

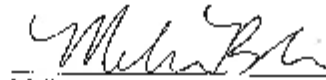
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APPROVAL SHEET

Title of Thesis: "What White Nonsense is This?" Investigating the Seldom Seen or Heard Stories of Latinxs in the National Register of Historic Places.

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ABSTRACT

Title of Document:

**“WHAT WHITE NONSENSE IS THIS?”
INVESTIGATING THE SELDOM SEEN OR
HEARD STORIES OF LATINXS IN THE
NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES**

Camilla Sandoval, MA, 2019

Directed By:

Dr. Melissa Blair, Department of History

I am studying the master narrative of the United States told through the National Register. I want to understand how the National Register presents the place of Latinxs in our national story and what factors have led to that representation. The evidence presented in my thesis shows that the National Register is inherently unsuited to recognize the historical contributions of this recently formed, forcibly displaced, and vastly understudied community of Latinxs in the DMV. The National Register was built on premises that disregarded the historical contributions of non-white communities. This biased foundation of preservation principles has resulted in a Eurocentric representation of Latinxs, meaning that the historical significance of this demographic is often tied in some way to the architecture, actions, or people of Spain. I prove that the National Register’s criteria and criteria considerations make it impossible for the DMV’s Latinx community to fit in the National Register’s exclusionary definitions of historical significance.

“WHAT WHITE NONSENSE IS THIS?” INVESTIGATING THE SELDOM SEEN
OR HEARD STORIES OF LATINXS IN THE NATIONAL REGISTER OF
HISTORIC PLACES

By

Camilla Azucena-Sandoval

Thesis submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the
University of Maryland, Baltimore County, in partial fulfillment
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2019

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Dedication

For my mom.

Acknowledgements

Writing this thesis has been an isolating process but I would not have finished without the many people who make up my incredible support system. This support system stretches from San Salvador, El Salvador to Rockville, Maryland. It was formed the minute I was born and has continued to grow through my time in graduate school. It includes my family since birth, my friends from across my life, and my professors and mentors guiding me to my future. Thank you to all who have cared for me, believed in me, inspired me, and encouraged me to keep pushing forward.

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Introduction

The influence of the Latinx community and its culture on regions across the United States is as undeniable as the healing powers of Vick's VapoRub.¹ In the Washington, D.C.-Maryland-Virginia area (DMV), for instance, some of the clearest examples of the power of this influence are pupuserias in Gaithersburg, soccer fields in Northern Virginia, and the Central American communities in the D.C. neighborhoods of Adams Morgan, Mount Pleasant, and Columbia Heights. Yet, existing against these realities of Latinxs in the DMV are the meager representations of them in the National Register of Historic Places (National Register).² In Maryland and Virginia, the sole historic site associated with Latinxs that is listed on the National Register is Assateague Island National Seashore. How deep a connection could the island known for vacations and wild horses have to Latinxs? A very shallow connection—two Spanish ships wrecked off the coast of the island in 1750 and 1802.³ In D.C., the representation is little better. The National Register acknowledges a series of statues commemorating nineteenth-century leaders of various Wars of

1. The ointment carries a cultural significance in the Latinx community. For generations, it has been commonly used as a cure for various pains or bodily discomfort. See Dorkys Ramos, "Getting to the Bottom of the Obsession Latinos Have with Vicks VapoRub," *Vivala*, November 13, 2015, accessed March 26, 2019, <http://www.vivala.com/health/why-latinos-love-vicks-vaporub/1380>.

2. A note on language: Latinx is a gender-neutral term used to refer to people living in the United States who are of Latin American descent. This will be the term used here unless quoting, paraphrasing, or referring to the work of scholars who use other terms. More commonly used terms include Latino/a (a geographic term used to refer to people of Latin American descent), Hispanic (a linguistic term used to refer to descendants of Spanish-speaking countries), and Chicano/a (a nationalistic term used to refer to Mexican Americans in the United States).

3. National Park Service, "Assateague Island National Seashore: Maryland and Virginia," *Discover Our Shared Heritage Travel itinerary: American Latino Heritage*, accessed March 26, 2019, https://www.nps.gov/nr/travel/American_Latino_Heritage/Assateague_Island_National_Seashore.html

Independence across Latin America, but is silent on the formation of the Latinx community beginning in the mid-twentieth century.

Why are these the only representations of Latinxs in the DMV on the National Register? Is there prejudice in the minds of those who decide what is listed on the National Register? Does it come down to structural racism? Or is it the criteria used in the nomination process to determine a site's eligibility? Could it have anything to do with members of the Latinx community who may not think of the National Register as the best way to save the places that are important to them? The DMV's Latinx community is relatively new, established about sixty years ago, but if we study other Latinx communities with longer histories in the United States, would we find similar issues of faulty representation on the National Register?

To address these questions, I am studying the master narrative of the United States told through the National Register. I want to understand how the National Register presents the place of Latinxs in our national story and what factors have led to that representation. Understanding the physical manifestations of American history can help readers understand how preservationists have diminished the role of Latinxs in the places they save. The process of preserving a place is at the same time a process of creating a historical narrative. The evidence presented in my thesis shows that the National Register is inherently unsuited to recognize the historical and cultural contributions of this recently formed, forcibly displaced, and vastly understudied community of Latinxs in the DMV. The National Register was built on premises that disregarded the historical contributions of non-white communities. This biased foundation of preservation principles has resulted in a Eurocentric

representation of Latinxs in the United States, meaning that the historical significance of this demographic is often tied in some way to the architecture, actions, or people of Spain. Accompanying these structural barriers is an institutional culture that further confines Latinx representation. I prove that the National Register's criteria and criteria considerations make it impossible for the DMV's Latinx community to fit in the National Register's exclusionary definitions of historical significance.

To properly analyze and understand the relationship between Latinxs and the National Register, the nature of this research will diverge from traditional approaches and methodologies. This part history thesis and part public history project gives considerable attention to bodies of information including government publications from the Department of the Interior and articles and oral histories from local Latinx cultural organizations. The public history aspects of this study are central to its thesis and require working outside of traditional archives. These government publications and cultural sources are the most effective way to understand this story rooted in an underrepresented community's recent, yet crucial, history.

This project is comprised of three distinct parts. First, I show a change over time in the segregated histories of Latinxs and historic preservationists. By studying the histories of Latinxs and historic preservation side by side, this project shows a historical disconnect between the Latinx community and preservationists. Second, I tell a bureaucratic history of the National Park Service's attempts to diversify the National Register and investigate the existing narrative of Latinxs and the process of creating that narrative from the 1970s to the present. Through an examination of Latinx-related historic sites listed in Texas and Maryland, I show that while these two

states have drastically different Latinx-related histories, they nonetheless illustrate similar shortcomings of fair Latinx representation. Lastly, I turn back to the DMV to show how the Latinx community's individualities related to their historical age and movements unfairly prevent it from being considered for listing in the National Register. Additionally, I provide a narrative of the mural "Un Pueblo Sin Murales es un Pueblo Desmuralizado" (A People Without Murals is a Demuralized People) developed in accordance with National Register guidelines to exemplify how a culturally and historically significant site of the Latinx community can be researched and documented.

Background: The National Register of Historic Places, Evaluation, and Criteria

While the act of preserving American history can be traced back to the nineteenth century and the efforts to save the homes of American elite like George Washington, it was not until 1966 that the National Historic Preservation Act formalized the National Register of Historic Places. The National Register, under the umbrella of the National Park Service, defines itself as "the official list of the Nation's historic places worthy of preservation." The list includes both natural landscapes and built environments including, but not limited to, battlefields, buildings, and historic districts.⁴

The National Register of Historic Places is worthy of study because it has the power to educate Americans about their shared past. By being listed on the National Register, a place is lifted to a national significance. Taken together, National Register

4. National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, Public Law 89-665, 89th Congress, 16 U.S.C. 470 et seq., <https://www.nps.gov/history/local-law/nhpa1966.htm>.

sites across the United States perpetuate dominant historical themes and define what it means to be a citizen of this country. The stories told at these historic sites inform the country's understanding of what is "worthy of preservation." What the National Register does not preserve is at risk of being interpreted by people as not important to the history of the United States or being deemed as "less than." As a result, it is important to assess the history being saved by the National Register. The sites nominated for National Register eligibility play a critical role in the way history influences how Americans think of themselves and how they think of the history of entire groups of people.

The process for a site to be considered for the National Register can be lengthy and complex. To get a site listed, any individual, group, or organization begins by filling out a nomination form and submitting it to the State Historic Preservation Office. The State Historic Preservation Office then puts the site up for public comment and notifies any affected property owners or local government. From there, the State Historic Preservation Office and the State National Register Review Board review the nomination form. If they determine the site is eligible for listing on the National Register, they pass the nomination form and recommendation on to the Keeper of the National Register. Finally, the Keeper makes the ultimate decision to add the site to the National Register or not.⁵

The eligibility of a site is based on its significance, age, and integrity. Significance is dependent upon the site's ability to fall under one of more of these criteria:

5. Robert E. Stipe, ed., *A Richer Heritage: Historic Preservation in the Twenty-First Century*, Richard Hampton Jenrette Series in Architecture and the Decorative Arts (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 29-32.

- A. “Associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; or
- B. “Associated with the lives of persons significant in our past; or
- C. “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
- D. “Yielded or may be likely to yield, information important in history or prehistory.”⁶

It should be noted here that more than half of the properties on the National Register cite Criterion C, which emphasizes the preservation of architecture.⁷ Furthermore, a site is *generally* considered historic if it is older than 50 years and it possesses integrity if it “looks much the way it did in the past,” the National Park Service explains. These criteria, as they currently exist, do not provide enough room for diverse interpretations of what is considered historically or culturally significant and when someplace is considered historically or culturally significant.

One could make a firm connection between the subjective nature of history and culture and the inclusion of underrepresented communities in the National Register. Through studies of class, gender, and identity, Chicano/Latino studies scholars have asserted the historical and cultural distinctions of Latinxs in the United States. Within the literature on historic preservation, debates over the extensive nomination process and the constricting language of its criteria allude to a larger, problematic, ethnocentric framework. Where these two bodies of literature could

6. US Department of the Interior, *National Register of Historic Places*, National Park Service, accessed March 26, 2019, https://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/NR_Brochure_Poster/NR_Brochure_Poster.pdf; For a detailed breakdown of the criteria see US Department of the Interior, *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, National Park Service, National Register Bulletin 15, 1990, accessed March 26, 2019, <https://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/pdfs/nrb15.pdf>.

7. Marla R. Miller and Max Page, eds., *Bending the Future: Fifty Ideas for the Next Fifty Years of Historic Preservation in the United States* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2016), 16.

connect to introduce complex interpretations of history and culture, little to no overlap exists.

Literature Review: Possible Intersections of Chicano/Latino and Historic

Preservation Literature

During an exchange between ten scholars on the current state and outlook of Latino history in September 2010, historian George Sanchez expressed his frustration with the glaring oversight of Hispanics by Ken Burns in his documentary, *The West*. Burns' crew had personally contacted Sanchez for his opinion but they disregarded his call to expand the film's timeline and include earlier Hispanic communities. Sanchez explained, "It challenged too many deeply held notions about what U.S. history was and how it should be told."⁸ In response, historian Matthew Garcia argued that the problem was not so much with Burns as it was with the dearth of Latino historians active in public history. So critical was this issue, Garcia contended, that public history "constitutes one of the most important new directions for Latino studies."⁹ An analysis of the respective scholarship on Chicano/Latino studies and historic preservation reveals that eight years later, there remains a wide disconnect between the work of Chicano/Latino studies scholars and the work of public historians.¹⁰

8. Adrian Burgos et al., "Latino History: An Interchange on Present Realities and Future Prospects," *The Journal of American History* 97, no. 2 (2010): 449.

9. Burgos et al., "Latino History," 451.

10. This literature review will include terms employed by scholars in their original work such as "Chicano," "Hispanic," or "Latino." These nationalistic, linguistic, and geographic terms of identity are not meant to be used interchangeably but instead reflect the changing ideas of who has constituted this group over time.

To understand how the National Register of Historic Places represents Latinxs in the national story that it defines for Americans, we must explore the extent to which Chicano/Latino studies and historic preservation intersect. How has Chicano/Latino literature treated the study of place? How has historic preservation scholarship addressed diversity and the inclusion of racial and ethnic minorities? Even though both Chicano/Latino studies and historic preservation literature go back to the early twentieth century, the most relevant and critical scholarship for the purposes of this research begins in the 1960s and 1970s.¹¹

In the midst of mass social and political movements, including the Chicano civil rights and Brown Power movements, history as a field underwent an enduring transformation. Historians who joined the profession in this time rejected scholarship that was built on ideas of American exceptionalism, white supremacy, and prejudiced perspectives that were used as tools of a wealthy, white, male elite. With these new scholars came a “new history,” historian Peter Charles Hoffer writes, that “argued for critical thinking, diversity, and moral self-assessment.”¹² It was in this context that Chicano/a studies gained momentum and historic preservation paid closer attention to the stories it told and who was telling them.

Among the earliest and most important works on Chicano/a history is Rodolfo Acuña’s *Occupied America: The Chicano’s Struggle Toward Liberation* (1972). In

11. I will refer to the scholarship on Hispanics and Latinxs as Chicano/Latino studies because it is not yet its own field. On the development of Latino studies as a separate course of study from Chicano studies, see Virginia Sánchez Korrol, “The Origins and Evolution of Latino History,” *OAH Magazine of History* 10, no. 2 (1996): 5–12; Frances R. Aparicio, “Reading the ‘Latino’ in Latino Studies: Toward Re-Imagining Our Academic Location,” *Discourse* 21, no. 3 (1999): 3–18; Ernesto Chávez, “Chicano/a History: Its Origins, Purpose, and Future,” *Pacific Historical Review* 82, no. 4 (2013): 505–19, <https://doi.org/10.1525/phr.2013.82.4.505>.

12. Peter Charles Hoffer, *Past Imperfect: Facts, Fictions, and Fraud--American History from Bancroft and Parkman to Ambrose, Bellesiles, Ellis, and Goodwin*, Rev. ed. (New York: PublicAffairs, 2007), 15.

his overview of the history of Chicanos in areas that today are part of the United States, Acuña argues that Chicanos are a “colonized people.”¹³ The scholarship that followed expanded on Acuña’s thesis and developed community case studies and gender analyses. Richard Griswold del Castillo in *The Los Angeles Barrio, 1850-1890: A Social History* (1979) and Albert Camarillo in *Chicanos in a Changing Society: From Mexican Pueblos to American Barrios in Santa Barbara and Southern California, 1848-1930* (1979) examine economic inequalities, though without considering the experiences of women.¹⁴ In the 1980s, Chicana historians highlighted women in their monographs and contributed feminist perspectives to the larger Chicano/a history. With the use of oral histories, Vicki L. Ruiz gave a voice to women cannery workers in California and used this “women-centered approach” to understand their unfair working conditions and involvement in the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing, and Allied Workers of America (UCAPAWA) in *Cannery Women, Cannery Lives: Mexican Women, Unionization, and the California Food Processing Industry, 1930-1950* (1987).¹⁵

In the 1990s, migration from Latin America to the United States had a notable influence on scholars and how they understood the makeup of this population. Some

13. Rodolfo Acuña, *Occupied America: The Chicano’s Struggle Toward Liberation* (San Francisco: Harpercollins Publisher, 1972), iii.

14. Richard Griswold del Castillo, *The Los Angeles Barrio, 1850-1890: A Social History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979); Albert Camarillo, *Chicanos in a Changing Society: From Mexican Pueblos to American Barrios in Santa Barbara and Southern California, 1848-1930* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1979).

15. Vicki Ruiz, *Cannery Women, Cannery Lives: Mexican Women, Unionization, and the California Food Processing Industry, 1930-1950*, 1st ed (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987). For more analyses on gender within the Chicano community see Sarah Deutsch, *No Separate Refuge: Culture, Class, and Gender on an Anglo-Hispanic Frontier in the American Southwest, 1880-1940* (New York ; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987).

turned their attention to identity and ideas of whiteness.¹⁶ After Acuña and others used their work to illustrate prejudice and discrimination against Chicanos/Latinos, historians like Tomás Almaguer and Lisbeth Haas explored how the social constructions of whiteness developed to exclude Hispanics, even as some tried to pass as white. Latino studies started to emerge out of Chicano studies as the communities of people of Latin American origin in the United States grew and diversified. Most recently, the trend within Chicano/Latino studies has been to emphasize transnationalism, looking beyond the southwest and the United States, and explore the diversity of the Latinx community beyond Chicanos/as. In *Harvest of Empire: A History of Latinos in America* (2011), journalist Juan González considers the factors that have resulted in mass migrations from Latin America to the United States, not failing to point out that the United States was a major force in creating the unsafe living conditions in Latin America that many migrants were fleeing.¹⁷ These scholars have also shown that Latinx communities are not always composed of only one nationality but, as these migrations have grown in size, include a multitude of nationalities and cultural backgrounds.¹⁸

Chicano/Latino studies scholars who have studied the significance of place indicate how the use and appreciation of a place is tied to culture. Chicano/Latino historians, but also geographers, sociologists, and English and Literacy scholars, have

16. Tomás Almaguer, *Racial Fault Lines: The Historical Origins of White Supremacy in California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); Lisbeth Haas, *Conquests and Historical Identities in California, 1769-1936* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

17. Juan González, *Harvest of Empire: A History of Latinos in America* (New York : Penguin Books, 2011). The earliest works that diverted from a Chicano perspective analyzed the Puerto Rican community. See Vicki Ruíz and John R. Chávez, *Memories and Migrations : Mapping Boricua and Chicana Histories* (Urbana : University of Illinois Press, 2008). Here, the term Boricua refers to Puerto Ricans living in the United States.

