 1986, the AGBU purchased a shuttered Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD) campus. In 1991 the school constructed two large structures along Vanowen Avenue containing fourteen classrooms, two science laboratories, a computer laboratory, lecture hall, faculty room, offices, gymnasium, cafeteria, and subterranean parking. Since its founding, the campus has continued to grow and now offers enrolment for preschool and K-12 students. There are approximately 800 students, ninety teachers and staff. The Manoogian-Demirdjian School is just one of many schools the AGBU operates globally.

⁹⁷ "History," accessed November 10, 2021, https://www.agbumds.org/mds/about/history.jsp.

Armenian K-12 schools are an important component of the Los Angeles's Armenian community. Day schools provide important cultural education for members of the Armenian diaspora. These facilities help diasporans connect to their Armenian heritage, through courses in language, culture, and Armenian history that are not accessible through the public education system. There are thirteen Armenian preschools and K-12 schools throughout Los Angeles County. These facilities are operated by the AGBU, Western Prelacy, Western Diocese, Armenian Catholic parishes, and Armenian Evangelical Union of North America.

Ararat Home

The Ararat Home of Los Angeles is a significant intuition providing critical care for elderly Armenians. In 1949, a small group of Armenians saw a need for elder care and established the Los Angeles Home for Armenian Aged. In 1951, the group purchased a large two-story house at 3730 West 27th Street (not extant) in the West Adams neighborhood for \$12,000. The house was located roughly three blocks away from the original Saint James Armenian Church property, reinforcing the enclave in West Adams. In 1969, the Los Angeles Home for Armenian Aged formally changed its name to Ararat Home of Los Angeles. In 1980, Ararat Home purchased an existing 42-bed facility at 2373 Colorado Boulevard in Eagle Rock (extant), which became the Ararat Convalescent Hospital. From 1951 to 1990 when the West Adams property was sold, the Ararat home underwent several expansions to meet the needs of its growing population. 98

In 1981, Ararat Home purchased a 10.5-acre property in Mission Hills. As Armenian immigration increased following immigration reform in the 1960s, the need for services increased. In 1992, the facility completed its first phase of construction in Mission Hills. The new facility housed 130 beds, new care facilities and the George Deukmejian Center. Between 1993-1997, Ararat Home constructed the ninety-nine bed Ararat nursing Facility, Sheen Memorial Chapel, Ararat-Eskijian Museum, and a ninety-seven-bed addition to the Nursing Facility. With services continuing to grow, Ararat Home purchased thirteen acres on an adjacent property in Mission Hills.

98 "Our Story," accessed November 10, 2021, https://ararathome.org/about-us/our-story.

This chapter has examined institutional properties that often provide foundation support for Los Angeles's Armenian community. The establishment of these properties are key indicators of flourishing Armenian enclaves within Los Angeles County as institutional properties tend to support communities that already exist. Likewise, their movement from one location to the next, or closures, reveal demographic shifts and enclave migrations. Armenian churches may be one the best indicators of this pattern. From early church locations we see different trajectories. From South Los Angeles Armenians moved west, first into West Adams and then Inglewood, and others moved east into Montebello. In the 1960s and 1970s, the emergence of the San Fernando Valley communities including Glendale are revealed through the establishment of new parishes and congregations which increased through the second half of the twentieth century. In Pasadena, the established Armenian population began to drift from church attendance until the 1970s when a new wave of immigration, primarily from Lebanon, bolstered these institutions and were the catalyst for the formation of others.

Chapter 3: Armenian Businesses

Community-owned businesses are essential to building and maintaining ethnic enclaves. Often these businesses meet specific needs that are not otherwise met by the dominant Anglo-American culture. Their emergence may be seen as a strong indicator that the ethnic community is present and growing. In Armenian enclaves specifically, Armenian owned businesses are very apparent to those who are familiar with the culture. Often, Armenian references are found in the business name. Signifiers may be an Armenian last name or the name of a geographic region. Should the name not present as Armenian, imagery in company logos may be used to send signals to clientele. Additionally, storefronts often display Armenian script on windows or use the Armenian national colors of red, blue, and orange in their typeface. Armenian businesses are integral to maintaining and growing enclave strength. They are sources of specialty food items, art, and home goods. This chapter will discuss several significant business types for the Armenian community and identify historic resources.

Rugs

As discussed in previous chapters, Armenians played an important role in the United States' oriental rug trade. Early Armenians in Los Angeles County established themselves as merchants, dealers, and cleaners for some of the area's wealthiest clientele. Aram Serkis Yeretzian listed thirteen Armenian rug dealers in his 1923 thesis, some of which remain in business today. These are as follows:

| John S. Pashzian and Co. | 454 West 7 th Street, Los Angeles |
|------------------------------|--|
| J.H. Minassian and Company* | 1500 West 7 th Street, Los Angeles [Figure 3.1] |
| A.M. Enfiziajian and Company | 835 West 7 th Street, Los Angeles |
| A.S. Salisian and Company | 945 West 7 th Street, Los Angele |
| E.S. Pashgian and Company | 1760 West 7 th Street, Los Angeles |

| Pashgian Brothers* | 1825 West 7 th Street, Los Angeles |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| G. Haroutunian and Company | 2855 West 9 th Street, Los Angeles |
| K. Harpootlian (Blackstone Store) | 901 South Broadway, Los Angeles |
| Constantian Brothers | 905 South Broadway, Los Angeles |
| G. Philifs (Bullocks Store) | 7 th and Broadway, Los Angeles |
| Roupen and Company | 526 West Washington Street, Los Angeles |
| H.H. Khazoyan and Company | Pasadena |
| G. Kartmanian and Company | Pasadena |
| M.S. Pashgian and Company | Pasadena |

Table 3. 1 List of early Armenian owned rug stores.

As we can see from the list, many of the original Oriental rug shops were centered in downtown Los Angeles and the Westlake neighborhood. Two of the longest running rug businesses in Los Angeles County are J.H. Minassian and Company founded in 1905 and Pashgian Brothers founded in 1889. Since their founding both rug shops have moved to new locations. J.H. Minassian in now in West Hollywood's Pacific Design Center at 8687 Melrose Avenue and Pashgian Brothers is in Pasadena at 993 East Colorado Boulevard. Other significant rug companies include Pasadena Oriental Rug, Inc. founded in 1924 at 1155 North Allen Ave in Pasadena (building and business extant), Ararat Oriental Rug founded in 1920 at 2221 Granville Avenue in Los Angeles (extant), and Arax Carpet Company founded in 1923 at 5007 West

^{*} Represents businesses that are still in operation. E.S. Pashgian and M.S. Pashgian later consolidated all stores into the Pashgian Brothers business. Source: Yeretzian, Aram Serkis. A History of Armenian Immigration to America with Special Reference to Conditions in Los Angeles a Thesis Presented to the Department of Sociology, University of Southern California., 1923.

⁹⁹ "History," accessed February 12, 2022, https://jhminassian.com/history; "Company," accessed February 12, 2022, https://www.pashgianbrothers.com/.

Washington Boulevard in Los Angeles.¹⁰⁰ Ararat Oriental Rug company merged with Thomas Rug Cleaning and is now located at 3000 Riverside Drive.

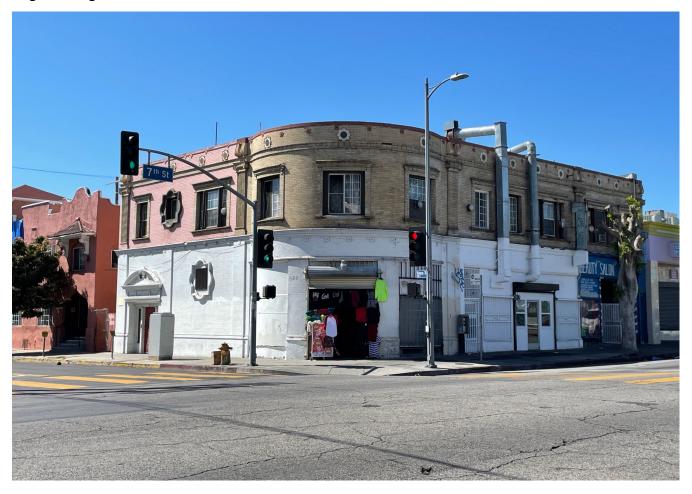


Figure 3. 1 Former location of J.H. Minassian and Company 1500 West 7th Street. Source: Photo by author.

Food

"Food is a constant topic of discussion for Armenians, who often disagree on and debate what cuisines and dishes are authentically Armenian" wrote Liana Aghajanian for CNN.¹⁰¹

Through food the complexities of the Armenian identity are revealed in ways that other aspects of culture do not. The food Armenians eat tell rich histories, linking families to their country of

¹⁰⁰ "About Us," accessed February 12, 2022, https://www.pasadenaorientalrug.com/aboutus; "Ararat Oriental Rug Co. advertisement," Los Angeles Times, March 7, 1938, 22; "Arax Carpet Company, Arax Oriental Rug Cleaning Co.," accessed February 12, 2022, https://historicplacesla.org/reports/f185f092-6dc4-40b5-b144-fb6ee96c4cbb.

¹⁰¹ "What is Armenian Food? Depends On Who You Ask," accessed February 14, 2022, https://explorepartsunknown.com/armenia/what-is-armenian-food-depends-on-who-you-ask/.

origins and ancestral homelands before the genocide. What Armenians eat in the Republic of Armenian may be vastly different than what Armenians eat in Lebanon, Iran, or Turkey. Aside from the ingredients that make the meal, a dish may have a different name all together.

Because of these differences, restaurants, markets, and eateries often cater to different diaspora groups.

Markets

Markets are one of the first businesses that open to serve a growing ethnic community. These shops meet the primary need of residents who use foodways as a form of cultural preservation. Neighborhood markets are prolific throughout Los Angeles's Armenian enclaves with fiercely loyal customers. In Hollywood's Little Armenia, Bezjian's Grocery located at 4725 Santa Monica Boulevard (extant) operated as one of the first Armenian grocers in the neighborhood. [Figure 3.2] The grocery store operated from 1964 until the mid-2000s when it closed. Today, Bezian Bakery, a wholesale bread company, operates inside the old market. Another notable market is Arbat Grocery, which opened in 1978 at 5001 Hollywood Boulevard (extant) in Little Armenia. Many of the small markets established in the 1970s and 1980s such as Valley Hye Market at 14845 Burbank Boulevard in Van Nuys (extant), and Armenian Grocery and Bakery at 1442 E. Washington Boulevard in Pasadena (extant) appear to have closed within the last fifteen years as neighborhood demographics have shifted.

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 $^{^{102}}$ Merriam-Webster defines foodways as the eating habits and culinary practices of a people, region, or historical period.



Figure 3. 2 Bezjian's Grocery at 4725 Santa Monica Boulevard. Source: Photo by author.

