



The Legacy of California's Landmarks

A Report for the California Cultural and Historical Endowment

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Arts, Heritage, and Cultural Planning

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The California Cultural and Historical Endowment was tasked in its enabling legislation (AB 716, Firebaugh–2002) with conducting a comprehensive cultural survey that includes eight specific components.

This report addresses Components One and Two:

Requirement: Prepare a survey of elements in California and recommendations for steps to be taken to fill in the missing or underrepresented elements identified.

Response: The Legacy of California's Landmarks Report and related nine recommendations.

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction & Background

“California has one of the most diverse populations on earth and its cultural and historic preservation program should reflect that fact” states the authorizing legislation for the California Cultural and Historical Endowment. In fact, California has always been culturally diverse; Native peoples have lived in what we now know as California for over 13,000 years and people from across the continent and the globe have populated the state over the last three centuries. A historic preservation program that reflects these facts is important not only for presenting a more accurate account of the past, but also for supporting a more engaged relationship with the state’s current population.

Landmarks are points of orientation as well as buildings or structures that have been officially designated and set aside for preservation. The legacy of California’s current landmarks reflect the experiences and contributions of a relatively small portion of the people, events and historic forces that have shaped this state. As the California State Parks History Plan notes, failure to preserve diverse historic resources “may result in the state’s history and preservation programs becoming increasingly irrelevant to California’s growing multi-cultural population.”¹ This report for the California Cultural and Historical Endowment assesses



how California’s formal landmarks programs at the federal, state, and local levels reflect the contributions of communities specifically identified by the Endowment’s legislation: Native Americans, Latinos, African Americans, Asian Americans, and other traditionally underrepresented communities with distinctive cultures and histories.

Many preservationists recognize the need for change in



When it functioned as the West Coast headquarters of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, this Oakland building was known as Liberty Hall. It is a City of Oakland landmark and listed on the National Register of Historic Places. Photo: ©Sanfranman59/Wikimedia Commons/CC-BY-SA-2.5/GFDL.

demographics of the preservation field and in what landmark listings say about the history of our state and nation. A recent study commissioned by the National Trust for Historic Preservation revealed that the overwhelming majority (ninety-three percent) of “preservation leaders” are white, with two percent identifying as either African American and Asian/Pacific Islander American, and one percent as Latino. Demographics of membership, staff, and board of the Trust and its partner organizations are similarly limited.² Preservationists attuned to these realities understand the links between diversifying the preservation movement and the range of sites that are protected. In June 2012, former California Historic Preservation Officer Wayne Donaldson stated emphatically that the National Register of Historic Places and the California Register of Historical Resources must continue to evolve in order to be embraced by all communities and to fulfill their promise as the “people’s register.”³

It was no coincidence that California was where Stephanie Meeks, President of the National Trust for Historic Preservation, gave a major address in 2011 on “Sustaining the Future: The Challenge of Making Preservation a More Diverse Movement.”⁴ Meeks pointed out that, as U.S. demographics continue to be transformed, preservationists are recognizing that our historic landmarks, preservation programs, and professional ranks do not reflect the growing diversity of the American people. Although by no means

perfect, California has, of necessity, led the nation in grappling with many of the political, social, and cultural issues presented by such a diverse population. Births to Latino, Asian, African American, and mixed-race Californians surpassed those of white Californians almost three decades ago—a marker reached nationally in just the past twelve months.⁵

The California Cultural and Historical Endowment (Endowment) was established in 2003 “to develop various programs and projects to protect and preserve California’s cultural and historic resources.” Authorizing legislation directed the Endowment to prioritize “funding projects that preserve, document, interpret, or enhance understanding of threads of California’s story that are absent or underrepresented in existing historical parks, monuments, museums, and other facilities....”⁶ Created by Assembly Bill 716 and funded by Prop 40 monies through the California Clean Water, Clean Air, Safe Neighborhood Parks and Coastal Protection Act of 2002, the Endowment has awarded grants to 150 projects sponsored by non-profit organizations and local government agencies for capital projects and planning activities beginning in 2004. Dispersed across the state, these projects ranged from restoration of one of the world’s longest murals to installation of improved storage facilities at an archaeological research facility to renovation of an historic hospital that serves as an interpretive center.

The Endowment’s grant program has made significant

strides toward its goal of raising “the profile and scope of California’s historic and cultural preservation program in an era of dwindling historic structures and cultural homogeneity.”⁷ In addition to establishing the grant program, AB 716 tasked the Endowment with a series of elements related to cultural and historic preservation policy. This report was commissioned by the Endowment to address the legislative request for:

(a) A survey of elements in California’s existing assemblage of buildings, sites, artifacts, museums, cultural landscapes, trails, illustrations, the arts and artistic expressions, written materials, and displays and interpretive centers that are missing or underrepresented, such as, if current facilities, materials, and services leave out, misrepresent, or inadequately present some important thread of the story of California as a unified society or of the many groups of people that together comprise historic and modern California. (b) Recommendations for steps that should be taken to fill in the missing or underrepresented elements identified in subdivision (a).⁸

The sweep of the legislature’s proposed survey including all forms of cultural expression in a state as large as California was determined to be infeasible with the resources available. The Endowment has instead commissioned this report assessing the gaps between California’s current programs to designate historic resources and the remarkably rich histories of the Golden State. The report begins with a chapter titled “Identifying Sites of California Heritage” tracing the origins of California’s efforts to identify and

recognize historic sites, assessing the range of landmarks designated at the local level in California’s ten largest cities, and pointing to examples of recent efforts that have worked to recognize California’s diverse past. Chapter Three, “Looking Back at *Five Views*,” focuses on the California Office of Historic Preservation’s (OHP) landmark 1988 study, *Five Views: An Ethnic Historic Site Survey for California*, which remains the most ambitious effort to document the

The framers of the legislation authorizing the California Cultural and Heritage Endowment stated clearly “Historic preservation should include the contributions of all Californians.”

heritage of diverse communities overlooked by traditional landmarking programs. Research on the current status of the over 500 sites that received preliminary documentation more than twenty years ago helps us understand the impact of a project “originally conceived in order to broaden the spectrum of ethnic community participation in historic preservation activities and to provide better information on ethnic history and associated sites.”⁹ A database of the *Five Views* sites with their current designation and physical status is found in Appendix A. Chapter Four, “Considering the California and National Registers” utilized the OHP’s

Historic Resource Inventory of over 200,000 sites to analyze the landmarks across California that have been designated by our state and federal landmark programs. Appendix B consists of a companion database that records California and National Register sites designated for their associations with race/ethnicity and women's history. Chapter Five, "Listening to Community Conversations," summarizes six lively gatherings organized around the state with Californians invested in the histories of Latino Americans, African Americans, Filipino Americans, Portuguese Americans, women and Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer Americans. Notes from the community conversations comprise Appendix C. Chapter Six consists of closing observations and recommendations for addressing the "diversity deficit" in California's landmarks. Interviews with community leaders and preservation professionals augmented research for this report, which relied heavily on extensive information shared by the Office of Historic Preservation as well as other archival and published sources. Acknowledgement of the many individuals and organizations that shared information and insights for this study follow.

This report begins to sketch the contours of the relationship between our historic preservation programs and California's demographic realities—how historic resource surveys and landmark designations reflect the State's diverse histories and what stories are left out. It is one more contribution to the ongoing conversation in which many Californians have engaged about our state's heritage and

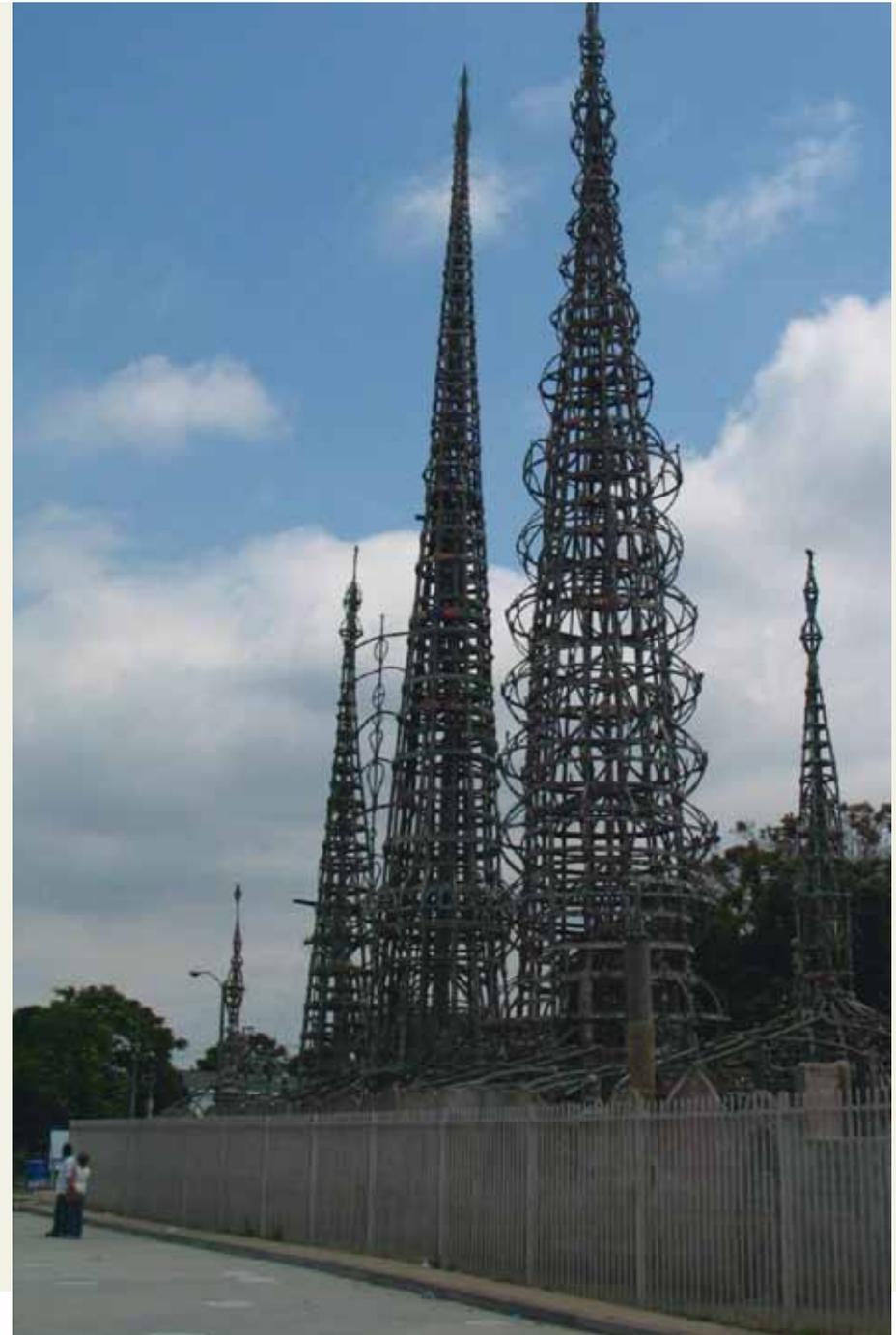


*Established in 1859, Marysville's Bok Kai Temple was rebuilt after a fire in 1880. It has continued to serve a small but lively Chinatown and provides the focus for an annual festival and parade. The Temple is a California landmark and listed on the National Register of Historic Places.
Photo: Isaac Crum/Wikimedia Commons/ CC-BY-SA-3.0.*

how we can better represent its marvelous multiplicity. The framers of the legislation authorizing the California Cultural and Heritage Endowment stated clearly "Historic preservation should include the contributions of all Californians."¹⁰ The value of this endeavor is not only in saving and preserving historic buildings and places but also in ensuring that residents and visitors to California can experience places where diverse narratives about history and culture can be found.

A note on language: As consciousness about the ways that race, gender, ethnicity, class, sexual orientation and other dimensions of identity affect politics, culture, history, and most aspects of United States society, our language evolves as well. Academics, demographers, journalists, and everyday Americans struggle to find appropriate words to describe themselves and others. Words for specific groups of people shift over time and carry additional meanings; “Hispanic,” “Latino,” “Mexican American” and “Chicano” may all be used to describe the same Californian. “Gay and lesbian” is used by some people to denote everyone who is not “straight,” while Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer—or LGBTQ, is used by others. Inclusive terms for people who are “not white,” are especially difficult; “minority,” particularly in California where they are actually the majority, is inaccurate and “people of color” seems awkward. Using phrases such as “ethnic” and “racial communities” wades into murky territories of categorization that scholars have been dismantling. Those designations also imply that people whose ancestry is linked to Europe have no ethnicity or race. Because the way we use words to describe the diverse peoples who have settled and currently reside in California is imperfect and still in flux, the words used in this report are admittedly flawed, but were written to be as specific and respectful as possible given the terminology in current use.

Constructed by Italian immigrant Samuel Rodia between 1921 and 1954, Watts Towers in Los Angeles are designated a National Historic Landmark. Photo: ©BenFrantzDale/Wikimedia Commons/CC-BY-SA-3.0/GFDL.



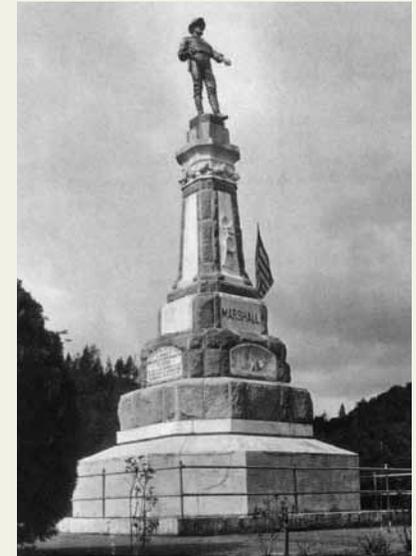
CHAPTER TWO

Identifying Sites of California Heritage

In his book *Sense of History: The Place of the Past in American Life*, historian David Glassberg writes that “Looking for history-mindedness in California cuts across the American grain. After all, for much of American history, California has represented a land of new opportunities, a place where Americans move to escape the past, not to find it.”¹¹ Yet, despite long-standing patterns that privilege the history of the Eastern States, particularly those in New England, many Californians feel a connection to their heritage and the places they live as strong as those of the Massachusetts residents to which Glassberg compares them. While he arguably overstates California’s aversion to history, Glassberg is correct to identify the racial politics that shaped the early preservation movement in California—a pattern, of course, shared with the rest of the nation. Exclusively white organizations such as the Society of California Pioneers and the Native Sons and Daughters of the Golden West influenced the public narrative of California history by incorporating commemoration and historic preservation into the social mission of their clubs. In 1890, chapters of the Society of Pioneers sought to protect Sutter’s Fort from the extension of

a Sacramento city street, the same year they erected an elaborate monument at Coloma near the site where James Marshall discovered gold.

Official efforts to recognize historic places reportedly began in 1895 with the establishment of the Historical Landmarks Club of Southern California, founded by author, photographer, and collector Charles Lummis. Women’s groups led one of the first formal efforts to identify and mark historic sites across California, a pattern of female leadership in U.S. preservation that began in the 19th century when New England women made plans to save Boston’s Bunker Hill and the Mount Vernon Ladies Association organized to save George Washington’s estate.¹² In 1898, the Native Daughters of the Golden West chartered their chapters, or “parlors,” with responsibility for preserving local history and landmarks. The following year, the newly formed Historical Landmarks Committee asked parlors to erect monuments or plaques, or to plant a tree, at sites important to community history. In 1901, the Committee initiated California’s first systematic program of identifying historic resources when they



The Society of Pioneers erected a monument to James Marshall, whose 1848 discovery led to the Gold Rush, in 1890 with state funds. Along with Native Daughters and Sons of the Golden West, the Society was among the first organizations in California engaged in historic preservation. Photo: California History Room, California State Library.



requested that parlors conduct surveys of natural features where “traditions cling” and buildings, and to detail their ownership, state of repair and cost of acquisition.

The Native Daughters joined the Federation of Women’s Clubs and a variety of men’s organizations in 1902 to create the California Historical Landmarks League, which was chaired for over fifty years by politician and *Oakland Tribune* owner, Joseph Knowland.¹³ The League’s mandate was to erect monuments and plaques, and to preserve and maintain structures, monuments and sites of “historic interest, either from associations with the early Spanish settlers or the American occupation of this State, or with the California pioneers.”¹⁴ For the next several decades, these groups sought to mark Spanish missions, Native American burial grounds, and sites associated with the Gold Rush.