18. See, for example, Lilia Fernández, *Brown in the Windy City: Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in Postwar Chicago*, (University of Chicago Press, 2012).

extensively studied barrios, or predominantly Latinx neighborhoods.¹⁹ They analyze barrios as spaces of cultural development and identity formation. Professor of English Raúl Homero Villa, for example, asserts in *Barrio-Logos: Space and Place in Urban Chicano Literature and Culture* (2000) that “we must understand the urban barrio as a literal ‘place of difference’ and complex site of material and symbolic production.”²⁰ In *La Calle: Spatial Conflicts and Urban Renewal in a Southwest City* (2010), Lydia Otero adds to our understanding of place as a culturally specific environment.²¹ In the 1960s, the neighborhood of the Mexican American community of Tucson, Arizona was threatened by urban renewal and a city government eager to clear its public spaces of both Mexican Americans and their culture. Otero reveals how Tucson native Alva Torres “mobilize[d] resistance to the ongoing urban renewal and to future redevelopment projects that threatened to destroy historical structures vital to tucsonenses’ sense of history and collective memory.”²² Villa and Otero have added to a robust Chicano/Latino literature by demonstrating the ways in which a place is culturally significant to Latinxs while historic preservation continues to complicate its understanding of how the significance of a place varies across cultures and communities.

19. Daniel D. Arreola, *Hispanic Spaces, Latino Places : Community and Cultural Diversity in Contemporary America* (Austin : University of Texas Press, 2004). In his introduction, Arreola, a geographer, makes a fascinating distinction between three types of Latinx communities. “A continuous community is one founded by Hispanics/Latinos and one where they have always been a majority. A discontinuous community is one where Hispanic/Latino Americans founded or dominated the community at one time, but ceded dominance to non-Hispanics/Latinos at another time. Finally, a new community is one where Hispanics/Latinos are chiefly new immigrants, and where they have gained importance in a place in which they have not previously been present.”

20. Raúl Villa, *Barrio-Logos: Space and Place in Urban Chicano Literature and Culture*, 1st ed, History, Culture, and Society Series (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2000), 16.

21. Lydia R. Otero, *La Calle : Spatial Conflicts and Urban Renewal in a Southwest City* (Tucson : University of Arizona Press, 2010).

22. Otero, *La Calle*, 1.

Since the 1960s, the field of preservation has recognized the overwhelming whiteness of its practitioners and the places they preserve. The literature itself began to pay close attention to this in the 1980s.²³ Architectural historian and former contract historian for the National Park Service, Antoinette J. Lee's chapter "Discovering Old Cultures in the New World: The Role of Ethnicity" in *The American Mosaic: Preserving a Nation's Heritage* (1988) raises the issue of the lack of diversity in historic preservation both in the profession and in the places preservationists save. Lee's solutions included the creation of programs that support more people of color in the field and a recognition that they, too, have important architectural achievements. Lee addressed historic preservation's whiteness and begins a conversation on how different cultures express themselves in more ways than architecture. Later, Dolores Hayden's *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History* (1997) carefully examined Los Angeles multiculturalism and made a case for the importance of representing a city's full spectrum of diverse stories. "Restoring significant shared meanings for many neglected urban landscapes," she writes, "first involves claiming the entire urban cultural landscape as an important part of American history, not just its architectural monuments."²⁴ The shift away from architectural significance is key, as a community's historical importance is not always tied to the aesthetic of a building.

The solutions that the historic preservation literature has raised to address the absence of underrepresented voices in preservation are related to questions of what is

23. Robert E. Stipe and Antoinette J. Lee, eds., *The American Mosaic: Preserving a Nation's Heritage* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Committee, International Council on Monuments and Sites, 1988). See especially chapter 6, "Discovering Old Cultures in the New World: The Role of Ethnicity."

24. Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1997), 11.

preserved and who should preserve it. Recent work has continued Hayden's departure from the field's engrossment with architecture. In *A Richer Heritage: Historic Preservation in the Twenty-First Century* (2003), Antoinette Lee and former director of the American Folklife Center at the Library of Congress Alan Jabbour suggest that an effective way of gaining representation is by encouraging people of color to join the field themselves and by recognizing cultural expression through intangibles like music and oral histories.²⁵ In *Keeping Time: The History and Theory of Preservation in America* (2006) William J. Murtagh, first Keeper of the National Register, similarly considers the use of oral histories to capture the cultural significance of a community.²⁶

Stephanie Meeks, president of the National Trust for Historic Preservation, believes preservation must move beyond only decentering buildings to exploring the very criterion whereby sites are deemed historically significant. Meeks lays out a concrete plan to change the way American history is saved in our environments in her book *The Past and Future City: How Historic Preservation is Reviving America's Communities* (2016). Here, she focuses on historic preservation's role in the economic revitalization of communities but also dedicates a chapter to working

25. Robert E. Stipe, ed., *A Richer Heritage: Historic Preservation in the Twenty-First Century*, Richard Hampton Jenrette Series in Architecture and the Decorative Arts (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003). Especially chapter 12, "The Social and Ethnic Dimensions of Historic Preservation" as well as chapter 14, "Folklife, Intangible Heritage, and the Promise and Perils of Cultural Cooperation." See also, Miller and Page, *Bending the Future: Fifty Ideas for the Next Fifty Years of Historic Preservation in the United States*. This monograph features essays from 50 different professionals whose work is related to historic preservation. While it is prescriptive in nature, the essays highlight different challenges that the field faces. Many essays discuss the challenge of including diverse stories and perspectives and how they believe preservationists can best address this challenge.

26. William J. Murtagh, *Keeping Time: The History and Theory of Preservation in America* (Hoboken, N.J.: John Wiley, 2006). See chapter 13, "Preservation Values in Oral-based Cultures." Murtagh confines his analysis to only oral histories and does not explore how they can be used in multiple cultures, not just Native Americans.

toward a more representative history. She outlines five critical steps to achieve this: First, save more diverse places; second, tell the full story at existing sites; third, move beyond buildings; fourth, ensure that all voices are heard; and lastly, confront our difficult history.²⁷ Meeks does not only offer possible alternatives to the nomination process but she brings our attention to existing sites, making the vital observation that not only must preservationists alter the ways they save places in the future, but they must also reinterpret sites that were preserved at a different time when the understanding of a person, place, or event, may no longer be supported by current scholarship.

Ultimately, we can see that there are two ongoing but separate conversations on the historical and cultural significance of place. In the Chicano/Latino literature, scholars have provided in-depth analyses of the particular connections between place and culture. Understanding how Chicano/Latino studies treat place can complicate and enrich debates within the field of historic preservation, where scholars are still exploring how to best include voices from underrepresented communities. As the literature on historic preservation discusses effective ways to include underrepresented communities, it has yet to bring culturally distinct studies into the conversation. This project aims to bridge these two bodies of literature, utilizing insights from Chicano/Latino studies to shift the discussions on diversity and inclusivity in historic preservation, to produce applicable solutions to the Eurocentric representation of Latinxs on the National Register of Historic Places.

27. Stephanie Meeks and Kevin C. Murphy, *The Past and Future City: How Historic Preservation Is Reviving America's Communities*, (Washington, DC: Island Press, 2016). See chapter 5, "Our Diverse History: Toward More Inclusive History and Communities."

Methodology: Chronicling Group Histories, Challenging Preservation Criteria, and Applying Alternative Suggestions

For each of the three parts of my project, I make use of three different bodies of information. The histories of Latinxs and historic preservationists will be mainly based on secondary sources. Retelling these histories alongside each other highlights a disconnect between these two groups and a pattern of professional preservationists excluding Latinxs and Latinx history. Additionally, I use primary sources, such as newspaper articles, government documents, oral histories, to support major points.

To understand the representation of Latinxs on the National Register of Historic Places, the second part of my project examines the narrative as it exists in the present day and studies the recent past process of creating that narrative. For this part, various documents from the National Park Service and databases from select states across the country are most useful. The NPS, which maintains the National Register, produced four major documents related to Latinx history and heritage: American Latino Heritage Travel Itinerary; a theme study titled *American Latinos and the Making of the United States*; an excel sheet of every property listed on the National Register as of December 2017; and the National Register bulletins. The travel itinerary is a list of historic sites that the National Register has included as part of what it understands as Latino history. It does not include every Latinx-related site in the country but this will provide an important overview of the sites that the NPS recognizes as representative of Latino history and illustrate where that history is being told. Through the theme study, I can look at how the NPS is currently interpreting Latino history. The theme study features articles that encompass a wide range of

topics from food to politics. Each article is written by scholars and includes a bibliography. The excel sheet offers more detailed information about every site on the National Register including when it was added and whether it is directly tied to an architectural significance, a criteria that dominates most additions to the National Register. All files related to the NPS and National Register are open to the public and can be accessed online. The National Register Bulletin is a detailed breakdown of the National Register nomination criteria and how they are being applied.

To have a rounded sample of the representation of Latinxs in the second part of my project, I have picked two states as case studies. I analyze the representation of Latinxs in Texas and Maryland because they offer the opportunity to examine two states with widely different Latinx-related histories but with similar issues with representation. Maryland is useful case study because of its online cultural resources database, Medusa, and because it is home to a relatively new Latinx community. Medusa features a map of Maryland that is easy to use and pinpoints the exact location of sites on the National Register. Medusa also provides files and documentation of most sites. Texas is a beneficial choice because of its user-friendly cultural resources database, Atlas, and because of the long historical presence of its Latinx community. Like Medusa, Atlas features a map of the state of Texas that shows the locations of its sites. Atlas has the added benefit of a filter that allows users to find sites related to a historical theme, like Hispanic/Latino history.

For the third and final part of my project, I identify a site that is historically and culturally significant to Latinxs in the Washington, D.C.-Maryland-Virginia area. The process of identifying this site required researching local history and attempting

to establish lines of communication with local Latinxs to gain different perspectives on what is considered an important place in this area. I created a Google Form that asks for basic information on sites that could be considered historically and culturally significant (Appendix 1). The form is in both English and Spanish. It has been distributed to various professionals in the museum and historical society fields throughout the state of Maryland. Beyond traditional primary and secondary source research on this local history, it is critical to have some level of communication with local Latinxs themselves. Their shared experiences and diverse backgrounds offer a unique expertise and authority on selecting such a site. Part of the research process for this part of my thesis also included a substantial amount of field research. This included following Neighborhood Heritage Trails produced by Cultural Tourism DC, a local nonprofit. I walked the trails for three neighborhoods: Adams Morgan, Mount Pleasant, and Columbia Heights. This ensured the opportunity to understand the city's built environment in a more tangible sense.

The unique aspects of my project are due to the nature of researching a community that is underrepresented in public history and has a relatively recent history in this area. This means that many sources used here are produced by local cultural organizations. Secondary sources documenting this community's history are few in number and even less are written by professional historians; most are instead by scholars in other fields like ethnography. Additionally, answering my research questions required working with a significant body of "grey literature," specifically government publications from the NPS. These government publications are neither primary nor secondary sources, but somewhere in between. They are essential to

writing a recent bureaucratic history of the NPS and to contextualizing the National Register criteria and criteria considerations that I challenge.

Chapter Descriptions

The three parts of this project outline the structure of my three chapters.

Chapter one is a retelling of Latinx and historic preservation histories. By writing these histories alongside each other, this chapter sets up the exclusionary history of preservation and demonstrates how this made it so that preservation practices were created on a foundation of bias.

Chapter two looks at how the National Register presents the history of Latinxs and the role that its criteria has in presenting this history. Using a case study approach, I analyze the representation of Latinxs in Texas and Maryland. I argue that the representation of Latinxs is Eurocentric, principally connected to the past presence of Spain.

Chapter three illustrates how the National Register criteria and criteria considerations almost automatically exclude a large swath of sites related to Latinx history in the DMV because they fail to evaluate critical characteristics that define the Latinx community. In addition, I identify the mural “Un Pueblo Sin Murales es un Pueblo Desmuralizado” as representative of the history and culture of Latinxs in the DMV. Using National Register conventions, I write a narrative of this mural in chapter and include a draft nomination form in the appendix.

In many ways, the issues with inclusivity and representation that I highlight in the following chapters shape the experiences of people of color who work in or

otherwise engage with public history today. To expose these issues, I have chosen to make myself present in this thesis. I begin each chapter with a vignette, a personal story from my own experiences as a woman of color working to find my place within public history and aspiring to interrupt the white-male-centered national story presented in many public spaces. In sharing these personal and, at times, traumatizing experiences, I attest to some of the difficult realities for those working to address the profession's struggle to change its exclusive foundations. Through my experiences with a national agency, a local organization, and in my everyday life, I hope to show that this exclusivity is still deeply entrenched in public history.

Chapter 1: Including or Misusing?: Limited Intersections Between Latinxs and Historic Preservation

Being an aspiring public historian has been a bag of mixed experiences. There's being excluded altogether and being included, but while simultaneously dealing with micro aggressions, with being tokenized, or without being able to explore stories outside of mainstream narratives that often lack diversity. In the summer of 2017, I had the latter experience for three, long months. I was an intern with the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park as part of the Latino Heritage Internship Program (LHIP). This program is a partnership between the National Park Service and the Hispanic Access Foundation, which aims, in part, to funnel more Latinxs into the NPS. I was excited. I was happy just to hear there was a program that recognized the need for more people of color in a national public history institution and was doing something about it. When I got the position, my supervisor told me I would get the chance to research histories of underrepresented communities related to the C&O Canal and to help think of ways the park could improve its outreach to communities of color around Washington, D.C.

Neither of these opportunities turned into what I hoped they would be—chances to learn more about the stories of people outside the accepted narrative focused on white men in the canal's history and to work with the park to interact more with Latinxs. Instead, I was an observer to the C&O Canal's revitalization project. I sat in numerous meetings, I wrote some construction updates, I was left with other NPS sites when my supervisor was away on vacation, and I was almost always introduced as a "Latino heritage intern," presumably to reference my program though that was never clarified. I had one opportunity to interact directly with Latinx audiences but had limited support. With a fellow LHIP intern, we organized a Latino Conservation Week event as part of the internship requirements set by the Hispanic Access Foundation. The park was not prepared to support us through some of the logistics, including planning the event itself and sharing the event information to our target audience. By the end of the summer, I felt as if the park did not take the internship program or me seriously. The inability or unwillingness to honestly and respectfully include people of color as practitioners and as historical actors is not unique to the NPS, it can be seen across public history. In historic preservation, the field's history offers some explanations for this exclusion.

This chapter will show the historical disconnect between Latinxs and historic preservation from the colonial beginnings of Spanish Florida in the sixteenth century and the settlement of Central American migrants in the twentieth century to the

grassroots, private preservation efforts of white women in Virginia and the federally maintained national preservation system. In tracing the histories of Latinxs and historic preservation, this chapter establishes a geographic and ideological disconnect between these two groups. Doing so puts forward a historical baseline for the exclusion of Latinx history and Latinxs themselves from the field of historic preservation.

Manifest Destiny and Colonial Legacies: Spanish-Speaking Areas and White Preservation During the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries

Setting aside the conventional ideas of colonialism that bring back elementary school lessons on Plymouth Rock and the thirteen colonies reveals a different, though similarly destructive, colonial power that took root in North America's southeastern peninsula, not northeastern coastline, and gave its settlements Spanish names, not English ones. The history of the Americas is most prominently marked by the dark legacies of two European nations: Spain and England. While both Spain and England had imperialist ambitions in North America, it was the former British colonies that eventually won out by acquiring vast amounts of territory in Spain's spheres of influence over the course of the nineteenth century. Examining this transfer of power and influence should not absolve Spain of its critical role in the destruction of indigenous communities. Instead, this transfer can help us see how white Americans reduced the complex history and culture of the people in these Spanish-speaking areas to either idyllic or nonexistent historical actors through the careful production and preservation of history.

From the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, Spain forced its influence on the people and landscapes of present-day Florida, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, California, and pockets of other states in the West. Spanish conquistadores established the first settlement in St. Augustine, Florida in 1565 and later, Santa Fe, San Antonio, and Los Angeles were established in 1610, 1718, and 1781, respectively. For the Spanish, colonizing North America went hand and hand with converting indigenous people to Catholicism. They established missions in the places they settled in support of their purpose to convert indigenous populations. This desire to spread their religion also resulted in a mixing of Spanish and Native populations that created a mestizo class of people. Spanish colonialism and Catholic conversion went hand and hand in these territories.²⁸

Heading into the nineteenth century, the United States was eager to move westward and grow its own empire by taking possession of territories that underwent a historical and cultural development distinct from its own colonial beginnings. As the U.S. made its way westward under the belief in Manifest Destiny, white Americans began to move into areas that were still under Spanish control, stood as independent states, or were within the boundaries of the newly formed Mexican nation. The desire to spread the institution of slavery, the quest to make a new beginning, and the search for gold all carried an assumption of white supremacy and motivated white Americans westward.²⁹

Believing it was their God-given right to expand all the way to the Pacific

28. Juan González, *Harvest of Empire: A History of Latinos in America* (New York : Penguin Books, 2011), 13, 15-17.

29. Daniel Walker Howe, *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815-1848* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 703-705.