While small neighborhood markets make up most Armenian owned grocers, several have grown much larger reaching supermarket status. Founded in 1977, John Berberian opened his first Jon's Marketplace at 5315 Santa Monica Boulevard (extant) in Hollywood in a shuttered Vons Grocery. The supermarket quickly made a name for itself selling Soutwest Asian, Latin American, and Asian products mixed with mainstream goods. The products sold at Jon's reflected the Hollywood community it originally served. Today, Jon's operates thirteen stores across Los Angeles and Orange Counties. Since its founding, Jon's Marketplace has been an important employer for recent Armenian immigrants. Following the success of Jon's Marketplace, the Fermanian family established Superking as a supermarket-scaled retailer of

¹⁰³ "Funeral Services Planned For John Berberian, Founder of Jon's Market," *The Shelby Report*, March 21, 2019, https://www.theshelbyreport.com/2019/03/21/funeral-services-planned-for-jons-market-founder/.

international food products.¹⁰⁴ Since its founding, Superking has spread across Los Angeles and Orange Counties with eight stores in operation.

Delis

In addition to traditional neighborhood markets, specialty food shops fill an important space. Basturma, a cured beef with origins in the Armenian Highlands and Anatolia, is prepared with salt and fenugreek, a mix of cayenne, paprika, pepper, cumin, and garlic that is spread evenly over the meat.¹⁰⁵ Beloved by Armenians around the world, thinly cut slices of basturma are served as cold cuts, often eaten with fresh lavash, pita, or for breakfast with eggs. The late food critic Jonathan Gold once described it as "the most powerfully flavored cold cut in the world, less a foodstuff than a force of nature sometimes, with a bit of the chewy translucence of first-rate Italian bresaola, a ripe, almost gamy back taste, then—pow! – the onslaught of the seasoning, a caustic, bright red slurry of hot pepper, fenugreek, and a truly heroic amount of garlic that hits the palate with a subtle elegance of a detonated landmine."¹⁰⁶

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¹⁰⁴ "Notable Family-Owned Businesses in Los Angeles: Super King Markets," *Los Angeles Business Journal*, https://labusinessjournal.com/news/2018/nov/09/notable-family-owned-businesses-los-angeles-super-/.

¹⁰⁵ Arianna Sikorski and Hannah Luc, "The Lure of Basturma in Little Armenia," *Smithsonian Folklife Festival*, https://festival.si.edu/blog/the-lure-of-basturma-in-little-armenia.

https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1996-04-04-fo-54637-story.htm.l

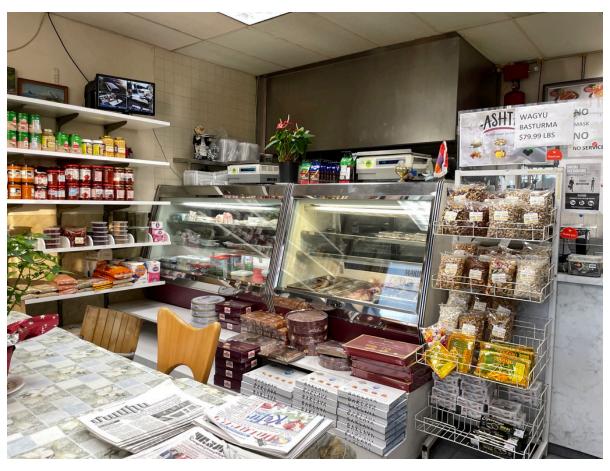


Figure 3. 3 Interior of Sahag's Basturma. Source: Photo by author.

Many will argue that Sahag's Basturma, at 5183 Sunset Boulevard in Little Armenia (extant), sells the best basturma in Southern California. [Figure 3.3] Harout Tashjian is a third generation basturma maker who opened his shop in 1988 after moving from Nor Aresh, Armenia. With family origins in Caesaria, once a key region for basturma production in the Ottoman Empire, Tashjian's family escaped genocide and relocated to Lebanon. Sahag's may be the most well-known basturma shop in Los Angeles, even gaining recognition from the Smithsonian during the Folklife Festival *Armenia: Creating Home* in 2018. As Little Armenia faces gentrification, its Armenian residents migrate to the San Fernando Valley, and Harout nearing retirement age, Sahag's may be at risk should there be no succession planning. Another

Los Angeles Department of Building and Safety, Certificate of Occupancy 1988LA92438; Arianna Sikorski and Hannah Luc, "The Lure of Basturma in Little Armenia."

¹⁰⁸ Arianna Sikorski and Hannah Luc, "The Lure of Basturma in Little Armenia."; Anna Beth Corson, "Preserving the Personal: Armenian American Visitors Reflect on Festival Memories," *Smithsonian Folklife Festival*, October 14, 2021, https://festival.si.edu/blog/armenian-american-visitors-reflect-2018.

significant basturma shop is Garo's Basturma at 1082 Allen Avenue in Pasadena (extant) which opened in 1980. [Figure 3.4] Although the original owner died in 1999, Garo's Basturma continues to supply Pasadena's Armenian community. In addition to basturma, both delis are known for other deli products that include soujouk, a middle eastern dried sausage, and chi kofte also known as Armenian steak tartare.

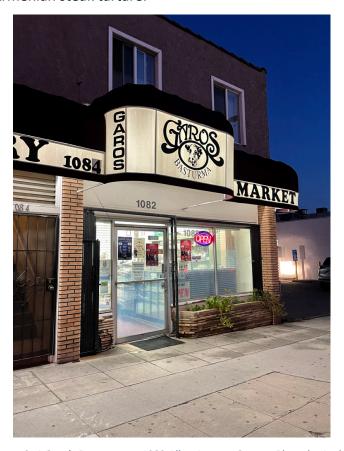


Figure 3. 4 Garo's Basturma at 1082 Allen Avenue. Source: Photo by Author

Bakeries

The Su-Beoreg and Monta Factory is a multi-generational specialty food shop located at 1531 East Washington Boulevard in Pasadena (extant). Opened by husband-and-wife Evelina and Grant Yegiazaryan, the Su-Beoreg and Monta Factory has been wholesaling Armenian comfort food for decades. 109 As the shop's name suggests, the Yegiazaryans specialize in two

¹⁰⁹ Joshua Lurie, "This Tiny Pasadena Shop Serves Affordable Armenian Comfort Fare," *Eater*, April 21, 2016, https://la.eater.com/2016/4/21/11456260/su-beoreg-monta-factory-cheap-eats-los-angeles.

items. Su-Beoreg, a baked lasagna like dish made with dough, feta, mozzarella, and chopped parsley, and sini-monta, or manti, beef filled dumplings served with tomato sauce and yogurt. Both are beloved Armenian dishes. Evelina, now with her son Sarkes, makes over 2,000 monta a day. In the 2010s, Sarkes seeing a business opportunity convinced his parents to add a to-go service for general customers.¹¹⁰

Lahmajune, meaning "meat with dough" in Arabic and known to many Anglo-Angelenos as Armenian pizza, is a popular dish in the Middle East, particularly in Turkey and the Levant. Lahmajune shops dot the landscape in Los Angeles's Armenian enclaves. In 1948, Abraham Partamian opened Los Angeles's first lahmajune bakery at 5410 West Adams Boulevard (not extant) to serve West Adams and Inglewood's growing Armenian population. In the 1970s, Abraham passed the bakery to his son Leon who operated the business until his unexpected death in 2006 at the age of 73. Without a written will, the fate of the bakery was unknown to its longtime customers. However, the Partamian family agreed the bakery would pass to his two longtime bakers, Francisco Rosales and Jose Gonzales, who had worked in the shop since the 1970s after emigrating from Zacatecas, Mexico. Following the ownership change, the bakery was renamed F & J Bakery. In 2019, the business closed, and the building torn down as part of a redevelopment project.

Some three decades after Partamian opened his bakery, Old Sasoon Bakery at 1132 Allen Avenue in Pasadena (extant) became Pasadena's first lahmajune shop catering to the burgeoning Lebanese and Syrian Armenian community. Haroutioun Geragosian began working at a bakery in Aleppo, Syria at age 13. ¹¹² In 1948, Geragosian opened the first Old Sasoon Bakery in his home city. In 1986, he relocated the bakery and his family to Pasadena. When it first opened, Old Sasoon sold only lahmajune and beoregs but has since expanded the menu to include other baked goods including manaiesh, thirteen different kinds of beoregs, and

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¹¹⁰ Jenn Harris, "The Family Behind Monta Factory Makes Manti from Scratch. Are These Dumplings Better Than Grandma's?" *Los Angeles Times,* March 11, 2016, https://www.latimes.com/food/la-fo-monta-factory-20160312-story.html.

¹¹¹ Bob Pool, "Keeping a warm legacy alive," *Los Angeles Times*, March 15, 2008, https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2008-mar-15-me-armenian15-story.html.

¹¹² Joshua Lurie, "Old Sassoon Bakery: Celebrating Stellar Syrian Flatbreads," *Food GPS*, August 12, 2008, https://foodgps.com/old-sasoon-bakery-pasadena/.

khachapuri. Today, Haroutioun's son Joseph runs Old Sasoon and works alongside his sister Caroline and mother Archalous.

At Los Angeles' many Armenian pastry shops patrons purchase delicious cakes and traditional middle eastern desserts like baklava, pronounced paklava in Western Armenian, kadaif, similar to baklava but with shredded phyllo dough, gata a sweet bread and nazook a rolled cookie-sized version of gata. Sarkis Pastry (1983) at 1111 South Glendale Avenue (extant) was Glendale's first Armenian pastry shop. In the 1990s, Sarkis Pastry expanded into Anaheim and Pasadena. In 1991, Panos Pastry opened at 5150 Hollywood Boulevard in Hollywood (extant) quickly becoming a beloved pastry shop within the community. However, Panos closed in 2016. Other significant pastry shops include Paradise Pastry at 1825 West Glenoaks Boulevard in Glendale, which sells its lavash at Armenian markets throughout Los Angeles; Art's Bakery at 1122 East Chevy Chase Drive in Glendale; and Flor de Café Bakery a cornerstone of the Persian Armenian community at 537 East Colorado Boulevard in Glendale (all extant).

Restaurants and Eateries

Armenian restaurants are in many ways at the public heart of the Armenian enclave. These are spaces where Armenian families come together to celebrate birthdays, graduations, and engagements, among other life milestones. The meals at Armenian restaurants are often eaten family style with multiple courses of mezze, followed by plates of kebab and pilaf, and finished off with a strong cup of Armenian coffee. Today's Armenian restaurants build on a legacy of Armenian run restaurants in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s. Restaurants like Haji Baba's at 1730 Centinela Avenue in Inglewood (business closed, building extant) and Har-Omar at 8795 Sunset Boulevard in West Hollywood (business closed, building extant) catered to Armenians and Anglos alike. These businesses were significant for their roles in introducing Anglo Angelenos to Southwest Asian culture and as an employer of Armenian musicians and dancers. One of the most important Armenian American musicians of the twentieth century, Guy Chookoorian regularly played at Haji Baba's. While his oud may have sounded exotic to Anglo

¹¹³ "About Us," accessed February 15, 2022, https://sarkispastry.com/pages/about-us.

patrons, his lyrics connected the old and new world for Armenians in the audience.¹¹⁴ These spaces both orientalized Southwest Asian culture while at the same time making it comfortable for Anglos who often held prejudices against Middle Eastern peoples.

In 1984, husband and wife Krikor and Vartohi (Rose) Tcholakian opened Carousel at 5112 Hollywood Boulevard in Little Armenia (business and building extant). [Figure 3.5] After fleeing the Lebanese Civil War in 1978, the Tcholakians began making soujouk and selling it to local markets before opening their restaurant. Carousel serves traditional Lebanese-Armenian fare and, every Friday night, hosts belly dancing. In 1998, Carousel opened a larger location at 304 North Brand Boulevard in Glendale (business and building extant). Another significant Lebanese Armenian restaurant in Little Armenia is Marouch, which opened in 1982 at 4905 Santa Monica Boulevard (business and building extant).