While some preservation and restoration of historic structures were undertaken, most energy was focused on placing markers at selected sites. The overwhelming majority of these markers celebrated the lives and accomplishments of white Californians or a romanticized *Californio* past unconnected to Mexican Americans of their day, although a small handful identified places associated with Chinese Americans and their contributions to the Gold Rush era.¹⁵ Far more plaques marked locations where the first “white” person passed along a trail or settled. Glassberg describes the potent overlap between organizations espousing nativist sentiments in California’s political sphere



Built in 1827 by the Mexican government, Monterey’s Custom House was restored by Native Sons of the Golden West and became California’s first designated state landmark in 1932. Photo: Leonard G./Wikimedia Commons/CC-BY-SA-2.0.

and those involved with landmarks organizations. By 1925, leaders of the Native Sons of the Golden West were connecting the need for historic preservation with the “retention of the state and its soil for the white race.”¹⁶

The network of marked historical places created by the Native Sons and Daughters and other landmark programs began to be formalized as the federal and state governments decisively entered the preservation arena. The New Deal’s massive Historic American Building Survey catalogued and

meticulously documented a wide range of the historic built environment in what the National Park Service describes as “the nation’s first federal preservation program.”¹⁷ In 1931, the California State Historical Association reported that “landmarks are now just uppermost in the minds of California citizens.”¹⁸ Concern about California’s vanishing architectural heritage led to passage that same year of Assembly Bill 171, which authorized the Director of Natural Resources to designate private and public properties as state landmarks (with owner consent). The first landmark to be registered was the Custom House in Monterey; by the end of 1932, seventy-eight sites had been designated as state landmarks.¹⁹ Although a few new places were recognized, the majority that were marked and publicized were the missions, early settlements, battle sites, and gold rush sites previously identified by private groups. During the early years of landmark designation, a statewide inventory of historic resources was conducted to catalog natural and scenic resources for the creation of a state park system.²⁰

The state Natural Resources Director delegated administration of the new landmarks program to the California State Chamber of Commerce, a move that determined a predisposition to recognizing sites as tourist attractions rather than resources primarily for the local community. According to Glassberg, the determining role of chambers of commerce and the growing Automobile Club of Califor-

nia limited the registration of landmarks to those that were accessible from a road.²¹ The Office of Historic Preservation website describes the early landmarks program as “ambitious, but not without its quirks. Landmarks were registered without criteria; documentation requirements were minimal, and some properties were registered simply on the basis of hearsay or local legend.”²² The OHP explains that the creation of a gubernatorially-appointed California Historical Landmarks Advisory Committee in May 1949 was an effort to “assure greater integrity and credibility.” Yet Glassberg depicts that period, when the state also created the Gold Rush Centennial of 1948–50, as a time when the conflation of white pioneer heritage and California history was “further enshrined.”²³

Governmental interest in historic preservation increased after World War II. The National Trust for Historic Preservation was created by federal charter in 1949, becoming the first national historic preservation organization in the United States. At the same time, federal highway and urban renewal projects were seen as imminent threats by preservationists. According to historian Nadine Hata, when California’s Historic Landmarks Advisory Committee finally met in 1952, it marked a more regularized process and a shift in leadership from the Chamber of Commerce to the state.²⁴ In 1959, California’s state legislature gave counties and cities authority to establish historic districts through



The Santa Barbara County Courthouse is part of the local historic district, El Pueblo Viejo, which was created in 1960 by California's first historic preservation ordinance. Photo: Konrad Summers/Wikimedia Commons/CC-BY-SA-2.0.

local ordinances, in part a response to the destruction of historic neighborhoods wrought by intensive post-war development. Historic preservation ordinances and zoning became tools for protecting neighborhoods for their architectural and historical values. Santa Barbara passed the first ordinance in 1960 known as *El Pueblo Viejo* or the Old City. Los Angeles passed its landmark designation ordinance in 1962.

The 1960s was a pivotal period for conservation in California as the legislature called for a long-range state plan to coordinate preservation and directed the state Department of Parks and Beaches to work with the Conference of

California Historical Societies to conduct an inventory of marked and unmarked historical resources. The California Historical Landmarks program adopted more detailed criteria for registration in 1962, which were expanded in 1970.²⁵ In 1965 the California Point of Historical Interest Program was initiated for sites and structures of local or countywide significance as a companion to the California Historical Landmarks program. These developments to California's designation program occurred during the same period that the U.S. Conference of Mayors and the National Trust for Historic Preservation published the 1966 volume *With Heritage So Rich*, which urgently advocated a comprehensive remake of the American system of historic preservation. The National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA), passed the same year, authorizing the National Register of Historic Places.²⁶ With passage of the NHPA, guidance on major aspects of preservation policy and decision-making moved toward a more national and formalized process that tended to favor architectural value over cultural or historical significance. According to National Park Service historian, Antoinette Lee, "architects of the mid-1960s played a major role in the development of the legislation, and their focus was on high-style architecture."²⁷

That same period also brought the ferment of the new social history, which argued for telling the story of the United States "from the ground up." New directions charted by women's history and ethnic studies programs

(which were catalyzed in California) reshaped the approach of academic historians and reflected broader movements for social justice. Traces of these shifts in historical perspective can be found in the addition of sites such as Manzanar War Relocation Center and the African American town of Allensworth to the National and California Registers during the 1970s. The political impetus for these nominations was made clear when Norman Livermore, California Secretary of Resources, wrote to Governor Ronald Reagan in 1969 regarding acquisition of Allensworth as a state park that “the political climate and cultural awareness programs being initiated now indicate an urgent need for this project.”²⁸ By the end of the 1970s, the California Office of Historic Preservation had begun the groundbreaking *Five Views* project to survey sites across the state associated with Native American, African American, Chinese American, Japanese American, and Mexican Americans heritage (discussed in a subsequent chapter).

Over the last few decades, California and its cities have been the focus for a wealth of detailed and creative scholarship that has built on the new social history and begun to create a more complete historical narrative of the state and region. Yet connections between these scholarly advances and the field of historic preservation have been relatively slim and the history reflected in our landmarks continues to undervalue the contributions of many Californians, particularly those of working-class people, immigrants, people of color, women and the LGBTQ community.



This shrine at Manzanar War Relocation Center was built to commemorate the Japanese Americans who died behind barbed wire and under armed guard during World War II. Manzanar was named a California Historical Landmark in 1972 and a National Historic Landmark in 1976, the same years Japanese Americans were organizing to bring this chapter of American history to public recognition. Photo: ©Daniel Mayer/Wikimedia Commons/CC-BY-SA-3.0/GFDL.

Individuals, community groups, and some cities have undertaken various projects focused on documenting sites associated with “underrepresented” histories. However, this author identified no central source compiling these efforts and it appears that only a small number of formal historic context statements and resource surveys addressing these aspects of California heritage have been conducted, although a number of neighborhood surveys are likely to include relevant information. Local surveys with historic

context statements addressing the history of specific ethnic communities have been prepared on African American history in San Diego and Los Angeles, and on Japanese American history in San Francisco, San Jose and Riverside. Pasadena's Ethnic History Survey identified sites associated with the roles of eight ethnic communities in the history and development of the city.²⁹ In 1992, the Getty Conservation Institute commissioned a study on how currently designated landmarks reflected the history of Los Angeles, particularly the city's many ethnic groups.³⁰ In 2004, The Friends of 1800 completed the first historic context statement on LGBTQ history in the nation titled *Sexing the City: The Development of Sexual Identity Based Subcultures in San Francisco, 1933–1979*, which was adopted by the City of San Francisco in 2005.³¹ One explanation for this dearth of thematic surveys associated with underrepresented communities is economic. Surveys working with limited funds can cover a far larger swath of a city when they are only evaluating the physical style and condition of buildings, which means that many places surveyed have not been evaluated for their association with important events, historic patterns and people, let alone the histories of immigrants, working-class neighborhoods, and other communities traditionally “marginal” to mainstream preservation.

Projects attempting to go beyond local history in this arena have been few and far between. In 2004, the National

Trust for Historic Preservation launched an African American Historic Places Initiative with Ford Foundation support that created an African American Historic Places database of over 7,000 sites. The information was gathered from various landmark lists, historic site directories, walking tour brochures, and recommendations from state and local preservation offices.³² Although the database is no longer accessible on the Trust website, an earlier search found that California was minimally represented in the inventory and that most of the sites included were taken from a publication on the work of Los Angeles-based African American architect Paul R. Williams. A more systematic approach to a statewide inventory of sites associated with an ethnic community is the California Japanese American Community Leadership Council's *Preserving California's Japantowns* project (directed by the author), which conducted WWII surveys of nearly fifty pre-WWII Japanese American communities across the state. Using directories published by community newspapers, *Preserving California's Japantowns* covered over three thousand sites across California and identified over nine hundred potential historic resources.³³

While few statewide surveys have been undertaken, California State Parks outlined an ambitious plan for telling a more complete history of all Californians in its 2010 *History Plan*. At the 2002 California Cultural Summit, California State Parks Director Ruth Coleman vowed to update the

thirty-year-old California History Plan. Subsequent meetings established the need for a “gap analysis” to identify the untold or underrepresented stories in order to foster a more complete understanding of California’s past.³⁴ The resulting 2010 *History Plan: Telling the Stories of Californians* established a thematic framework based on approaches developed by the National Historic Landmark program of the National Park Service and the Canadian National Historic Sites Program that recognizes the “complexity and interwoven nature of people, time and places.”³⁵ The eight themes are: Understanding Cultural Identity, Interacting with the Environment, Living in Communities, Evolving Economies, Governing, Supporting Society, Applying Invention and Innovation, and Expressing Intellectual and Cultural Ideas. The document used a wide variety of State Park resources to illustrate these themes, with careful attention to recognizing diverse communities.

State Parks staff surveyed cultural heritage experts from many public agencies to identify which themes and categories in the Framework were underrepresented at publicly owned historic sites and interpretive programs. The survey concluded that California history is presented in a geographically imbalanced pattern with some areas holding “an abundance” of museums, historic sites, and archives, while others were severely lacking. It also noted the overrepresentation of subjects such as the Mission and Gold

Rush eras, along with upper- and middle-class, 19th-century domestic life.³⁶ The greatest needs identified for both acquiring historic resources and interpretation were in the categories of “Changing Populations” and “Agriculture,” areas of state history directly connected to the experiences of the diverse communities that have shaped California and are the focus of this report.³⁷

Another fertile intersection of local preservation and underrepresented communities in California can be found in the relatively large number of communities that have sought recognition through the federal Preserve America program. Twenty-six counties, cities, and neighborhoods across California are Preserve America communities, recognized by the White House for their efforts to “protect and celebrate their heritage, use their historic assets for economic development and community revitalization, and encourage people to experience and appreciate local historic resources through education and heritage tourism programs.”³⁸ Nearly half of California’s thirty-seven Preserve America communities celebrate aspects of local history related to specific ethnic, racial, or cultural groups.³⁹ Los Angeles’ list of five Asian Pacific Islander Preserve America communities is notable not just for their designation, but also for its coordinated marketing and community development program connecting Chinatown, Little Tokyo, Koreatown, Thai Town and Historic Filipinotown.⁴⁰

Despite efforts such as these, the overwhelming majority of designated historic sites in California were not recognized for their connection to social or cultural aspects of state history, but instead were based on their architectural style and visual qualities. According to National Park Service records, of the 2,535 California listings on the National Register of Historic Places, more than three-quarters were designated for their architecture or engineering.⁴¹ Further analysis of listings on the California and National Registers can be found in Chapter Five of this report.

Research for this study included a preliminary analysis of designated sites in California's ten largest cities (by population) to gain a snapshot of how the relationship between historic preservation and underrepresented communities plays out at the local level. Although on-site research in each city was beyond the scope of this project, most cities publish their inventories of landmarks online. Unfortunately they are often quite cryptic and generally limited to address, construction date, designation date, assessor's parcel number and sometimes architectural style or name of designer. Which aspect(s) of significance contributed to a given designation was not often easy to determine, and as several city staff members pointed out, it is true that many sites designated for their architectural significance are also important for aspects of social and cultural history. Communication with staff was necessary to begin to understand additional areas of significance in these designations and

revealed that, although some cities improve on the meager statistics for state and federal designations associated with ethnic/racial history and women's history, California's local landmark programs appear to mirror the National and California Register patterns—most landmarks are recognized for the architectural significance.

Of Bakersfield's fourteen landmarks, just two—China Alley and the Women's Club—reflect any aspect of ethnic/racial or women's history.⁴³ The cities of Anaheim and Long Beach recently adopted historic preservation plans that place their primary focus



Milford Wayne Donaldson (right) former State Historic Preservation Officer and chairman of the Federal Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, presents a certificate designating Los Angeles' Historic Filipinotown as a Preserve America Community to Ben Marte, co-chairman of the Pilipino American Network and Advocacy, at Unidad Park in 2012. Photo: My HiFi.

on architectural style and design elements.⁴² The majority of designated resources in Anaheim are made up of homes in two historic districts recognized for their physical characteristics, according to Greg Hastings, Redevelopment Manager for the City of Anaheim. A new Historic Preservation Plan, adopted in 2010, outlines procedures and policies for Anaheim that recognize broad historic themes such as agriculture, industry and tourism, but are most specific about the visual and stylistic qualities that merit designation. Long Beach's Historic Preservation element of its General Plan, also adopted in 2010, is somewhat more inclusive of social and cultural history. The element's historic context statement includes ten pages of "Ethnographic Context" and seventy-six pages devoted to architects, architectural styles, builders, and developers.

Approximately twenty of San Jose's 203 individual landmarks and historic districts are associated with women's and ethnic/racial community history.⁴⁴ These include relatively unusual resources such as the cabins of migrant workers, a Japanese American midwifery (which burned down since it was designated), and the home of Tommie Smith, whose Black Power salute at the 1968 Olympic

The overwhelming majority of designated historic sites in California were not recognized for their connection to social or cultural aspects of state history, but instead were based on their architectural style and visual qualities.

Games drew international attention.⁴⁵ Oakland has 150 individual sites and districts on its list of designated landmarks. Communication with Betty Marvin, longtime planner with the City of Oakland's Cultural Heritage Survey,

helped identify the approximately twenty individual resources that reflect the focus of this report, which included homes of prominent women and Jewish families, a Japanese Buddhist church, and a cotton mill associated with Portuguese American workers and other European immigrants. The designation for Franklin Delano Roosevelt's yacht, the *Potomac*, includes its elevator and other access features, representing one of the few landmarks that explicitly reference people with disabilities. Six individual resources and two historic districts represent Oakland's

prominent African American population. At ten percent or greater, the inventories of both San Jose and Oakland hold a higher proportion of sites associated with underrepresented histories than either the California or National Registers.

Fresno's inventory of 231 sites was harder to quantify, but includes resources associated with a wide variety of ethnic/racial groups including immigrants from Armenia, Russia, China, Japan, Mexico and the Basque region of Spain. According to Karana Hattersley-Drayton, Historic



This handsome home designed by famed architect Julia Morgan was the Oakland residence of Chinese immigrant entrepreneur and philanthropist, Joe Shoong. It is a City of Oakland landmark. Photo: Donna Graves.

Preservation Manager for the City of Fresno, “ethnic and cultural history is a very important part of our concern and preservation mission here in Fresno.” In the last decade, the City commissioned a historic context on the multi-ethnic neighborhood of Germantown and a survey of Fresno’s Chinatown, also a diverse area, which included an oral history component with interviews representing the nine ethnic communities that have contributed to the neighborhood.⁴⁶ In 2008, the City Planning and Development Department published *Architecture, Ethnicity and Historic Landscapes of California’s San Joaquin Valley*, edited by Hattersly-Drayton.

Both Sacramento and San Diego have over one thousand designated resources, including contributors to historic districts. Planning staff from each city explained that understanding any connections to social history, particularly the histories of women, people of color, etc., would take digging through individual files. But each was able to describe a handful of designated landmarks. Roberta Deering, Historic Preservation Planner for the City of Sacramento, reported that some listed properties reflect Chinese, Portuguese, and African American history. She wrote that the City is searching for funding to update and expand historic context statements and to better “document contributions from the various ethnic/racial/LGBTQ communities that helped build Sacramento.”⁴⁷

The majority of San Diego’s designated resources are architecturally-based, with a significant number associated with a list of “master architects” developed and maintained by the City. Yet in 1980, the City designated Chicano Park a local landmark—a bold move given its oppositional political significance and that the historic events it reflected had happened only in the preceding decade. A Chinese Asian Historic District was adopted in 1987, and several Asian American resources in the Historic Gaslamp District are listed. More recently, Center City Development, a City partner in development for downtown San Diego, conducted a 2004 study of African American heritage.⁴⁸ In April 2012,



Fresno's Buddhist Church served the Japanese American community for over a century. It has local landmark status, but its future is uncertain since a new church was built further out of town. Photo: Preserving California's Japantowns.