Ocean, the U.S. started its westward stomp in the Southeast and by the end of the nineteenth century, increased its landholdings to include the Southwest and Western parts of the continent as well as the island of Puerto Rico. In 1819, the U.S. purchased Florida from Spain.³⁰ In 1845, the U.S. annexed Texas, which had been an independent state since 1836.³¹ Further west, the U.S. engaged with Mexico, instead of Spain, to make two major additions to its growing empire. Under the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, the U.S. added large segments of land that later became parts of Arizona, California, Nevada, New Mexico, Texas, and Utah in 1848. And in 1853, the U.S. took in parts of southern Arizona and southern New Mexico through the Gadsden Purchase.³²

While the United States' expansion across the continent removed Spain's legitimate claims to the regions it used to hold within its empire, the European nation left behind powerful influences in these places and the people that continued to live there. With these territories came entire populations who were forced into a racial hierarchy that often placed them on the bottom with little to no protection of their rights.³³ White Americans, as part of their efforts to establish their presence in these regions and hold power over the people of color that lived there, later deliberately manipulated this lasting influence to their advantage. Studying some of these early productions of history is critical to understanding the power structures embedded in the historical narratives that frame the public's way of thinking of the past and the

30. González, *Harvest of Empire*, 35-36.

31. González, *Harvest of Empire*, 45.

32. González, *Harvest of Empire*, 43-44.

33. Vicki L. Ruiz, "Nuestra América: Latino History as United States History," *The Journal of American History* 93, no. 3 (2006): 656-660, <https://doi.org/10.2307/4486408>.

people in it.³⁴ This is made evident through two clear examples in California: the delicate reimagining of Spanish missions in the late nineteenth century and, later, the ordered showcasing of Los Angeles's history in the early twentieth century.

The Spanish missions in California are particularly useful in highlighting the power that comes with controlling the history told at a given place. As early as 1872, some California missions had gone “from sites of colonial control to aestheticized, nostalgia-drenched, sacred monasteries.”³⁵ The administrators of these missions created delicate gardens that coated histories of Spanish colonialism and oppression imposed on indigenous communities.³⁶ It was through these gardens that they were able to construct a historical understanding of the past that uplifted the influence of earlier Spanish settlers. These European-inspired gardens “embedded their heritage in the more legitimate sphere of ‘Spanish’ historical origins rather than Native American or Mexican heritage.”³⁷ This is evidence of the early seeds of avoiding difficult or controversial history for the sake of maintaining power because it was this same time that white Americans were moving westward and forcefully establishing their power in the area.³⁸ Historical narratives promoting a white-ruling power structure, like those created at these gardens, supported this wider demographic and power shift in the region.

In Los Angeles, this was similarly done through an annual history parade celebrating the city's history and future in the late nineteenth century. Los Angeles

34. See Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*, 20th Anniversary Edition, 2nd Revised edition (Boston, Massachusetts: Beacon Press, 2015), xiii.

35. Elizabeth Kryder-Reid, *California Mission Landscapes: Race, Memory, and the Politics of Heritage*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016), 3-4.

36. Kryder-Reid, *California Missions Landscapes*, 4.

37. Kryder-Reid, *California Missions Landscapes*, 82.

38. Kryder-Reid, *California Missions Landscapes*, 80-81.

reflects this marginalization of people of color as they capitalized on their history, but failed to include the struggles of Native Americans and Mexicans. In Los Angeles, white city builders formed La Fiesta to celebrate their white ethnic heritage while also reducing it to a bare minimum of inclusion. This effort to create a narrative of progress began in 1894.

The growth of Los Angeles, white city builders believed, depended on the ability to make the city's connections to Mexico and Mexicans limited and as uncomplicated as possible. The city builders did not ignore connections to Mexico or Mexicans, but they meticulously included these parts of Los Angeles history in their own telling of Los Angeles's past. This meant avoiding any "unsettling" histories of oppressive Spanish colonialism or American expansion and "appropriating, absorbing, and occasionally obliterating the region's connections to Mexican places and Mexican people."³⁹ To do this, some city builders organized La Fiesta, a multiple-day event designed to celebrate Los Angeles and advertise its future.⁴⁰

One of the days of La Fiesta was dedicated to the history of the city and it was through a literal parade of history that the city's white elite cemented their social and racial superiority for the public.⁴¹ The history featured in the parade was not exclusive to white Americans. It also included Native Americans, Mexicans, and Spanish. But the inclusion of these different groups of people was not balanced or even fully accurate. The parade organizers decided to use people of color to show a clear progression of Los Angeles's history moving from "uncivilized" people of color

39. William F. Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe: The Rise of Los Angeles and the Remaking of Its Mexican Past*, First edition (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 7.

40. Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe*, 53-54.

41. Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe*, 59.

to the “civilized” white Americans who saw themselves as the only ones capable to lead the city into the future.⁴² As one followed the other and each ethnic group stayed with its respective float, this history parade avoided showcasing any major conflicts and presented the past of Los Angeles as a peaceful transfer from people of color to white Americans.⁴³ The parade “made it possible for whites simultaneously to borrow from and denigrate supposedly innate Latin cultural forms.”⁴⁴ This was an early version of an uncontroversial way of presenting history to the public and one in which the history of people of color was grossly distorted.

As the California missions and the history parade of La Fiesta in Los Angeles show, there is a strong relationship between a control over how we remember the past and social and political power in American society. In these regions of the earliest Latinx presence on the American landscape, white Americans were in control of the production of history and they selectively included these Spanish descendants and Native Americans. These practices included people of color in ways that diminished their lived experiences that included oppression and displacement. Occurring at the same time was the rise of the preservation movement. The major efforts to mobilize a preservation movement, however, took shape on the East Coast. White Americans were motivated by a belief in their own racial and cultural superiority to conquer the West and it was this same belief that encouraged the earliest preservation work.

The seeds of preservation were carefully planted in a bed of prejudice and white supremacy. Elite white women started the preservation movement for elite white people and their history. In the mid-nineteenth century, white Americans were

42. Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe*, 58-61.

43. Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe*, 59, 66.

44. Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe*, 60-61.

concerned they did not have a clear and identifiable history. Unlike Europeans, Americans could not claim a centuries long history. Many white Americans turned to their Revolutionary past as evidence that they were in fact part of a country with historical significance. This dependence on the Revolutionary era to assert a historical and cultural authority meant focusing on the stories of great white men. Ann Pamela Cunningham saw a need to preserve the country's past and her efforts to save Mount Vernon, home of George Washington, are responsible for historic preservation earliest developments. When the state of Virginia and the federal government were slow to take action to save Washington's home, Cunningham stepped in full with patriotic passion. She assembled some equally passionate and equally elite women to establish the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association in 1853. The MVLA raised enough money across the country to successfully keep Mount Vernon from falling apart and being permanently removed from the country's physical landscape and shared history.⁴⁵

Cunningham and MVLA were a major development for historic preservation because they set a standard of whose history was to be preserved and who was responsible for saving it. With Cunningham's lead, the historical sites worth saving were those that were connected to American political and military leaders. These historical sites were not meant to force Americans to think critically or remember the more challenging parts of history but to accept these men as idols and symbols of a grand past. In Cunningham's mind, the Americans who were responsible for ensuring

45. Robert E. Stipe, ed., *A Richer Heritage: Historic Preservation in the Twenty-First Century*, Richard Hampton Jenrette Series in Architecture and the Decorative Arts (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003); William J. Murtagh, *Keeping Time : The History and Theory of Preservation in America* (Hoboken, N.J. : John Wiley, 2006), 16.

the preservation of this history were elite white women like herself. By the end of the nineteenth century, however, Cunningham's preservation standards were slightly altered.⁴⁶

In New England, historic preservation diverged from Cunningham's example in Virginia in two important ways. We can see the beginnings of a focus on saving buildings for their architectural qualities and we can also see the gradual replacement of elite women with elite men taking their place as the ones in charge of deciding which places to save. In 1910, William Appleton Sumner founded the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities (SPNEA). Appleton and SPNEA valued the architectural distinctions of American buildings and worked to save them often for that reason alone, ignoring any connections they may or may not have had with revolutionary figures.⁴⁷

The development of historic preservation in the mid to late nineteenth century was physically separate from the earliest Hispanic communities established in North America. At the same time, however, white Americans extended the reach of the United States in the West and Southwest and solidified their claims to these territories through their control of the history they told in missions and cities. By physically imposing themselves on the landscape and ideologically asserting themselves as the superior people of the United States, white Americans amassed social and political power that would last for generations.

46. Murtagh, "The Preservation Movement and the Private Citizen Before World War II," in *Keeping Time*.

47. Murtagh, "The Preservation Movement and the Private Citizen Before World War II," in *Keeping Time*.

A National Expansion: Diverse Latinx Communities and a Federal Preservation System in the Twentieth Century

Much like its expansion across the North American continent seen in the nineteenth century, the United States continued its colonialist behaviors down through Latin America deep into the twentieth century. These ongoing imperialist ambitions had a direct correlation with Latin American migration patterns throughout the twentieth century. The Caribbean, South America, and Central America underwent turbulent political and social episodes, many of which involved American intervention. Latin American migrants settled in different parts of the country, some joining Latinx communities previously established in the nineteenth century, others making new tracks for others to follow and build communities in parts of the country where Latinxs had not previously settled.

Concurrently, the preservation movement transformed into a professional and federal preservation system. Beginning with federal conservation efforts at the end of the nineteenth century, the United States Congress acquired and protected Western landscapes including Yellowstone in 1872 and Casa Grande in 1889 and the East Coast battlefield Chickamauga in Georgia.⁴⁸ The shift of preservation from individual efforts to federal initiatives took off and legislations in the beginning of the twentieth century facilitated this transformation. In 1906, the Antiquities Act granted presidential authority to declare sites to be of historical significance.⁴⁹ In 1916, the

48. Murtagh, *Keeping Time*, 37. See also Norman Tyler, Ilene R. Tyler, and Ted J. Ligibel, *Historic Preservation: An Introduction to Its History, Principles, and Practice* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2018), ch. 3.

49. Murtagh, *Keeping Time*, 39.

federal government created the National Park Service.⁵⁰ Then, with the Historic Sites Act of 1935, “the federal government finally possessed enabling legislation that could lead to coherent planning.”⁵¹

While the federal government was establishing national preservation efforts, Latinx communities were dealing with intense racial discrimination. In one particular example, the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) and El Congreso de Pueblos de Hablan Española (the Spanish-Speaking Peoples’ Congress) illustrated the different ways Latinxs addressed their second-class treatment during the mid-twentieth century. Latinxs in the Southwestern and Western parts of the country were facing threats of deportation even if they were born in the United States. From 1931 to 1934, for example, “an estimated one-third of the Mexican population in the U.S. (over 50,000) were either deported or quasi-voluntarily repatriated to Mexico even though the majority (an estimated 60%) were native U.S. citizens.”⁵² For LULAC, their methods for gaining fair treatment were primarily concerned with passing as white and facilitating “the complete assimilation of Mexicans.”⁵³ On the other hand, El Congreso advocated for the end of second-class citizenship and immigrant rights. El Congreso “did not advocate assimilation but rather emphasized the importance of preserving Latino cultures.”⁵⁴ There were conflicting ideas of community identity. These Latinx civil rights groups represented two dominant ways of thinking and illustrate notable complexities. How could there be solid efforts to preserve Latinx

50. Murtagh, *Keeping Time*, 40.

51. Murtagh, *Keeping Time*, 44. See also, Barry Mackintosh, *The National Historic Preservation Act and the National Park Service: A History* (Washington, DC.: National Park Service, 1986).

52. Ruiz, “Nuestra América,” 668.

53. González, *Harvest of Empire*, 103.

54. Ruiz, “Nuestra América,” 667.

history or culture when, for some, making it in this country depended on their ability to reject their ties to the culture?

The nature of this Latinx culture only continued to diversify as the twentieth century progressed and migration from countries all over Latin America increased. Understanding the Latinx communities in the twentieth century requires an international context. The United States played a major role in destabilizing many countries in Latin America, and in turn, bears some responsibility for the migration patterns that have defined the last century. Beyond large and important migration patterns, the settlements of diverse Latinxs have transformed the larger group identity. Coming from different countries up and down Latin America did not create a monolithic group.

The most recent and current wave of Latin American migrants originates from Central America and offers a look at American intervention, the influence of this intervention in producing migration patterns, and the ongoing diversification of Latinx communities in the United States. The U.S.'s persistent efforts to establish control and power over the Western Hemisphere meant "Central America's development had been historically disrupted and interrupted to promote U.S. economic interests since the inception of each Central American nation."⁵⁵

In El Salvador, this history of American intervention destabilized the country and resulted in mass waves of Salvadorans fleeing threatening environments. Preoccupied with the fear of the spread of communism in Latin America, the United States financially supported right-wing anti-communist forces in El Salvador

55. Karina Oliva Alvarado, Alicia Ivonne Estrada, and Ester E. Hernández, *U.S. Central Americans: Reconstructing Memories, Struggles, and Communities of Resistance* (University of Arizona Press, 2017), 6.

throughout the 1980s, escalating the violence in the country and accelerating the migration out of the country.⁵⁶ Once they reached the United States, however, Salvadoran refugees encountered difficulties legally entering the country. This was because “the U.S. government could not implicate itself in the atrocities committed by a military state it was funding” and therefore “[systemically denied] asylum for Salvadorans fleeing the civil war.”⁵⁷ El Salvador is just one case of American intervention in Latin America. From this, we can see, at the very least, that Latinxs in the United States have varying group histories. Not only do they vary according to when they migrated and where they settled, but why they were in the arduous position of leaving their homes.

Latinx Public History

Despite this long historical disconnect between historic preservation and Latinxs, Latinx public history has been able to develop since the 1970s. Among the major themes and issues concerning Latino public history, Latinx practitioners in the 1990s identified a survey of national Latinx arts and cultural organizations, an analysis of Latinx representation in museums, and the advancement of Latinx public history programs among the most critical.⁵⁸ Particularly in museums, “Latino history has often suffered decontextualization and content neutering in much the same way as Latino art, designed to sanitize it and make it fit outdated stereotypes.”⁵⁹ The growth

56. González, *Harvest of Empire*, 134-135.

57. Alvarado, Estrada, and Hernández, *U.S. Central Americans*, 7-8.

58. Christine Marín and Antonio José Ríos-Bustamante, *Latinos in Museums: A Heritage Reclaimed*, Public History Series (Malabar, Florida: Krieger Publishing Company, 1998), xvi.

59. Marín and Ríos-Bustamante, *Latinos in Museums: A Heritage Reclaimed*, xiii.

of this field, however, has been stunted by limited opportunities for Latinx professionals and limited interpretations of Latinxs in public history subfields.⁶⁰

60. Marín and Rios-Bustamante, *Latinos in Museums: A Heritage Reclaimed*, xiii.

Chapter 2: “All the talk of diversity”: Latinx Representation in the National Register of Historic Places

During the summer of 2018, I was an intern with a non-profit cultural organization in Ellicott City, Maryland. The organization acts as a mediator between Patapsco Valley State Park and the community members who use it. The executive director of the organization was interested in improving its relationship with Latinx park users after she heard from numerous board members who were concerned over the ways Latinxs used the park. I was brought on to help the organization find appropriate strategies to improve its relationship with the Latinx community under the supervision of the executive director.

Over the course of my internship, I completed three projects and presented my work at two separate meetings with the board and the executive board. That summer, I was relieved to be encouraged by my supervisor to not shy away from any difficult questions or topics related to the organization’s relationship with Latinxs. At the same time, however, the board was unaware of any details about the nature of my projects, only knowing that I was a graduate student intern working with my supervisor on a Latinx community engagement project.

In November, I was asked to share my summer work in a meeting with the executive board. There were eight people present, including myself. I was the only person of color. The rest were white women and all but two were over the age of 50. We planned to go over a toolkit I created for cultural organizations and an action plan I wrote for this organization. The toolkit is a guide for local cultural organizations to initiate and maintain a relationship with the Latinx community. The action plan was my set of recommendations for the organization on how I believed they should move forward.

The meeting started with a review of the toolkit and a discussion of the demographic statistics of Maryland’s Latinx community. Noting how much younger the average Latinx was from the majority of the board members, one board member raised her concern that the organization was out of touch from the community it was trying to engage. The meeting quickly spiraled out of control. The mood in the room immediately changed. As the conversation suddenly became one about board diversity and developing inclusive historical programs, some board members became defensive and questioned the credibility of my work.

One minute I was explaining the problems with token hires and the next I was being aggressively questioned by a board member sitting across from me. This board member turned to me and while raising her voice though not quite yelling, she began questioning my conclusion that the organization was in need of more thoughtful diversity initiatives. She asked me, “How can you say we’re not diverse?” and without giving me the chance to answer, she repeatedly asked if I had read the organization’s historical program on Black Americans in the area. When I did get the chance to speak and answer that I was not aware of the program, she immediately cut me off before I finished and reasoned that because I had not known about the

program, I could not claim that the organization needed to improve its diversity initiatives. This board member later added that she had a son my age (early twenties) and therefore understood “all the talk of diversity.” This discussion on board diversity eventually prompted her to rashly say she would resign and give up her spot on the board for a person of color. She did not resign. It was clear she did not understand “all the talk of diversity” but she felt she had more authority on the matter than I did.

It was another board member who raised the question of board diversity that threw the whole meeting, yet I, an intern, was the one who took the brunt of the aggressive questioning. Even though the organization was open to having this conversation on diversity and its executive director sought my experience, the board members were reluctant to admit that a diversity problem even existed, much less have a thoughtful conversation on the ways they could address the problem. The field of public history is perhaps more upfront with its diversity problems than this local organization, but strict power structures, complacency, and denial that keep change from moving forward still exist.

The historical disconnects described in chapter one created a preservation system that most represented people, places, and events that relayed the stories of American progress and greatness. When the National Park Service began to take action to reverse or redress this problem, it developed different strategies, resulting in several projects and publications. But, as of 2019, they have come short of making discernible change and this is seen in the exiting representation of Latinxs on the National Register of Historic Places today. The consequences of a geographic and ideological disconnect between Latinxs and historic preservation are a federal agency struggling to reverse its past actions and a national story that presents a limited view of the largest minority group in the United States.