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¹¹⁴ Randall Roberts, "Guy Chookoorian was the novelty record king of Armenian L.A. His death marks the end of an era," *Los Angeles Times*, February 23, 2021, https://www.latimes.com/entertainment-arts/music/story/2021-02-23/guy-chookoorian-armenian-american-novelty-records-dies.

¹¹⁵ Alene Tchekmedyian, "Armenian immigration to Southland: Struggle, soujouk and the 'survivor generation,'" *Los Angeles Times*, April 24, 2015, https://www.latimes.com/socal/glendale-news-press/news/tn-gnp-armenian-immigration-to-glendale-struggle-soujouk-and-the-survivor-generation-20150424-story.html.

¹¹⁶ Patrick Kuh, "The Kuh Review: Carousel," *LA Magazine*, December 2, 2014, https://www.lamag.com/digestblog/kuh-review-carousel/.

¹¹⁷ Brant Cox, "Marouch: Lebanese in East Hollywood," *The Infatuation,* accessed February 20, 2022, https://www.theinfatuation.com/los-angeles/reviews/marouch.



Figure 3. 5 Carousel Restaurant at 5112 Hollywood Boulevard. Photo by author.

In Glendale, Raffi's Place, located at 211 East Broadway (building and business extant) is an iconic Persian Armenian institution. Opened in 1993, by Rafik Bakijanian with his wife Gohar, Raffi's serves authentic Persian and Middle Eastern food. Today the restaurant is centered around a courtyard creating a unique indoor/outdoor dining experience. When first opened, Raffi's occupied a 1,500 square foot commercial space and was staffed by the husband and wife. As the restaurant became increasingly popular, Raffi's took over all the neighboring businesses surrounding the courtyard and is now staffed by over eighty employees.¹¹⁸

While the restaurants listed above cater to a finer dining experience, small neighborhood eateries are important for providing quick, accessible meals to the working class. Restaurants like Zankou Chicken at 5065 Sunset Boulevard (business and building extant) and Falafel Arax at 5101 Santa Monica Boulevard (building and business extant) in Little Armenia have filled that gap for decades. Zankou Chicken might be Los Angeles's most well-known

¹¹⁸ Jenn Harris, "The story behind Raffi's Place, and some of the best koobideh kebabs in Glendale," *Los Angeles Times*, March 21, 2018, https://www.latimes.com/food/dailydish/la-fo-re-raffis-place-20180321-story.html.

Armenian restaurant. Having entered the Angeleno zeitgeist, Zankou has been referenced in music and film. Like many Lebanese-Armenian businesses in Los Angeles, the first Zankou Chicken opened in the heavily Armenian populated Bourj Hamoud neighborhood in Beirut in 1962. In the early 1980s, the Iskenderian family immigrated to the United States fleeing the Lebanese Civil War. In 1984, they opened Los Angeles's first Zankou Chicken at 5065 Sunset Boulevard (business and building extant) and in 1992 they opened a second location in Glendale. Today Zankou operates twelve locations across Los Angeles and Orange Counties.

The story of Falafel Arax at 5101 Santa Monica Boulevard (business and building extant) is similar. Tucked away in a nondescript strip mall between a Thai restaurant and an eye doctor, Falafel Arax is an institution in Little Armenia. Opened in 1982 by the Ohanessians, Lebanese Armenian immigrants who escaped the civil war, Falafel Arax is a no-frills dining experience. With three tables, the eatery serves primarily takeout. Notable dishes include falafel, shawarma, soujouk, and lebni sandwiches.

¹¹⁹ A few references include the Beck's "Debra" off his critically acclaimed album *Midnight Vultures* which has over 23,000,000 plays on Spotify Music. The episode "Charmageddon" in the hit series Charmed, and in 2009's *Funny People* Seth Rogan wore a Zankou Chicken t-shirt.

¹²⁰ "About Us," accessed February 20, 2022, https://zankouchicken.com/timeline/.

¹²¹ Liana Aghajanian, "Where to Eat Armenian Food in L.A.," *Eater*, accessed February 20, 2022, https://www.eater.com/a/mofad-city-guides/la-armenian-restaurants.



Figure 3. 6 Falafel Arax at 5101 Santa Monica Boulevard, Suite 2. Source: Photo by author.

Art and Culture

Art and cultural businesses such as bookstores, record stores, and non-profits are important to maintaining identity in the diaspora. In addition to their roles as cultural resources, these businesses often provide services and outreach within the community as a means to help maintain tangible community connections. One of the most important organizations in the international Armenian community is the Armenian General Benevolent Union (AGBU). Founded in 1906 in Cairo, Egypt, the AGBU is "the world's largest non-profit devoted to upholding the Armenian heritage through educational, cultural, and humanitarian

programs."¹²² Since moving from Fresno in the 1980s, the AGBU Western Region headquarters has been located at the Vatche and Tamar Manoukian Center at 2495 East Mountain Street in Pasadena (extant).

Another significant organization is the international Armenian General Athletic Union and Scouts, more commonly known as the Homenetmen. In 1968, the first Chapter in the Western United States organized in Los Angeles. Today there are seven different chapters within Los Angeles County. They are the Los Angeles chapter (1968) at 1559 North Kenmore Avenue in Little Armenia (extant), Montebello (1974) at 420 Washington Boulevard (extant), Pasadena (1977) at 2242 East Foothill Boulevard (extant), Glendale (1978) at 3347 San Fernando Road (extant), San Fernando Valley (1979) at 20953 Osborne Street (extant), Burbank (1995) at 75 East Santa Anita Avenue, and North Hollywood (2011) with no official address. [Figure 3.7] In 1975, the first annual Navarstian Games were held at East Los Angeles College. The games are an eight-week athletic event that today, attract 300 teams with 6,000 athletes from across the country. [124]

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¹²² "About," accessed February 20, 2022, https://agbu.org/about/.

¹²³ Accessed February 20, 2022, https://www.homenetmen.net/#.

¹²⁴ Accessed February 20, 2022, https://www.homenetmen.net/#.



Figure 3. 7 Homenetmen Glendale Ararat Chapter. Source: Photo by author.

Abril Bookstore is one of the most important Armenian bookstores in the United States. For over forty years, Abril has specialized in Armenian books, music, videos, cards, posters, and gifts, as well as publishing and printing services. Abril first appeared in 1977 with the publication of the first Armenian language magazine with the same name in Los Angeles. The magazine reported on local issues as well as international politics, culture, and economics in Armenia and Lebanon. In 1978, Abril opened its own print shop to produce its magazine. This eventually led to Abril Printing offering printing services to the community at 5450 Santa Monica Boulevard (extant). [Figure 3.8] In 1979, Abril opened the bookstore next door where it stayed until 1998 when the business moved to a new location at 415 East Broadway in

¹²⁵ "About Us," accessed February 20, 2022, https://www.abrilbooks.com/about-us.

¹²⁶ Ani Duzdabanyan, "Abril Bookstore's New Chapter: Will the Almost Half Century Old Cultural Center Survive?" August 23, 2020, https://mirrorspectator.com/2020/08/23/abril-bookstores-new-chapter-will-the-almost-half-century-old-cultural-center-survive/.

Glendale. It remained at this location until 2020 when it relocated once again to its current location at 1022 East Chevy Chase Drive in Glendale.



Figure 3. 8 Former site of Abril Bookstore and Publishing at 5450 Santa Monica Boulevard in Little Armenia. Source: Photo by author.

Parseghian Photo and Records at 4900 Santa Monica Boulevard (extant) is the site of one of the most significant recording studios for Los Angeles' Armenian community. [Figure 3.9] For decades, the front of the house sold Armenian records and passport photos while the back housed its recording studio. Legendary Armenian artists such as Harout Pamboukjian and Paul Baghdadlian were signed to Parseghian Records and recorded here. Today, the shop operates as Parseghian Productions specializing in audio and video equipment.



Figure 3. 9 Parseghian Records at 4900 Santa Monica Boulevard. Source: Photo by author.

Media

Armenian news outlets provide both local and international news to Los Angeles'
Armenian community. Armenian print news outlets have been in California for as long as
Armenians have been living here. Many of the early newspapers began in Fresno and moved to
Los Angeles in the 1970s as demographics shifted. Many of the newspapers have some
affiliation to one of the international Armenian political parties. The first Armenian newspaper
to establish itself on the west coast was Asbarez in 1908, when "the eyes of the community
were on the fragile condition of the homeland. Weighed down by revolution within the
Ottoman Empire, Armenians were grappling with new realities." Asbarez's first office was

¹²⁷ "Humble Beginnings to a Bright Future: Celebrating 95 Years in Print," *Asbarez*, August 14, 2022, https://asbarez.com/humble-beginnings-to-a-bright-future-celebrating-95-years-in-print/.

Room 14 of the Short Building located on J Street in Downtown Fresno.¹²⁸ Early on, Asbarez was subsidized by the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF) or Dashnaktsuytyun one of the political parties. Originally published as an all-Armenian newspaper, Asbarez published its first English section on May 1, 1970. Soon after, the newspaper moved to its current location at 1203 North Vermont Avenue in Little Armenia (extant). [Figure 3.10] Asbarez continues to be one of the most widely read Armenian newspapers in the United States.

Shortly after the founding of Asbarez, Kaghakatzy began printing in Fresno in 1922. Soon after it was established, Kaghakatzy re-invented itself as Nor Or meaning "new day." Like Asbarez, the newspaper has political affiliations - Nor Or is linked to the Armenian Democratic Liberal Party or Ramgavar Party. In the 1960s, Nor Or moved from Fresno to Altadena. Today, the paper is headquartered in the Tekeyan Cultural Association building at 1901 Allen Avenue (extant).

In 1959, George Mason and Reese Gleghorn started the first all-English Armenian newspaper in the United States. The California Courier was marketed to first- and second-generation Armenian Americans whose primary language was not Armenian. Unlike other newspapers, The Courier was never aligned with any political party and acted more as a "social newspaper." 1983, The Courier was purchased by Harut Sassounian, a Syrian-Armenian immigrant and the paper moved to Los Angeles from Fresno in 1988.

Nearly two decades after Armenian newspapers set up shop in Los Angeles, the first Armenian television network was formed by the ARF. In 1989, Horizon Television started as an hour-long news program on KSCI TV and eventually became the first 24-hour Armenian television network in America and headquartered at 1203 North Vermont Avenue (business and building extant). ¹³² [Figure 3.10] The role of Horizon cannot be overlooked. The station was the first to bring video footage of Soviet Armenia into the homes of Armenian Americans, including

¹²⁸ J Street was renamed Fulton and the Short Building torn down to create the Fulton Mall as part of an urban renewal project.

¹²⁹ Asbarez, "Celebrating Humble Beginnings," August 14, 2002.

¹³⁰ Esther Schrader, "Little Newspaper That Could: Armenian Weekly Survives, Thrives." *Los Angeles Times*, March 9, 1989, https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1989-03-09-gl-1273-story.html.

¹³¹ "True to the past," Los Angeles Times, April 24, 2010.