Heller Corner was nominated by a labor union and designated as a historic site associated with free speech. Despite these landmarks of social history, City of San Diego Planning staff conveyed that generally, the Historical Resources Board is reluctant to designate sites for significance other than architectural merit.

A recent nomination brought to the San Diego Historic Preservation Board highlights this tendency, which is a significant issue in many local landmarking processes. Recently, the owners of a 1905 home commissioned a landmark nomination revealing that the original residents,

Alice Lee and Katherine Teats, were prominent women who listed themselves as domestic partners on the U.S. Census—“the first known lesbian couple who were civic leaders during the progressive era in San Diego.”⁴⁹ Sarai Johnson, who researched and wrote the nomination for the building owners, said the board voted to accept the nomination based only on its design by famed architect Irving Gill and Hazel Wood Waterman, another local “master architect.” Johnson described the board’s decision as contentious, but not a reflection of homophobia. Instead, she feels the board has difficulty understanding and recognizing significance for social and cultural histories apart from architecture. The Lee House was ultimately designated under Criterion B, which recognizes significant persons, but for Irving Gill and Hazel Wood Waterman, rather than Alice Lee and Katherine Teats’s civic leadership and their documented domestic partnership.⁵⁰

One possible explanation for the heavy reliance on architectural significance in San Diego’s landmark process stems from one of the state’s preservation incentive tools. San Diego has a relatively high number of Mills Act contracts, a tax incentive administered at the local level for the preservation, rehabilitation, and maintenance of qualified historic properties. The program is one of the very few significant incentives available to California homeowners as well as for-profit entities, and according to M. Wayne Donaldson, California’s former State Historic Preservation



The San Diego home of Alice Lee and Katherine Teats was nominated as a city landmark in part for its significance as the residence of a prominent same-sex couple, but designated solely for its architecture. Photo: Johnson & Johnson Architecture Collection.

Officer, helps account for the over forty percent of California's National Register listings that are driven by economic factors.⁵¹ San Diego's program has been so popular that consultants offer homeowners combined landmark designation and Mills Act contract assistance to help them efficiently realize property tax savings.⁵² Because applications based on architectural significance are easier to research and develop, it may be that the San Diego Landmarks Board is simply more familiar and comfortable with arguments

for a property's physical, rather than social, significance.⁵³

If the Alice Lee House had been designated for its relation to lesbian history, it would have been only the fifth landmark in the state reflecting any aspect of LGBTQ heritage. Not surprisingly, San Francisco has two sites designated for LGBTQ history—Harvey Milk's camera store on Castro Street and the office for the Names Quilt Project (the other two are in Los Angeles). In total, San Francisco, which has one of California's first city landmark programs, currently holds 262 individually designated resources and eleven historic districts. In 2010, the city's Historic Preservation Commission requested that staff evaluate the state of the city's landmarks to identify trends related to existing landmarks and to assess areas where important aspects of the city's history had been underrepresented. The staff report stated that, rather than cultural or historical significance, "the vast majority of landmarks were evaluated and designated based on architectural associations." The report went on, "Typically... landmarks represent intact, high-style design, rather than vernacular architecture." Residential structures make up nearly a third of San Francisco landmarks and the overwhelming majority of these are large, single-family houses. The very small number associated with underrepresented histories includes two significant to African American history, two associated with labor organizing, one with Japanese American history (although the nomination was primarily for architecture), and the two previ-

ously mentioned resources significant to LGBTQ history.⁵⁴ The San Francisco Landmarks Commission and staff are clearly working to expand the range of designated properties—in 2011 the Commission voted on a work plan for staff to develop nominations for eighteen individual properties and three districts. Seven of the individual sites on the work plan are associated with the histories of labor, LGBTQ, African American, Jewish, or Swedish communities, or people with disabilities.⁵⁵



Designed by African American architect James Dodd for one of Sacramento's oldest black congregations, Shiloh Baptist Church has been nominated as a local landmark and to the National Register. Photo: California Office of Historic Preservation.

The City of Los Angeles adopted its cultural heritage ordinance in 1962, making it one of the earliest local historic preservation programs in the nation. More than 1,000 properties are designated as Historic Cultural Monuments and there are currently twenty-nine Historic Preservation Overlay Zones. Perusal of the list of Historic Cultural Monuments shows scattered resources related to Native American, African American, Chinese American, Japanese American, Korean American, Filipino American, Jewish and women's history.⁵⁶ In 2008 and 2010, the city designated two sites associated with LGBTQ history; the Black Cat Tavern, where gay protests against police abuse took place in 1967 (pre-dating the far more renowned Stonewall riot in New York), and the home of Harry Hay, an early leader of the gay rights movement. A particularly notable designation is for Manzanar War Relocation Center, 230 miles away in the remote Owens Valley and the site where Japanese Americans from Los Angeles were incarcerated during WWII. The property was owned by the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power at the time of its designation in 1973.⁵⁷

The City of Los Angeles' Office of Historic Resources is currently overseeing its first citywide survey of architectural, historical, and cultural resources titled SurveyLA. The President of the National Trust for Historic Preservation recently lauded SurveyLA for "raising the bar for inclusive,

large-scale surveys and demonstrating what is possible.”⁵⁸ It is certainly the most ambitious and comprehensively planned historic resource survey ever undertaken in California and at 466 square miles and over 880,000 parcels this is one of the largest and most ambitious surveys carried out in the United States. Based on a feasibility study funded by the Getty Conservation Institute, the City entered into a multi-year \$2.5 million matching grant agreement with the J. Paul Getty Trust to implement the citywide survey.⁵⁹ Field surveys began in 2010 after an initial phase that developed and tested survey tools and methods. SurveyLA has begun to post survey findings for specific areas and plans to mount a searchable database in 2013.

Conversations with members of the SurveyLA Review Committee, consulting preservation professionals, and with Janet Hansen, Deputy Manager of the Office of Historic Resources, provide a picture of how the process can capture sites associated with underrepresented communities. SurveyLA's long-term approach, its use of new technologies, and deployment of various strategies for community engagement have allowed for a flexible structure that will enable continual revision to the survey findings and ultimately promises a more inclusive result that captures a broader range of resources. For example, the relationship between the historic context statement and the survey will be an ongoing process, permitting additional sites and property

types to be identified into the future. Developing SurveyLA's Historic Context Statement has been an enormous and complex process. The California Office of Historic Preservation, which consulted on the project, advises that historic context statements be prepared prior to, or early on, in a survey process so that the identification of potential historic resources is guided by a well-thought-out framework and sound research. In practice, the development of surveys and context statements often happen simultaneously due to time and budget constraints. Janet Hansen described SurveyLA's Historic Context Statement as having a particularly strong “chicken and egg” relationship to the survey. When Hansen shared the SurveyLA historic context statement outline with the author in October 2011, it ran to ten pages and had nine major contexts with over two hundred sub-contexts and sub-themes. Although surveys had begun, most of the context statements were not completed.

SurveyLA engaged professional preservation firms to conduct neighborhood-level surveys using background research and field inspections from the public right-of-way, standard preservation processes that do not always yield full information on the social and cultural significance of properties. A custom mobile application was developed for SurveyLA, with pre-loaded computer tablets holding maps, aerial photos, eligibility standards from the historic context statement, and information known about designated, previously surveyed and potentially significant historic

sites.⁶⁰ Lauren Weiss Bricker, a professor of architecture and historic preservation at Cal Poly Pomona and member of the Survey Review Committee, acknowledged that the committee has frequently discussed what they fear is over-reliance on original building permits and assessor's records as a primary resource for surveyors, "It's very much on everyone's minds that these sources don't reveal much about many demographics."

Yet the flexibility built into the SurveyLA process points to a product that may yield a remarkably comprehensive survey. Brinker described the development of the historic context statement as beginning with the question "What are the most inclusive ways we can organize this data?"⁶¹ Broad, chronologically-based contexts and numerous sub-themes were seen as the best way to reflect Los Angeles's dizzyingly complex built environment. Yet SurveyLA's thinking about the best strategy for capturing aspects of Los Angeles's ethnic history appears to have shifted. In October 2011, Hansen stated that although the project team and advisors had discussed ethnic-specific context statements, they would not be part of the SurveyLA process. Instead, she explained that sub-themes such as civil rights, religion, social clubs and ethnic enclaves would capture associations with sites important to ethnic/racial communities, women and other underrepresented groups. However, SurveyLA sought and received funding in 2012 from the California Office of

Historic Preservation to develop a historic context for Chinese American resources and Hansen recently described the project's goal to add contexts for resources associated with the histories of women, Japanese Americans, Korean Americans, Filipino Americans, the LGBTQ community and more.⁶²

Hansen described SurveyLA's efforts at community outreach as an important challenge and an opportunity to use new strategies for connecting the survey process to a range of Angelenos and their heritage. SurveyLA has created a speakers bureau to present the project at community meetings and invite comments about places that matter. SurveyLA promises to flag community-generated sites and evaluate them as part of the survey process. SurveyLA staff and a Public Participation Committee developed a MyHistoricLA Guide to assist volunteers in working with residents to go beyond obvious architectural significance and to document community stories. The guide poses questions that situate historic resources within the cultural and economic life of the neighborhood, such as: "Which areas should remain free of new development? Which structures should be renovated and put to a new use? Are there original intact neighborhoods or individual locations of cultural and historic significance that people would like to know more about? How can historic resources attract investment in your community?"⁶³

A multi-media and multi-lingual website, MyHistoricLA, was launched with support from a California Office of Historic Preservation grant to “spark a community wide discussion” and solicit additional information about historic sites from a broader public. A SurveyLA blog has created an informal chronicle of the project written by interns and volunteers. Prompted by questions such as “What religious sites have shaped the history of Los Angeles?” and “Where can we find club houses or meeting halls important to the history of Los Angeles?” visitors to the MyHistoricLA website have suggested 148 ideas for historic places as of July 2012. The questions that solicited the most responses asked for “your favorite historical place” (seventy-

eight responses) and food-related historic sites (twenty-nine responses). The question “what places are important to Los Angeles’ LGBTQ history” received just three ideas.⁶⁴ Although these numbers probably fall far short of the SurveyLA team’s goals, the community engagement project as a whole is impressive for its multiple and creative strategies to enlist the perspectives of Los Angeles residents in shaping the survey results. As Survey Review Committee member Lauren Weiss Bricker reflected, “I can’t say that SurveyLA is perfect, but it is pretty extraordinary.” Although it is doubtful that any other city in California will be able to amass the resources that have made SurveyLA possible, surely there will be multiple tools and strategies developed and tested that come out of the survey that will support efforts elsewhere to create a more in-depth and inclusive foundation for identifying and documenting historic resources.



This residence, designed by prominent African American architect Paul Williams, was identified by SurveyLA as the home of actor/comedian Eddie “Rochester” Anderson. Photo: SurveyLA, Office of Historic Resources, City of Los Angeles.

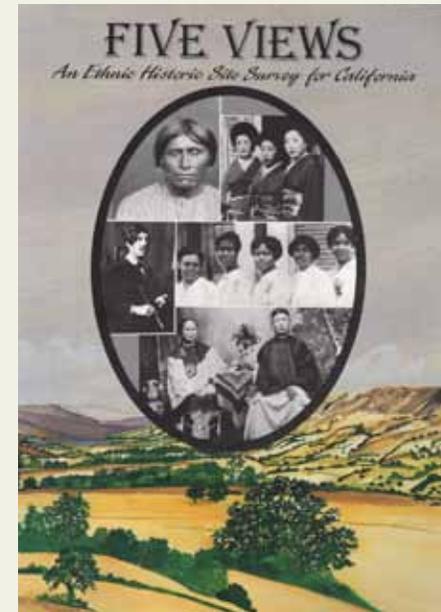
CHAPTER THREE

Looking Back at *Five Views*

Five Views: An Ethnic Historic Site Survey for California was published by the California Department of Parks and Recreation Office of Historic Preservation in 1988 and has been available for some years as an e-book on the National Park Service website.⁶⁵ For many people committed to diversifying the field of historic preservation, *Five Views* is a foundational document. Anthea Hartig, Executive Director of the California Historical Society and former Regional Director for the National Trust for Historic Preservation's Western Regional Office, calls *Five Views* "our New Testament and a source of continued inspiration, but it is also a historic document now like the writings of Lewis Mumford or Jane Jacobs."⁶⁶

This study is the first attempt to understand the impacts of *Five Views* and to determine what happened to the over five-hundred surveyed sites it documented. Commissioned by the California Office of Historic Preservation (OHP) with funds from the National Park Service, *Five Views* identified and documented sites researched by teams who developed inventories of places important to the histories of Native Americans, African Americans, Chinese Americans, Japanese Americans and Mexican Americans in California. These groups were selected for study because they were the

First published by the California Department of Parks and Recreation Office of Historic Preservation in 1988, Five Views: An Ethnic Historic Site Survey for California is now available on the National Park Service website.



largest so-called "ethnic minority" populations in the decades after the Gold Rush and California's establishment as a state.

The purpose of *Five Views* is lucidly described in the publication's foreword:

This survey was originally conceived in order to broaden the spectrum of ethnic community participation in historic preservation activities and to provide better information on ethnic history and associated sites. This information will help planners identify and evaluate ethnic properties, which have generally been underrepresented on historic property surveys. Most surveys record architecturally distinguished or widely known buildings, but ethnic properties are often modest structures or important because of people or events



less familiar to many. Most of all, the public needed the opportunity to become more aware of California's cultural diversity and its tangible manifestations on the land.⁶⁷

In interviews conducted for this report, former staff members from the Office of Historic Preservation recalled meetings where they discussed the lack of survey work reflecting communities of color being done in California and their desire to direct the focus of work in the field to address those shortcomings. Established in 1975, the Office had been in existence just a few years and staff's keen interest in crafting an expansive and inclusive state inventory program is both commendable and reflective of 1970s culture. According to Nadine Hata's book on historic preservation in California, an application for funding an "Ethnic Minority Sites Survey" was originally sent to the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development in 1976.⁶⁸ When that failed, the OHP approached the National Park Service, which agreed that a portion of the annual allocation of monies from the federal Historic Preservation Fund could be used to fund a survey of this type. The OHP then recruited qualified professionals and entered into separate contracts with individuals and teams to complete surveys for the different ethnic/racial groups. The OHP staff member Dwight Dutschke remembered some debate about whether to go with a "unified approach or separate teams," and being convinced by the proposals that were submitted to work with teams. "Each one brought something different

to the mix," he recalled. "We ended up with five uniquely different views of the world, and five uniquely different ways of presenting those views to the world."⁶⁹ The majority of site research for *Five Views* was conducted between 1979–1980; eight years later the final publication included essays on the history of each group by the research team and condensed profiles of about one-quarter of the inventoried sites.

The essays written for each section of the publication, as well as examination of the documentation sheets for each site, demonstrate the scholar teams' use of extensive community consultation to establish the most important themes, identify sites and gather documentation for their work—not the typical historic preservation process for that time. Gene Itogawa, one of the Office of Historic Preservation staff who managed the *Five Views* project, recalled encouraging the research teams to go "out in the field" to document sites using oral histories, local archives, and family photo albums.⁷⁰ Although the OHP had a preliminary list of historic resources that was shared with the project teams, the researchers were allowed to craft their process for site selection and their findings as they saw fit. As the final publication stated "The authors of each survey expressed their own views, and although the report has been edited for clarity and consistency, their conclusions have not been revised or altered."⁷¹

The *Five Views* essays point to the ways that the project offered the teams an opportunity to correct and expand the

“We ended up with five uniquely different views of the world, and five uniquely different ways of presenting those views to the world.”

—Dwight Dutschke

historical record that had shaped public understanding of their communities’ histories. The Native American inventory includes the State Capitol and Yosemite, brave attempts to re-inscribe Indian heritage into two of California’s most prominent icons. The Mexican American team consciously focused on places important to Latino history from the late 19th century to what was then the very recent past, in pointed contrast to the plethora of historic landmarks associated with Spanish settlement and early California history at that time (and frankly even today). Antonia Castañeda, who worked on the Mexican American *Five Views* team while a doctoral student, recalled “We wanted the state to understand that Mexican American history went beyond 1848.”⁷² Nancy Wey, who surveyed Chinese American sites, began her essay with the decision to concentrate on the early period of Chinese American settlement from 1850–1900. Wey believed those decades were a priority and that focusing research on them could uncover “true settlement patterns, occupations, lifestyles, responses to discrimination and survival of early Chinese immigrants.” By documenting these aspects of 19th-century Chinese

American history, *Five Views* would serve as a corrective to stereotypes about Chinese immigrants that lingered from that time and were still being repeated.⁷³

Each collection of *Five Views* sites offered fascinating and distinct perspectives on the histories of these communities. For example, the African American list included the highest proportion of residential sites that were associated



The important role of Chinese American labor in the establishment of California’s wine industry was illustrated by Napa Valley’s Beringer Brothers winery. The Beringers hired Chinese workers to build the winery and dig tunnels into limestone hills.
Photo: ©sanfranman59/Wikimedia Commons/ CC-BY-SA-2.5/GFDL.

with community leaders and people of remarkable achievement such as Los Angeles' Biddy Mason, John Scott's

Ranch in Red Bluff or Santa Cruz's Loudon Nelson—all former slaves who became landowners and philanthropists. Twenty-eight of the 105 African American sites were resources, primarily homes, associated with individuals. Healthy proportions of residential properties also appear on the Chinese and Japanese American lists, but they are primarily associated with Japantown and Chinatown neighborhoods, not individual leaders. The African American list was also strong on community institutions, with ten schools and ten churches.