In this chapter, I will first tell a bureaucratic history of the National Park Service, paying particular attention to attempts to diversify the National Register from the 1970s to 2013, to highlight the restraints of working for increased inclusion of Latinx heritage within the federal preservation system. Then, I will examine the

Latinx-related National Register listings in Texas and Maryland to argue that this poor representation is the result of an inherently flawed National Register in which the inclusion of underrepresented communities rests on the ability to work around a preservation structure that was not intended to include these communities to begin with. The representation of Latinxs on the National Register fails to represent the complexities of the group's experiences, contributions, and culture. Their representation is oversimplified and lacks a deep understanding of the history and culture of Latinxs.

Attempts to Diversify the National Register, 1979-2013

Since 1979, the National Park Service has tried to alleviate its lack of diversity through different publications. Each author more explicit than the last, they used their publications to bring attention to the difficulties of including stories that are more diverse. More importantly, the authors offered new guidelines or approaches to incorporate diverse stories in historic preservation work. They raised important questions about the ways the NPS understands, preserves, and interprets the history of underrepresented communities. Some of these are specific to the Latinx community and others are more general. This bureaucratic history will show, however, that the efforts of the National Park Service, as evidenced in the publications, did not lead to a significant reinterpretation of Latinx-related sites.

In 1979, Marcella Sherfy and W. Ray Luce authored National Register Bulletin 22, *Guidelines for Evaluating and Nominating Properties that Have Achieved Significance Within the Past Fifty Years*, found that existing National

Register criteria were excluding a significant classification of historical sites.⁶¹ The National Park Service used the fifty-year standard, in its beginnings, as a way to avoid controversial parts of American history. To control the flood of requests to preserve sites after the 1936 Historic Sites Act, the NPS historians defined important themes they could use to categorize historical sites. In these themes, however, the NPS historians avoided controversial events that were impacting the country at the time (1930s) and set a cut off year at 1870.⁶² “In order to assure historical perspective and avoid judgments based on current or recent popular trends,” Sherfy and Luce explained, “the 50-year period was established as a guide for evaluating the historic resources worthy of preservation.”⁶³ Sherfy and Luce did not set out to find and recognize these controversial histories, but they did determine that many sites associated with the Great Depression and World War II were, by the 1970s, sites that had historical significance. The authors remained careful not to open a flood of eligible listings, however, and stressed the importance of historic context, scholarly evaluation, fragility, time, comparative significance, association with living persons, and properties in historic districts.

Notably, one way the NPS carried exclusive understandings of recent history was by their emphasis on scholarly evaluation. Sherfy and Luce wrote, “the

61. US Department of the Interior, *Guidelines for Evaluating and Nominating Properties that Have Achieved Significance Within the Past Fifty Years*, Marcella Sherfy and W. Ray Luce, National Park Service, National Register Bulletin 22, 1979, accessed March 26, 2019, <https://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/pdfs/nrb22.pdf>.

62. John H. Sprinkle, “‘Of Exceptional Importance’: The Origins of the ‘Fifty-Year Rule’ in Historic Preservation,” *The Public Historian* 29, no. 2 (2007): 83-84, <https://doi.org/10.1525/tph.2007.29.2.81>.

63. US Department of the Interior, *Guidelines for Evaluating and Nominating Properties that Have Achieved Significance Within the Past Fifty Years*, Marcella Sherfy and W. Ray Luce, National Park Service, National Register Bulletin 22, 1979, accessed March 26, 2019, <https://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/pdfs/nrb22.pdf>, ii.

application of scholarship—not popular social commentary—does not demand the presence of a published book. A wide and growing array of scholarly interest in historic properties can greatly assist evaluation of recent properties.”⁶⁴ Scholarship on a site did not guarantee listing on the National Register but the lack of scholarship was shutting out sites that while may be significant, had little chance of being recognized. The ability of a recent site to be considered for listing should not be so dependent on the direction or initiative of scholars, professional fields that are not diverse to being with. If the people directing these opportunities for recent sites are predominantly of similar backgrounds, the recent sites in communities that do not share the background of professionals are in danger of being dismissed. The authors here placed more value on the expertise of professionals and did not consider the possible evaluations by people whose personal experience with a site may carry more weight than a scholar or professional. This was, perhaps, a misplaced responsibility on scholars to recognize a community’s history.

In 1990, the NPS released the *Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties*, authored by King and Parker. They defined a traditional cultural property (TCP) “as one that is eligible for inclusion in the National Register because of its association with cultural practices or beliefs of a living community that (a) are rooted in that community’s history, and (b) are important in maintaining the continuing cultural identity of the community.”⁶⁵ Due to the

64. US Department of the Interior, *Guidelines for Evaluating and Nominating Properties that Have Achieved Significance Within the Past Fifty Years*, Marcella Sherfy and W. Ray Luce, National Park Service, National Register Bulletin 22, 1979, accessed March 26, 2019, <https://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/pdfs/nrb22.pdf>, 4.

65. US Department of the Interior, *Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties*, Thomas King and Patricia Parker, National Park Service, National Register Bulletin 38, 1990, <https://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/pdfs/nrb38.pdf>, 1.

“misinterpretation” of the “policies and procedures of the National Register” that “in turn may exclude [historic properties of religious significance to Native Americans] from the protections afforded by [Section] 106,” King and Parker noted that “this Bulletin gives special attention to properties of traditional cultural significance to Native American groups.”⁶⁶ This suggests that the bulletin came to be out of concerns that the National Register’s language was excluding sites. To alleviate this exclusion, King and Parker stressed in their guidelines the importance of gaining knowledge and understanding of a site from the experiences and perspectives of community members to whom the site is important. They explained, “It is vital to evaluate properties thought to have traditional cultural significance from the standpoint of those who may ascribe such significance to them.”⁶⁷ This recognition was important because it stood as a departure from the authority Sherfy and Luce had given to professionals and scholars in *Guidelines for Evaluating and Nominating Properties that Have Achieved Significance Within the Past Fifty Years*.

Scholars and preservationists who have experience working with TCPs argue the National Register’s problem with inclusivity is the National Register itself. Thomas King later maintained “the things that trouble the identification and management of TCPs all too often are the products only of the Register’s arbitrary

66. US Department of the Interior, *Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties*, Thomas King and Patricia Parker, National Park Service, National Register Bulletin 38, 1990, <https://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/pdfs/nrb38.pdf>, 2, 3.

67. US Department of the Interior, *Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties*, Thomas King and Patricia Parker, National Park Service, National Register Bulletin 38, 1990, <https://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/pdfs/nrb38.pdf>, 4.

standards and unconsidered assumptions. The solution to these problems is not to rethink TCPs but to rethink the Register.”⁶⁸

After King and Parker’s publication, the Cultural Resources Management branch of the National Park Service published resources with specific connections to Latinxs. Published in 1997, *Exploring Hispanic History and Culture—A Dynamic Field* was one of the earliest to directly address the inadequate representation of Latinxs. In the foreword, Jerry L. Rogers, Superintendent of the NPS Southwest Support Office, wrote “We hope this issue of CRM will contribute in some way to preservation of the Hispanic elements of American history, and of the places in which they may be absorbed.”⁶⁹ This publication features articles written by various professionals including historians and preservationists. In some articles, the authors challenge romanticized views of Spanish history in North America while others raise awareness of NPS sites related to Spanish history.⁷⁰ The NPS simultaneously offered new interpretations of the Spanish past in the United States while also taking note of the sites under its protection that already reflected this Spanish history.

Over ten years later, the NPS made another push to include more Latinx related sites. In 2009, Brian D. Joyner wrote *Hispanic Reflections on the American Landscape: Identifying and Interpreting Hispanic Heritage* and expected for this publication “to support the historical preservation and cultural resource stewardship

68. Thomas F King, “Rethinking Traditional Cultural Properties?,” *The George Wright Forum* 26, no. 1 (2009): 35.

69. US Department of the Interior, *Exploring Hispanic History and Culture—A Dynamic Field*, National Park Service, Cultural Resource Management 20, no. 11, 1997, <https://home1.nps.gov/CRMJournal/CRM/v20n11.pdf>, 3.

70. US Department of the Interior, *Exploring Hispanic History and Culture—A Dynamic Field*, National Park Service, Cultural Resource Management 20, no. 11, 1997, <https://home1.nps.gov/CRMJournal/CRM/v20n11.pdf>, 6, 27-28.

efforts of organizations and individuals within their communities.”⁷¹ Joyner took notice of and had a more forward discussion of recent scholarship in the field of Latino Studies. He recognized recent trends in the literature, including “Hispanic self-identification and the locations of new communities.”⁷² Importantly, one of Joyner’s main concerns was the emphasis of Spain’s history in North America and the reliance on this history as the extent of understanding Latinx heritage.

Here in this publication, the NPS did not ignore recent communities and encouraged preservationists to develop a working relationship with the members of these communities. “As Hispanic communities grow from the recent influx of new immigrants,” Joyner noted, “preservationists will have opportunities to work with those communities to address documentation and presentation of the evolving culture.”⁷³ Joyner included in the publication the historical context of Latinx communities of Puerto Ricans, Cubans, Dominicans, Salvadorans, and Colombians, as well as states such as New York, Oklahoma, and Tennessee.⁷⁴ He even went so far as to ask, “Is there a Pan-Hispanic identity?”⁷⁵ In including of these Latinx groups

71. US Department of the Interior, *Hispanic Reflections on the American Landscape: Identifying and Interpreting Hispanic Heritage*, Brian D. Joyner, National Park Service, 2009, https://home1.nps.gov/heritageinitiatives/pubs/NPS_HispanicReflections_English.pdf, i-ii. This publication falls in line with similar methodology the NPS used “to highlight the imprint of diverse groups on the built environment of the United States.” The other two covered Black Americans and Asian Americans.

72. US Department of the Interior, *Hispanic Reflections on the American Landscape: Identifying and Interpreting Hispanic Heritage*, Brian D. Joyner, National Park Service, 2009, https://home1.nps.gov/heritageinitiatives/pubs/NPS_HispanicReflections_English.pdf, i.

73. US Department of the Interior, *Hispanic Reflections on the American Landscape: Identifying and Interpreting Hispanic Heritage*, Brian D. Joyner, National Park Service, 2009, https://home1.nps.gov/heritageinitiatives/pubs/NPS_HispanicReflections_English.pdf, 24.

74. US Department of the Interior, *Hispanic Reflections on the American Landscape: Identifying and Interpreting Hispanic Heritage*, Brian D. Joyner, National Park Service, 2009, https://home1.nps.gov/heritageinitiatives/pubs/NPS_HispanicReflections_English.pdf, 4-12.

75. US Department of the Interior, *Hispanic Reflections on the American Landscape: Identifying and Interpreting Hispanic Heritage*, Brian D. Joyner, National Park Service, 2009, https://home1.nps.gov/heritageinitiatives/pubs/NPS_HispanicReflections_English.pdf, 20-21.

and raising this question, Joyner presented a complicated understanding of Latinxs that furthered the NPS's efforts to diversify.

In 2013, the NPS released *American Latinos and the Making of the United States: A Theme Study*, producing the federal government's most ambitious attempt to investigate, represent, and interpret Latinx history.⁷⁶ Through this theme study, the NPS hoped for three particular outcomes: first, that "the most recent scholarship in Latino history [was] now available to a broad public audience;" second, that "historic preservationists in government agencies and the private sector now [had] a tool to help identify and evaluate Latino-related places for historical significance;" and lastly, that "more of these places [were] likely to be nominated to the National register of Historic Places."⁷⁷ The theme study had many strengths and were evident in its contributors, methodology, and organization.

In seventeen essays written by scholars and experts from political science, sociology, anthropology, and history, the theme study included some of the most recent scholarship on Latinx history. By relying on the latest scholarship, the theme study served as an important catalyst in the NPS's attempts to complicate in its own interpretation of American history and the role of Latinxs in it. Organized thematically, the theme study allowed readers to trace four critical themes: Making a Nation, Making a Life, Making a Living, and Making a Democracy. Through these

76. US Department of the Interior, *American Latinos and the Making of the United States: A Theme Study*, National Park Service, 2013, <https://www.nps.gov/subjects/tellingallamericansstories/latinothemestudy.htm>.

77. US Department of the Interior, *American Latinos and the Making of the United States: A Theme Study*, National Park Service, 2013, <https://www.nps.gov/subjects/tellingallamericansstories/latinothemestudy.htm>.

themes, the NPS made it possible for readers to identify individual, local, and national levels of Latinx influence across five centuries.⁷⁸

The thematic organization, as opposed to a chronological organization, connected more recent communities to the traditions of American life of the earlier Spanish-speaking communities in the Southwest that are often contributed to Latinx history. The emphasis on recent communities, as opposed to communities from eighteenth century and earlier, was a deliberate decision. In the theme study's introduction, authors and historians Frances Negrón-Muntaner and Virginia Sánchez-Korrol explained the reasoning behind this emphasis was "because the National Park Service [was] already rich in pre-1800 Latino historic sites and because much of the contemporary Latino experience [was] directly rooted in the last two centuries."⁷⁹ By using current scholarship and extending the historical timeline, the theme study made it possible to see the importance of Latinx history in more than its colonial past and distinct architectural traditions.

One additional shift worth noting in this latest NPS approach to diversifying was in the title of the theme study itself. Unlike earlier publications, *American Latinos and the Making of the United States* used the term "Latino" instead of "Hispanic." The contributors to theme study believed that using "Latino" "[punctuated] the experience of peoples living in the Americas rather than Europe" and "[called] attention to the fact that Latino communities [had] significantly

78. US Department of the Interior, *American Latinos and the Making of the United States: An Introduction*, Frances Negrón-Muntaner and Virginia Sánchez-Korrol, National Park Service, 2013, <https://www.nps.gov/articles/latinothemestudyintroduction.htm>.

79. US Department of the Interior, *American Latinos and the Making of the United States: An Introduction*, Frances Negrón-Muntaner and Virginia Sánchez-Korrol, National Park Service, 2013, <https://www.nps.gov/articles/latinothemestudyintroduction.htm>.

diversified over time and [began] to settle beyond their traditional enclaves, producing new pan-Latino realities.”⁸⁰ This is significant because it was a marked departure from the historical connections to Spain and recognized the historical significance of Latinx communities in the United States without this direct European connection. It reflected the NPS’s continued development of its historical understanding and interpretation of Latinxs. The following section will explore the extent to which these efforts by the NPS have produced a more representative understanding of Latinxs on the National Register.

Existing Representation

Current representation of Latinxs demonstrates the overall ineffectiveness of the past National Park Service attempts to diversify National Register listings since the 1970s. The *American Latino Heritage Travel Itinerary* reflects the NPS’s current representation of Latinxs on a national scale. Texas and Maryland will serve as state levels of analysis to illustrate how even in states with a long and complex history of Latinxs like Texas, the representation of Latinxs is simplified to a colonial past and has limitations similar to the representation in states like Maryland, where Latinxs have a relatively short history. In each of these levels of analysis, we can see that the representation of Latinxs is widely characterized by its connections to the Spanish history on the continent. More specifically, architecture often serves as the historical

80. US Department of the Interior, *American Latinos and the Making of the United States: An Introduction*, Frances Negrón-Muntaner and Virginia Sánchez-Korrol, National Park Service, 2013, <https://www.nps.gov/articles/latinothemestudyintroduction.htm>.

lens through which the NPS and the National Register present the historical significance of Latinxs in national, state, and local contexts.

The *American Latino Heritage Travel Itinerary* serves as an important reflection of the NPS's current preservation and interpretation of Latinx history.⁸¹ Not all of the sites on the travel itinerary are on the National Register and not all of the National Register sites related to Latinx history are on the travel itinerary. Studying the listings on the travel itinerary allows us to see that the NPS and the National Register limits the representation of Latinxs in four critical aspects: historical association, time period of significance, geographic scope, and complexity of the stories told.

Each of these limits build upon each other and taken together, have created a distorted understanding of Latinxs in the United States. The historical associations of the sites listed on the travel itinerary are often connected to the history of Spanish colonialism. This association with Spain, in turn, restricts the time period of significance. The historical significance of the sites on the travel itinerary mostly ranges from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. Historical association and time period of significance further restrict the sites to the Southwestern and Western regions of the United States.

Taking a closer look at the travel itinerary's geographic span in the map in Figure 1, we can see that vast majority of sites are located precisely in the areas that were once Spanish territories. The states with the most sites are California (41), New

81. US Department of the Interior, *American Latino Heritage Travel Itinerary*, National Park Service, https://www.nps.gov/nr/travel/american_latino_heritage/index.html.

Mexico (32), Florida (23), Texas (16), and Arizona (13).⁸² But states with large Latinx communities whose histories date back to at least the first half of the twentieth century have considerably lower numbers of sites. New York, for example, is home to robust communities of Puerto Ricans, Dominicans, and their descendants, yet has only two sites on this travel itinerary.⁸³ This map also underscores the fact that the overwhelming majority of the United States has between zero to five sites.