¹³² "The 20th Anniversary of Revolutionary Media – Horizon TV," *Asbarez*, May 29, 2009, https://asbarez.com/the-20th-anniversary-of-revolutionary-media-horizon-tv-2/.

the aftermath of the Spitak Earthquake, Karabakh Movement, and the massacres against Armenians in Baku and Sumgait in Azerbaijan.¹³³ As the station grew larger, it became an important resource to rally financial and political resources from the diaspora by promoting national pride during challenging times.



Figure 3. 10 Asbarez Newspaper and Horizon Television headquarters. Source: Photo by author.

This chapter explored significant types of Armenian businesses and organizations in Los Angeles. Whether it is newspapers, television, music, books, markets, or restaurants, each business or organization works to preserve Armenian culture in the United States. While these businesses are important to recognize, there are many other businesses that may be equally significant to protect.

¹³³ Asbarez, "20th Anniversary."

Chapter 4: Conservation Solutions

As with many minority groups in Los Angeles, Armenian heritage as expressed in the built environment is underrepresented in terms of identification of historic resources, designation, and protection. In fact, to date, there are no designated landmarks within the County of Los Angeles connected to Armenian heritage and very few sites identified through historic resource surveys. For a community that has existed in the County for more than a hundred years, it may be hard to believe that not one site in connection to Armenian heritage has been designated. Furthermore, there have been few Armenian heritage sites formally identified as eligible for designation through historic resources surveys. From 2010 to 2017 the City of Los Angeles conducted SurveyLA, the country's largest historic resources survey to date, in which just five Armenian related resources were identified. These were four churches and one rug shop. 134

Conventional Solutions

Context Statements

Historic context statements, especially those dealing with ethnic and cultural groups, could be an important tool for preserving Armenian heritage sites. In the broadest sense, historic contexts are documents that provide a framework for identifying and evaluating historic resources. Many cities with newly passed historic preservation ordinances conduct context statements to establish the groundwork for identifying significant sites within its boundaries. Contexts make it significantly easier for individuals to nominate historic sites for historic designation as they can link the site's significance to the framework of the context

¹³⁴ These are the United Armenian Congregational Church, Holy Martyrs Apostolic Church, Our Lady Queen of Martyrs Catholic Church, and the Arax Carpet Company. All sites have been identified in Previous Chapters; Historic Places LA, Accessed February 12, 2022,

http://historicplacesla.org/search?page=1&termFilter=%5B%7B%22inverted%22%3Afalse%2C%22type%22%3A%22string%22%2C%22context%22%3A%22%2C%22context_label%22%3A%22%2C%22id%22%3A%22armenian%22%2C%22text%22%3A%22armenian%22%2C%22value%22%3A%22armenian%22%7D%5D&temporalFilter=%7B%22year_min_max%22%3A%5B%5D%2C%22filters%22%3A%5B%5D%2C%22inverted%22%3Afalse%7D&spatialFilter=%7B%22geometry%22%3A%7B%22type%22%3A%22%2C%22coordinates%22%3A%5B%5D%7D%2C%22buffer%22%3A%7B%22width%22%3A%220%22%2C%22unit%22%3A%22ft%22%7D%2C%22inverted%22%3Afalse%7D&mapExpanded=false&timeExpan

statement. The City of Los Angeles leads the County with more than seventy context statements. There are ten major context themes ranging from the Spanish Colonial and Mexican Era to Industrial Development. One theme of note is the Ethnic-Cultural Contexts. Through this theme, the City has published contexts for African American History of Los Angeles, Asian Americans in Los Angeles, Jewish History of Los Angeles, Latino Los Angeles, Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender (LGBT) in Los Angeles, and Women's Rights in Los Angeles. These contexts have proven to be a valuable tool for identifying, designating, and saving threatened historic sites connected with these groups. To date, there has been no Armenian context statement written for any city in the county.

Due to the geographic sprawl of the Armenian community throughout the County of Los Angeles, a single city conducting a context on its Armenian community would not adequately grasp the significance of the community and the sites connected to Armenian heritage. For this reason, it would be best for the State of California's Office of Historic Preservation to produce a statewide historic context statement. With significant Armenian heritage in the San Joaquin Valley and San Francisco Bay Area, in addition to Los Angeles County, it is important to document these histories statewide.

There is precedent for statewide contexts in California. In 1988, the Office of Historic Preservation published *Five Views*, a statewide survey of properties associated with ethnic communities in California. ¹³⁵ *Five Views* was the first statewide survey of its type and successfully raised public awareness for heritage sites connected to Indigenous, African American, Chinese American, Japanese American, and Mexican American communities. The project had a lasting effect and twenty-seven years later the Office of Historic Preservation published *Latinos in Twentieth Century California* to recognize the contributions of Latinos in a more recent history of California. ¹³⁶

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¹³⁵ "Preserve Latino History," accessed February 20, 2022,

 $[\]frac{\text{https://ohp.parks.ca.gov/?page id=27915\#:}^{\text{ctext=In}\%201988\%20the\%20California\%20Office,Japanese\%20Americans}^{\text{ctext=In}\%201988\%20the\%20California\%20Office,Japanese\%20Americans}^{\text{ctext=In}\%201988\%20the\%20California\%20Office,Japanese\%20Americans}^{\text{ctext=In}\%201988\%20the\%20California\%20Office,Japanese\%20Americans}^{\text{ctext=In}\%201988\%20the\%20California\%20Office,Japanese\%20Americans}^{\text{ctext=In}\%201988\%20the\%20California\%20Office,Japanese\%20Americans}^{\text{ctext=In}\%201988\%20the\%20California\%20Office,Japanese\%20Americans}^{\text{ctext=In}\%201988\%20the\%20California\%20Office,Japanese\%20Americans}^{\text{ctext=In}\%201988\%20the\%20California\%20Office,Japanese\%20Americans}^{\text{ctext=In}\%201988\%20the\%20California\%20Office,Japanese\%20Americans}^{\text{ctext=In}\%201988\%20the\%20California\%20Office,Japanese\%20Americans}^{\text{ctext=In}\%201988\%20the\%20California\%20Office,Japanese\%20Americans}^{\text{ctext=In}\%201988\%20the\%20California\%20Office,Japanese\%20Americans}^{\text{ctext=In}\%201988\%20the\%20California\%20Office,Japanese\%20Americans}^{\text{ctext=In}\%201988\%20the\%20California\%20Office,Japanese\%20Americans}^{\text{ctext=In}\%201988\%20the\%20California\%20Office,Japanese\%20Americans}^{\text{ctext=In}\%201988\%20the\%20California\%20Office,Japanese\%20Americans}^{\text{ctext=In}\%201988\%20the\%20California\%20Office,Japanese\%20Americans}^{\text{ctext=In}\%201988\%20the\%20California\%20Office,Japanese\%20Americans}^{\text{ctext=In}\%201988\%20the\%20California\%20Office,Japanese\%20Americans}^{\text{ctext=In}\%201988\%20California\%20Office,Japanese\%20Americans}^{\text{ctext=In}\%201988\%20California\%20Office,Japanese\%20Americans}^{\text{ctext=In}\%201988\%20California\%20Office,Japanese\%20Americans}^{\text{ctext=In}\%201988\%20California\%20Office,Japanese\%20Americans}^{\text{ctext=In}\%201988\%20California\%20Office,Japanese\%20Americans}^{\text{ctext=In}\%201988\%20California\%20Office,Japanese\%20Americans}^{\text{ctext=In}\%201988\%20Americans}^{\text{ctext=In}\%201988\%20California\%20Americans}^{\text{ctext=In}\%201988\%20Americans}^{\text{ctext=In}\%20198\%20Americans}^{\text{ctext=In}\%20198\%20Americans}^{\text{ctext=In}\%20198\%20Americans}^{\text{ct$

¹³⁶ "Preserve Latino History," accessed February 20, 2022,

 $[\]frac{\text{https://ohp.parks.ca.gov/?page id=27915\#:}^{\text{ctext=In\%201988\%20the\%20California\%20Office,Japanese\%20Americans}}{\text{ans\%2C\%20and\%20Mexican\%20Americans}}.$

Through context statements, both tangible and intangible heritage may be documented and synthesized. In 2003, at UNESCO's General Conference, the Convention for Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage was passed. Through the convention's framework, safeguarding and protecting intangible heritage includes "...identification, documentation, research, preservation, protection, promotion, enhancement, transmission, particularly through formal and non-formal education as well as the revitalization of the various aspects of such heritage." Research and the creation of inventories are the first step in a process that should ultimately create policy to safeguard intangible heritage. Historic contexts statements fit within this framework.

Outside of heritage conservation professionals, little academic research has been dedicated to the Armenian experience in Los Angeles. Despite the community's size and significance as the largest population of ethnic Armenians living outside the Republic of Armenia, few academics pay attention to Armenians in Los Angeles. Both the University of Southern California (USC) and University of California Los Angeles (UCLA) have Armenian Studies programs but focus on the larger Armenian context. Each program has been a resource for this thesis through conversations with members of the departments and archival materials.

In a similar vein, the Shoah Foundation received the Richard Hovannisian Armenian Genocide Oral History Collection which contains more than 1,000 interviews of genocide survivors primarily here in California. In 1969, Hovannisian taught a UCLA course on oral history with a focus on early Armenian migration to Los Angeles. Following his initial course, Hovannisian introduced a new course that conducted interviews with genocide survivors for several decades. Most of these recordings are in the Armenian language and were not used for the purpose of this thesis. Recently, USC's Armenian Studies Department encouraged

^{137 &}quot;The Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible and Cultural Heritage," UNESCO Office in Santiago: UNESCO Regional Bureau for Education in Latin America and the Caribbean, accessed February 12, 2022, http://www.unesco.org/new/en/santiago/culture/intangible-heritage/convention-intangible-cultural-heritage/; "Text of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage," United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, October 17, 2003, accessed July 16, 2018, https://ich.unesco.org/en/convention.

¹³⁸ "Article 2 – Definitions," *Text of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization,* October 17, 2003, accessed July 16, 2018, http://www.unesco.org/new/en/santiago/culture/intangible-heritage/convention-intangible-cultural-heritage/.

Armenians across Los Angeles to conduct amateur oral histories by interviewing family members about their lives here in the county. These histories were then submitted to the department, with some being published on the department's YouTube channel. Hou

A recent UCLA graduate, and one of the only contemporary scholars to research the Los Angeles Armenian experience is Daniel Fittante. His academic articles include "The Armenians of Los Angeles: Rethinking Americanization," "Glendale's Ethnopolitical Entrepreneurs: Suburban Immigrant Incorporation," and "The Armenians of Glendale: An Ethnoburb in Los Angeles's San Fernando Valley," which are critical to contextualizing and interpreting the Armenian experience. Through these resources, we can better understand the community's history and context. However, there is much more work that can be done in this area and a wider group of scholars is needed to research the extensive geographic region.

Local, State, and National Designation

Ordinances

The most straightforward approach to conserving Armenian heritage sites is historic designation and landmarking. Designation may occur at the local, state, or national levels. While listing on the National Register of Historic Places has the most prestige, it is local designation that offers the most protection. Each level has its own designation criteria although the National Register and California Registers mirror each other. The criteria are:

- **A/1:** That are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; or
- **B/2:** That are associated with the lives of persons significant in our past; or
- **C/3:** That embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or

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¹³⁹ "My Armenian Story," accessed on February 16, 2022, https://armenian.usc.edu/myarmenianstory/.