As might be anticipated, murals and agricultural sites were numerous on the Mexican American list. San Diego's Chicano Park was recognized as a location for cultural production of outstanding murals, but also as the place where residents of historic Barrio



Described by Five Views as perhaps "the only extant nineteenth century AMEZ [African Methodist Episcopal Zion] church in the state," this is the oldest structure in Redding. Photo: Marilyn Rountree.

Logan staked a claim to their neighborhood in the face of what the research team described as victimization by "progress, pollution and physical destruction." This team documented many sites of campaigns for land rights, workers rights, and education. Another notable theme of the Mexican American inventory was the importance of the Spanish language press. Both themes are reflected by the inclusion of the Silver Dollar Café where a sheriff's deputy killed journalist Ruben Salazar during the 1970 Chicano Moratorium march against the Vietnam War. As a whole, the inventory challenged the romantic, picturesque image of Mexican American history created by the contemporary



San Diego's Chicano Park was created by the community's resistance to plans for a parking lot where a park had been promised. This mural depicts the twelve-day occupation to acquire the state land for the development of a community park. Photo: Todd Stands.

inventory of landmarks with places that reflect a complex and often contentious past.

The Native American inventory included early settlement sites and numerous places significant for spiritual and traditional cultural practices. But the list also held the Indian servants' quarters at Sonoma State Park and several battle sites associated with attempted erasure of Indian communities, such as Captain Jack's Stronghold in Lava Beds National Monument and Bloody Island in Lake County. This theme of countering colonization of Indian people and land continued as the Native American team included the Lake County Courthouse, where Native American voting rights were won in 1917 and several sites related to 20th-century land claims cases, such as meeting halls in El Dorado and Plumas Counties, where fundraising dances were held. The team also included Alcatraz Island on their inventory on the basis of the still quite recent occupation of the island by the American Indian Movement. While the contributions of women were "not an over-riding consideration" for the development of *Five Views* according to OHP staff member Dwight Dutschke, who also worked on the Native American inventory research, a number of sites drew attention to women leaders.⁷⁴ The Native American inventory included the modest Sacramento home of educator and activist, Marie Potts, who founded the Federated Indians of California and published *Smoke Signal*, one of the earliest



In 1915, Ethan Anderson, a Pomo Indian, was refused the right to register to vote at the Lake County Courthouse, prompting a lawsuit that won the rights of citizenship for all Native Americans living outside of reservations. Photo: Alvis Hendley.

Native Californian newsletters.

The mostly 19th-century Chinese American inventory recalled early settlement and labor camps, as well as places where Chinese immigrants fished, coaxed hostile terrain



Hilltop Tavern was a central gathering place for Bay Area Native Americans from the 1930s through the 1970s. The Five Views research describes it as "the location of the first American Indian Movement (AIM) meetings in the Bay Area and...an organizing point for the Alcatraz takeover in 1969." Photo: Donna Graves.

into cultivation, outfitted other settlers, worked in mines, in vineyards, and on railroads. Nine cemeteries and eleven temples were documented, as were numerous places where Chinese immigrants ran commercial enterprises. Many sites recalled the strong economic connection between the United States and China, when immigration and trade addressed America's growing need for labor, goods, and resources prior to the completion of the transcontinental railroad or the establishment of California's own timber and quarrying industries. Three sites were recognized for their use of both Chinese immigrant labor and building

materials; China supplied wood and stone that was used to erect buildings such as the Calaveras County Courthouse, San Francisco's Parrott Block and the Butte Store in Amador County.

Alongside twenty churches, the Japanese American inventory included four hospitals built by immigrant doctors who were not allowed privileges in white facilities. A mortuary and hospital on the African American inventory point to a similar need to create settings in which professionals could provide services to their own communities. Three sites were identified where Japanese Americans challenged the Alien Land Laws that prevented them and other Asian immigrants from owning property in California. Two were empty lots: the Sei Fujii property in Los Angeles and the Oyama property in San Diego. But the Harada House in Riverside still stands as testament to a family's tenacious refusal to accept the 1913 Alien Land Law's restrictions on where they could live and raise their children. Manzanar War Relocation Center and Tule Lake Segregation Center, two of America's WWII concentration camps, represent a property type specific to Japanese Americans. The *Five Views* project took place as national efforts to bring this shameful chapter of U.S. history to light were gaining ground and bills to create the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians were being introduced in U.S. Congress.



Built by the Nishiura brothers in 1910, the Kuwabara Hospital was established to serve San Jose's Japantown. The Japanese Americans Citizens League maintains it today as Issei Memorial Building. Photo: Leslie Masunaga.

Only a few records on the *Five Views* inventory made explicit connections *between* various communities, yet several themes were shared across the five groups. Many of the sites remind us of the contributions made by each of these communities to the development of agriculture, extractive industries and to building the 19th-century infrastructure that allowed California to become a 20th-century economic giant. The dreadful history of segregated education was reflected in four of the five inventories, with several sites remembered for the struggles of parents from El Centro to Redding to gain equal access to education for their children. Only the Chinese American list did not include a segregated school, probably because the early decades of Chinese immigration to the United States, Wey's focus, were subject to legal restrictions that had created a primarily "bachelor" society. All of the inventories included places associated with often blatant discrimination and racially motivated violence. Several of the Chinese American and Mexican American sites recalled wholesale attacks on neighborhoods by white mobs that often resulted in residents being burned out of their homes.⁷⁵ The fatal impact of incidental and institutionalized racism was reflected in various sites, from the place where approximately nineteen Chinese immigrants were killed by a white mob in downtown Los Angeles, to the Durgan Bridge in Downieville where a woman only known as "Juanita" was lynched, to the locations of



*This school in Florin served only Asian American students after 1923; white students attended a newer school on the west side of town.
Photo: Preserving California's Japantowns.*

20th-century confrontations that brought mortal consequences to striking workers.

The many sites linked to struggles for land, political and civil rights make it easy to read a contemporary activist agenda into *Five Views*. The inventory form for Santa Rosa Rancheria concludes that “The historical significance of Santa Rosa should serve as a reminder that genocide of California Indians took many forms, some under the guise of benevolence, but all continued through 1980.”⁷⁶ Several of the *Five Views* creators were scholar-activists who had shaped and were shaped by recent civil rights struggles

“This was the era of affirmative action, political ferment and energy. It was a project we could do outside of academia that used those energies. We had license and we took it.”

—Antonia Casañeda

and the campaigns to establish ethnic studies departments. They saw in *Five Views* an opportunity to connect scholarship to community organization and development. As scholar Antonia Castañeda reflected, “This was the era of affirmative action, political ferment and energy. It was a project we could do outside of academia that used those energies. We had license and we took it.”⁷⁷ In sites such as a five-year-old mural that the *Five Views* research linked to efforts to suppress gang violence, the Mexican American inventory displayed the most conscious effort to connect cultural heritage with contemporary issues.

The places that comprised *Five Views* hold powerful, poignant, inspiring and surprising histories that are still unknown to most Californians. Unfortunately, the survey did not provide the basis for subsequent efforts to systematically produce landmark nominations at the local, state or federal level. Assessing the status of the *Five Views* sites for this report was conducted in collaboration with Hugh Rowland,

and required going beyond the 1988 publication, which included detailed descriptions for only about one-quarter of the inventoried sites. Sally Torpy, coordinator for the North Central California Historical Resources Information System office at California State University Sacramento, graciously shared copies of the original inventory sheets for nearly all of the *Five Views* sites. The exceptions were forty-nine of the 102 Native American sites whose location and/or information are considered sensitive and are not made public. Joseph McDole, State Historian II in the Office of Historic Preservation's Information Management Unit, provided additional information. The Office of Historic Preservation maintains the Historic Resources Inventory (HRI) as a statewide list of historical resources identified and evaluated through federal and state programs managed by the OHP. McDole's data from the HRI included information about all of the evaluations and determinations of *Five Views* sites known to the OHP.⁷⁸ Web research was conducted to verify if sites had received any designations at the local level that were not captured by the OHP inventory. Despite our best efforts, we could not always ascertain whether a site that was listed subsequent to the *Five Views* publication was completed in recognition of the ethnic/racial heritage aspect of significance identified by the research teams. Finally, we used Google Earth to confirm the survival of resources and to conduct a cursory assessment of integrity. Our data on the *Five Views* sites is available in Appendix A.

As we have combed through all of these sources to see what became of the 505 places that were so thoughtfully identified and researched, the findings have been somewhat disheartening. (Note that our statistics are incomplete for the Native American sites because full site information on about half of the resources was unavailable because of location and information sensitivity). By our current calculations, thirty-one of the total *Five Views* sites have been

More than ten percent of the African American sites identified in *Five Views* have been razed.

demolished since its publication.⁷⁹ More than ten percent of the African American sites have been razed. Perhaps naively, we had expected to find that the *Five Views* publication would have led to more of these places gaining some level of designation or formal recognition. In fact, forty-two of the total sites included in the *Five Views* inventory were already listed on the National Register when the project research was conducted, and only twenty-four of them, or less than five per cent, were placed on the National Register following the book's publication. OHP staff shared that they had assumed *Five Views* would be the first of a series of statewide projects to identify, document and designate under-represented histories, but that the state budget had begun to

contract by the time the first effort was published.⁸⁰

Ten of the over 500 sites in the *Five Views* inventory have received National Historic Landmark (NHL) designation—the highest level of designation in the federal program. Four are designated for their associations with Japanese American history: Manzanar War Relocation Center designated in 1976, Little Tokyo Historic District designated in 1986, the Harada House designated in 1990, and Tule Lake Segregation Center designated in 2006. The Locke National Historic Landmark District, designated in 1990, is associated with Chinese American history. Angel Island Immigration Station, designated in 1997, is associated with both Chinese American and Japanese American history, as well as those of other immigrant groups. The Forty Acres, which appeared on the *Five Views* Mexican American inventory and was designated a NHL in 2008, is clearly associated with Latino history, while the New Almaden NHL District, also on the Mexican American inventory and designated in 1962, appears to have been primarily designated for a period of significance when Anglo entrepreneurs took over from the Mexican miners who founded the quicksilver operation in the years before the Gold Rush. Two sites that appear on the Native American *Five Views* list are NHLs—Alcatraz Island and Sonoma State Historic Park, designated in 1976 and 1992 respectively— although their designation was not for aspects of significance highlighted by the *Five*

Views researchers. None of the *Five Views* sites associated with African American history have been designated NHLs.

Conclusions

So what happened? What can we glean from this double erasure—first, from the way that the public memory and meaning attached to most of these places has been obscured, and secondly, from the weak impact of the wonderful bringing-back-to-light that the *Five Views* project attempted? *Five Views* is, as Hartig stated, now a historic document that can be analyzed as a record from its time—an era when the historic preservation field was growing and many were raising their voices to call for a more inclusive understanding of the history of California and the nation. Yet reviewing the goals of the entire *Five Views* project and its results reveal both the continued relevance of the undertaking as well as, sadly, its disheartening results. Many of the questions raised in *Five Views* still linger and are only underscored by the continued, marked underrepresentation of historic sites relevant to communities of color among the list of formally recognized landmarks.

One factor in the relatively weak aftermath of *Five Views* is the continued lack of respect and resources accorded to places that reflect the histories of working-class communities and people of color. The physical modesty of

Modest buildings can be invisible not only to outsiders but even sometimes to the people whose heritage they hold.

many of the resources reinforces this tendency. In describing the discriminatory environment in which African American workers created a community in Placer County's Forest Hills, *Five Views* author Eleanor Ramsey wrote in 1980 "The built environment portrays the Community's economic status quite clearly. Permanent homes built after the mill was completed are referred to by the locals as "the shacks." These modest vernacular structures collectively built by Black workers varied widely in the quality of construction."⁸¹ Modest buildings can be invisible not only to outsiders but even sometimes to the people whose heritage they hold. The inventory sheet for Old Kashia Elementary School at the Stewarts Point Indian Rancheria in Sonoma County states that, "perhaps because these memories are so much a part of them, some of the people don't see the historical significance of the building and what it represents."⁸²

The challenges of engaging public interest in and building community support for modest, vernacular buildings is clearly one factor in the aftermath of *Five Views*, but another lies in the fact that approximately one-quarter of the places inventoried were already at the time of the

project's research a "former site of," rather than an extant building, structure, or historic landscape. The California Office of Historic Preservation defines a site as "the location of a significant event, a prehistoric or historic occupation or activity, or a building or structure, whether standing, ruined, or vanished, where the location itself possesses historic, cultural, or archeological value regardless of the value of any existing building, structure, or object."⁸³ Although "the location itself" might clearly be of value, Gene Itogawa recalled that Office of Historic Preservation staff "tried to push the consultants in the direction of finding resources that were suitable for registration, rather than just 'sites of.'"⁸⁴ Many of the places identified by *Five Views* had been demolished and replaced by common racist patterns of urban development. A particularly ironic *Five Views* "former site of" is the area of Santa Barbara that once held the adjacent Chinatown and Japantown. These communities were demolished in the 1960s and replaced by recreated 18th-century structures to produce *El Presidio de Santa Barbara* State Park. Other former sites listed in *Five Views* include the Oakland headquarters of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the home of Maidu artist Frank Day in Butte County, a labor camp of Japanese railroad workers in Richmond, and the Mexican American ghost town of Cerro Gordo mine in Inyo County.

The choice these research teams made to highlight places where the physical history had already been erased



El Presidio de Santa Barbara State Park now occupies the former core of Santa Barbara's Japantown and Chinatowns. This building, which recreates a chapel that last saw worshipers in the 1850s, sits on the former site of the Japanese Buddhist Church. Photo: Preserving California's Japantowns.

is telling, reminding us of the centrality of powerful stories associated with place. It also reinforces the challenge that two issues present for most *Five Views* sites and other modest vernacular places that hold rich histories. One is that of physical integrity—whether it is the former site of an important resource, or a place that has been altered by years of use and reuse—places associated with marginalized communities are rarely pristine representations of the era that mainstream preservationists may define as the period of significance. Standards for physical integrity applied by

many registration programs would exclude a large number of the sites identified by *Five Views*.

Yet a number of the *Five Views* sites actually remain relatively intact, and the second issue they raise, (as well as “former sites of”), is the challenge of conveying their meaning; how can the power of their histories be connected to the places and people today? Interpretive and educational projects are important for many sites and, in fact, *Five Views* included several requests that an existing marker or state park exhibit be revised and expanded to incorporate the additional information from the project’s research.

Interpretation is especially critical for sites whose physical shell doesn’t communicate the power and value of their history. The Hilltop Tavern on Macarthur Avenue in Oakland listed on the Native American inventory is just one of the *Five Views* sites that could teach so much. A relatively anonymous building still standing in a commercial strip in East Oakland, the tavern was noted by the *Five Views* research team as a crucial gathering place for Native Americans, beginning in the 1930s, that grew in significance during the 1950s as numbers of Bay Area Native Americans climbed when the Bureau of Indian Affairs relocation policy took effect. According to the inventory sheet, it was also the location of the first American Indian Movement meeting in the Bay Area and an organizing point for the Alcatraz takeover in 1969.⁸⁵ Google maps show that this site is just around

the corner from Oakland's American Indian High School; imagine what could be accomplished if those students could recover the history of that building for themselves and their community.

The authors of *Five Views* included more than a few sites where the historic significance documented dated to the very recent past which, like questions of physical integrity, would exclude these resources from most designation processes. Sites with Mexican American murals, Native

American schools and a program for Japanese American seniors from the decade preceding publication were, daringly and admirably, all deemed worthy of public recognition. Among the lessons we can learn from *Five Views* is that historic preservation cannot remain solely focused on the distant past, but must continuously mine the present and the recent past for the places that embody the histories we want to transmit to future generations.



The parking lot at right was deemed significant by the Five Views project as the former site of the Oakland headquarters of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Photo: Donna Graves.