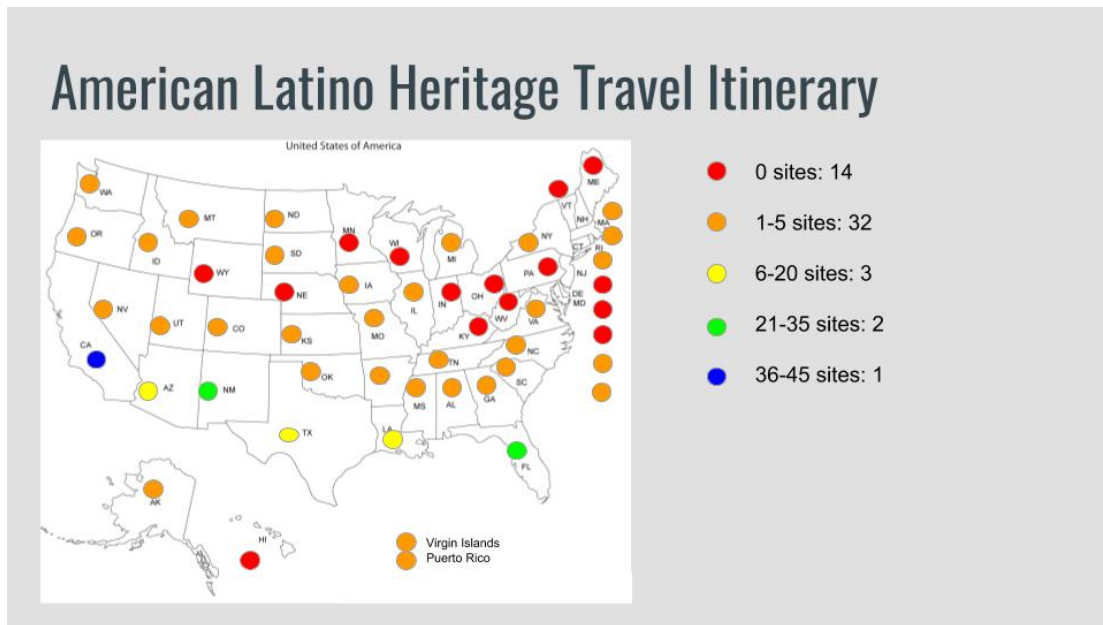


Figure 1. *American Latino Heritage Travel Itinerary* map, created by author.

This staggering number of states with little to no representation of Latinx history is an urgent reminder that the federal government is not adequately preserving and presenting the history of Latinxs. This inadequacy is not only visible through the physical locations of these sites but through their interpretation and connection to Latinxs as well. A number of sites on this travel itinerary have very weak connections

82. US Department of the Interior, *American Latino Heritage Travel Itinerary*, National Park Service, https://www.nps.gov/nr/travel/american_latino_heritage/list_of_sites.html.

83. US Department of the Interior, *American Latino Heritage Travel Itinerary*, National Park Service, https://www.nps.gov/nr/travel/american_latino_heritage/list_of_sites.html. These sites are the gravesite of David Farragut and the Hispanic Society of America.

to Latinx history. The Lewis and Clark expedition, for example, is listed for ten different states, including Idaho, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Missouri, Montana, North Dakota, Oregon, South Dakota, and Washington State.⁸⁴ These kinds of historical understandings of the community boxes Latinxs ethnically, regionally, and temporally as people of Spanish descent who colonized the Southwest and Florida in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. This downplays long threads of historical significance and ignores the struggles, discrimination, contributions, and accomplishments of Latinxs.

These representation patterns are mirrored at the state level. The table in Figure 2 compares the total number of National Register listings in Texas, Maryland, and the United States with the number of sites in these same places listed on the travel itinerary. The total number of National Register listings are based on an excel sheet compiled by the National Park Service and are as of December 2017. This excel sheet is useful for a quantitative comparison and highlights the disparity between National Register listings and Latinx-related sites identified in the travel itinerary.

State/Country	Total National Register Listings (as of 2017)	<i>American Latino Heritage Travel Itinerary</i> Listings
Texas	3,279	16
Maryland	1,559	1
United States	93,530	190

Table 1. Table comparing total National Register listings and *American Latino Heritage Travel Itinerary* listings for Texas, Maryland, and the United States. Created by author.

84. US Department of the Interior, *American Latino Heritage Travel Itinerary*, National Park Service, https://www.nps.gov/nr/travel/american_latino_heritage/list_of_sites.html.

A quantitative analysis provided by the excel sheet shows one part of the problem with Latinx representation as it currently exists. It allows us to see that the number of *American Latino Heritage Travel Itinerary* sites for Texas, Maryland, and the United States make up less than one percent of the total National Register listings in these places. It is not enough, however, to take note of the numerical disparities between the total number of National Register listings and the travel itinerary listings to understand the dearth of Latinx history representation. We must also examine the quality of the current representation. Here, the excel sheet falls short as it provides little information to make a conclusive assertion about the quality of the few Latinx-related sites. To better explore the representation of Latinxs at sites in Texas and Maryland, we can turn to their respective cultural resources databases.

Based on the listings on the Texas Historic Sites Atlas maintained by the Texas Historical Commission, 11 of Texas's 17 sites listed under "Ethnic Heritage-Hispanic," are also listed for their architectural significance.⁸⁵ In turn, these 11 sites are all listed under Criterion C-design/architecture.⁸⁶ The connection to architecture remains a common area of significance for Latinx sites. Seven sites have been listed since 2000 and of these seven, five are under Criterion C-design-architecture.⁸⁷ Not

85. Texas Historical Commission, *Texas Historic Sites Atlas*, 2015, <https://atlas.thc.state.tx.us/AdvancedSearch>.

86. Texas Historical Commission, *Texas Historic Sites Atlas*, 2015, <https://atlas.thc.state.tx.us/AdvancedSearch>. These 11 are: Barrio Azteca Historic District, Church of Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria, Cine El Rey, Herrera Ranch, Lamesa Farm Workers Community Historic District, Rio Grande City Downtown Historic District, Roma Historic District, San Elizario Historic District, Sixth Street Historic District, Teatro La Paz, Trevino-Urbe Rancho, and Yturri-Edmunds House.

87. Texas Historical Commission, *Texas Historic Sites Atlas*, 2015, <https://atlas.thc.state.tx.us/AdvancedSearch>. The two not listed under Criterion C are: Lerma's Nite Club and the Roosevelt School Auditorium and Classroom Addition. These are both listed under Criterion A-historic events.

only does architecture dominate the areas of significance listed for Texas's Latinx-related sites, but also it continues to characterize sites listed in the last 19 years.

There are some exceptions to this narrow representation and they indicate a trend that is moving away from architectural recognition of Latinx-related sites. Six sites are not listed for architectural significance. These sites offer a more complicated understanding of Latinxs in the state. The Roosevelt School Auditorium and Classroom Addition, for example, was listed on the National Register in 2002 and its areas of significance included "Education" and "Ethnic Heritage-Hispanic."⁸⁸ Similarly, Lerma's Nite Club was listed on the National Register in 2011 and its areas of significance were noted as "Entertainment/Recreation" and "Ethnic Heritage-Hispanic."⁸⁹ The areas of significance seen in the other four sites range from "Exploration/Settlement" to "Community Planning and Development."

Whereas the state of Texas and its Latinx inhabitants were annexed by the United States in 1845, the Latinx community in Maryland began to form in the 1980s. This is not to say the community was brand new at this time. In fact, Latinxs have been present in the area since the 1920s.⁹⁰ Still, this community in Maryland is considerably new and its issues with representation are similar to those of Texas. At the same time, there are particular characteristics of Maryland's Latinx community that differentiate it from Texas and highlight additional shortcomings of the National Register.

88. US Department of the Interior, *National Register of Historic Places Registration Form-Roosevelt School Auditorium and Classroom Addition*, National Park Service, July 2002, <https://atlas.thc.state.tx.us/NR/pdfs/02000909/02000909.pdf>.

89. US Department of the Interior, *National Register of Historic Places Registration Form-Lerma's Nite Club*, National Park Service, March 2011, <https://atlas.thc.state.tx.us/NR/pdfs/11000135/11000135.pdf>.

90. Olivia Cadaval, *Creating a Latino Identity in the Nation's Capital: The Latino Festival* (Taylor & Francis, 1998), 56.

Maryland's Latinx population is concentrated in Montgomery and Prince George's counties, lining the state's border with Washington, D.C. In these counties, the majority of National Register listings precede the migration of Latinxs and Latin American migrants into the area and therefore exclude Latinxs.⁹¹ On the *American Latino Heritage Travel Itinerary*, Latinxs in Maryland are represented only by Assateague Island.⁹² The travel itinerary lists Assateague Island because of two Spanish ships that sunk off the coast in the eighteenth century. These representations make only a weak connection to Hispanic ancestry, ignoring the twentieth century history of Central Americans that have built the Latinx community in the state.

Understanding the history of Latinxs in Maryland, however, requires recognizing the fluid nature of this group. Latinxs began settling in Maryland in the 1980s and 1990s after gentrification began pushing out the Latinx community that had been in D.C. since the mid-twentieth century.⁹³ The movement of this community is one of its most critical characteristics. The community's inability to stay in one place for at least 50 years is a product of government policies meant to displace communities of color.

The inability to stay in one place continually should not be treated as a punishment. It should instead be seen as part of the Latinx community's history in Maryland. The following chapter will take a closer examination at the ways in which the National Register has failed this community.

91. Maryland Historical Trust, *Medusa: Maryland's Cultural Resource Information System*, <https://mht.maryland.gov/secure/medusa/#>.

92. National Park Service, "Assateague Island National Seashore: Maryland and Virginia," Discover Our Shared Heritage Travel itinerary: American Latino Heritage, https://www.nps.gov/nr/travel/American_Latino_Heritage/Assateague_Island_National_Seashore.html

93. Linda Low and Mara Cherkasky, "Mount Pleasant: An Urban Village," in *Washington at Home*, 227; Olivia Cadaval, "Adams Morgan: Diversity with a Beat," in *Washington at Home*, 448.

Chapter 3: Place and Belonging: Recognizing Latinx History of the Recent Past

It took me 13 years of public education and the better part of my college education to know the history of Latinxs in the United States. I've always known my family's history in this country because they've always made sure I was aware of their struggles and understood why they migrated.

I've heard this history from three different perspectives but these are the basics. In 1983, my grandfather left El Salvador for New York City. He worked multiple jobs at a time, slept very little, and always sent money to my grandmother and their three kids, my mother and two uncles, who stayed back. This went on for about seven years while the Civil War in El Salvador progressed until my grandparents decided it was time to move the family to the U.S. for good. My grandmother was the first to join my grandfather. Not wanting to raise their kids in New York City, my grandparents contacted a family friend who they knew from back home to ask about other areas that would be better for the family. The family friend told them that he and many other Salvadorans were in Rockville, Maryland and felt it was a good place to settle. So, my grandparents made their way to Rockville. By 1991, my mom and my uncles had also made their migration north one kid at a time, interrupting their childhoods and leaving behind their grandparents, aunt, uncles, and cousins. Rockville is where they all settled and where I grew up.

Since my childhood, this is the story I've known and for a long time, it was the extent of my understanding of Latinx history because my other experiences with history rarely included Latinxs. Any family trip to DC was to visit the Lincoln Memorial and other places related to white men who I didn't recognize. There was a fourth grade field trip to Williamsburg where I learned about English settlers and the country's colonial beginnings. In high school, my American history class covered the civil rights era by teaching me only about the relationships between black and white Americans. My world history class briefly mentioned the Aztecs, Mayans, and Incas for a class or two but never mentioned Latin America or Latinx history after those early civilizations. Until I started college, I had almost no clue about Latinx history. I knew there were Latinxs in other parts of the country because I'd hear about them on the Spanish-language news but I assumed that, like my family, they had only been in the U.S. for a couple of decades.

After years of taking any opportunity I could to learn about people like my family and me, I was able to deeply explore this seemingly elusive Latinx history for this project. Finding sites of Latinx history and culture in the DMV felt like it legitimized my claim of being an American and it added to the importance of my grandfather's move to New York City in 1983. I can now point to people, places, and events and enthusiastically say that Latinxs have been critical actors throughout

American history. Finally, I can say I know the history of Latinxs who, like me, call the DMV their home. And all it took was being the first in my family to go to college, navigating the intimidating world of academia to earn a bachelor's degree, applying, being accepted, and enrolling in a graduate program, then pushing through a year-long research process and writing a master's thesis. Imagine the limited accessibility to this history for those without the privilege of attending higher education.

The Latinx presence in the Washington, D.C.-Maryland-Virginia (DMV) area is not in traditional buildings noted for their age and architecture. Instead, their presence is in places as unexpected as a cemetery and the side of a building in a parking lot, places that are difficult to fit in National Register criteria but that are responsible for asserting the contributions of Latinxs to the area. This community's presence in the area dates as far back as the early twentieth century yet patterns of migration and removal have prevented Latinxs from staying in one place for 50 continuously years. When Latinxs began establishing their communities in the DMV in the 1970s, they were moving into neighborhoods in D.C. that had undergone demographic transformations in the mid-twentieth century and become places of social and political activism. Latinx immigrants followed this spirit of activism, created their own forms of activism to gain a voice in local politics, and used their art and culture to affirm their place on the city's physical landscape. By the end of the twentieth century, gentrification made these neighborhoods less affordable for many D.C. Latinxs. D.C. Latinxs began making their way into the suburbs in Maryland and Northern Virginia. Latinx migrants who were part of migration waves from Central America in the 1990s did the same, passing over D.C. and settling in the suburbs.

This chapter will begin with a recounting of the history of Latinxs in the DMV, showing their initial places of settlement, their community development, and

their eventual movement from Washington D.C. to Maryland and Virginia suburbs. Simultaneously, I offer a brief survey of historically and culturally significant sites in the region and examine the ways in which current preservation criteria limit the National Register from recognizing these sites. Finally, this chapter will feature a narrative on one site for its historical and cultural significance to D.C. Latinxs, proposing how sites of recent communities of color can be identified, documented, and nominated for inclusion in the National Register. By recognizing such sites, we can have a more complex and complete understanding of the Latinx community and its relationship with its environment—how the community made a place for itself, how the city was changed by the presence of this community, and how larger trends like immigration and gentrification impacted the community’s initial settlement and inescapable displacement.

Obviously, this project could be expanded with more time and resources. By no means is this an exhaustive list of Latinx sites in the DMV. The most notable omission is the whole state of Virginia, particularly Northern Virginia and its sizeable Latinx community. Future efforts to find eligible Latinx sites should take the time to establish a more personal connection with Latinx community members and a deeper understanding of the ways they find value in the spaces they make, use, and live in.

Finding Latinx Sites in the DMV

During the early twentieth century, the earliest Latinxs who settled in Washington D.C. were few in number and came for work in embassies of Latin American countries or the homes of diplomats. The location of these embassies in

Northwest D.C. placed these pioneers right in the neighborhoods of Adams Morgan and Mount Pleasant. In Adams Morgan, they settled around the embassies located around 16th Street and Massachusetts Avenue. In Mount Pleasant, they settled around 16th Street and Columbia Road.⁹⁴ By mid-century, migrants from Cuba and the Dominican Republic moved into these same neighborhoods. Latinx businesses began to dot the streets. These businesses sold food from the Latin American countries from which many migrants emigrated. In addition to providing essential aspects of food culture, these stores “became the hub of social interaction” for the young community.⁹⁵

Between the initial wave of Caribbean migrants in the 1950s and the surge of South American migrants in the 1970s that followed, Adams Morgan, Mount Pleasant, and, later, Columbia Heights, each underwent dramatic demographic changes in the post-World War II period. Supreme Court rulings in 1948 and 1954 ruled restrictive housing covenants and segregated public schools unconstitutional, knocking many of the white walls that the law was protecting and that kept many Black Americans from moving in.⁹⁶ In the 1950s, each neighborhood’s predominantly white resident population started to trickle out and move into the suburbs. Lower prices and rents to live in Adams Morgan made it an affordable place to live for new groups of people including “a mixture of working-class people and

94. Olivia Cadaval, *Creating a Latino Identity in the Nation’s Capital: The Latino Festival* (Taylor & Francis, 1998), 56; Olivia Cadaval, “Adams Morgan: Diversity with a Beat,” in *Washington at Home: An Illustrated History of Neighborhoods in the Nation’s Capital*, 2nd ed. (Baltimore, Md: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), 441; Linda Low and Mara Cherkasky, “Mount Pleasant: An Urban Village,” in *Washington at Home*, 225.

95. Cadaval, “Adams Morgan: Diversity with a Beat,” in *Washington at Home*, 442; Cadaval, *Creating a Latino Identity in the Nation’s Capital*, 59-60.

96. Low and Cherkasky, “Mount Pleasant: An Urban Village,” in *Washington at Home*, 221; Cadaval, “Adams Morgan: Diversity with a Beat,” in *Washington at Home*, 439.

young middle-class intellectuals—black, white, and Latino—moved into the area and changed its social character.”⁹⁷ Similarly in Mount Pleasant, the influx of these new residents developed 16th Street and Columbia Road as a center of activism.⁹⁸

Columbia Heights also saw this population turnover, with white families preferring the white suburban life to the increasingly racially mixed urban life.⁹⁹ As more migrants from Latin America moved into the area during the 1970s, the community matured in a city that was still recovering from intense racial tensions of the 1960s and in neighborhoods that were homes to socially and politically conscious people.¹⁰⁰

South American migrants of the 1970s and Central American migrants of the 1980s did not only produce a demographic shift with their presence but molded their neighborhood’s physical environment through cultural production and reinforcement. Latinxs produced culture in D.C. through artistic expressions and reinforced their culture through the opening of restaurants and theaters that replicated meaningful cultural aspects from their original countries and shared them with fellow compatriots in their new homes. Sites of this cultural production and reinforcement exist across Adams Morgan, Mount Pleasant, and Columbia Heights today but many are in precarious situations that hinder their chances of being recognized and preserved by the National Register.

97. Cadaval, “Adams Morgan: Diversity with a Beat,” in *Washington at Home*, 439. Black Americans had been moving in since the 1940s and by 1970, made up half of the neighborhood’s population.