¹⁴⁰ "USC Institute of Armenian Studies," accessed on February 19, 2022, https://www.youtube.com/c/USCInstituteofArmenianStudies/featured.

D/4: That have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.¹⁴¹

Listing of resources in the National and California Registers requires owner consent. If the owner opposes the nomination, the resource will instead be formally recognized as an eligible resource for designation. With that recognition, the resource may trigger certain regulatory procedures such as the California Environmental Quality Act (CEQA), should it be threatened with demolition as part of a discretionary project. Listing in the state and national registers is in many respects honorific unless a local jurisdiction links the designations to the local planning process. If a city does not have a historic preservation program in place, project review for proposed alterations moves along through city planning and building departments as any other property would. Without qualified preservation professionals at the municipal level, historic resources can be overlooked. State and national designations can be the only option when there is no local preservation ordinance.

Local designation requires a preservation ordinance to be passed. Within the County of Los Angeles there are eighty-eight incorporated cities plus the County of Los Angeles for a total of eighty-nine local government jurisdictions with potential for historic preservation programs. As of 2022, forty-four of the eighty-nine cities have preservation ordinances or have policies that provides similar protections. Criteria for local designation vary depending on the jurisdiction; often these ordinances are tailored towards local needs. However, many of the larger and more effective preservation programs in the county, such as the City of Los Angeles, mirror the California and National Registers. A local jurisdiction that uses the same criteria as the two higher level registers creates greater ease for applicants to apply for all three designation levels should they wish.

In addition to the criteria discussed above, local ordinances have the ability create a stronger or weaker preservation program. One of the most important aspects of an ordinance is

¹⁴¹ National Register of Historic Places criteria is listed alphabetically while the California Register of Historical Resources uses numbers. Should include a source for this as it is a block quote.

¹⁴² A discretionary project is one that requires the exercise of judgement or deliberation by a public agency in determining whether the project will be approved, or if a permit will be issued.

the ability to designate a site without owner consent to ensure threatened resources can be designated. Other aspects of preservation ordinances include the ability to deny demolitions, district designation, formation of historic preservation commissions, and the ability to designate resources that are not buildings. Additionally, ordinances provide the framework and processes for how resources are designated and monitored. A city's preservation program is only as strong as its ordinance. Jurisdictions with a weak or nonexistent ordinance pose serious challenges to the conserving Armenian heritage sites.

Issues of Integrity in Traditional Designations

In the United States, the field of heritage conservation has proven much more adept at working with architectural elements in the built environment rather than the country's cultural heritage. UNESCO defines intangible heritage as "traditions or living expressions inherited from our ancestors and passed on to our descendants, such as oral traditions, performing arts, social practices, rituals, festive events, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe or knowledge and skills to produce traditional crafts." Since its inception at Mount Vernon, heritage conservation in this country has primarily focused on the tangible.

In the twentieth century, the Department of the Interior adopted the seven aspects of integrity that continue to be used to assess whether a particular historic resource adequately conveys its significance. These are

- 1) Location the place where the historic property was constructed or the place where the historic event occurred:
- 2) Design the combination of elements that create the form, plan, space, structure, and style of a property;
- 3) Setting the physical environment of a historic property... refers to the *character* of the place in which the property played its historical role;
- 4) Materials the physical elements that were combined or deposited during a particular period of time and in a particular pattern or configuration to form a historic property;
- 5) Workmanship the physical evidence of the crafts of a particular culture or people during any given period in history or prehistory;

¹⁴³ "What Is Intangible Heritage," accessed February 20, 2022, https://ich.unesco.org/en/what-is-intangible-heritage-00003.

- 6) Feeling a property's expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time;
- **7)** Association the direct link between an important historic event or person and a historic property. ¹⁴⁴

As is evident from the seven aspects of integrity above, no aspect successfully addresses aspects of cultural heritage. While some aspects, such as feeling may be esoteric in nature, they are all grounded in the physical environment. With no standards from the National Park Service for intangible heritage, local governments in the United States must look to the international heritage conservation community for answers.

Designation in Practice

The properties discussed throughout this thesis range in use and typology. Some properties lend themselves to a more straightforward preservation approach. These may be institutional properties and sites significant for their associations with individuals or businesses that are no longer present. Despite their straightforward approach, some may lack integrity or exist in buildings with unremarkable architecture. These attributes tend to make it more difficult for designation as individuals outside the community may find it hard to understand why these places matter.

Institutional properties such as churches or schools would be the most likely candidates for nominations as historic landmarks. Armenian churches, such as the Saint James Apostolic churches at Adams Boulevard and Slauson Avenue or the former Armenian Gethsemane Church on Oxford Avenue are significant for both their affiliation with Armenian congregations as well as for their architecture. Despite their ease in meeting designation criteria and issues of integrity, certain state and federal laws may pose significant challenges to designating these properties. One such law is the federal Religious Land Use and Institutionalized Persons Act of 2000 (RLUIPA) that is meant to protect individuals, houses of worship, and other religious intuitions from discrimination in zoning and landmarking laws. RLUIPA makes it more difficult to

¹⁴⁴ "National Register Bulletin: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation," U.S. Department of the Interior National Parks Service Cultural Resources, 1995, page 44-45.

enact zoning and landmarking laws that substantially burden the religious exercise of churches or other religious assemblies or institutions absent the least restrictive means of furthering a compelling government interest.¹⁴⁵ In 2009, this law was used successfully by the property owners to stop the landmarking of St. Johns United Methodist Church in San Francisco. When the City of San Francisco initiated the landmark designation of the property, the congregation and developer of the property sued the city citing exemptions to landmarking under RLUIPA and won that case.¹⁴⁶

Throughout the County, many Armenian heritage sites exist within buildings that have been altered or do not rise a level of significance under the architecture criteria. Often, these sites are unremarkable utilitarian buildings. For example, Bezjian's Grocery on Santa Monica Boulevard is the former location of one of Little Armenia's oldest neighborhood markets. The building is a simple stucco box with a door and two windows. While not impossible to designate, the nomination may face challenges similar to that of the Historic-Cultural Monument designation of the Sister Corita Kent Studio on June 2, 2021. 147 In this instance, the building that housed the studio at 5518 Franklin Avenue in Hollywood is a very modest stucco commercial building that has been significantly altered over time. When the landmark nomination was first heard by the City of Los Angeles' Cultural Heritage Commission, the nomination was met with skepticism by a several commissioners and the city staff report recommended against the nomination. 148 The skeptical commissioners could not grasp the cultural significance of the place and could not see past issues of integrity despite the City of Los Angeles's ordinance that does not include standards for integrity. At the nomination's second hearing, testimony by dozens of community members and former students of Sister Corita were able to convey the site's significance enough for the commission to recommend the nomination to the City Council.

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¹⁴⁵ "Religious Land Use and Institutionalized Persons Act," accessed February 20, 2022, https://www.justice.gov/crt/religious-land-use-and-institutionalized-persons-act.

¹⁴⁶ "Court Exempts Church from Historic Landmark Process," *California Planning and Development Report, July 9, 2009,* https://www.cp-dr.com/articles/node-2363.

¹⁴⁷ "Save Corita's Studio," accessed on February 12, 2022, https://www.corita.org/action.

¹⁴⁸ Los Department of City Planning, "Recommendation Report: Historic-Cultural Monument Application for the Sister Mary Corita Studio," December 17, 2020, https://planning.lacity.org/odocument/c0b587b2-2b44-4154-245e-2c8555ef0f8b/CHC-2020-5630-HCM SisterMaryCorita (12-17).pdf.

Non-Traditional Preservation Legacy Businesses

Maybe the most important aspect of preserving Armenian historic sites in the County of Los Angeles is the preservation of the community's legacy businesses. In 2015, the City of San Francisco became the first city in the country to pass legacy business legislation. It considers legacy businesses to be those that have been in operation for over thirty years and have contributed to a neighborhood's history and/or the identity of a particular neighborhood or community. While San Francisco uses thirty years as a threshold, other communities and organizations that advocate for legacy businesses often use a lower threshold of twenty or twenty-five years. Setablishing a legacy business program is a relatively new concept in the United States and shows a broadening of the field to incorporate cultural heritage. San Francisco's adopted policy was aimed at assisting important small businesses that were facing skyrocketing rents by creating incentives for landlords to enter long-term leases with commercial tenants. This was initially achieved through city grants of \$500 per full-time employee per year and giving landlords \$4.50 per square foot of space leased when a lease is extended for ten years. The landlord grant was capped at \$22,500 annually, while the legacy business grant was capped at \$50,000 a year.

Shortly after San Francisco, the City of San Antonio adopted its own legacy business program. However, unlike San Francisco, San Antonio's program was established solely to acknowledge the contributions of businesses to the city's culture and economy. This program does not provide financial incentives to the legacy business owners. In 2020 and 2021, many local preservation non-profits began advocating for legacy businesses in response to the COVID-

¹⁴⁹ "Legacy Business Registry," San Francisco Planning, accessed February 12, 2022, https://sfplanning.org/project/legacy-business-

registry#:~:text=A%20%22Legacy%20Business%22%20is%20defined,determined%20meets%20the%20following%2 0criteria%3A&text=The%20business%20may%20have%20operated%20in%20more%20than%20one%20location. 150 "Curating the City: Legacy Business," accessed February 12, 2022, https://www.laconservancy.org/curating-city-

¹⁵⁰ "Curating the City: Legacy Business," accessed February 12, 2022, https://www.laconservancy.org/curating-city-legacy-business.

¹⁵¹ David Weible, "Seven Tips for Protecting Legacy Businesses," *National Trust for Historic Preservation*, November 17, 2015, https://savingplaces.org/stories/seven-tips-for-protecting-legacy-businesses#.YghsYu7MleY.

¹⁵² J.K. Dineen, "Prop J: Measure to help save longtime 'legacy' businesses passes,' *SFGate*, November 3, 2015, https://www.sfgate.com/bayarea/article/Prop-J-Initiative-to-preserve-longtime-6609193.php.

¹⁵³ "San Antonio Legacy Business Program," accessed February 12, 2022, https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/74f995c768374ba9970fc52ac6e97303.

19 pandemic that forced many businesses to close their doors to the public. Prior to the pandemic, the Los Angeles Conservancy began actively promoting legacy businesses through their "Curating the City: Legacy Business" campaign that has promoted more than 100 businesses, including several Armenian owned businesses, through social media and on their website. Additionally, the organization has been actively working with the City of Los Angeles's Office of Historic Resources to create a legacy business program. Similarly, Long Beach Heritage began advocating for legacy businesses and has recently partnered with the City of Long Beach to create a Legacy Business registry. Through Long Beach's registry, businesses will be formally recognized by the City Council and receive a certificate and window decal to promote their status. As the concept of legacy business registries gain ground and more cities craft policies with financial assistance, heritage conservation in the United States may become more comfortable with concepts of preserving intangible heritage.