CHAPTER FOUR

Considering the California and National Registers

Analyzing the listings on the National Register of Historic Places and California Register of Historical Resources is one, albeit limited, way to understand how California's diverse histories are recognized, honored and protected. The National Register of Historic Places is described by the National Park Service, which oversees the program, as "the official list of the Nation's historic places worthy of preservation." The California Office of Historic Preservation (OHP) explains the purpose of the California Register as "the authoritative guide to the state's significant historical and archeological resources."⁸⁶

Both registers are comprised of buildings, sites, structures, objects and districts deemed significant in the architectural, engineering, scientific, economic, agricultural, educational, social, political, military, and/or cultural annals of California. The National Register does not offer protection from alteration or demolition unless federal funds or actions are involved. The California Register establishes a list of properties that are "to be protected from substantial adverse change" through evaluation of alternatives under the California Environmental Quality Act.⁸⁷ Properties



Stockton's Gurdwara is the oldest Sikh Temple in the United States and is listed on the California Register of Historical Resources. The Temple is celebrating its centennial in 2012. Photo: ©IpSingh/Wikimedia Commons.

listed on these registers may be eligible for tax and other incentive programs such as the Federal Rehabilitation Tax Credit and the California State Historic Building Code. For both, consent of property owner(s) is not required, but the property cannot be listed if the owner(s) objects. While the California Register is more flexible, National Register guidelines require that resources are at least fifty years old (except under extraordinary circumstances) and can include sites, buildings, structures, districts, and objects of local, state, regional and national significance. However, the

number of nominations submitted for buildings and structures that do not meet the “50 year rule” is increasing.

California holds over 16,800 properties listed on National Register, and more than 31,000 listed on California Register. These figures include properties listed individually and/or as contributors to historic districts.⁸⁸ The California Register includes all resources listed in National Register as well as two other forms of state listings, California Historical Landmarks, which are of statewide significance, and local Points of Historical Interest when recommended by the State Historical Resources Commission. Criteria for designation in both programs are virtually identical and cover historic events, broad historic patterns, important individuals, design, and archaeological significance:

Criterion A: Associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of local or regional history or the cultural heritage of California or the United States (California). Associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history (National).

Criterion B: Associated with the lives of persons important to local, California or national history (California). Associated with the lives of persons significant in our past (National).

Criterion C: Embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, region or method of construction or represents the work of a master or possesses high artistic values (California). 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 may lack individual distinction (National).

Criterion D: Has yielded, or has the potential to yield, information important to the prehistory or history of the local area, California or the nation (California). Has yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in history or prehistory (National).

Determining whether resources on both registers have associations with people of color or women and other underrepresented groups is not an exact science. In late 2011, the National Park Service calculated that out of 87,402 listed properties, approximately three percent are explicitly associated with people of color. The following table reflects the ethnic/racial categories used by the National Park Service and the total figures for each group within the National Register.

NPS Ethnic Heritage Areas of Significance

Asian	80
Black	1,742
European	1,149
Hispanic	102
Native American	711
Pacific-Islander	47

An unknown additional number of the listings now on the National Register may reflect the histories of ethnic/racial communities and other underrepresented groups, but documentation for the property was focused on other aspects of significance. According to Carol Shull, Interim Keeper of the National Register of Historic Places, it was not until the mid-1980s that NPS began collecting information about ethnic/racial heritage as aspects of significance. Shull wrote that staff made efforts to go back and mine the Register database to see if previous listings were associated with the ethnic categories for which statistics were maintained, but that these areas have “been used very conservatively since most of our listings are not significant specially for the racial or ethnic affiliations of the people associated with them or with their gender either per se.”⁸⁹ Although it is not clear how NPS would determine when ethnicity, race, or gender rises to the level of special significance, NPS staff believe a more accurate estimate of sites on the National Register associated with people of color would be five to eight percent

if more extensive documentation were available.⁹⁰

The rest of this chapter is devoted to analysis of more detailed data on National and California Register listings from the California Office of Historic Preservation Historic Resources Inventory (HRI). Appendix B of this report includes all of the relevant listings on the California and National Registers. Joseph McDole, State Historian from the Office of Historic Preservation’s Information Management Unit, was extraordinarily helpful in sharing data from the HRI, which varies somewhat from the NPS information. An explanation of what comprises the HRI is useful here. The HRI is maintained by the OHP as a statewide inventory of historical resources identified and evaluated through federal and state programs that are managed by the OHP under the National Historic Preservation Act or the California Public Resources Code. These include:

- Resources evaluated in local government historical resource surveys partially funded through Certified Local Government grants or in surveys which local governments have submitted for inclusion in the statewide inventory;
- Resources evaluated and determinations of eligibility (DOEs) made in compliance with Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act;

- Resources evaluated for federal tax credit certifications;
- Resources considered for listing in the National and California Registers or as California State Landmarks or Points of Historical Interest.

In addition to recording the property name, address, type of review(s) and designation status, the HRI includes information such as architect and builder, and construction start and finish dates when known. The HRI dataset also captures characteristics of the property during its period of significance. These “Historic Attributes” include a long list of property types, such as single-family residence, hotel/motel, theater, community building, canal/aqueduct, and lighthouse, etc.

Although numbering over 200,000 resources, the HRI is not comprehensive. Other historical resource records are developed and maintained by local governments and private interests not connected to the HRI. Additionally, the Native American Heritage Commission maintains a separate Sacred Lands Inventory of information on historical resources.⁹¹ Twelve independent Regional Information Centers collect archaeological and historic resource information reviewed outside of OHP-administered programs. Unfortunately, analyzing data from all of these units was beyond the scope of this study. However, the regional centers may

not even support this type of analysis. Leigh Jordan, coordinator of the Northwest Information Center at Sonoma State University, stated that the database attribute field for the regional centers is not organized by topic or theme, but by location.⁹²

The data analyzed for this study includes all of the HRI listings for sites designated on the California and National Registers with Historic Attribute codes for Ethnic Minority Property and Women’s Property, as well as all properties that appeared under the separate column of Ethnicity. Categories for Ethnicity in the HRI are African American, Asian American, Chinese American, European American, Italian American, Japanese American, Korean American, Hispanic, Native American, and Other. Disparities were identified between the HRI data and other sources such as the National Register on-line database. For example, the HRI data shows the single African American National Register listing for Oakland as the California Hotel, whose ballroom hosted a “who’s who” of prominent African American musicians. The National Register database also lists just one African American site for Oakland, but it is Liberty Hall, former headquarters of the Universal Negro Improvement Association. Although not perfectly complete or consistent, the dataset created for this study yields valuable information about what listings on the California and National Registers tell us about which aspects of California’s heritage have been valued in the physical landscape.



During its heyday, Oakland's California Hotel played a prominent role in the local jazz and blues scenes as host to performances by music legends such as James Brown, Ray Charles, and Billie Holiday. Now serving as affordable housing, the building is one of two National Register listings that reflect Oakland's African American history. Photo: Gelfand Partners.

The following table displays numbers of resources associated with each category listed on the California Register and National Registers as of late 2011 (these often denote the same sites since resources listed on the National Register are automatically listed on the California Register). The total number reflects all evaluated resources in the inventory linked to a particular code, regardless of whether the evaluation determined if the resource was eligible or ineligible for designation.

Listing on the California and National Registers by Ethnicity/Race

HRI Ethnicity Codes	Total	NR	CR
Korean American	4	0	2
Asian American	5	2	2
Italian American	31	12	14
European American	37	3	20
Other	91	21	53
Native American	197	47	61
African American	353	105	183
Chinese American	384	132	147
Japanese American	387	136	160
Latino/Hispanic	441	122	141
TOTAL		580	782

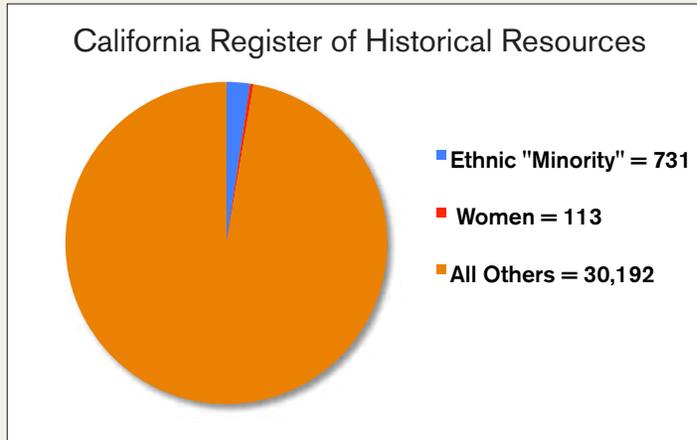


Berkeley's Toverii Tuppa, or Finnish Hall, is one of only twenty-one National Register sites in California listed in the ethnicity category Other, which includes historic sites specifically associated with many European Americans. Photo: Chris Duncan.

It is worth noting the very small numbers for sites associated with European American, Italian American and “Other.” While listings under the latter category often denote sites associated with Jewish history, it also includes a variety of other aspects of California history including a senior home in Boyle Heights for Jewish and then Japanese Americans, Berkeley’s Finnish Hall, Stockton’s Sikh Temple, Holy Trinity Armenian Church in Fresno, Newcastle’s Portuguese

Hall, the Santa Clara Verein (German Association), and the site of Icaria-Speranza Utopian Colony of French immigrant families in Sonoma County. Formal recognition for these primarily European American groups is doubtlessly even lower than the communities we typically think of as underrepresented. Of course there are doubtlessly many landmarked sites that actually reflect these histories, but that aspect of the landmark’s significance hasn’t been fore-grounded and catalogued by the designation, part of a larger pattern that privileges architectural qualities over all other aspects of significance.

When figures for Other, European and Italian Americans are removed from the calculations, so-called “minority communities” are represented by just two to three percent of the sites on the California and National Registers.



The women's history statistic is even more dismal; under half of one percent of our landmarks is counted as significant for women's history. The chart above illustrates the proportion of total sites on the California Register associated with what we understand to be underrepresented communities, ethnic/racial communities and women. There are currently eighty-one California sites on the National Register designated for association with women's history. Three California resources important to women's history have achieved the highest level of federal designation as National Historic Landmarks: Los Angeles' Angelus Temple, which is associated with its founder Aimee Semple McPherson; the St. Helena home of writer Ellen White, founder of the Seventh Day Adventist Church; and the Orange County estate of actress Helena Modjeska. Of the remainder on

Under half of one percent of our landmarks is counted as significant for women's history.

the National Register listings for California, twenty-six are women's clubs, seven are associated with the YWCA, and fourteen with famed architect Julia Morgan. Because Morgan designed many women's clubs and YWCA buildings there is undoubtedly some overlap in those numbers. But as these associations suggest, the list is heavily weighted to buildings related to wealthy, white women.

The chart on the following page illustrates the relative proportions of California Register sites associated with all



Riverside's Young Women's Christian Association building is one of many YWCA facilities on the California and National Registers designed by Julia Morgan. Photo: ©sanfranman59/Wikimedia Commons/ CC-BY-SA-2.5/ GFDL.



catalogued aspects of ethnic/racial identity. When noting the large pie slices representing resources associated with African American, Chinese American, Japanese American and Latino sites, a reader might assume that the numbers had been influenced by the OHP’s study *Five Views: An Ethnic Historic Site Survey for California*. The inventory produced by *Five Views* had roughly equal numbers of sites associated with those four historic communities as well as Native Americans. Yet as research for this report demonstrates, very few of the places it documented achieved landmark status after the work was published in 1988.

Numbers for Native American listings on the National Register and California Register are quite small—less than half of the other major groups usually defined as “ethnic minorities.” Approximately one-third of the listings on both registers are resources in the San Miguel and Santa Inez Missions, and another sizable percentage reflects government-run Indian boarding schools. Unfortunately, the principal associations both of these property types hold for California Native peoples is colonization and cultural “assimilation.” The primary government agency responsible for identifying and cataloging Native American cultural resources is the Native American Heritage Commission (NAHC), established by the California State government in 1976. As Native American efforts to claim traditional lands



The Sherman Indian School in Riverside was one of many government-run boarding schools designed to “assimilate” Native American children. The Sherman Museum operates out of the only structure left from the original 1903 complex and is listed on the National Register. Photo: Riverside Metropolitan Museum.

California's formal landmark programs present a very limited picture of Native American people to the California public.

and fishing rights and to practice traditional religions grew in the 1960s and '70s, activism expanded to more intensely protect archaeological sites, particularly burial sites.⁹³ The NAHC's mission statement "is to provide protection to Native American burials from vandalism and inadvertent destruction, provide a procedure for the notification of most likely descendants regarding the discovery of Native American human remains and associated grave goods, bring legal action to prevent severe and irreparable damage to sacred shrines, ceremonial sites, sanctified cemeteries and place of worship on public property, and maintain an inventory of sacred places."⁹⁴ With a very small number of Native Ameri-

can sites on the state and federal registers, and the NAHC's focus on inventorying and protecting sacred places that are not to be shared with outside communities, California's formal landmark programs present a very limited picture of Native American people to the California public.

The ethnic/racial community with the most resources on both the California and National Registers is African American, yet the listings are remarkably skewed in terms of geographic spread across the state. Analyzing the designations shows that the overwhelming majority—over eighty percent—rose to the California Register as components of just four historic district nominations: Allensworth in



Colonel Allensworth State Park preserves and interprets a small agricultural community established north of Bakersfield in 1908 that was founded, financed and governed by African Americans. Photo: ©Bobak Ha'Eri/Wikimedia Commons/CC-BY-SA-3.0.

Tulare County was designated as the only town founded and governed by African Americans in California; Camp Lockett in San Diego County was designated for its association with Buffalo Soldiers; and two neighborhoods in Los Angeles were designated as important reflections of African American culture, enterprise and settlement patterns. In fact the two residential historic districts in Los Angeles around East 52nd Place and East 27th Street make up three-quarters of the ninety-six total listings for Los Angeles County. These, along with seven individually listed sites, were the result of a single project, a 2008 National Register Multiple Property Submission, “Historic Resources

Associated with African Americans in Los Angeles,” commissioned by the Los Angeles Community Redevelopment Agency (CRA). Teresa Grimes, lead author of the Multiple Property Document, attributed the genesis of the project to the leadership of Councilmember Jan Perry’s office who worked with CRA staff to assess how the preservation of historic buildings in her district could honor African American heritage and stimulate economic development.⁹⁵ The 104 National Register listings associated with African American history in California contain the Los Angeles and Allensworth districts along with two sites in both Pasadena and Oakland, and only one site each in San Clemente, Julian (San Diego County), Sacramento and Sonora. Historic districts and Multiple Property Submissions are obviously important tools, yet in this instance they skew the public record created by landmark designations to overemphasize certain communities while other important African American spaces remain invisible.

Like the African American sites, historic districts comprise the majority of listings on both the National and California Registers for associations with Chinese American and Japanese American history. Historic districts reflecting Chinese American enclaves in Isleton, Walnut Grove, Fiddletown, Locke, San Rafael and Marysville, along with resources on Angel Island Immigration Station make up just over three quarters of the properties listed



Most of the National and California Register listings for African American, Chinese Americans and Japanese Americans fall within historic districts. Walnut Grove, located midway between Sacramento and Stockton, has two designated districts for its historic Chinatown and Japantown. Photo: Preserving California’s Japantown.

on the California Register. Historic districts account for eighty-four percent of the Chinese American listings on the National Register. The proportions for Japanese American listings are even higher. Eighty-four percent of sites listed on the California Register are from districts or designations with multiple resources including Wakamatsu Tea and Silk Colony, Los Angeles' Little Tokyo, the Japanese Tea Garden in Golden Gate Park, Pasadena's Storrier-Stearns Japanese Garden, the de Sable Garden in San Mateo, Tule Lake Segregation Center, Gilroy-Yamato Hot Springs, Japantowns in Isleton and Walnut Grove, and Angel Island Immigration Station. Nearly ninety-five percent of the Japanese American resources on the National Register are from these same resources.

Other Asian American communities are barely visible on the registers. Two Filipino American sites appear on both the National and California Registers: the East Indian Store/Filipino Church in Walnut Grove and the Filipino Service Center/Hotel Lester in San Diego.⁹⁶ Two sites on both registers are listed for a generic "Asian American" association. One is the Republic Cafe in Salinas, a commercial building that was part of the city's historic Chinatown and a gathering place for Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino communities.⁹⁷ The second is the Mary Haley Galarneau House in Sacramento, which web research indicates was actually designated for its Italianate architecture. No Korean American sites appear on the National Register listings. Of

two Korean American sites on the California Register, one appears to have been designated for its Art Deco architecture and happens to house a Korean Cultural Center in Los Angeles. The second is San Francisco's historic Korean United Methodist Church, dating from 1928 and reportedly the first in the United States.