98. Low and Cherkasky, “Mount Pleasant: An Urban Village,” in *Washington at Home*, 223. At the All Souls Unitarian Church, for example, Rev. A. Powell Davies was an important figure in process of desegregating the city’s public schools in the 1940s.

99. Brian Kraft, “Columbia Heights: Passageway for Urban Change,” in *Washington at Home*, 251.

100. Cadaval, *Creating a Latino Identity in the Nation’s Capital*, 57.

The Latin American Youth Center (LAYC) has been a crucial community organization in D.C. since 1968 but this important nonprofit has changed locations multiple times in its history. Initiated in Columbia Heights, LAYC's earliest work with D.C. youth provided job training and art programs that offered a safe outlet for self-expression.¹⁰¹ These art programs included creating public art murals. Between 1974 and 1998, LAYC operated out of the Wilson Center on 15th and Irving Streets. Since then, LAYC has been at 1419 Columbia Road NW.¹⁰² Despite the organization's importance to the Latinx community for 51 years, its movement from place to place would make it ineligible for inclusion in the National Register because it has not remained in the same location. This inability to stay put negates its significance, according to the National Register criteria.

The GALA Hispanic Theatre is in a similarly strained situation, having had a long and powerful connection to the Latinx community but being unable to remain in one location. The GALA Hispanic Theatre has been putting on bilingual entertainment in D.C. since 1976. Its founders were a mix of Latinx and non-Latinx artists who wanted to provide different Latin American cultures to both Spanish-speaking and non-Spanish speaking DC residents. The Theatre has changed buildings six times since first opening in Adams Morgan. All of its subsequent locations have been in D.C. and its current location since 2005 is the Tivoli Theater in Columbia Heights. The Tivoli Theater was listed on the National Register in 1985 for its

101. Kraft, "Columbia Heights: Passageway for Urban Change," in *Washington at Home*, 254.

102. "History," Latin American Youth Center, accessed March 25, 2019, <http://www.layc-dc.org/about-us/history/>.

architectural significance.¹⁰³ The Tivoli Theater may already be on the National Register but its nomination form does not include its connections or relationship to the Latinx community.¹⁰⁴ While the GALA Hispanic Theatre has only been located at the Tivoli Theater since 2005, the GALA Hispanic Theatre itself has been around since 1976.

This raises a gripping question. Buildings and places listed on the National Register can become sites of new or additional historical and cultural significance after being listed. How then can the NR help show this development and reflect changing communities and their movement? Should the GALA Hispanic Theatre remain at the Tivoli Theater until 2026, when it reaches 50 years of age, how could this important institution be preserved for the Latinx community and for the city? This valued community institution has been stratified on top of a site with a preexisting significance but does this effectively cancel any possibility of the federal preservation system recognizing the succeeding contributions of the Latinx community? Continuous movement similarly hampers the recognition of sites related to Central Americans but historical age, too, becomes a crucial factor.

Sites that draw their significance from the Central American migrants that moved to D.C. in the 1980s are in more challenging situations because of their young age and because of the short period that they had to make D.C. their home before gentrification pushed them out. Quickly and noticeably, Central Americans signaled their growing numbers through businesses and social organizations. In 1982,

103. "Act One: The First Three Decades," GALA Hispanic Theatre, accessed March 26, 2019, <http://en.galatheatre.org/2016/04/act-one-galas-first-29-years.html>.

104. US Department of the Interior, National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form, Tivoli Theater, National Park Service, April 1985, accessed March 26, 2019, <https://npgallery.nps.gov/GetAsset/9a4cfa2c-2a72-4df3-a4f6-e65056e36724>.

Salvadoran migrants José and Betty Reyes opened El Tamarindo in Adams Morgan. El Tamarindo is one of the oldest Mexican-Salvadoran restaurants in D.C. but at 37 years old, falls short of the widely accepted 50 years of age minimum. Despite being a Mexican-Salvadoran restaurant, the Reyes' decision to open the restaurant was driven by their perceived need to serve Salvadoran food for the neighborhood's Salvadoran residents. Like the businesses of Cuban and Dominican migrants in the mid-twentieth century, the Reyes' understood food to be central to their community's formation in a new country. The owners have opened other locations in the area but the original Adams Morgan restaurant is located at 1785 Florida Avenue NW.¹⁰⁵ Beginning in 1985, CASA de Maryland (Central American Solidarity Association) has served the area's migrants with programs addressing necessities including financial literacy, community organizing, and legal services. This Latinx- and immigrant-serving organization was initially founded in the basement of a Presbyterian church in Takoma Park in 1985 to meet the needs of the rapidly growing population of Central American migrants. Its central office moved to Langley Park in 2010 and CASA has opened additional offices around the DMV and Pennsylvania.¹⁰⁶

The relatively young age of these two community businesses and organization is a product of the timing of this critical wave of transnational migration and their movement and expansion is reflective of local patterns of community removal. After the 1980s, gentrification became an increasingly forceful influence on the Latinx

105. Ross Perkins, "After 32 Years, People Still Love El Tamarindo's Pupusas," *Eater* Washington DC, December 17, 2014, accessed March 26, 2019, <https://dc.eater.com/2014/12/17/7397737/el-tamarindo-pupusas-32-years-in-business>.

106. "Who We Are," CASA, accessed March 26, 2019, <https://wearecasa.org/who-we-are/>; Maria Sprehn-Malagón, Jorge Hernandez-Fujigaki, and Linda Robinson, *Latinos in the Washington Metro Area* (Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2014), 41.

community as each of these neighborhoods saw lower income residents unable to remain in their homes due to developments that increased costs of living.¹⁰⁷ Latinx migrants that continued to escape dangerous conditions in their home countries and made their way to the DMV in the late 1980s and into the 1990s opted to move directly to the suburbs in Maryland and Virginia.¹⁰⁸

National Register Criteria Considerations B: Moved Properties and G: Properties that Have Achieved Significance Within the Last Fifty Years offer some possibility for sites like these to be listed, however, these Criteria Considerations do not account for some of the individualities of D.C.'s Latinx community. LAYC, the Gala Hispanic Theatre, El Tamarindo, and CASA de Maryland are sites that are usually excluded from the National Register either because they have moved from their original location or have not achieved significance in a period of over 50 years. The Latinx community's removal from its original neighborhoods due to gentrification is a crucial part of this history and the reason for its inability to remain in place. But this historical pattern is not classified as a reason for eligibility in Criteria Consideration B.¹⁰⁹ Criteria Consideration G requires there to be enough scholarly research to evaluate a site's historical significance yet, the development of the Latinx community in this time period and geographic setting remains an

107. Low and Cherkasky, "Mount Pleasant: An Urban Village," in *Washington at Home*, 227.

108. Cadaval, "Adams Morgan: Diversity with a Beat," in *Washington at Home*, 448. For a closer analysis of the Salvadoran influence in the city since the 1990s see Ana Patricia Rodríguez, "Becoming 'Wachintonians': Salvadorans in the Washington, D.C., Metropolitan Area," *Washington History* 28, no. 2 (2016): 3–12.

109. US Department of the Interior, *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, National Park Service, National Register Bulletin 15, 1990, accessed March 26, 2019, <https://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/pdfs/nrb15.pdf>, 29-30.

understudied topic.¹¹⁰ The historical and cultural contributions of this community have often been documented by the community members themselves, outside of scholarly circles or peer-reviewed publications. Lack of scholarly attention should not automatically render a community as unimportant.¹¹¹ This demonstrates that the criteria and guidelines of the National Register are incompatible with the nature of D.C. Latinxs.

This active but fluid history of Latinxs in the DMV since the early twentieth century can be documented in the physical spaces of the neighborhoods in which this history evolved but doing so requires particular sensitivities. The first consideration is to be aware of this fluid history as well as the diversity in the migration patterns, group histories, and experiences of the Latinx community. Due to the group's diversity and the subjective definition of "significance," understanding which sites are important to Latinxs requires finding ways to explore different points of view. The second consideration is to recognize the expertise of community members, community organizations, and those who have established close relationships with the community, even if these authorities are not preservation professionals in a traditional sense. Academic degrees or publications do not always equate to a commanding

110. US Department of the Interior, *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, National Park Service, National Register Bulletin 15, 1990, accessed March 26, 2019, <https://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/pdfs/nrb15.pdf>, 42. See also, US Department of the Interior, *Guidelines for Evaluating and Nominating Properties that Have Achieved Significance Within the Past Fifty Years*, Marcella Sherfy and W. Ray Luce, National Park Service, National Register Bulletin 22, 1979, accessed March 26, 2019, <https://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/pdfs/nrb22.pdf>.

111. Olivia Cadaval's ethnographic study *Creating a Latino Identity in the Nation's Capital: The Latino Festival* is one the earliest studies of the development of the Latinx community in D.C. In it, she documents the community's history and offers a valuable discussion of her source material and research process. Among the most recent monographs on the history of Washington, D.C. that include the Latinx community is Chris Myers Asch and George Derek Musgrove, *Chocolate City: A History of Race and Democracy in the Nation's Capital*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017).

knowledge of the community's history, culture, and influence, and should not elevate the voice of one person over others with less access to formal education.

Forays into Community Outreach

During this documentation process, I gave preeminence to these considerations and kept them at the forefront of my research. In my efforts addressing these considerations, I quickly found how much they overlapped. While a member of this Latinx community myself, my experiences as a Latina born and raised in Montgomery County, Maryland can vary from those of Latinxs who were born outside the United States, who migrated from different Latin American countries at different times, whose dominant language is not English, or who have settled in other parts of the DMV. To try to include as many perspectives as time and resources could allow, I contacted people with various professional backgrounds, conducted my own field research, and ultimately relied on the work of a local Latinx cultural organization and their publications, as well as the sources from other organizations like them.

I was able to identify people documenting the Latinx history and culture of this area at both national and local levels but engaging in any substantial form of communication proved to be difficult for the entirety of this research process. At the national level, the first organization I contacted was Latinos in Heritage Conservation (LHC). While mostly working in the western part of the country, LHC is a national organization “dedicated to promoting historic preservation in Latino communities throughout the United States” and looking to improve the representation of sites

historically and culturally significant to Latinxs.¹¹² Within minutes of sending my email reaching out to LHC, Co-Chair Sarah Zenaida Gould responded and put me in contact with Sehila Casper, Field Officer with the National Trust for Historic Preservation. Casper offered to talk about my research, as she had conducted similar research as a graduate student herself, and put me in touch with Brent Leggs. Leggs is the director of the African American Cultural Heritage Action Fund at the National Trust and teaches a course titled Social and Ethnic Practices in Historic Preservation at the University of Maryland, College Park's School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation. Due to conflicting schedules, nothing went beyond initial introductions. In a similar series of events, I reached out to another national institution, the National Park Service. In July 2018, the National Park Service-National Mall offered a bilingual walking tour of Columbia Heights's Latinx history for Latino Conservation Week.¹¹³ I emailed the contact listed for the event to inquire about the tour and the person or people responsible for organizing it. The contact was an intern who forwarded my request to the park ranger in charge of leading the tour, Michael Balis. After the initial introduction, I did not hear back from the park ranger.

At the local level, I wrote and distributed a Google Form (see Appendix 1) to professionals who mostly worked in historical and cultural organizations in Maryland. This was facilitated through my connection with the executive director of Patapsco Heritage Greenway (PHG), Lindsey Baker. The Google Form was an

112. "About Us," Latinos in Heritage Conservation, accessed March 26, 2019, <https://www.latinoheritage.us/about-us>.

113. Latino Conservation Week is a weeklong, national initiative by the Hispanic Access Foundation and participating parks and organizations to foster stronger relationships between Latinx communities and conservation activities. See "About Latino Conservation Week," Hispanic Access Foundation, accessed March 26, 2019, http://latinoconservationweek.com/index.php?option=com_k2&view=item&layout=item&id=52&Itemid=171.

attempt to establish a line of communication with local people who may have had knowledge Latinx-related sites. It asked for basic information on sites that could be considered historically and culturally significant to Latinxs, regardless of their age. This form was intended to be as general and open as possible, not wanting to replicate the rigid understanding of significance seen in the National Register guidelines. With her connections within Maryland, Baker distributed the form to 79 professionals. But, this distribution of the Google Form presented its own biases as it went around to more professionals in predominantly white cultural organizations than it did to Latinx-led and –serving organizations. While there were only two responses to the Google Form, there were many responses to the email that disseminated the form. Many of those who replied to the email stated having very limited knowledge of any such sites but expressed excitement at hearing about the topic of this research.

While my attempts to engage people felt like I was repeatedly reaching dead ends, my field research and the ability to locate an active Latinx cultural organization were more fruitful. I aimed to get a better sense of physical environments of the three neighborhoods central to the city’s Latinxs by walking through them myself. I used the Neighborhood Heritage Trails produced by Cultural Tourism DC, a local nonprofit. These Neighborhood Heritage Trails were a structured way to see what neighborhood representatives who developed the programs considered as their most important places and they were created by a select group of people including historians and historical society members, making it difficult to treat them as representative of the neighborhoods in their entirety. Each Neighborhood Heritage Trail for Adams Morgan, Mount Pleasant, and Columbia Heights includes Latinx-

related sites and describe them as important places of neighborhood history.¹¹⁴ On these walks, I came across stores and social service organizations that line the major streets in these adjacent neighborhoods like 16th Street and Columbia Road. These stores and social services continue to show business names in Spanish and offer bilingual services. They felt less as reminders of the community that was, but more of the community that has managed to remain. The signs along the trail were enough to provide a basic level of historical context and, understandably, did not focus on the Latinx community. While on the Adams Morgan trail, I reached the intersection of Columbia Road and Adams Mill Road and nearly passed a large mural tucked in a small parking lot. I quickly recognized it because my research had previously led me to Hola Cultura, a Latinx cultural organization in D.C.

Hola Cultura has taken on critical work in the Latinx community documenting and raising awareness of historically and culturally significant Latinx sites. The organization's work includes digitally mapping sites, conducting and sharing interviews with community members in articles and Webumentaries, hosting and publicizing artistic events, and developing Latinx history walking tours. Their efforts have raised awareness of the community and its places and it was their work that most helped me identify this mural, "Un Pueblo Sin Murales es un Pueblo Desmuralizado," on the side of a busy road. Hola Cultura's digital map, "DC Latino

114. "Roads to Diversity: Adams Morgan Heritage Trail," Cultural Tourism DC, 2005, accessed March 26, 2019, https://www.culturaltourismdc.org/portal/c/document_library/get_file?uuid=647cf2f3-9eb0-4fbd-b6c4-dab9f64a0fed&groupId=701982; "Village in the City: Mount Pleasant Heritage Trail," Cultural Tourism DC, 2006, accessed March 26, 2019, https://www.culturaltourismdc.org/portal/c/document_library/get_file?uuid=20532956-f4a0-4420-9176-4182a4f8f2de&groupId=701982; "Cultural Convergence: Columbia Heights Heritage Trail," Cultural Tourism DC, 2009, accessed March 26, 2019, https://www.culturaltourismdc.org/portal/c/document_library/get_file?uuid=dda67311-9544-4d1e-bcd2-36c8ea8f88ca&groupId=701982.

Street Murals: Mapping the Legacy” documents the history of Latinx muralism in the city.¹¹⁵ Hola Cultura’s digital maps and documentation of DC Latinx history highlights places of cultural production while the Neighborhood Heritage Trails appear took a different understanding of the community and neighborhood histories. At the very least, this illustrates the different ways people understand a neighborhood or community within a city’s history and underscore the importance looking for sources that allow us to study a community from within.

Making use of the research surveyed above, what follows is a narrative of “Un Pueblo Sin Murales es un Pueblo Desmuralizado” following National Register form conventions. First, I provide a description of the mural. Second, I provide a statement of significance.

“A People Without Murals”: Description

The mural (Figure 2) is an illustration of the Adams Morgan neighborhood during the 1970s. It features multiple characters engaging in various activities. Along the bottom of the neighborhood scene from left to right, there is a group of four figures embracing, a black dog or cat, a couple dancing, and a band of musicians playing different instruments. In the left center, there is tall, white, one-eyed being overlooking the rest of the mural. In the middle, there is an individual sitting down with a drink and a book. Next to this is a figure grabbing its face as it watches a television set with blue rays radiating from it. Farther along the center of the mural,

115. “DC Latino Street Murals: Mapping the Legacy,” Hola Cultura, accessed March 26, 2019, <http://www.arcgis.com/apps/MapTour/index.html?appid=c3a8b421467c4b47aeec8475d30987d3>.

two people are holding hands as they stand under an umbrella. The top of the mural shows a blue sky, white clouds, yellow rays, houses, a factory, and the Washington Monument at a distance. An individual with red eyes and a red mouth and dressed in black with a red stripe across his chest peers out of a window. Three white figures sit at a small, round table in the top right corner. They sit under a single light bulb and against a black backdrop. On the top of the table, the three figures exchange stacks of money and miniature houses. Many people painted in this mural are drawn in abstract shapes and colors.



Figure 2: “Un Pueblo Sin Murales es un Pueblo Desmuralizado.” Photo by author.

“A People Without Murals”: Significance

This mural is significant in the historic context of the development of the Latinx community in Washington, D.C. during the second half of the twentieth century. This mural encapsulates the history of Latinxs in D.C. This mural is related to trends of community settlement, community development, and community removal, the use of art for social and political expression and activism. In other Latinx communities across the country, particularly the Chicano community in the West, street murals have been listed on the National Register. This mural is significant for its association with the Latinx community in D.C. This mural can be classified under three areas of significance including art, ethnic heritage: Hispanic, and social history. It has a local significance to Washington, D.C.