Mapping & Tours

Mapping is a powerful tool for raising awareness and saving heritage sites. The informality of mapping lends itself to ease the barriers of entry that public policy can place on traditional landmarking. When done right, maps successfully educate and inspire. There are many examples of successful interactive maps across the internet. The City of Los Angeles's "Historic Places LA" is a powerful mapping tool that houses all the information from SurveyLA. On the opposite end of the spectrum, community driven mapping initiatives more effectively identify and document resources for ethnic and cultural groups. One such mapping database is Queer Maps, a project of the Fulcrum Arts, a non-profit organization that has proven to be an important resource for identifying and documenting LGBTQ+ sites throughout the County of Los Angeles. Other examples of mapping include Village Preservation in New York City and Urban Archive. 157

¹⁵⁴ "Curating the City: Legacy Businesses," Los Angeles Conservancy, accessed February 12, 2022, https://www.laconservancy.org/curating-city-legacy-business.

¹⁵⁵ "Legacy Businesses," Long Beach Heritage, accessed February 13, 2022, https://www.lbheritage.org/legacybusiness/.

¹⁵⁶ Queer Maps, accessed February 21, 2022, https://queermaps.org/about.

¹⁵⁷ Village Preservation, accessed February 21, 2022, https://www.villagepreservation.org/about-us/, Urban Archive, accessed February 21, 2022, https://www.urbanarchive.org/cities/nyc.

After mapping, tours may be the logical next step to get individuals out on the streets to experience historic places. Often heritage conservation-based tours are led by non-profit organizations such as the Los Angeles Conservancy, Pasadena Heritage, or Long Beach Heritage. These organizations generally have regular tours they conduct, with larger tours once or twice a year. However, the nuances of Los Angeles's Armenian Community may be better served by a community organization that partners with a preservation organization. Without community leadership, a tour-based approach may easily transition into outsiders coming into community space unwelcomed. For many years tours have acted as the best approach to raising awareness of endangered heritage. With food being such an important part of the Armenian identity, food tourism in Armenian enclaves may serve as an accessible option when first developing tours. Connecting people to place is a powerful instrument to gain support and motivates individuals into action.

Community Organizations

To successfully conserve Armenian heritage in Los Angeles, a community organization needs to take up the cause. Without the desire from within the community, little headway can be made. It is only the community that can successfully identify what is important to Armenian Americans, advocate for important resources, and gain community support. Cultural preservation is an integral component of the Armenian identity. History, language, food, music, and dance are just a few aspects of culture that Armenians have worked tirelessly to preserve. However, this has not yet translated to the field of heritage conservation and preservation of the built environment. More established heritage conservation organizations may serve as a guide for Armenians in Los Angeles. Latinos in Heritage Conservation as well as Asian and Pacific Islanders in Historic Preservation (APIAHIP) are valuable resources for Armenian's interested in this work. Additionally, Armenians may benefit by banding with other West and Southwest Asian communities in Los Angeles that are underrepresented in the field. In addition to Armenians, Los Angeles is home to large Iranian, Arab, and Assyrian diaspora groups. Banding together, may create a stronger front to advocate for this heritage.

This chapter explored potential tools for conserving Armenian heritage in Los Angeles as well as the challenges. To successfully conserve this heritage, a historic context statement must be made a priority at both the local and state levels. Through such an initiative, community outreach to Armenian organizations and individuals may act as a much-needed catalyst for the community to better understand conservation tools. Conserving heritage sites not only saves the physical elements of heritage but will allow the Armenian community to control their own narrative.

Conclusion

Los Angeles County is rich with Armenian heritage. For over a century, Armenians have settled throughout Los Angeles County, growing their community from humble beginnings into the world's largest outside the Republic of Armenia. The story of the Los Angeles's Armenian community is the story of the entire diaspora. No other region in the United States tells this story as well as Los Angeles. By studying Los Angeles's community, the complexities of Armenian history are revealed. Each diaspora group, whether Armenian Genocide survivors, displaced persons following World War II, or those fleeing revolution in Southwest Asia, add to the tapestry of the Armenian experience. Los Angeles's Armenian community grew out of the necessity to survive and is a testament to resilience of the Armenian people. William Saroyan once wrote,

I should like to see any power of the world destroy this race, this small tribe of unimportant people, whose history is ended, whose wars have all been fought and lost, whose structures have crumbled, whose literature is unread, whose music is unheard, whose prayers are no longer uttered...Burn their houses and their churches. See if they will not live again. See if they will not laugh again...See if you can stop them from mocking the big ideas of the world, you sons of bitches, a couple of Armenians talking in the world, go ahead and try to destroy them.¹⁵⁸

Further Research and Questions

Due to the scale of Los Angeles's Armenian community, many aspects of their heritage were not covered by this thesis. This paper proved to be cursory, with a small sampling of stories and sites presented. From the onset of this paper, I knew it was not within my ability to tell a complete history of Armenians in Los Angeles as well as identify the countless sites connected to this community. Upon completion of the previous chapters, gaps in my research became increasingly apparent to me. One example is the underrepresentation of enclaves in Montebello and the San Fernando Valley. This was not done purposely but resulted from time constraints and limited community contacts. The absence of enclaves in this thesis does not in

¹⁵⁸ William Saroyan, "The Armenian and the Armenian," 1935.

any way diminish their significance. In fact, it proves further research is needed to fully understand enclave formation throughout the county.

In addition to geographic constraints, there are gaps in the many businesses and industries that are part of Los Angeles's Armenian economy. These include but are not limited to food wholesaling, jewelry sales, and the entertainment industry. Since the 1910s, Armenians played a prominent role in Los Angeles's agricultural wholesale industry because of their early connections Armenian farmers in the San Joaquin Valley. Similarly, Armenians who immigrated to the United States during the second wave of immigration used contacts abroad to build wholesaling companies specializing in imported products. In downtown Los Angeles, St. Vincent's Jewelry Center at 650 South Hill Street (extant) is a significant site of Armenian heritage with nearly all diaspora groups inhabiting a single building.

Lastly, the Armenian diaspora in Los Angeles is not a homogenous group. Future researchers must address this community characteristic as I have done and expand on it. The lived experiences of the diaspora discussed in previous chapters is cursory and deserves further research. The story of each diaspora group contributes to the complex layers of Armenian enclave formation and identity in Los Angeles.

In closing, writing, and researching this paper has proven to be immensely gratifying. I have learned an incredible amount about my own community and gained a greater appreciation for its contributions to Los Angeles. It's my hope, that through this paper other Armenians in the community may feel empowered to use heritage conservation tools to protect our historic resources.

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Appendix A: Complete list of Armenian Heritage Sites

| | | and the second s | | Original Community (If | | Affiliation/Deno |
|--|-------------------------------|--|---|--------------------------|---|--|
| Church Name | Property Type | Neighborhood | Current/Last Address | Different) | Year Established Year Moved | mination |
| Abril Bookstore & Publishing (Hollywood) | Arts & Culture/Media H | Culture/Media Hollywood/Little Armenia | 5450 Santa Monica Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA | | 1979 | 1998 |
| Abril Bookstore & Publishing (Glendale) | Arts & Culture/Media Glendale | Slendale | 415 E Broadway, Glendale, CA 91206 | Hollywood/Little Armenia | 1998 (new location) | |
| Parseghian Records | Arts & Culture/Media | Culture/Media Hollywood/Little Armenia | 4900 Santa Monica Blvd, Los Angeles, CA 90029 | | 1980s | |
| Asbarez Newspaper & Horizon TV Headquarters | Arts & Culture/Media H | Culture/Media Hollywood/Little Armenia | 1203 N Vermont Ave, Los Angeles, CA 90029 | Fresno | 1920s/1980s (Asbarez) | rez) |
| Nor Or | Arts & Culture/Media Altadena | Itadena | 1901 Allen Ave. Altadena. CA 91001 | Fresno | 1920s (relocated to current location 1960s) | |
| (2) ifornia fourier | Arts & Culture/Media | Glandala | | Freeno | 1959 (relocated | |
| Partamian's Bakery | | West Adams | 5410 W Adams Blvd, Los Angeles, CA 90016 | | 1948 | |
| Old Sasoon Bakery | | Pasadena | 1132 Allen Ave, Pasadena, CA 91104 | | 1986 | |
| Taron Bakery | | Little Armenia | 4950 Hollywood Blvd, Los Angeles, CA 90027 | | 2000s | |
| Sasoun Bakery Sarkis Pastro | Bakery L | Little Armenia Glandala | 5114 Santa Monica Blvd, Los Angeles, CA 90029 | | 1983 | |
| Panos Pastry | | Little Armenia | 5150 Hollywood Blvd, Los Angeles, CA 90027 | | 1991 | |
| Paradise Pastry | | Glendale | 1825 W Glenoaks Blvd, Glendale, CA 91201 | | | |
| Art's Bakery | | Glendale | 1122 E Chevy Chase Dr, Glendale, CA 91205 | | | |
| Flor de Café | | Glendale | 537 E Colorado St, Glendale, CA 91205 | | | |
| Father and Son Bakery | | Hollywood/Little Armenia | 5209 Sunset Blvd, Los Angeles, CA 90027 | | 1010 | Melalan |
| Old Kussian Molokan Lemetery New Molokan Cemetery | Cemetery | East Los Angeles City of Commerce | 4319 East 2nd Street, Los Angeles, CA 90022 7201 Slauson Avenue. Commerce. CA 90040 | | 1930s | Molokan |
| Holy Cross Armenian Apostolic Cathedral (original location) | | South LA | 424 E 20th St, Los Angeles, CA 90011 | | | |
| Holy Cross Armenian Apostolic Cathedral | | Montebello | 900 Lincoln Ave., Montebello, CA 90640 | | 1922 | 1984 Western Prelacy |
| Holy Martyrs Armenian Apostolic Church | | Encino | 5300 White Oak Ave, Encino, CA 91316 | | 1961 N/A | Western Prelacy |
| Saint Mary's Armenian Apostolic Church | | Glendale | 500 S Central Ave, Glendale, CA 91204 | | 1975 | 1988 Western Prelacy |
| Saint Garabed Armenian Apostolic Church | | Hollywood/Little Armenia | 1614 N Alexandria Ave, Los Angeles, CA 90027 | | 1977 N/A | Western Prelacy |
| Saint Sarkis Armenian Apostolic Church Saint James Armenian Church (original Location) | Church | Pasadena West Adams | 3200 W Adams Blvd Los Angeles CA 90018 | | 1985 | 2003 Western Prelacy |
| Saint James Armenian Church | | nglewood | 4950 W Slauson Ave, Los Angeles, CA 90056 | | 1942 | Western 1971 Diocese |
| Saint Gregory the Illuminator Armenian Church | Church | Pasadena | 2215 E Colorado Blvd, Pasadena, CA 91107 | | 1947 | Western |
| Saint Peter Armenian Church | Church | Van Nuys | 17231 Sherman Way, Van Nuys, CA 91406 | | 1957 N/A | Western Diocese |
| Saint John Garabed Armenian Church | | Hollywood/Little Armenia | 1201 North Vine St. Hollywood CA 90038 | | 1974 N/A | Western |
| Holy Apostles Armenian Apostolic Church | | Tuinnga | , 10154 Mountain Ave Tuiunga CA 91042 | | 1987 N/A | Western |
| Saint Kawat Armanian Ametalir Phurch | | alchnol a | 1/3/1 Wast Kannath Bd Glandala CA 91701 | | A/N 1000 | _ |
| Coint I and Cathodral | | Durhank | 2005 North Clanaric Blud Burhald CA 01504 | | N/N 2002 | Western |
| Armenian Brotherhood Bible Church (Pasadena, original location) | | Pasadena | 2033 E Washington Blvd, Pasadena, CA 91104 (rented) | 0 | W/N 5007 | acanon di di |
| Armenian Brotherhood Bible Church (Pasadena) | Church | Pasadena | 1536 East Washington Blvd Pasadena CA 91104 | | 1971 | Protestant - Brotherhood 1986 Bible Churches |
| Armanian Brothach Biblia Church (Clandala) | ę. | Glandala | 1130 Richarts Ava Glandsla CA 91201 | | 1989 t | Protestant - Brotherhood |
| Armenian Church of Nazarene | | Glendale | 411 E Acacia Ave, Glendale, CA 91205 | | 1979 N/A | Protestant |
| : | | | | | | Protestant - Brotherhood |
| Armenian Brotherhood Bible Church (Hollywood) Our Lady Queen of Martyrs Armenian Catholic Church | Church B | Hollywood/Little Armenia Boyle Heights | 5556 Harold Way, Los Angeles, CA 90028 1327 Pleasant Ave, Los Angeles, CA 90033 | | 1991 N/A 1952 | Bible Churches Catholic |
| Armenian Cilicia Evangelical Church (Armenian Cilicia Congregational Church, original location) | Church | Pasadena | 920 N El Molino Ave, Pasadena, CA 91107 | | | |
| | | | | | | Protestant - Armenian Evangelical Union of North |
| Armenian Cilicia Evangelical Church (Armenian Cilicia Congregational Church) | | Pasadena | 339 S Santa Anita Ave, Pasadena, CA 91107 | | 1922 | 1991 America |
| Armenian Evangelical Brethren Church of Pasadena | Church | Pasadena | 15/6 E. Wasnington Blvd, Pasadena, CA 9110/ | | 1922 1950s | Protestant |