Preliminary analysis of the 126 California Register and 122 National Register sites designated for their association with Latino history shows that these landmarks are skewed to a narrow period of significance. Eighty percent of the resources on both Registers reflect the Spanish Colonial,



Like Mission San Juan Capistrano, most of California's landmarks associated with Latino heritage reflect the early Spanish settlement and California periods. Photo: ©Robert A. Estremo/Wikimedia Commons/CC-BY-SA.2.0.

Most historic property nominations and surveys continue to record architecturally distinguished buildings.

Mission and *Californio* eras, with only eighteen percent dedicated to the late 19th and all of the 20th century. Three-quarters of the modern listings are from buildings and structures at *Rancho de los Kiotos*, the home of actor Leo Carillo in Carlsbad. Close review of the Latino resources revealed a few listings that raise questions. Of the four Latino California Register resources in San Francisco, two buildings at 833 Kearny Street and 727 Washington Street have no property names and appear to be mistakes. Consultation with San Francisco planning staff determined that their records describe the Kearny Street building as a Filipino pool hall and the Washington Street address as home to a Chinese herbalist.⁹⁸ Appearing on both lists are properties designated for their Spanish Colonial-style architecture—the Santa Barbara County Courthouse and the Cliff May-designed Lindstrom House in San Diego—a questionable association with Latino heritage.

Conclusion

Clearly our state and federal designation programs fall short of their mandates to be the “official list” and “authoritative guide” to California’s rich histories. Most historic property nominations and surveys continue to record archi-

tecturally distinguished buildings. Yet the National Register statistics contradict the fact that, over the last few decades, the National Park Service has undertaken myriad

projects and programs to diversify its cultural resources programs. These efforts are too numerous for detailed description in this report, but the following illustrates some of the programs and their relationship to documenting underrepresented communities in California. From 2003 to 2010 the National Park Service published three guides to identifying and interpreting African American, Asian American and Hispanic reflections on the American landscape, although only the latter pair reference California sites.⁹⁹ The Park Service’s on-line “Places Reflecting America’s Diverse Cultures” creates a travel itinerary of national parks for their associations with specific cultural groups. California is relatively underrepresented on this itinerary with no sites under African American or European American, one on the Native American list (Lava Beds National Monument) and two of the four national park sites with Asian American significance (Tule Lake and Manzanar). California (along with Texas and Florida) is far stronger on the itinerary of Hispanic sites, but those mostly reflect Spanish exploration, not the full and complex narratives of Latino experience.¹⁰⁰

Recently, the National Park Service has devoted a

great deal of energy to rectifying the thin representation of sites associated with Latino heritage. The Forty Acres, the California headquarters for the United Farm Workers near Delano was named a National Historic Landmark in 2011. That same year the Park Service released a Cesar Chavez Special Resource Study identifying five sites, four of them in California, as nationally significant and meeting criteria for a National Historic Landmark: The Forty Acres National Historic Landmark, Filipino Community Hall, the *Nuestra Senora Reina de la Paz*, the 1966 March Route from Delano to Sacramento, and Arizona's Santa Rita Center.¹⁰¹ Eleven additional sites, nine of them in California, were deemed to be of potential national significance and merit additional research. Twenty-four sites, twenty-one of them in California, appeared eligible for the National Register.

Special Resource Studies are usually undertaken to assess sites for inclusion in the National Park Service system. The Cesar Chavez study laid out four alternatives for designation and/or inclusion in the national park system with the Environmentally Preferred Alternative being a National Historic Park associated with The Forty Acres, Filipino Community Hall, and *La Paz* in California and the Santa Rita Center in Arizona. The final determination by the Secretary of the Interior has not been made public. 2011 also saw the launch of the Park Service's American Latino Heritage Initiative (ALHI), developed to increase opportu-

nities for historic places associated with American Latino history to be documented, preserved, and interpreted and to increase public understanding and appreciation of the role of American Latinos in the development of the United States. The ALHI includes a Latino Historic Theme Study, National Historic Landmark nominations, two youth summits and a web-based travel itinerary.¹⁰²

Under Secretary of the Interior Ken Salazar, the Department of the Interior and the National Park Service have been working closely with the National Council of State Historic Preservation Officers Board of Directors to develop initiatives to recognize the heritage of all Americans. The National Park Service describes theme studies as "the most effective way of identifying and nominating properties because they provide a comparative analysis of properties associated with...a national historic context for specific topics in American history or prehistory."¹⁰³ To date, four NHL theme studies on civil rights and the Underground Railroad focusing primarily on African American history, and one study on Japanese American in World War II have been written. The handful of early theme studies on Native American topics is focused on the Eastern part of the United States. Theme studies on American labor history and the WWII home front both address the underrepresented topics of labor and the contributions of diverse communities. The Park Service is currently updating the National Historic

Landmark Theme Study on Women’s History. Most recently, Associate Director of Cultural Resources, Stephanie Toothman, announced plans to undertake a national Asian American Theme Study.

The California Office of Historic Preservation led the field with the *Five Views* project and cultural diversity has been an issue identified in the State’s Comprehensive State-wide Historic Preservation Plan since 1995. Yet the OHP acknowledges, “since publication of *Five Views*, few inroads have been made to address the issue. Identification of properties linked to culturally diverse groups has not significantly increased and efforts to encourage participation in historic preservation by ethnic groups have been limited.”¹⁰⁴ According to the OHP website, the office has conducted greater outreach to Native American groups and has an as-

signed staff liaison. The Yurok Tribe has become one of the Information Centers helping to manage the State’s historic inventory records for the North Coast. With limited staff and resources, the California OHP has taken steps to work more closely with underrepresented communities and to increase the number of more culturally diverse surveys and nominations. Applicants for Certified Local Government grants, one of the few sources of funding for historic surveys, are given bonus points for projects that reflect cultural and ethnic diversity.¹⁰⁵ Culturally diverse projects have been honored annually by the OHP-administered Governor’s Historic Preservation Awards.

Yet, despite worthy goals and programs, both the federal and state registers continue to be woefully inadequate in reflecting California’s diverse histories. An array of fac-



The Forty Acres, constructed by volunteer labor in Delano, was designated a National Historic Landmark in 2008 for its association with the farmworker movement and Cesar Chavez. Photo: ©Bobak Ha'Eri/Wikimedia Commons/CC-BY-SA-3.0.



Angel Island Immigration Station operated from 1910 to 1940 as a place where immigrants, primarily from Asia, were processed and detained. Many suffered up to two years of confinement in these barracks at the Immigration Station, which is now a National Historic Landmark and part of Angel Island State Park. Photo: Brian Turner.

tors seems to be at play. The emphasis on a historic resource's physical integrity presents complications for many communities whose historic built environment has not been treated with the kid gloves used on many high-style buildings. Another is the bias towards architectural values that persists throughout much of the designation

process. Although this is changing slowly, many of the professionals in consulting firms and regulatory agencies have more training and expertise in architecture or architectural history than social history. Identifying and documenting design characteristics of a potential resource is a far simpler and more straightforward task than locating and researching sites associated with social history, especially histories that have not received the attention of historians or archival care of mainstream institutions.

As the historic preservation field has become more codified and professionalized, the requirements for specialized knowledge and extensive documentation have become greater. Nominations to the National and California Register are now a highly professionalized process that can take up to several years to carry out and complete. Many communities do not have the capacity and professional expertise to prepare documentation currently expected for nominations and to move through the complex steps for review. The language of historic preservation, from the alphabet soup of "Section 106, NEPA and CEQA" to the specialized definitions of common words such as "resource" and "significance" can be off-putting to the general public. The following instructions on understanding, evaluating and conveying the significance of a historic resource appear in the OHP's Technical Assistance Bulletin "How to Nominate a Resource to the California Register of Historical Resources."

“Professional experts need to go beyond their usual circles and use more accessible language to engage the general public in the processes and effects of preservation.”

—M. Wayne Donaldson

The significance of an historical resource is best understood and judged in relation to an historic context. An historic context consists of a theme, pattern, or research topic; geographic area; and chronological period. The theme, pattern, or research topic provides a basis for evaluating the significance of a resource when it is defined in relation to established criteria. An historical resource is considered significant and, hence, eligible for the California Register if it is associated with an important historic context and it retains the integrity of those characteristics necessary to convey its significance. When considering the integrity of an historical resource, it is appropriate to take into account factors such as location, setting, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association.

Evaluation involves three basic steps: (1) identification of a significant historic context associated with the resource; (2) identification of the types of resources important in illuminating that context and the physical characteristics those resources must possess to reflect the significance of the historic context; and (3) an assessment of whether the resource being evaluated has those required physical characteristics. The amount of descriptive and historical information needed to establish whether or not a resource has the required physical traits necessary to convey its significance will depend on the complexity and type of resource being nominated.¹⁰⁶

Deciphering the meaning of that passage would present a considerable challenge for many Californians who might otherwise care deeply about places in their communities that reflect important aspects of their heritage. As former State Historic Preservation Officer M. Wayne Donaldson points out:

Professional experts need to go beyond their usual circles and use more accessible language to engage the general public in the processes and effects of preservation. Communication among preservation stakeholders—experts as well as laymen—is hampered by...barriers includ[ing] language, knowledge of the process, and the use of jargon.¹⁰⁷

Making the case for preserving and recognizing the often modest places that hold the histories of underrepresented communities is a task that continues to challenge the preservation community. As the keepers of the only coordinated listings of sites important to our local, state and national heritage, the National and California Registers are crucial to highlighting the histories of diverse communities and ensuring their inclusion in the public narrative.

CHAPTER FIVE

Listening to Community Conversations

In addition to individual interviews with preservation professionals and community leaders, research for this study included organizing six Community Conversations with representatives of groups whose histories are not adequately represented in California's formal landmark designation programs. The fact that CCHE would not be able to "offer" anything, such as information about future funding rounds, meant that each meeting needed to be organized so that people would find value in the discussion itself. Communities and locations were selected to represent a cross-section of underrepresented communities and to achieve regional breadth across California.

Individuals and organizations associated with each community were contacted to discuss potential interest in a meeting, possible partner organizations, appropriate meeting locations, and individuals who should be invited. In several cases, outreach coordinators who had strong connections to the community were hired to help organize and conduct the conversation. Partner organizations helped identify key individuals from outside the meeting region

and limited stipends were offered to help with travel costs in several cases. Partnering with relevant organizations to foster open discussions about histories and areas where preservation has fallen short was critical to the success of each gathering. These community organizations saw the value in these discussions and graciously helped find space and enthusiastic participants for each meeting.

Schedule for CCHE Community Conversations:

15 February 2012

Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer and Questioning Historic Sites
LGBT Community Center, San Francisco

23 March 2012

Women's History and California State Parks
California Office of Historic Preservation, Sacramento

30 March 2012

African American Historic Sites
California African American Museum, Los Angeles

31 March 2012

Latina/o Historic Sites
El Centro Cultural de Mexico, Santa Ana

21 April 2012

Filipino American Historic Sites
Trinity Presbyterian Church, Stockton



12 May 2012

Portuguese American Historic Sites

Portuguese Organization for Social Services &
Opportunities, San Jose

The goals for each Community Conversation were broadly defined: to discuss historic sites important to that community, to identify barriers to recognition of places important to their heritage, and to surface ideas for bringing these historic resources to wider awareness through preservation and interpretation. Perhaps most critically, in addition to providing information for this study, several of the conversations catalyzed new efforts or jump-started ideas for recognizing community heritage that had lain dormant. The LGBTQ conversation inspired a working group that has organized public events on preserving historic resources in Guerneville and San Francisco and created a Facebook page “Preserving LGBT Historic Sites in California.”¹⁰⁸ The conversation around women’s history supported OHP staff’s long-standing interest in developing a statewide context statement for women’s history, which is now moving forward with an advisory committee that includes members of the CCHE-sponsored meeting. The Latino meeting generated a long list of historic resources that was shared with the National Park Service’s American Latino Heritage Initiative (ALHI), which is developing a national theme study and list of potential National Register sites. Several members

of the ALHI Advisory Committee attended the meeting, where they forged a connection with the young preservationists behind the Eastside Heritage Consortium. The Filipino American meeting inspired the creation of a new Filipino American Historic Preservation Network, which was shared the following month at the 2nd National Asian/Pacific Islander American Historic Preservation Forum in Los Angeles. As one of the organizers for these forums, the author was able to draw on information from the gatherings for this report.

Common Themes

The Community Conversations yielded new information about historic resources, explored strategies for bringing greater recognition and interpretation to important sites, and discussed barriers to designation. Detailed notes from the gatherings can be found in Appendix C. All conversations reflected issues specific to each community, but common themes came up repeatedly.

Politics, Economics and Community Development

The politics and economics of preservation, as both major theme and subtext, ran through all of the conversations. Michael Dolphin, long-time advocate for African American heritage on Los Angeles’ Central Avenue, stated that historic preservation “is often brought into a neighbor-

“Even pieces of the built environment can educate a community about their history. Growing up in Stockton and not knowing who Larry Itliong is, is like growing up in Birmingham and not knowing the legacy of Dr. Martin Luther King.” –Dawn Mabalon

hood as part of development driven by outside interests. It’s not coming from the community.” A related thread in the Latino discussion looked at the intersections between cultural planning (including historic preservation) and land use planning. Carolina Sarmiento and Karina Muñiz noted the concerns of some community members that designating properties would lead to increased rents. However, Sarmiento also elaborated on the opportunities that land use tools such as the California Environmental Quality Act create for public participation by residents and described the promise of partnering with affordable housing developers that see the value in historic properties.

The Filipino American conversation concluded with a tour of heritage sites in Stockton including Little Manila, once the most vital Filipino American enclave in the United States. The Little Manila neighborhood was a dramatic illustration of the urban redevelopment forces that erase many working-class communities. Only three historic buildings remain in the area; Little Manila champions like Dillon Delvo and Dawn Mabalon see their work as an issue of social justice. “Even pieces of the built environment can educate a community about their history. Growing up in

Stockton and not knowing who Larry Itliong is,” said Mabalon, “is like growing up in Birmingham and not knowing the legacy of Dr. Martin Luther King.”

The nexus of politics, race, class and preservation was a recurring theme at the National Asian/Pacific Islander American historic preservation forums that were held in San Francisco in 2010 and in Los Angeles in 2012. Paul



Little Manila Foundation founder, Dawn Mabalon, leading a tour of Stockton for participants in the Community Conversation on Filipino American historic sites. Stockton’s Little Manila was once the largest Filipino community outside of the Philippines. Redevelopment and freeway construction destroyed most of the neighborhood. Photo: Donna Graves.

Osaki's 2010 plenary speech connected the assaults of WWII forced removal and incarceration, followed by wholesale demolition through urban renewal, that his hometown of San Francisco's Japantown suffered with those experienced by other communities on the margins of political and economic power.¹⁰⁹

Documenting and Sharing Untold Stories

During her welcome to participants in the Latino gathering, Carolina Sarmiento, executive director of *El Centro de Cultura* in Santa Ana, described the organization's motto as "*Cuando la Cultura Muere, La Gente Muere*" or "When culture dies, our people die." The primary importance of documenting and sharing stories associated with historic places, rather than a strict focus on preserving a building or site, was brought up in each of the conversations. All of the groups acknowledged lack of public awareness of their histories and the need to educate people about their heritage and contributions to the local, state and national stories. Many explained their purpose as combating the erasure of history or a false sense of history.

Little Manila Foundation founder, Dawn Mabalon, described feeling that Filipino history in general is "somewhat invisible" and having to leave her hometown of Stockton to learn about its history. Lack of visibility for "invisible" communities stems from several sources. Working-class, immigrant communities have not historically had the

resources to build edifices deemed impressive enough to preserve; in fact, for many, owning property and having the ability to stay in one place were out of reach. Women are obviously integral to most community histories, yet their experiences have been traditionally accorded second-class status, and public evidence of their presence and activities is scant. For LGBTQ communities, many historic places had been deliberately kept "under the radar" to protect people whose identities and activities were stigmatized. The fact that LGBTQ community gathering spaces were usually limited to bars, spaces already synonymous with vice, reinforced the lack of public pride and awareness of their importance until recently. In many instances, the activities or events important to a community's history have passed and the association with particular places may be held only in individual memories, photos, and ephemera in personal collections.

The meaning and historic significance of many sites discussed in these community conversations was often not

The Black Cat Café in San Francisco's North Beach district is associated with a California Supreme Court decision that ended homosexuality as a legally punishable offense. It was also the stage for José Sarria, a popular drag queen and early LGBTQ activist. Photo: Shayne Watson.



evident in the architecture, but rather in personal memories, collections and stories shared within specific groups. Members of the LGBTQ conversation discussed the challenge of looking at not just architectural significance, but also understanding the social and cultural significance of places. They described the need to increase the amount of information in local archives, and the use of that material to make the case for the historical significance of these places. At the conversation on African American sites, UCLA archivist Susan Anderson stressed the critical importance of keeping archival materials near their source to facilitate research—and to enable researchers to make connections to related historic sites. Manuel Escamillo described how important the archives at the Santa Ana Public Library are by stating, “It’s important to make research public! It can often disappear into personal archives and computers and then does not get distributed. Action depends on access.” Participants in the conversation about women’s history and California State Parks remarked that people associated with parks, whether staff or volunteers, often already hold a great deal of important information that has not been captured.