This mural is historically significant under Criterion A because of its association with the migration pattern of Latin American migrants to the area beginning in the 1950s, their place in the neighborhood of Adams Morgan where many of these migrants settled, and their gradual displacement through gentrification beginning in the 1970s and lasting through the present day. Additionally, this mural is significant under Criterion C because it represents the vernacular design of public art produced by Latinx artists and embodies their cultural contributions to D.C. through muralism and their use of muralism as a form of social and political activism. The mural was created by South American migrant, Carlos Salazar. Furthermore, this mural can be listed under Criteria Consideration G due to the fragile nature of outdoor murals.

In January 1977, there were plans for a “Latin Quarter” in Adams Morgan along Columbia Road to help boost or encourage tourism. Alfredo Echeverria from the Council of Hispanic Agencies backed the plan. However, there were complaints from non-Latinx residents in Adams Morgan that it placed too much emphasis on Latino culture alone and not enough on the neighborhood’s racial diversity. Mayor Marion Barry supported the proposal as a way of paying his debt to the community. Proponents of the Latin Quarter believed it could help offset or hold off the gentrification they were already experiencing. The “Latin Quarter Comprehensive Development Plan” submitted January 1977 to the D.C. Department of Housing and Community Development through the District Office of Latino Affairs. This unfulfilled proposal illustrates the influence of the Latinx community in culture and politics as early as the 1970s.¹¹⁶

“A People Without Murals is a Demuralized People” is an outdoor public mural located on the side of the Kogibow Bakery, 1817 Adams Mill Road NW. The mural faces a small parking lot and new development on the other side of the parking lot. This opposite building structure and a tree obscure the view of the mural from Adams Mill Road. “A People Without Murals” was commissioned by Centro de Arte and painted by Chilean immigrant Carlos Salazar in 1977. Centro de Arte was a Latinx cultural organization and no longer exists.¹¹⁷ Juan Pineda restored the mural in 2005 with funding and support from sources including D.C. nonprofit Sol y Soul, the

116. Blair Gately, Special to *The Washington Post*, “Citizens Opposed to Latin Quarter Temper their Dissent,” *The Washington Post* (1974-Current File), August 9, 1979, 1, <http://proxy-bc.researchport.umd.edu/login?url=https://search.proquest.com/docview/147180737?accountid=14577>.

117. Chris Aguilar, “For City’s Latinos, The Return of a Work of Art and History,” *The Washington Post*, September 15, 2005, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2005/09/14/AR2005091401001.html>.

D.C. Commission for the Arts and Humanities, and the Office of Latino Affairs.¹¹⁸

The earthquake that hit the DMV in 2011 damaged the building that holds the mural. The owner of the building repaired the damages but in doing so, damaged the mural. A second restoration project of the mural took place in the spring of 2014 and was once again restored by Pineda. After these two restorations, the mural has retained the same design and colors as the original 1977 painting.¹¹⁹

“A People Without Murals” can be considered historically significant under Criterion A and Criteria Consideration G. This mural can be included under Criterion A for its association with the migration of Latin American migrants to the DMV in the latter half of the twentieth century. When Carlos Salazar painted this mural in 1977, D.C. Latinxs were primarily migrants from countries in the Caribbean and South America experiencing political unrest. Migrants from Cuba and the Dominican Republic began arriving in the 1950s and 1960s while migrants from South American countries like Chile joined the Latinx community beginning in the 1970s.¹²⁰ As these new migrant groups settled in D.C., the Chicano Movement was asserting cultural pride and addressing the racism and discrimination affecting Latinxs, particularly Mexican Americans. Murals took on an integral part of the movement. Through this art form, Chicano muralists were able to show “the deleterious effects of racism on the one hand and the value of Chicano/a mixed identities and cultures on the other.”¹²¹ The influence of the power and purpose of murals to Chicanos/as can be

118. Chris Aguilar, “For City’s Latinos, The Return of a Work of Art and History,” *The Washington Post*, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2005/09/14/AR2005091401001.html>.

119. <https://www.holacultura.com/restoring-the-citys-oldest-street-mural/>.

120. Sprehn-Malagón, *Latinos in the Washington Metro Area*, 17.

121. Alejandro Anreus, Robin Adele Greeley, and Leonard Folgarait, eds., *Mexican Muralism: A Critical History*, First edition (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 244.

seen in murals painted by other communities of color and other Latinx communities in the United States.¹²²

In D.C., the murals painted by Latinx artists in the late twentieth century similarly addressed cultural pride and highlighted their own stories of struggle and resistance. In “A People Without Murals,” Salazar places cultural elements of the Latinx community at the center of the mural through images of people dancing and playing instruments popular in Latin music. Alongside these everyday experiences, however, Salazar includes images of people he felt represented threats to the Latinx neighborhood. The tall, white, one-eyed figure on the left side of mural stands as a constant and close surveillance of the community while the three white figures seated at a small table in the top right corner of the mural look to be gaining money as they play with the homes of community members.

Later D.C. muralists equally embraced the ability of murals to simultaneously showcase a culture and bring attention to issues threatening that culture. In the 1980s and 1990s, a growing number of Central American migrants came to the DMV fleeing destabilized home countries. For some, murals were an opportunity to establish their presence. Speaking to the Washington Post in 1994 about a mural he helped create, one young Salvadoran immigrant explained, ““some people point to the Latino community and say we cause most of the trouble here. The mural symbolizes our culture. We want people to look at us as human beings. We want to show we are a progressive group making change.””¹²³ The Latinx murals that sprang up around D.C.

122. Anreus, *Mexican Muralism*, 245.

123. Peter Hong, "Mastering the Art of Cooperation" *The Washington Post* (1974-Current File), November 4, 1993, <http://proxy-bc.researchport.umd.edu/login?url=https://search.proquest.com/docview/140786239?accountid=14577>.

mirrored their West Coast predecessors who “were painted [...] as a cry from the Latino and black communities to be released from racially imposed structures.”¹²⁴ Murals painted by Latinx artists in D.C. during the late twentieth century represent the migration patterns of people from several different Latin American countries that have developed notable and vibrant communities in the DMV.

The murals painted by Latinx artists are physical claims to the spaces they came to inhabit and are evidence of the ways Latinxs have transformed the built environment of this area. For these artists, painting murals in D.C. was a way to embrace cultural aspects of the countries they were born in. For example, artist and muralist Karla “Karlissima” Rodas expressed the influence of her home country of El Salvador through the use of bright colors that mimic her home country’s natural landscapes.¹²⁵ At the same time, artist and muralist Jorge Luis Somarriba felt that murals helped to “establish a sense of community” with the diverse Latin American migrants in the city.¹²⁶

124. Amanda J. Norbutus, “New Approaches for the Preservation of Outdoor Public Murals: The Assessment of Protective Coatings for Mural Paintings and Painted Architectural Surfaces” (Ph.D., University of Delaware, 2012), 9.

125. Karla “Karlissima” Rodas, interview by Hola Cultura, *Hola Cultura Webumentaries: Muralism DC*, November 2014, accessed March 26, 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S50YT1Q6ScY&index=2&list=PL2UaXROeC4Kfastr7Vu1ROtO1y9LUCKIj>.

126. Jorge Luis Somarriba, interview by Hola Cultura, *Hola Cultura Webumentaries: Muralism DC*, November 2014, accessed March 26, 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S50YT1Q6ScY&index=2&list=PL2UaXROeC4Kfastr7Vu1ROtO1y9LUCKIj>.

Conclusion

The evidence presented in my thesis has proven that the National Register is inherently unsuited to represent the historical and cultural contributions of Latinxs in the Washington, D.C.-Maryland-Virginia area. I have shown this in three chapters. In the first chapter, I showed a change over time in the histories of Latinxs and historic preservationists. By studying the histories of Latinxs and historic preservation side by side, this project highlighted a historical disconnect between the Latinx community and preservationists. In the second, I told a bureaucratic history of the National Park Service's attempts to diversify the National Register and investigated its existing narrative of Latinxs from the 1970s to the present. Through an examination of Latinx-related historic sites listed in Texas and Maryland, I showed that while these two states have drastically different Latinx-related histories, they nonetheless illustrate similar shortcomings of fair Latinx representation. In my last chapter, I focused on the DMV to show how the Latinx community's individualities related to their historical age and movements unfairly prevent it from being considered for listing in the National Register. I provided a narrative of the mural "Un Pueblo Sin Murales es un Pueblo Desmuralizado" (A People Without Murals is a Demuralized People) developed in accordance with National Register guidelines to exemplify how a culturally and historically significant site of the Latinx community can be researched and documented.

The problems that my project has shown can be addressed with time and understanding. Once we understand the difficulties of including Latinx history and

culture in the National Register, we can work to confront these problems. Some of these efforts will require focusing on the criteria themselves, adjusting our understanding of which should be prioritized and which can be thought of in new ways. Other efforts will require analyzing a place differently, taking into consideration the subjective nature of what makes a place matter to a group of people. Additional efforts will require working with people more thoughtfully, recognizing that forming relationships is a key way to respectfully approach communities.

For this effort regarding relationship building with communities, the way forward can begin with a process involving an honest introspection at the individual and organizational level as well as a stronger understanding of different communities. The steps that can carry this process are outlined in the Community Outreach and Engagement Toolkit. As mentioned in chapter two, I created this toolkit as part of my summer internship with a local cultural organization to facilitate Latinx community outreach and engagement. In this toolkit, I identify and explain four crucial components of community outreach and engagement: knowing your users or visitors, assessing your cultural competency, creating and strengthening relationships, and establishing short-and long-term goals. These are not the only four components, as the best practices for this process will vary. The Community Outreach and Engagement Toolkit can be viewed here:

<https://culturehistoryenvironment.omeka.net/exhibits/show/toolkit-outreach-engagement>.

The goal of this toolkit was to emphasize that meaningful relationships with the Latinx community are crucial in public history work and developing such

relationships requires time and a genuine commitment to inclusivity. Outreach like this can help the National Register to become more inclusive. This toolkit does not fit the National Register perfectly but it does offer substantial guidance to working with this community and it is an answer to the larger cultural problem that exacerbates the structural obstacles to fair representation.

This larger cultural problem means that the far-reaching issue with representation on the National Register is not one that is only faced by Latinxs, but by many other marginalized and underrepresented communities in the United States. The solutions to this problem may not be same for every group for different reasons related to cultural distinctions or group histories but there still remains a need and a potential for these communities to build a coalition to tackle the structural and cultural barriers that are keeping their stories and contributions out. Without ignoring or softening the individualities of these communities, a united challenge to the National Register's bias can undermine the magnified representation of white Americans.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Googleform Questionnaire (English and Spanish)

Latinx History in Maryland

This form is an attempt to gather information for sites of historic and cultural significance to the Latinx community in Maryland. You are welcome to submit sites of more recent historical/cultural significance (less than 50 years).

Site Name

Short answer text

Site Address

Short answer text

Historical/Cultural Significance

Long answer text

Contact Information

Short answer text

Website (if applicable)

Short answer text

Historia de los Latinos en Maryland

Este formulario es un intento de recopilar información para sitios de importancia histórica y cultural para la comunidad latina en Maryland. Le invitamos a enviar sitios de importancia histórica/cultural más reciente (menos de 50 años).

Nombre del Sitio

Short answer text
.....

Dirección del Sitio

Short answer text
.....

Importancia Histórica/Cultural

Long answer text
.....

Información de Contacto

Short answer text
.....

Sitio Web (si corresponde)

Short answer text
.....

Appendix 2: Community Outreach and Engagement Toolkit

Community Outreach and Engagement Toolkit
Camilla Sandoval

INTRODUCTION:

Outreach and engagement with any community requires open-mindedness, dedication to short- and long-term goals, and a sincere commitment to seek and value inclusivity and diversity. Organizations that find themselves eager to establish positive relationships with Latinxs can use this toolkit as a resource to get started or to strengthen their efforts. The goal of this toolkit is to support organizations on a path to understanding how to best engage with the Latinx community.

The slides that follow are structured by major actions organizations must take. Each action slide is supplemented with a brief explanation of what it means or entails, questions to consider and discuss as an organization, and related resources and materials. Positive community outreach and engagement cannot be achieved overnight; it is a process that this toolkit will assist organizations in initiating.

KNOW YOUR USERS OR VISITORS:

As a whole, Latinxs reflect some of the rich cultural and ethnic diversity in the United States. Among Latinxs themselves, however, one can find a wide range of dialects, religions, practices, and food cultures. Even the terms community members use to identify themselves will vary. Not all Latinxs use the term used in this toolkit. The term “Latinx” is a gender-neutral alternative to the more commonly used term, “Latino.” Use of “Latinx” varies based on language preference and generation.

It is important to be aware of some of these differences and to know the characteristics of Latinxs in your state or local area. Be aware that language preferences may vary from person to person. You cannot assume that one group will speak only Spanish or only English because language proficiency and literacy fall on a spectrum. By gathering demographic and geographic data on the Latinxs you hope to engage with, you can have a clear picture of who your users or visitors are and avoid making assumptions or generalizations that do not apply to all Latinxs.

What is the average age of the community? Where are they coming from? Where do they reside? It can be valuable to consider your visitorship as it currently exists—are you working to reach out to new audiences or to engage a new audience that you already have?

The most recent data for Maryland Latinxs is from 2014. It found that:

- Latinxs make up 9% of Maryland’s total population.
- In and around Baltimore, Latinxs are 5% of Baltimore city’s population, 5% of Baltimore County’s, 3% of Carroll County’s, and 6% of Howard County’s. Notably, Latinxs are 19% of Montgomery County’s population and 17% of Prince George’s County’s population, the highest percentages in the state.
- 50% of Maryland Latinxs were born outside the United States and 50% were born in the United States.

- Maryland Latinxs are relatively young. Their median age is 28 years old, compared to 43 years old for non-Hispanic whites and 35 years old for non-Hispanic blacks.

How does this data affect your understanding of the Latinx community? Can you identify any misconceptions? What can you do to address those misconceptions and ensure you correct them?

Related resources and materials:

- More statistics on Maryland Latinxs, <http://www.pewhispanic.org/states/state/md/>
- Health data and resources on the Latinx community in Maryland, <https://health.maryland.gov/mhhd/Documents/Maryland-Hispanic-Health-Disparity-Data.pdf>

ASSESS CULTURAL COMPETENCY:

In addition to familiarizing yourself with users or visitors, organizations must take the time to know themselves more deeply. How effective can organizations be to meet the needs of Latinxs and build strong relationships with the community? One way to determine this is by assessing your cultural competency. In other words, organizations need to look inwards and make sure they are capable of appreciating cultural differences and working effectively with these differences.

On an individual level, this can include taking note of your biases. Everyone has biases but it is on us to recognize these biases and ensure they do not negatively influence our interactions with other people. On an organizational level, assessing cultural competence can mean reflecting on policies, structures, and practices.

If you say you support inclusivity and diversity, do your policies, structures, and practices open the doors to make inclusivity and diversity possible or do they act as barriers and prevent you from doing so? Do your board and staff reflect the diversity of the people you serve and support? Does the work culture foster acceptance and embrace of differences? Translating materials into Spanish is a step in the right direction but do you have someone that speaks Spanish and can engage with the questions and comments from Spanish speakers?

Related resources and materials:

- From the National Center for Cultural Competence, "A Guide to Planning and Implementing Cultural Competence Organizational Self-Assessment," <https://nccc.georgetown.edu/documents/ncccorgselfassess.pdf>
- Example of a cultural competence checklist for policies and procedures by the American Speech-Language-Hearing Association, <https://www.asha.org/uploadedFiles/Cultural-Competence-Checklist-Policies-Procedures.pdf>
- A detailed breakdown of enhancing cultural competence in organizations, <https://ctb.ku.edu/en/enhancing-cultural-competence>
- An informative and thoughtful analysis of the need for more diverse board. Also includes seven actions boards can take to address a lack of diversity, <http://nonprofitaf.com/2017/09/7-things-you-can-do-to-improve-the-sad-pathetic-state-of-board-diversity/>

CREATE AND STRENGTHEN RELATIONSHIPS:

When organizations take the important step of working with community leaders and Latinx-serving organizations, they must go in with the understanding that these relationships are mutual. Effective relationship building calls for more than having translated materials. It is essential to know local community leaders and Latinx-serving organizations and start a line of communication with them. Identify these people and groups and reach out to share your goals and intentions with them.

If and when you are able to form a line of communication, keep in mind the importance of building trust. Take the time to make personal connections and to listen to their goals, missions, experiences, and points of view. Building trust may also include taking part in activities or supporting other organizations, groups, or people in ways that do not immediately align with your goals. Always remember that these should be equally beneficial relationships and partnerships.

You can look to these relationships or partnerships as opportunities for things like passing along critical information but you must also learn how you can be of service to the partner organization. Here, too, it is important to note the language preferences of the community members with whom you are interacting.

How prepared are you to engage with people who have varying degrees of comfort speaking Spanish and English? What are the priorities you hope to address in these potential relationships? What kinds of resources would you be able to offer? How do you plan to contact a representative sample of voices from the community? In addition to Latinx community leaders and Latinx-serving organizations, look at the work of other groups who are already engaging with Latinxs and see what you can learn from them.

Related resources and materials:

- Resource from Hispanic Access Foundation on approaching relationships and partnerships with Latinx communities, <http://www.birdday.org/diverseaudience/tools/Building%20Relationships2.pdf>
- A comprehensive outline on developing partnerships, <https://ctb.ku.edu/en/creating-and-maintaining-partnerships>
- Some local Latinx-serving organizations include: Conexiones, <http://www.conexioneshc.org/> and the Latin American Youth Center, <http://www.layc-dc.org/about-us/>
- Some national Latinx-serving organizations that focus on conservation include: GreenLatinos, <http://www.greenlatinos.org/mission>, Hispanic Access Foundation, <https://www.hispanicaccess.org/>, Hispanics Enjoying Camping, Hunting, and the Outdoors, <http://www.hechoonline.org/our-mission/>, Hispanic Federation, <https://hispanicfederation.org/programs/environment/>, La Madre Tierra, <http://www.lamadretierra.org/>, and Latino Outdoors, <http://latinooutdoors.org/about-us/>

ESTABLISH SHORT- AND LONG-TERM GOALS:

As either an organization or an outreach taskforce, get together and differentiate between your short- and long-term goals. If no taskforce exists, consider putting one together by electing or volunteering staff members to take charge of outreach, engagement, and/or assessing cultural competence.