| In Church Church of Generale Church Silverlake einan Congregational Church (merged to form United Church State Adams pational Church (merged to form United Church Church State Adams pational Church (merged to form United American ond Church (merged to form United Organization (merged to form United Org | 3200 London St. Los Angeles. CA 90026 | |
|--|--|---|
| West Adams Norestown Korestown Hollywood/Lutle Armenia La Crescenta-Montrose Glendale La Habra Heights Gly of Commerce Glendale La Habra Heights Boyle Heights City of Commerce City of Commerce Month Hollywood Pico Union Pico | | 6 6 6 |
| Mest Adams Koreatown Hollywood/Little Armenia La Crescenta-Montrose Glendale La Habra Heights Boyle Heights Cry of Commerce Cry of Commerce Organization Los Angeles Organization Los Angeles Organization San Fernando Valley Organization Burbank Organization Burbank Drasadena Passadena Passadena Passadena Passadena On North Hills | 1800 Lake St, Glendale, CA 91201 | 2006 Protestant |
| Mest Adams Koreatown Hollywood/Little Armenia La Crescenta-Montrose Glendale La Habra Heights Boyle Heights City of Commerce City of Commerce Pico-Union North Hollywood Pico-Union Montebello Downey Mission Hills Montebello Organization San Fernando Valley Organization San Fernando Valley Organization San Fernando Valley Organization San Fernando Valley Organization Glendale Organization Glendale Organization San Fernando Valley Organization Burbank Little Armenia Passadena Passadena Passadena On Endino On North Hills | 1001 E 28th St, Los Angeles, CA 90011 | |
| Hollywood/Little Armenia La Crescenta-Montrose Glendale La Habra Heights Boyle Heights City of Commerce City of Commerce City of Commerce Month Hollywood Picc-Union Picc-Union Montebello Montebello Organization Los Angeles Organization San Fernando Valley Lorganization San Fernando Valley Lorganization San Fernando Valley Lorganization Glendale Lorganization Glendale Lorganization Glendale Lorganization Glendale Lorganization Montheboll Lorganization San Fernando Valley Lorganization Burbank Lorganization Montheboll Organization Burbank Lorganization Montheboll Organization | 2085 S Hobart Blvd, Los Angeles, CA 90018 | Protestant - Armenian Evangelical Union of North 1908 1941 America |
| Hollywood/Little Armenia La Crescenta-Montrose Glendale La Habra Heights Boyle Heights Boyle Heights City of Commerce City of Commerce City of Commerce Month Hollywood Pico-Union Pico-Union Montebello Downey Mission Hills Montebello Organization Los Angeles Organization San Fernando Valley Organization San Fernando Valley Organization Glendale Organization Glendale Organization Glendale Organization Glendale Organization Burbank Organization Burbank Passadena On North Hills | 3068 San Marino St, Los Angeles, CA 90006 | Protestant - Armenian Evangelical Union of North 1925 1941 America |
| La Crescenta-Montrose Glendale Glendale La Habra Heights Boyle Veights City of Commerce North Hollywood Pico-Union Montebello Montebello Montebello Montebello Organization Los Angeles I City anization Los Angeles I City anization San Fernando Valley Organization San Fernando Valley Organization Burbark I City anization Glendale Organization Burbark Organization Burbark Organization Burbark Organization Burbark Organization Month Hollywood Little Anmenia Passadena Passadena On North Hills | | Protestant - Armenian Evangelical Union of North 1982 America |
| Glendale La Habra Heights Boyle Heights City of Commerce City of Commerce Organization City of Commerce Montebello Montebello Organization City of Commerce Organization City of Commerce Ingranization City of Commerce Montebello City of Commerce Ingranization City of Commerce Ingranization City of Commerce Montebello City of Commerce Ingranization City of Commerce Ingranization City of Commerce Ingranization City of Commerce Montebello City of Commerce Ingranization City of Commerce Montebello City of Commerce Ingranization City of Commerce Montebello City of Commerce Ingranization City of Commerce Ingranization City of Commerce Ingranization Month Hills On Fedoro City of Commerce Ingranization Month Hills On North Hills On Nor | | |
| Boyle Heights Boyle Heights City of Commerce Pico-Union Montebello Downey Mission Hills Montebello Organization Nontebello Organization Nontebello Organization San Fernando Valley Organization San Fernando Valley Organization San Fernando Valley Organization Burbank Organization Burbank Organization Burbank Organization Month Hollywood Little Armenia Passadena Passadena Passadena Organization Nonth Hollywood Intitle Armenia Passadena Passadena Organization Nonth Hollywood Organization Nonth Hollywood Intitle Armenia Passadena Organization Nonth Hills On Nonth Hills | 2001 Canada Blvd Glendale, CA 91208 | Protestant |
| Boyle Heights City of Commerce North Hollywood Picc Union Downey Mission Hills Montebello Organization Los Angeles Organization Pasadena Organization Glendale Organization Glendale Organization San Fernando Valley Organization San Fernando Valley Organization Burban Pasadena Pasadena Pasadena Pasadena Pasadena Pasadena Pasadena On Reflix Amenia | 125 West Rd, La Habra Heights, CA 90631 | Pentecostal |
| Church Ctty of Commerce Church North Hollywood Church Picc-Union Church Downey Church Mission Hills Church Montebello Cultural Organization Los Angeles Cultural Organization Color San Germando Cultural Organization San Fermando Valley Cultural Organization San Fermando Valley Cultural Organization Barbark Cultural Organization Burbark Cultural Organization Morth Hollywood Deli Fasadena Estery Pasadena Education North Hills | 320 S Gless St, Los Angeles, CA 90033 | |
| Church North Hollywood Church Pico-Union Church Downey Church Mission Hills Church Montebello Cultural Organization Downey Cultural Organization Downey Cultural Organization San Fernando Valley Cultural Organization Burbank Cultural Organization Morth Hollywood Deli Etter Prasadena Estery Pasadena Education North Hills Education North | 1101 Goodrich Blvd, Commerce, CA 90022 | 1912 Unknown Molokan |
| Church Pico-Union Church Montebello Church Montebello Church Montebello Church Studio City Cultural Organization Los Angeles Cultural Organization Los Angeles Cultural Organization San Fernando Valley Cultural Organization San Fernando Valley Cultural Organization Ban Fernando Valley Cultural Organization Burbank Cultural Organization Burbank Cultural Organization Burbank Cultural Organization Burbank Estery Passadena Estery Passadena Education North Hills | 11960 Victory Blvd, Morth Hollywood, CA 91606 | Protestant - Armenian Evangelical Union of North 2002 America |
| Church Downey Church Mission Hills Church Montebello Church Montebello Cultural Organization Corpadees Cultural Organization Sandena Cultural Organization San Fernando Valley Cultural Organization San Fernando Valley Cultural Organization San Fernando Valley Cultural Organization Burbank Cultural Organization Morth Hollywood Delli Estery Pasadena Estery Pasadena Education Morth Hills Education Fedioaction Morth Hills Education Fedioaction Morth Hills Education Morth Hills Education Fedioaction Morth Hills Education Morth Hills Morth Hills Education Morth Hills Education Morth Hills Morth Hill Mor | 1401 W Washington Blvd, Los Angeles, CA 90007 | |
| Church Mission Hills Church Montebello Church Montebello Cultural Organization Los Angeles Cultural Organization Pasadena Cultural Organization San Fernando Valley Cultural Organization San Fernando Valley Cultural Organization San Fernando Valley Cultural Organization North Hollywood Deli Estery Pasadena Estery Pasadena Education North Hills | 9516 Downey Ave, Downey, CA 90240 | Protestant - Armenian Evangelical Union of North 1930 1970s America |
| Church Studio City Cultural Organization Los Angeles Cultural Organization Montebello Cultural Organization Passadena Cultural Organization Standarde Cultural Organization Stan Fernando Valley Cultural Organization San Fernando Valley Cultural Organization San Fernando Valley Cultural Organization North Hollywood Deli Deli Passadena Estery Passadena Education Passadena Education North Hills Education Passadena Education Passadena Education Passadena Education Passadena Education Passadena Passadena Education Passadena Passadena Education Passadena Passadena Passadena Education Passadena Pa | 15105 Mission Hills Road, Mission Hills, CA 91345 | Interdenominati 1994 onal |
| Church Studio City Cultural Organization Los Angeles Cultural Organization Montebelio Cultural Organization Montebelio Cultural Organization San Fernando Valley Cultural Organization San Fernando Valley Cultural Organization Burbank Cultural Organization Burbank Cultural Organization Burbank Cultural Organization North Hollywood Deli Passadena Eatery Passadena Education North Hills | 136 S 7th St, Montebello, CA 90640 | Protestant - Armenian Evangelical Union of North 1981 America |
| cultural Organization cos Angeles Cultural Organization Montebelio Cultural Organization Montebelio Cultural Organization San Fernando Valley Cultural Organization San Fernando Valley Cultural Organization Burbank Cultural Organization Burbank Cultural Organization Burbank Cultural Organization North Hollywood Deli Eatery Fasadena Education Roth Hills Education North Hills | 3/80 C-blushes Blick IVI I oc Annales CA BONES | Protestant - Armenian Evangelical Union of North |
| Cultural Organization Nontebello Cultural Organization Montebello Cultural Organization Pasadena Cultural Organization Glendale Cultural Organization Burbank Cultural Organization Burbank Cultural Organization North Hollwood Deli Pasadena Earey Pasadena Earey Earey Pasadena Education Fronto Education North Hills Education North | 3400 Canidenga Bivd W, Los Angeles, CA 90000 | |
| Cultural Organization Pasadera Cultural Organization Glendale Cultural Organization San Fernando Valley Cultural Organization Burbank Deli Pasadera Eatery Pasadera Eatery Pasadera Education Forth IIIIs Education North IIIIs Education North IIIIs | 1335 N Neillinde Ave, Los Aligeres, CA 90027 430 F Washington Blyd Los Angeles CA 90015 | 1974 |
| Cultural Organization Gendale Cultural Organization San Fernando Valley Cultural Organization Burbank Cultural Organization North Hollywood Deli Little Ammenia Deli Pasadena Estery Pasadena Education Endino Education North Hills Education North Hills Education North Hills | 2742 F Forthill Rivd #107 Pscadena CA 91107 | 1977 |
| Cultural Organization San Fernando Valley Cultural Organization Burbank Cultural Organization North Hollwood Deli Little Amenia Deli Pasadena Eatery Pasadena Education Fronto Education North Hills Education North Hills | 3347 N San Fernando Rd, Los Angeles, CA 90065 | 1978 |
| Cultural Organization Burbank Cultural Organization North Hollwood Deli Nasadena Eatery Pasadena Education Enciro Education North Hills Education North Hi | 20953 Osborne St, Canoga Park, CA 91304 | 1979 |
| Cultural Organization North Hollwood Deli Little Armenia Deli Pasadena Eatery Pasadena Education Education North Hills Education Nor | 75 E Santa Anita Ave, Burbank, CA 91502 | 1995 |
| Deli Little Armenia Deli Little Armenia Estery Pasadena Education Endrio Education North Hils Education North Hill | | 2011 |
| Deli Pasadena Eatery Pasadena Education Endino Education North Hills Education North Hills | 5183 Sunset Blvd, Los Angeles, CA 90027 | 1988 |
| Education Endino Education North Hills Education North Hills Education Hollywood/Little Armenia | 1082 Allen Ave, Pasadena, CA 91104 | 1980 |
| Education North Hills Education Hillywood/Little Armenia | 1331 E Washington Bivo, Pasadena, CA 91104 5300 White Dak Ave Encino CA 91316 | |
| Education Hollywood/Little Armenia | 43 | |
| | 1615 N Alexandria Ave, Los Angeles, CA 90027 | 1964 |
| Messoblan School Education Pico Rivera 8 42,00 Beverly Advantage Character Character Advantage Advantage Advantage Character Advantage A | 8420 Beverly Rd., Pico Rivera, CA 90660 | |
| Education Glendale | 1300 E. Carlton Dr., Glendale CA 91205 | |