Participants in the LGBTQ and African American conversations discussed the tension between academic standards and community ways of sharing knowledge, which Gerry Takano described at the LGBTQ conversation as the difficulty of using “verified” versus anecdotal information. Members of the African American conversation

pointed to the value of “urban legend, a good story, gossip” in revealing something truthful about a community’s past that can sit alongside more academically documented histories. Craig Kenkel, a participant in the LGBTQ conversation, described the struggle to develop new methodologies for documenting Underground Railroad sites lacking traditional historical records as a potential model for other communities.

Interpretation

Capturing meanings and connecting them to the places that matter is a central task for most of these communities. At the conversation on African American sites in Los Angeles, a leader from the West Adams Heritage Association described the organization’s evolution “from landmarking Victorians to telling stories.” The Association found that stories shared through publications and bus tours engaged more people than their previous work in designation, and that in turn led to people sharing more stories. At the same meeting, Carson Anderson, a member of the California African American Museum’s History Council, said the Council’s work on black churches was designed to inspire other churches to document and share their histories. “We don’t want information to just become the property of scholars, planners, and analysts,” Anderson stated, “we want community members to own it too so they can keep it alive and build on each other’s stories.”

Documenting and sharing stories of place can provide powerful connections to site and often help to save a threatened resource. The Los Angeles Conservancy's work in Boyle Heights with residents of Wyvernwood Garden Apartments was discussed in the African American and Latino conversations. The apartments, already designated for their architectural quality, were threatened with demolition for a large mixed-use development. With the Conservancy and other community groups, residents created a multimedia oral history project documenting the social and cultural

history of site that brought the preservation issue to a larger audience and allowed various stakeholders to hear directly from the residents themselves why Wyvernwood is important and should be preserved. Long-term tenants attested to the close-knit community and family ties spanning generations, that had been fostered by the complex's innovative design.¹¹⁰

Interpretation was described as valuable in most of the conversations as a critical way to engage communities and increase participation. Members of the conversation on Latino sites described the need for markers and plaques that visually reflected their culture. The possibilities of new media as a tool for sharing stories of place were brought forward repeatedly.

Engaging Communities

Wyvernwood is one of many examples of community engagement efforts shared during the various conversations. Another current effort in the Los Angeles area presented at the Latino conversation was that of the Eastside Heritage Consortium. Laura Dominguez and Manuel Huerta described the Consortium's work with developing a community-based heritage survey based on the "belief that the creation of a list of significant sites is the first step to legitimizing local heritage." The project focused on unincorporated East Los Angeles and collected over 200 survey forms from senior centers, high schools, libraries and other



Los Angeles' Second Baptist Church is a City of Los Angeles Historic-Cultural Monument and is listed on the National Register. It is among the historic African American churches highlighted by a traveling exhibit, publication, and bus/driving tour developed by the History Council of the California African American Museum. Photo: Carson Anderson.

community spaces. Like the example of the Underground Railroad, the Eastside Heritage Consortium needed to devise a new approach to documentation and establishing significance. Sites made the list, whether they held historic resources or not, if they were mentioned frequently by survey respondents. If they were only mentioned a few times, but had compelling evidence, they were added. Sites that are meaningful to the community today are included as “places that might be significant in the future.” The Consortium members see their work as a way to combat negative stereotypes about East Los Angeles and as a support for current efforts toward cityhood. They hope to prioritize preservation within the process of creating a local government and use the list of sites to generate a possible historic preservation ordinance.

The necessity of engaging communities to truly understand and document the history and meaning of a place was a frequent theme in the conversation about women’s history and California State Parks. As Suzanne Guerra pointed out, “each park and the surrounding community has a relationship to be tapped.... If you want to build a constituency you need to build the community into the base. The community appreciates being involved.” Because communities hold a singular role in terms of access to resource material that can deepen understanding of historic resources in state parks, their engagement can be critical. “Links to communities

allow you to tell the bigger stories, using materials found on the local levels,” Guerra continued, but acknowledged that allies from outside the community are sometimes needed to help residents understand larger contexts for their historic resources.

The conversation about Portuguese American historic sites revealed the least experience and confidence in historic preservation, although documenting and sharing heritage is a strong aspect of the Portuguese American community in California. Immigrants from the Azores, who make up the vast majority of Portuguese Americans in California, arrived in two very distinct waves: one in the late 19th and early 20th century and the second large wave arriving in the aftermath of a volcanic eruption in the 1950s. While these two groups share many aspects of cultural heritage and religious affiliation, they are not unified.

Portuguese Heritage Publications of California, Inc. is an all-volunteer non-profit organization “created to research, preserve and disseminate vanishing memories and current relevant events about the Portuguese presence in California.” Its remarkable catalogue includes thematic studies of Portuguese in California agriculture and whaling, volumes on the lives of early Portuguese settlers to the state, and recordings of Portuguese music in California. An extensive monograph on the Holy Ghost *festas*, published in 2002, documents the history of the largest and

most visible religious and cultural manifestation of the Portuguese community that takes place in nearly 150 places throughout California. A new monograph on Portuguese churches in California, *The Power of the Spirit*, is scheduled for release in 2012.¹¹¹

This dedication to documenting Portuguese American heritage in California, and commitment across the state to continuing cultural traditions such as the *festas*, marching bands and bullfights has not been connected to an appreciation for historic preservation of the places where these activities take place. City of Sacramento planner Carol Gregory shared the results of her doctoral dissertation, *Geography, Perception and Preservation of Portuguese American Landscapes in California*.¹¹² Among her findings was a consensus that Portuguese churches and halls are especially important and should be preserved. But perspectives varied by generation on whether commemorative features (such as museums and place/street names or features rebuilt to commemorate cultural heritage) or authentic features (such as Portuguese halls, bullrings, dairies, long-standing businesses) were more important. According to Gregory, more recent immigrants valued “authentic sites” more highly, while third- and fourth-generation Portuguese Americans had a greater appreciation for commemorative features.



The Portuguese Hall in Newcastle, Placer County, is the only site on the National or California Registers reflecting the rich and long history of Portuguese Americans in California. The building was constructed in 1918 and is still maintained as a community space and rental hall. Photo: Carol Gregory.

Intangible Heritage

If historic preservation as it is traditionally defined was not a central concern in the conversation with Portuguese Americans, the shared value of maintaining cultural heritage was clear. Communities make powerful commitments of time and resources to sustaining marching bands and holding annual Holy Ghost *festas* and bullfights. These aspects of cultural tradition, what is known in the historic

preservation field as “intangible heritage,” are clearly primary to the Portuguese community at this time.

Yet intangible heritage, the activities and traditions that connect a community to a place, are central to many preservation efforts of underrepresented communities. The example of Los Angeles’ Maravilla Handball Court was shared at the Latino conversation as an effort to protect a site with ongoing community use, as well as the physical structure of a handball court and grocery store, that reflects Latino and Japanese American history in East Los Angeles. The Maravilla Historical Society, a preservation advocacy group, is working to preserve the “spirit” of the place and organized the court’s first-ever co-ed youth handball tournament in 2009, which introduced the sport and the historic court to a new generation of players.¹¹³

San Francisco’s efforts to apply a new “social heritage use district” to protect Filipino American resources in the city’s South of Market district was shared by MC Canlan at the Filipino American conversation. The non-profit Bayanihan Center is currently working with the city’s Planning Department to create a tool to be recognized by municipal code that can create incentives for developers to support businesses and cultural activities deemed important by the Filipino American community.

Partnering With a Range of Organizations

The need to collaborate with other organizations and to reach out geographically was stated again and again. Susan



The Maravilla Historical Society and Los Angeles Conservancy successfully nominated the Maravilla Handball Court and El Centro Grocery to the California Register of Historical Resources as an “important center for the multi-ethnic Maravilla community from 1928 through 1989.” Photo: Adrian Fine, Los Angeles Conservancy.

Anderson stated “part of the problem is each field is in its own little fiefdoms—we need to connect museums, historical societies, architectural historians, preservationists, and others together.” The same conversation about African American sites called for partnering with other community-based organizations, such as historical societies, and

“Part of the problem is each field is in its own little fiefdoms—we need to connect museums, historical societies, architectural historians, preservationists, and others together.”

—Susan Anderson

groups that are not seen as history-based, such as churches, schools and youth groups. An example shared by Karen Mack of LA Commons was the organization’s collaboration with a Franklin High School social studies teacher who assigns students to create neighborhood tours.

Recognizing Multiple Intersections Between Historic Places and Identity

All of the conversations acknowledged the multiple layers of history embedded in much of California. California State Parks staff readily came up with a list of parks where women’s history could be added to existing documentation and interpretation. There were suggestions in the Filipino American conversation about sites where association with Filipino American heritage could be fore-grounded, such as San Francisco’s Palace Hotel, where Filipino hero Jose Rizal stayed. A similar example related to Portuguese history was offered. The Berryessa Adobe in Santa Clara is landmarked and interpreted as a structure on the Juan Bautista De Anza National Historic Trail and documented as part of the Spanish Colonial/American Transition period. But Leslie Masunaga noted in the Portuguese American conversation that, throughout the twentieth century, the adobe was owned

by a Portuguese family who has been left out of the story.

Opportunities for building audiences and presenting a more accurate story presented by the layering of historic sites were discussed. An example raised was San Francisco’s South of Market neighborhood, where LGBTQ history is intertwined with working class and labor histories. Participants in the Latino conversation acknowledged that many



Interpretation at Santa Clara’s Berryessa Adobe focuses on the period before California statehood, overlooking the decades-long association with the Portuguese American Freitas family. Photo: Leslie Masunaga.

neighborhoods have been more racially mixed than commonly known, and stressed the importance of documenting sites that are significant to multiple communities to create a stronger sense of solidarity.

At other times, the tensions of trying to recognize more than one story emerged. Jerome Woods described LGBTQ history as the “black elephant in the room” for African Americans in historic preservation. Several participants in the Filipino American discussion felt that their history, and labor organizer Larry Itliong’s critical role in the birth of the United Farm Workers movement, had not been adequately incorporated in the National Park Service’s current Cesar Chavez Special Resource Study, which they felt focused too heavily on the movement as solely Mexican American.

Current Processes for Designation and Funding

Office of Historic Preservation staff and professional consultants at the conversation about women’s history acknowledged that most surveys and nominations focus on architectural significance. “Architecture is easy to document” as Marie Nelson put it. “It takes more research to get at the social history.” Underrepresented communities generally do not have the resources and capacity to undertake the extensive documentation landmark nominations require or to satisfy demands of funding agencies.

Participants at the Filipino American gathering shared how painful and disappointing it was when an application

for funding to restore a historic structure in Little Manila was rejected by the California Cultural and Historical Endowment. Dillon Delvo described what he saw as a “Catch 22” in the process, “How could you give millions of dollars to an organization that doesn’t even have \$10,000 in the bank? CCHE funds were for underrepresented communities, but part of the reason we are underrepresented is that we don’t have the same capacity as other communities.”

Few participants indicated strong understanding of, or experience with, nominating historic sites to landmark status. Los Angeles has only one Historic Cultural Monument designated for its association with Filipino American history. Michelle Magalong recounted long efforts to designate Historic Filipinotown in Los Angeles as a Preserve America community, which stalled because community members didn’t know how to fill out necessary forms or how to argue for the significance of their community in ways that the reviewers accepted. The designation was finalized in early 2012 and the My HiFi advocacy group has published an online Preservation Guide to help interested individuals and community groups participate in identifying, documenting, and preserving historic and cultural landmarks.

The My HiFi Survey is tied to SurveyLA, an attempt to ensure that Filipino American history is better represented in future inventories of Los Angeles’ historic resources. The citywide SurveyLA was a focus of conversation for participants in the African American gathering. Several partici-



Bauhaus-trained ceramic artist Marguerite Wildenhain taught pottery and lived at Pond Farm from the 1940s until her death in 1985, when it was incorporated into Armstrong Creek State Recreation Area in Sonoma County. The National Trust for Historic Preservation has selected Pond Farm as a “National Treasure” and will work with California State Parks to preserve and revitalize her home and this barn that was repurposed as a pottery studio. Photo: Anthony Veerkamp.

pants expressed concern that there was to be no specific historic context for African Americans planned as part of SurveyLA (the SurveyLA process is briefly described in Chapter Two). Yet when asked if anyone had participated in a public meeting about SurveyLA or contributed a site to the survey’s online catalog, “My Historic LA,” no one responded affirmatively—illuminating the gap between many individuals and organizations concerned with local heritage and the formal processes used to designate historic resources.

Rick Moss, curator of Oakland’s African American Museum and Library, described his community outreach

efforts on behalf of the state Historic Resources Commission, for which he serves as co-chair of the Diversity Committee. In his travels across the state to help inform under-represented communities about programs, Moss found fascinating, little-known African American history in rural areas such as Weed and Oroville. Yet when he leaves such places, he told us, he rarely hears from people again, “because the task of documenting and nominating sites is so daunting and there’s no structure for keeping the lines of communication open and strong.”

In addition to the barrier of extensive documentation, the challenges of establishing adequate integrity for sites and the National Register’s fifty year rule were invoked as problems. Laura Meyers of West Adams Heritage Association told the African American conversation participants that many of the sites they had identified as important to the historically African American neighborhood did not meet the City of Los Angeles’ Historic-Cultural Monument standards for integrity. Historian Ray Rast, who participated in the Latino conversation, expressed frustration with the National Park Service requirement that only extraordinary sites be exempt from the rule that National Register designations apply to resources fifty years or older. “It is important to stress that for a site to be historic, something important happened there, regardless of how long ago.... More recent sites are important to recognize now because they will one day be historic according to official guidelines.”

CHAPTER SIX

Concluding Observations and Recommendations

The question of how to create a more inclusive historic preservation movement has been the focus of deep thought and hard work by many people concerned with the continuing gap between California's (and the nation's) remarkably diverse histories and our formal heritage programs. Conversations with many of these dedicated souls shaped this report and catalyzed a forum held in San Francisco on June 25–26th, 2012 titled “Multiple Views: California’s Diverse Heritage Honored, Revisited, Re-imagined.” The seed for that gathering was planted during discussions about research for this report with Stephanie Toothman, Associate Director of Cultural Resources for the National Park Service, and Anthea Hartig, Executive Director of the California Historical Society. We shared our admiration for the *Five Views* project and our desire to see the creativity and curiosity that shaped it inform the relationship between current preservation practice and the many communities whom do our heritage programs not adequately recognize.

The “Multiple Views” gathering was hosted by the National Park Service, California Office of Historic Preservation and the California Historical Society, and brought cultural heritage professionals, historians and community

leaders together to envision how the boundaries of historic preservation practice might be reshaped to create a more inclusive methodology and public narrative of place and memory. There was consensus that historic preservationists have been rehashing the existence of a massive “diversity gap” for decades now and it was time to find solutions. The convening’s goal was to creatively consider new strategies to bridge this gap and to sketch the contours of a Multiple Views pilot project in California that would test new approaches. Several key concepts emerged from the day-and-a-half of discussion that echoed themes that ran through the Community Conversations, including:

- the need for more surveys and nominations of diverse historic resources along with analysis of barriers presented by current designations processes;
- the promise of a wider lens to capture significance and the challenges that traditional measures of integrity present;
- the potential to better support community heritage projects and create more diverse landmark registers by strengthening connections between schools and communities;
- the need for education, interpretation and other methods to share the hidden stories and intangible heritage of many historic places;



- and the on-going challenge of establishing historic preservation's relevance to a broader community.

Surveys and Nominations

The most obvious means to address the “diversity gap” in California’s landmarks is to ensure that more historic resource surveys and landmark designations are conducted for a wider range of properties. Traditionally, landmark nominations have been for residential, commercial, and religious structures associated with people who have had the means to commission or purchase architecturally distinguished buildings and to maintain them. Property owners generate many landmark nominations, often to gain the benefits of tax incentives or use of the California Historic Building Code; these nominations usually focus on the resource’s architecture as the simplest approach to documenting significance. Documenting cultural and historical associations, especially for communities whose histories have not received extensive attention, is generally far more complex and labor-intensive.