Short-term goals can serve as early interactions and chances for the Latinx community to get to know your organization on a more personal level. Make yourself visible and approachable by tabling at events where you know many Latinxs will attend or bringing your services directly to the community. Creating internships and career development opportunities available to Latinxs and other underrepresented communities are excellent examples of long-term goals.

Through these initiatives, organizations can direct some of their focus on Latinx youth. By providing them with valuable experiences and skills, you can help open the doors to a workforce more representative of the communities you support.

The short- and long-term goals an organization puts down might change over time. You should adapt to new challenges and opportunities as they arise. How could you go about addressing any tensions or misunderstandings between different racial and ethnic groups of users or visitors? What are some other ways an organization can encourage a new generation of diverse and representative staff and users or visitors?

Related resources and materials:

- Scholarly article that points out the challenges facing environmental organizations and explains the goals organizations should work towards to meet those challenges, http://cdeinspires.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/12/BontaJordan_DiversifyingEnvironmentalMovement.pdf
- This handbook details what deep, long-term community engagement looks like and its many benefits, http://waitakipair.com/users/npcacpm/09_pdf_items_for_helpful_resources_section_5%3A12%3A2014/ready_to_use_tools_for_helpful_resources_section/beyond%20outreach%20handbook.pdf

Appendix 3: Draft National Register form

NPS Form 10-900

OMB No. 1024-0018

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations for individual properties and districts. See instructions in National Register Bulletin, *How to Complete the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form*. If any item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, architectural classification, materials, and areas of significance, enter only categories and subcategories from the instructions.

1. Name of Property

Historic name: "A People Without Murals is a Demuralized People" Mural

Other names/site number: "Un Pueblo Sin Murales es un Pueblo Desmuralizado" Mural

Name of related multiple property listing:

N/A

(Enter "N/A" if property is not part of a multiple property listing)

2. Location

Street & number: 1817 Adams Mill Road NW

City or town: Washington, D.C. State: _____ County: _____

Not For Publication: ☐ Vicinity: ☐

3. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended,

I hereby certify that this ___ nomination ___ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60.

In my opinion, the property ___ meets ___ does not meet the National Register Criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant at the following level(s) of significance:

___ national ___ statewide ___ local

Applicable National Register Criteria:

___A ___B ___C ___D

Signature of certifying official/Title:

Date

State or Federal agency/bureau or Tribal Government

In my opinion, the property ___ meets ___ does not meet the National Register criteria.

Signature of commenting official:

Date

Title :

State or Federal agency/bureau
or Tribal Government

"A People Without Murals is a Demuralized
People" Mural
Name of Property

Washington, D.C.

County and State

4. National Park Service Certification

I hereby certify that this property is:

- ☐ entered in the National Register
☐ determined eligible for the National Register
☐ determined not eligible for the National Register
☐ removed from the National Register
☐ other (explain:) _____

Signature of the Keeper

Date of Action

5. Classification

Ownership of Property

(Check as many boxes as apply.)

- Private: ☒
Public – Local ☐
Public – State ☐
Public – Federal ☐

Category of Property

(Check only one box.)

- Building(s) ☐
District ☐
Site ☐
Structure ☐
Object ☒

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Number of Resources within Property

(Do not include previously listed resources in the count)

Contributing	Noncontributing	
_____	<u>1</u>	buildings
_____	_____	sites
_____	_____	structures
<u>1</u>	_____	objects
<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	Total

Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register 0

6. Function or Use

Historic Functions

(Enter categories from instructions.)

Commerce/Trade: specialty store (bakery)
Recreation and Culture: work of art (mural)

Current Functions

(Enter categories from instructions.)

Commerce/Trade: specialty store (bakery)
Recreation and Culture: work of art (mural)

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7. Description

Architectural Classification

(Enter categories from instructions.)

No style

Materials: (enter categories from instructions.)

Principal exterior materials of the property: Concrete, Other _____

Narrative Description

(Describe the historic and current physical appearance and condition of the property. Describe contributing and noncontributing resources if applicable. Begin with a summary paragraph that briefly describes the general characteristics of the property, such as its location, type, style, method of construction, setting, size, and significant features. Indicate whether the property has historic integrity.)

Summary Paragraph

The mural is an illustration of the Adams Morgan neighborhood during the 1970s. It features multiple characters engaging in various activities. Along the bottom of the neighborhood scene from left to right, there is a group of four figures embracing, a black dog or cat, a couple dancing, and a band of musicians playing different instruments. In the left center, there is tall, white, one-eyed being overlooking the rest of the mural. In the middle, there is an individual sitting down with a drink and a book. Next to this is a figure grabbing its face as it watches a television set with blue rays radiating from it. Farther along the center of the mural, two people are holding hands as they stand under an umbrella. The top of the mural shows a

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blue sky, white clouds, yellow rays, houses, a factory, and the Washington

Monument at a distance. An individual with red eyes and a red mouth and dressed in black with a red stripe across his chest peers out of a window. Three white figures sit at a small, round table in the top right corner. They sit under a single light bulb and against a black backdrop. On the top of the table, the three figures exchange stacks of money and miniature houses. Many people painted in this mural are drawn in abstract shapes and colors.

Narrative Description

"A People Without Murals is a Demuralized
People" Mural
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8. Statement of Significance

Applicable National Register Criteria

(Mark "x" in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the property for National Register listing.)

- ☒ A. Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.
- ☐ B. Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.
- ☒ C. Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.
- ☐ D. Property has yielded, or is likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Criteria Considerations

(Mark "x" in all the boxes that apply.)

- ☐ A. Owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes
- ☐ B. Removed from its original location
- ☐ C. A birthplace or grave
- ☐ D. A cemetery
- ☐ E. A reconstructed building, object, or structure
- ☐ F. A commemorative property
- ☒ G. Less than 50 years old or achieving significance within the past 50 years

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Areas of Significance
(Enter categories from instructions.)

Art
Ethnic Heritage: Hispanic
Social History

Period of Significance
1977-2019

Significant Dates

Significant Person
(Complete only if Criterion B is marked above.)
1977

Cultural Affiliation

Architect/Builder

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People" Mural
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Statement of Significance Summary Paragraph (Provide a summary paragraph that includes level of significance, applicable criteria, justification for the period of significance, and any applicable criteria considerations.)

This mural is significant in the historic context of the development of the Latinx community in Washington, D.C. during the second half of the twentieth century. This mural encapsulates the history of Latinxs in D.C. This mural is related to trends of community settlement, community development, and community removal, the use of art for social and political expression and activism. In other Latinx communities across the country, particularly the Chicano community in the West, street murals have been listed on the National Register. This mural is significant for its association with the Latinx community in D.C. This mural can be classified under three areas of significance including art, ethnic heritage: Hispanic, and social history. It has a local significance to Washington, D.C.

Narrative Statement of Significance (Provide at least one paragraph for each area of significance.)

This mural is historically significant under Criterion A because of its association with the migration pattern of Latin American migrants to the area beginning in the 1950s, their place in the neighborhood of Adams Morgan where many of these migrants settled, and their gradual displacement through gentrification beginning in the 1970s and lasting through the present day. Additionally, this mural is significant under Criterion C because it represents the vernacular design of public art produced by Latinx artists and embodies their cultural contributions to D.C. through muralism and their use of muralism as a form of social and political activism. The mural was created

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by South American migrant, Carlos Salazar. Furthermore, this mural can be listed under Criteria Consideration G due to the fragile nature of outdoor murals.

In January 1977, there were plans for a "Latin Quarter" in Adams Morgan along Columbia Road to help boost or encourage tourism. Alfredo Echeverria from the Council of Hispanic Agencies backed the plan. However, there were complaints from non-Latinx residents in Adams Morgan that it placed too much emphasis on Latino culture alone and not enough on the neighborhood's racial diversity. Mayor Marion Barry supported the proposal as a way of paying his debt to the community. Proponents of the Latin Quarter believed it could help offset or hold off the gentrification they were already experiencing. The "Latin Quarter Comprehensive Development Plan" submitted January 1977 to the D.C. Department of Housing and Community Development through the District Office of Latino Affairs. This unfulfilled proposal illustrates the influence of the Latinx community in culture and politics as early as the 1970s.¹

"A People Without Murals is a Demuralized People" is an outdoor public mural located on the side of the Kogibow Bakery, 1817 Adams Mill Road NW. The mural faces a small parking lot and new development on the other side of the parking lot. This opposite building structure and a tree obscure the view of the mural from Adams Mill Road. "A People Without Murals" was commissioned by Centro de Arte and painted by Chilean immigrant Carlos Salazar in 1977. Centro de Arte was a Latinx cultural organization and no longer exists.² Juan

1. Blair Gately, Special to The Washington Post, "Citizens Opposed to Latin Quarter Temper their Dissent," The Washington Post (1974-Current File), August 9, 1979, 1, 5, <http://proxy-bc.researchport.umd.edu/login?url=https://search.proquest.com/docview/147180737?accountid=14577>.

2. Chris Aguilar, "For City's Latinos, The Return of a Work of Art and History," The Washington Post, September 15, 2005, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2005/09/14/AR2005091401001.html>.

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Pineda restored the mural in 2005 with funding and support from sources

including D.C. nonprofit Sol y Soul, the D.C. Commission for the Arts and Humanities, and the Office of Latino Affairs.³ The earthquake that hit the DMV in 2011 damaged the building that holds the mural. The owner of the building repaired the damages but in doing so, damaged the mural. A second restoration project of the mural took place in the spring of 2014 and was once again restored by Pineda. After these two restorations, the mural has retained the same design and colors as the original 1977 painting.⁴

"A People Without Murals" can be considered historically significant under Criterion A and Criteria Consideration G. This mural can be included under Criterion A for its association with the migration of Latin American migrants to the DMV in the latter half of the twentieth century. When Carlos Salazar painted this mural in 1977, D.C. Latinxs were primarily migrants from countries in the Caribbean and South America experiencing political unrest. Migrants from Cuba and the Dominican Republic began arriving in the 1950s and 1960s while migrants from South American countries like Chile joined the Latinx community beginning in the 1970s.⁵ As these new migrant groups settled in D.C., the Chicano Movement was asserting cultural pride and addressing the racism and discrimination affecting Latinxs, particularly Mexican Americans. Murals took on an integral part of the movement. Through this art form, Chicano muralists were able to show "the deleterious effects of racism on the one hand and the value of Chicano/a mixed identities and cultures on the

3. Chris Aguilar, "For City's Latinos, The Return of a Work of Art and History," *The Washington Post*, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2005/09/14/AR2005091401001.html>.

4. <https://www.holacultura.com/restoring-the-citys-oldest-street-mural/>.

5. Sprehn-Malagón, *Latinos in the Washington Metro Area*, 17.

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other."⁶ The influence of the power and purpose of murals to Chicanos/as can

be seen in murals painted by other communities of color and other Latinx communities in the United States.⁷

In D.C., the murals painted by Latinx artists in the late twentieth century similarly addressed cultural pride and highlighted their own stories of struggle and resistance. In "A People Without Murals," Salazar places cultural elements of the Latinx community at the center of the mural through images of people dancing and playing instruments popular in Latin music. Alongside these everyday experiences, however, Salazar includes images of people he felt represented threats to the Latinx neighborhood. The tall, white, one-eyed figure on the left side of mural stands as a constant and close surveillance of the community while the three white figures seated at a small table in the top right corner of the mural look to be gaining money as they play with the homes of community members.

Later D.C. muralists equally embraced the ability of murals to simultaneously showcase a culture and bring attention to issues threatening that culture. In the 1980s and 1990s, a growing number of Central American migrants came to the DMV fleeing destabilized home countries. For some, murals were an opportunity to establish their presence. Speaking to the Washington Post in 1994 about a mural he helped create, one young Salvadoran immigrant explained, "some people point to the Latino community and say we cause most of the trouble here. The mural symbolizes our culture. We want people to look at us as human beings. We want to show we are a progressive

6. Alejandro Anreus, Robin Adele Greeley, and Leonard Folgarait, eds., *Mexican Muralism: A Critical History*, First edition (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 244.

7. Anreus, *Mexican Muralism*, 245.

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group making change."⁸ The Latinx murals that sprang up around D.C. mirrored

their West Coast predecessors who "were painted [...] as a cry from the Latino and black communities to be released from racially imposed structures."⁹

Murals painted by Latinx artists in D.C. during the late twentieth century represent the migration patterns of people from several different Latin American countries that have developed notable and vibrant communities in the DMV.

The murals painted by Latinx artists are physical claims to the spaces they came to inhabit and are evidence of the ways Latinxs have transformed the built environment of this area. For these artists, painting murals in D.C. was a way to embrace cultural aspects of the countries they were born in. For example, artist and muralist Karla "Karlissima" Rodas expressed the influence of her home country of El Salvador through the use of bright colors that mimic her home country's natural landscapes.¹⁰ At the same time, artist and muralist Jorge Luis Somarriba felt that murals helped to "establish a sense of community" with the diverse Latin American migrants in the city.¹¹

8. Peter Hong, "Mastering the Art of Cooperation" *The Washington Post* (1974-Current File), November 4, 1993, <http://proxy-bc.researchport.umd.edu/login?url=https://search.proquest.com/docview/140786239?accountid=14577>.

9. Amanda J. Norbutus, "New Approaches for the Preservation of Outdoor Public Murals: The Assessment of Protective Coatings for Mural Paintings and Painted Architectural Surfaces" (Ph.D., University of Delaware, 2012), 9.

10. Karla "Karlissima" Rodas, interview by Hola Cultura, *Hola Cultura Webumentaries: Muralism DC*, November 2014, accessed March 26, 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S50YT1Q68cY&index=2&list=PL2UaXROeC4Kfastr7Vu1ROtOly9LUCKIj>.

11. Jorge Luis Somarriba, interview by Hola Cultura, *Hola Cultura Webumentaries: Muralism DC*, November 2014, accessed March 26, 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S50YT1Q68cY&index=2&list=PL2UaXROeC4Kfastr7Vu1ROtOly9LUCKIj>.

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People" Mural
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9. Major Bibliographical References

Bibliography (Cite the books, articles, and other sources used in preparing this form.)

Previous documentation on file (NPS):

- ☐ preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested
- ☐ previously listed in the National Register
- ☐ previously determined eligible by the National Register
- ☐ designated a National Historic Landmark
- ☐ recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey # _____
- ☐ recorded by Historic American Engineering Record # _____
- ☐ recorded by Historic American Landscape Survey # _____

Primary location of additional data:

- ☐ State Historic Preservation Office
- ☐ Other State agency
- ☐ Federal agency
- ☐ Local government
- ☐ University
- ☐ Other
- Name of repository: _____

Historic Resources Survey Number (if assigned): _____

10. Geographical Data

Acreage of Property _____

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People" Mural
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Use either the UTM system or latitude/longitude coordinates

Latitude/Longitude Coordinates (decimal degrees)

Datum if other than WGS84: _____

(enter coordinates to 6 decimal places)

- | | |
|--------------|------------|
| 1. Latitude: | Longitude: |
| 2. Latitude: | Longitude: |
| 3. Latitude: | Longitude: |
| 4. Latitude: | Longitude: |

Or

UTM References

Datum (indicated on USGS map):

☐ NAD 1927 or ☐ NAD 1983

- | | | |
|----------|-----------|-----------|
| 1. Zone: | Easting: | Northing: |
| 2. Zone: | Easting: | Northing: |
| 3. Zone: | Easting: | Northing: |
| 4. Zone: | Easting : | Northing: |

Verbal Boundary Description (Describe the boundaries of the property.)

"A People Without Murals is a Demuralized
People" Mural
Name of Property

Washington, D.C.

County and State

Boundary Justification (Explain why the boundaries were selected.)

11. Form Prepared By

name/title: _____
organization: _____
street & number: _____
city or town: _____ state: _____ zip code: _____
e-mail: _____
telephone: _____
date: _____

Additional Documentation

Submit the following items with the completed form:

- **Maps:** A USGS map or equivalent (7.5 or 15 minute series) indicating the property's location.
- **Sketch map** for historic districts and properties having large acreage or numerous resources. Key all photographs to this map.
- **Additional items:** (Check with the SHPO, TPO, or FPO for any additional items.)

"A People Without Murals is a Demuralized
People" Mural
Name of Property

Washington, D.C.

County and State

Photographs

Submit clear and descriptive photographs. The size of each image must be 1600x1200 pixels (minimum), 3000x2000 preferred, at 300 ppi (pixels per inch) or larger. Key all photographs to the sketch map. Each photograph must be numbered and that number must correspond to the photograph number on the photo log. For simplicity, the name of the photographer, photo date, etc. may be listed once on the photograph log and doesn't need to be labeled on every photograph.

Photo Log

Name of Property:

City or Vicinity:

County:

State:

Photographer:

Date Photographed:

Description of Photograph(s) and number, include description of view indicating direction of camera:

1 of ____.

Paperwork Reduction Act Statement: This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C. 460 et seq.).

Estimated Burden Statement: Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 100 hours per response including time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the Office of Planning and Performance Management, U.S. Dept. of the Interior, 1849 C. Street, NW, Washington, DC.

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