| Armenian Sisters Academy | | | | | |
|--|---------------------|--------------------------|--|--------------------------|-----------|
| Levon & Hasmig Tavelian Armenian School | Education | Pasadena | 1317 Sinaloa St., Pasadena CA 91104 | | |
| AGBU - Vatche & Tamar Manoukian High School | Education | Pasadena Canoga nark | 6844 Oakhale Avenue Canga Dark CA 91306 | | |
| Arshae Dickranian School | Education | Hollywood/Little Armenia | 1200 N. Cahuenga Blvd Los Angeles CA 90036 | | |
| St. Gregory Hovsepian School | Education | Pasadena | 2215 East Colorado Blvd., Pasadena CA 91107 | | |
| Sahag - Mesrob Armenian Christian School | Education | Altadena | 2501 N. Maiden Lane, Altadena CA91001 | | |
| Merdinian Armenian Evangelical School | Education | Sherman Oaks | 13330 Riverside Drive, Sherman Oaks CA 91423 | | |
| Ararat Home for Armenian Aged (original location) | Elder Care Facility | West Adams | 3730 West 27 th Street, Los Angeles, | | |
| Ararat Home for Armenian Aged (current facility) | Elder Care Facility | Mission Hills | 15105 Mission Hills Road, Mission Hills, CA 91345 | | 1949 |
| Ararat Home for Armenian Aged (second facility) | Elder Care Facility | Eagle Rock | 2373 Colorado Boulevard, Los Angeles 90041 | | 1980 |
| Nory Candy | Food Wholesale | Winnetka | 20117 Vanowen St, Winnetka, CA 91306 | | |
| Sun Dairy, Co. (Abali) | Food Wholesale | loc Angeles/Glendele | 13023 Arrayo St. San Fernando, CA 91340 | | |
| Sull Daily, Co. (Aball) | Market | Los Angeles/ Giendale | 4715 Santa Monica Blvd Los Angeles CA 90029 | | 1964 |
| Bezjian s Glocery Arbat Grocery | Market | Little Armenia | 4/13 Sainta Monica Bivd, Los Angeles, CA 90029 5001 Hollywood Bivd, Los Angeles, CA 90027 | | 1904 |
| Valley High Market | Market | Sharman Oaks | 14845 Burkank Blvd Charman Oaks CA 91411 | | 1970c |
| Armenian Grocery and Bakery | Market | Pasadena | 1442 F Washington Blvd Pasadena CA 91104 | | 1970s |
| Jon's Marketplace | Market | Little Armenia | 5315 Santa Monica Blvd, Los Angeles, CA 90029 | | 1970s |
| Ron's Market (closed) | Market | Hollywood/Little Armenia | 5270 Sunset Blvd, Los Angeles, CA 90027 | | |
| Onnik's Grocery (closed) | Market | Hollywood/Little Armenia | 5259 Hollywood Blvd, Los Angeles, CA 90027 | | |
| Kozanian's Ranch Market (closed) | Market | Glendale | 356 N Chevy Chase Dr, Glendale, CA 91206 | Hollywood/Little Armenia | |
| Haykazuni Meat Market (closed) | Market | Hollywood/Little Armenia | 5301 Sunset Blvd # 3, Los Angeles, CA 90027 | | |
| Karabagh Meat Market (Hollywood) | Market | Hollywood/Little Armenia | 5363 Santa Monica Blvd, Los Angeles, CA 90029 | | |
| Zeytun Grocery & Deli | Market | Hollywood/Little Armenia | 5135 Sunset Blvd, Los Angeles, CA 90027 | | |
| Ani Groceries & Deli | Market | Glendale | 1500 W Glenoaks Blvd, Glendale, CA 91201 | | |
| Raffi's Market | Market | Burbank | 324 S Glenoaks Blvd, Burbank, CA 91502 | | |
| Glendale Kanch Market | Market | Glendale | 1122 S Central Ave, Glendale, CA 91204 | | |
| Maple Market | Market | Glondale | 715 5 Glendale Ave, Glendale, CA 91205 | | |
| Armonian Conoral Bonovolont Union | Non Brofit | Gendale | 407 W Dordan 3t, dienidale, CA 91203 | Constant | 1910- |
| Line Dharmaca | Phymical | Hollowood/Little Armonia | 5326 Santa Monica Blud Los Annolas CA 00000 | Olesin | |
| Agrat Plaza | Plaza/Strip Mall | Glendale | 1248 S Glendale Ave Glendale CA 91205 | | |
| Hve Plaza | Plaza/Strip Mall | Hollywood/Little Armenia | 5112 Hollywood Blvd. Los Angeles. CA 90027 | | |
| Har-Omar | Restaurant | West Hollywood | 8795 Sunset Blvd, West Hollywood, CA 90069 | | 1960s |
| Haji Baba's | Restaurant | Inglewood | 1730 Centinela Ave, Inglewood, CA 90302 | | 1960s |
| Carousel Restaurant (original location) | Restaurant | Hollywood/Little Armenia | 5112 Hollywood Blvd #107, Los Angeles, CA 90027 | | 1984 |
| Carousel Restaurant | Restaurant | Glendale | 304 N Brand Blvd, Glendale, CA 91203 | | 1998 |
| Marouch Restaurant | Restaurant | Hollywood/Little Armenia | 4905 Santa Monica Blvd, Los Angeles, CA 90029 | | 1982 |
| Raffi's Place | Restaurant | Glendale | 211 E Broadway, Glendale, CA 91205 | | 1993 |
| Zankou Chicken (original location) | Restaurant | Hollywood/Little Armenia | 5065 Sunset Blvd, Los Angeles, CA 90027 | | 1984 |
| Falafel Arax | Restaurant | Hollywood/Little Armenia | 5101 Santa Monica Blvd Suite 2, Los Angeles, CA 90029 | | 1982 |
| Phoenicia Restaurant | Restaurant | Glendale | 343 N Central Ave, Glendale, CA 91203 | | |
| John S. Pashgian and Co. | Rug Shop | Downtown | 454 West 7 th Street, Los Angeles, CA 90014 | | 1900-1930 |
| J.H. Minassian and Company (original location) | Rug Shop | Westlake | 1500 West 7th Street, Los Angeles, CA 90017 | | 1905 |
| J.H. Minassian and Company | Rug Shop | West Hollywood | 8687 Melrose Ave b139, West Hollywood, CA 90069 | | 1905 |
| A.M. Enfiziajian and Company | Rug Shop | Downtown L.A. | 835 West 7 th Street, Los Angeles, CA 90017 | | 1900-1930 |
| A.S. Salisian and Company | Rug Shop | Downtown L.A. | 945 West 7 th Street, Los Angele, CA 90017 | | 1900-1930 |
| E.S. Pashgian and Company | Rug Shop | Westlake | 1760 West 7 th Street, Los Angeles, CA 90017 | | 1900-1930 |
| Pashgian Brothers (original location) | Rug Shop | Downtown L.A. | 1825 West 7 th Street, Los Angeles, CA 90057 | | 1890 |
| Pashgian Brothers | Rug Shop | Pasadena | 993 E Colorado Boulevard, Pasadena, CA 91106 | | 1890 |
| G. Haroutunian and Company | Rug Shop | Koreatown | 2855 West 9 th Street, Los Angeles, CA 90006 | | 1900-1930 |
| K. Harpootlian (Blackstone Store) | Rug Shop | Downtown L.A. | 901 South Broadway, Los Angeles, CA 90015 | | 1900-1930 |
| Constantian Brothers | Rug Shop | Downtown | 905 South Broadway, Los Angeles, CA 90015 | | 1900-1930 |
| G. Philifs (Bullocks Store) | Rug Shop | Downtown L.A. | 7 th and Broadway, Los Angeles, CA 90015 | | 1900-1930 |
| Roupen and Company | Rug Shop | Downtown L.A. | 526 West Washington Street, Los Angeles, CA 90007 | | 1900-1930 |
| H.H. Khazoyan and Company | Rug Shop | Pasadena | | | 1900-1930 |
| G. Kartmanian and Company | Rug Shop | Pasadena | | | 1900-1930 |
| M.S. Pasnglan and Company | Kug Shop | Pasadena | 11EE Allow Aug Bacadona CA 0110A | | 1900-1930 |
| rasadena Oriental nug, inc. Ararat Carpet Company (original location) | Rug Shop | Los Angeles | 2221 Granville Ave, Los Angeles, CA 90064 | | T-964 |
| Ararat Carpet Company | Rug Shop | Silverlake | 3000 Riverside Dr, Los Angeles, CA 90039 | | 1920 |
| | L | | | | |