Making the National Register more “flexible and dynamic” so that it can connect more fully with Californians, Americans and tribal members was identified as a priority by the “Multiple Views” participants. One repeated explanation for the scarcity of diverse sites in state and national registers was the burden of preparing extensive documentation for nominations and moving through the

complex steps for review. Many communities do not have the capacity and professional expertise to produce documents conforming to current standards. Recalling the original vision for the National Register as the “people’s register,” some members of the group proposed that state and federal agencies develop a process with lower barriers, such as a “short form” landmark nomination that could enable more community-driven designations based on historical and cultural associations rather than meeting academic documentation standards and criteria for physical integrity that often don’t apply. The Historic American Landscapes Survey (HALS) Short Form History Template was mentioned as a possible model. Generally a one- to five-page document, the National Park Service describes the HALS short format as “devised for situations in which detailed information was unnecessary, unavailable, or when time or funding was not permitted [and] as a more efficient and affordable means of conveying limited information on historic sites and structures.”¹¹⁴ Historic preservation professional Carson Anderson suggested that the National and California Registers develop a shorter, more accessible nomination form to “accommodate community people without a bank of scholars and preservation professionals at their disposal.”¹¹⁵

Another approach to listing that has untapped potential for diverse communities in California is the National Register’s Traditional Cultural Property (TCP) nomination

method. The context and significance for a TCP derives from the “beliefs, customs, and practices of a living community of people that have been passed down through the generations, usually orally or through practice.”¹¹⁶ Native American resources were the catalyst for TCPs and tribal groups have generated the vast majority of TCP listings, but it is a concept applicable to many other communities as a way to preserve cultural meaning. However, Preserve America Summit participants identified an important obstacle to applying TCP criteria in “the emphasis on continuous use or living culture. This requirement limits the application of TCP criteria for historic resources being rediscovered or reclaimed by a later generation.”¹¹⁷

Historic context statements and surveys are the tools favored by the preservation field to identify and document individual landmarks and historic districts. The California Office of Historic Preservation describes historic contexts and surveys as “critical tools for understanding, identifying, evaluating, and protecting those resources, which give each community its individual character and sense of place.” Historic context statements document and describe the broad patterns of historical development of a community or region as they are represented by the physical development and character of the built environment. Historic resource surveys are performed to identify, record, and evaluate historic properties within a community, neighborhood, project area, or region. According to the OHP, “context-based surveys make it possible to evaluate resources for

land use planning purposes without needing to research each individual property.”¹¹⁸ Yet, similar to the ways most landmark nominations are developed, surveys often focus on architecture as the most expedient and economical approach. The majority of surveys have a geographic target, such as a neighborhood or an entire city, rather than a thematic focus. Field surveyors can inspect a larger number of properties for their visual qualities far more quickly (and inexpensively) than undertaking the background research and community consultation required to document sites associated with underrepresented communities. But as Luis Hoyos, architect and past chair of the California Historical Resources Commission, states “ethnic properties often include structures that are important because of people or events less familiar to many” and the lack of diverse landmark designations “likely reflects both failures to target culturally diverse resources and to look for ethnic significance when conducting surveys.... So commissioning context studies and surveys would boost the numbers.”¹¹⁹

Currently, most historic context statements and resource surveys are conducted by professional historic preservation firms and commissioned by municipal agencies, often in response to trends in city development that may put pressure on particular neighborhoods. Surveys that involve participants outside of these arenas are relatively rare, but may be a promising direction for capturing a wider range of California’s historic resources. For example, community development corporations may prove ideal partners in devel-

Capturing more dimensions of social and cultural heritage for landmark designations, and wherever possible, noting connections among diverse groups, is an important goal for historic preservation in California.

oping a more inclusive approach to cultural resource survey work; they understand development forces, and they often have strong ties to populations whose heritage has generally been overlooked by traditional survey work. The Eastside Heritage Consortium’s recent community-based survey of East Los Angeles drew inspiration, as well as a great deal of information, from a 1979 cultural heritage survey and report conducted by the community development corporation TELACU (the East Los Angeles Community Union). Surveys conducted in partnership with community-based organizations have the potential to more readily gain access to previously hidden aspects of local history and yield nominations of historic places invisible to those outside the community.

Property types that typify most survey approaches—commercial, residential, industrial etc—need to be rethought, according to Hoyos, to illuminate the experiences of immigrant communities that have a fundamental place in California history. In order to convey the “full arc of the story” Hoyos argues that modest examples of traditional property types such as “schools, meeting halls, community centers and individual homes” would need to be complemented by more conceptually understood properties such

as “sites of entry, sites of community development, sites associated with conflict, and sites associated with government, education, media etc.”¹²⁰ Hoyos’ comments are targeted toward sites that reflect the histories of immigrants and other peoples who have been politically and economically marginalized. Chapter Five’s analysis of state and federal landmark designations showed that many Californians are underrepresented in our landmarks. Capturing more dimensions of social and cultural heritage for landmark designations and wherever possible, noting connections among diverse groups, is an important goal for historic preservation in California.

In reflecting on the dialogue at “Multiple Views” Carson Anderson noted “We also need new forms and processes for designating resources that are not building-based but rooted in community historical and cultural associations.”¹²¹ The City of San Francisco and a few of its neighborhoods are exploring a strategy that may prove promising in this regard. Planners and community leaders are developing a framework for a new designation titled “Social Heritage Use Districts” for Japantown, and for Filipino American sites and LGBTQ spaces in the city’s Western SOMA (South of Market) District.¹²² Each neighborhood



San Francisco's Filipino community has been organizing an annual Parol Lantern Festival and Parade for nearly a decade. It is one of the significant activities designated in the community's draft Social Heritage Use District proposal. Photo: Bayanihan Community Center.

created an inventory of social heritage assets as defined by community members to inform current projects directed by the City Planning Department. The term 'social heritage' is being used in San Francisco to encompass a wide range of traditional or inherited practices, as well as tangible and intangible elements that help define the beliefs, customs and practices of a particular community and its continuing cultural identity.

A database of social heritage sites and activities is currently being developed for Japantown, based on earlier community-based research.¹²³ Categories for the database include celebrations and festivals; folklore, stories, language and literature; traditional and evolving crafts, performing arts; cultural properties, buildings, structures, archives; businesses (food, retail, etc.); institutions (churches, non-profit organizations, schools, clubs); sports, games, health and fitness.¹²⁴ Draft criteria based on the National Register have also been developed as follows:

Criterion A: Resources that are associated with historic events that have made a significant contribution to the social or cultural heritage of the area.

Criterion B: Resources that are, or are associated with, persons, organizations, institutions or businesses significant to the social or cultural heritage of the area.

Criterion C: Resources that are valued by a cultural group for their design, aesthetic or ceremonial qualities such as:

1. Embodiment of the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or style of architecture that represents the social or cultural heritage of the area.
2. Representation of the work of a master architect, landscape architect, gardener, artist, or craftsman significant to the social or cultural heritage of the area.
3. Association with the traditional arts, crafts, or practices significant to the social or cultural heritage of the area.

4. Association with public ceremonies, festivals, and other cultural gatherings significant to the social or cultural heritage of the area.

Criterion D: Archaeological resources that have the potential to yield information important to the social or cultural heritage of the area.

The City has developed Social Heritage Inventory Record Forms for database sites that meet these criteria, with priority given to physical properties, objects, organizations and programs, festivals, events and traditional practices “that have been documented as having a significant and longstanding association with the Japantown community.”¹²⁵ The application of the Social Heritage process in San Francisco has not yet been defined; it is not clear how the City would formally designate sites and activities identified as Social Heritage assets and what restrictions or incentives to development might follow. As of this writing, consultants are working with community representatives to identify a set of assets and tools, such as development fees, assessment districts, tax incentives etc., to take to the Japantown community for review and approval. A draft Japantown Social Heritage District ordinance may be developed by the end of 2012.¹²⁶

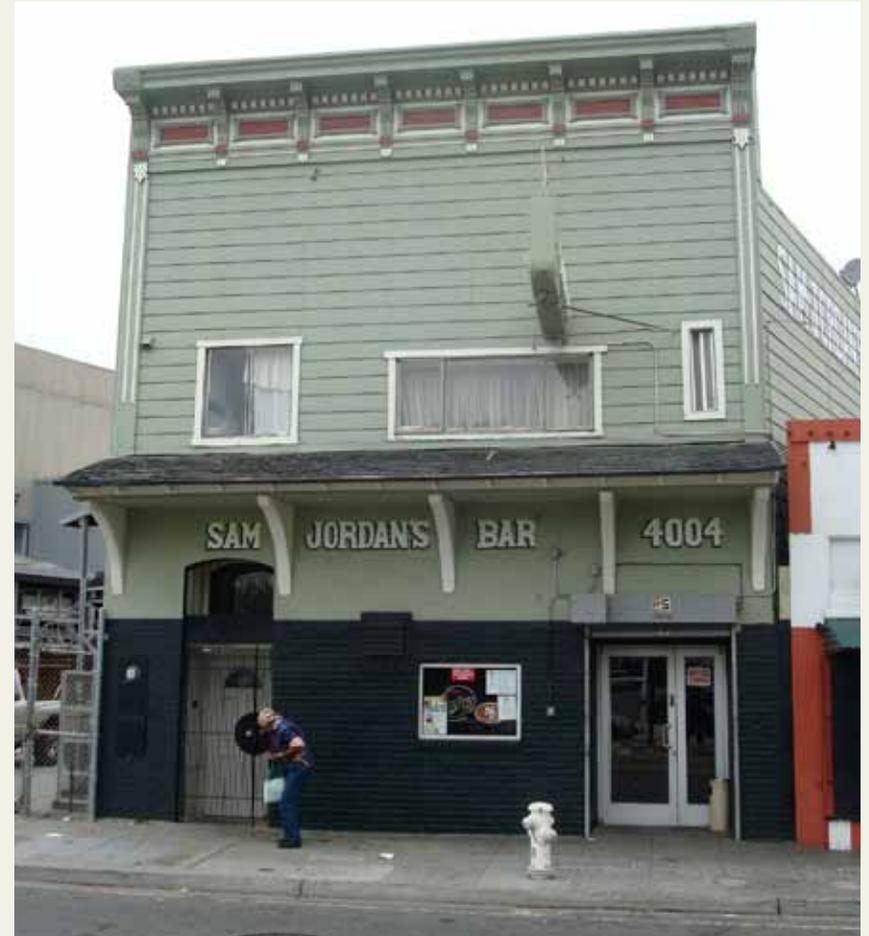
Expanding Significance

In addition to broadening the focus of preservation efforts, preservationists need to consider that many sites

hold multiple layers of meaning, rather than focusing on a singular narrative and period of significance. Participants at the 2006 national Preserve America Summit determined that significance statements “should reflect layers of history and incorporate change over time into the story of a historic resource, rather than viewing these changes as generally negative.”¹²⁷ Contributors to the Community Conversations pointed out that many places already listed as landmarks have significance to their communities that could be documented and shared to create deeper understanding of the site. Participants in the National Asian/Pacific Islander American Historic Preservation Forums in Los Angeles and San Francisco were enthusiastic about embracing the idea that places that mattered to them often mattered to other communities.

The nomination process for Sam Jordan’s Bar in San Francisco’s Bay View neighborhood illustrates the challenge and tensions that an expanded view of significance can create. Local cultural heritage activist John William Templeton first brought the establishment to the attention of the city’s Historic Preservation Commission. As part of their laudable effort to increase the number of designations associated with social history and the histories of underrepresented communities, the Commission added it to the staff Landmark Designation Workplan and a nomination was developed by Stacy Farr with Tim Kelley Consulting.

The original nomination for Sam Jordan's Bar established three historic contexts for the building that encompassed its entire one-hundred-forty year existence: the building's establishment as a home for a French immigrant family who opened the downstairs saloon and its occupation by succeeding generations for over seventy years; its significance as an emblem of African American demographic change in San Francisco and the post-WWII development of the Bayview district as a center for black commercial and cultural life; and the bar's significance as the locus of the lifework of Sam Jordan, community leader, Golden Gloves boxing champion, and the first African American to run for San Francisco Mayor.¹²⁸ After submitting the landmark nomination, Farr received a request from City planning staff to narrow the relevant historic contexts to the single theme of Sam Jordan. Tim Frye, Preservation Coordinator for the city Planning Department, explained the decision as one guided by a need for clarity that fits the planning framework in which landmark designations are situated. Frye acknowledged the significance of the other themes, but said that three contexts made the designation harder to explain and that the department wanted a clear focus. More importantly, he described the designation's primary use as guide for future planning decisions related to the building and stated that having a concise nomination based on one clearly described period of significance with character-defining features "offers more protection, and less confusion in the future."¹²⁹



Sam Jordan's Bar has been a watering hole in San Francisco's Bayview since the 1880s. Photo: Courtesy Stacy Farr and Tim Kelley Consulting.

Sam Jordan's Bar highlights a major distinction between historic preservation and landmark designation as programs that recognize local heritage and one that regulates property decisions. On the one hand, the Planning Department's preference for shorter designations could work in favor of nominations developed by community members who do not have the training or time to devote to long and complex nominations. Conversely, limiting aspects of significance for expediency's sake also limits the ability to understand the meaning of a historic resource. It can replicate the narrow lens of significance used by earlier generations of nominations that have forced us to conjecture that a certain percentage of listings on the National Register are probably associated with the histories of diverse communities, but that the connection has not been documented.

Participants in the "Multiple Views" discussion also spoke about moving beyond *Five Views*' singular focus on race/ethnicity as an important strategy. They acknowledged that many communities in California still need basic documentation of sites associated with their specific heritage, but argued that continued adherence to preservation projects along ethnic/racial lines can obscure shared historical experiences. Utilizing themes such as migration, it was argued, make historic preservation relevant to all Californians by connecting to many people's experience and allowing preservation projects to reinforce social cohesion and efforts to achieve common social goals today.

Interrogating Integrity

The use of physical integrity as a central criterion for evaluating potential designations as National Historic Landmarks and listings on the National Register has come under challenge by some preservationists and community heritage advocates. While some fault the application of integrity standards as subjective and arbitrary, others find it a major source of the "diversity gap" in landmarks. Integrity is generally defined as the ability of a resource to convey its historical associations through physical characteristics that survive from the period of significance. The National Register and NHL Program use the same seven categories to assess integrity:

Location is the place where the historic property was constructed or the place where the historic event took place.

Design is the composition of elements that constitute the form, plan, space, structure, and style of a property.

Setting is the physical environment of a historic property that illustrates the character of the place.

Materials are the physical elements combined in a particular pattern or configuration to form the property during a period in the past. Integrity of materials determines whether or not an authentic historic resource still exists.

Workmanship is the physical evidence of the crafts of a particular culture or people during any given period of history.

Feeling is the quality that a historic property has in evoking the aesthetic or historic sense of a past period of time.

Association is the direct link between a property and the event or person for which the property is significant.

After identifying and documenting sites associated with the Underground Railroad in New York State, historian Judith Wellman found that traditional preservationists' adherence to concepts of integrity that privileged "the unchanged condition of a site" precluded listing many important historic resources.¹³⁰ The project nominated eleven sites to the National Register, but only one was accepted. The others were rejected on the basis of physical changes since their historic period, often the application of vinyl siding, which Wellman argues compromised the historic appearance of the building in an attempt to ensure its survival. As Wellman states "No site has complete integrity. If abandoned, a building's integrity may have been compromised as it fell into ruin. If occupied, a building must be maintained and therefore changed."¹³¹

In a recent unpublished paper titled "Beyond Bricks and Mortar: Notes on Integrity," historian Raymond Rast recounts how physical integrity was placed "on a par with significance" in the decades following passage of the National Historic Preservation Act, in part due to leaders such as William Murtagh, first Keeper of the Register, who

emphasized "aesthetic and environmental values" over the "associative values" he believed had dominated past designations.¹³² Rast quotes the assessment of archaeologist Barbara Little on the results of these integrity standards "If the official lists of important places in the American past are understood as representing that past, then the omission from those lists of places with 'insufficient integrity' succeeds...in silencing women's history and many kinds of ethnic (and class) history. Such silencing further empowers the elites whose buildings and structures are relatively unaltered because they have been continuously recognized or maintained."¹³³

As Wellman states, buildings valued as historical evidence require more flexible judgments of integrity than those applied to buildings deemed most significant for their architecture.¹³⁴ Fortunately, the California Register is less rigid than the National Register in regard to several criteria, including integrity. The OHP utilizes National Register categories of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association to assess integrity and states that potential resources "must...retain enough of their historic character or appearance to be recognizable as historical resources and to convey the reasons for their significance." Yet guidelines for the California Register state explicitly that "It is possible that historical resources may not retain sufficient integrity to meet the criteria for listing in the



McDonnell Hall served San Jose's Latino community, and the family of Cesar Chavez, from the early 1950s. It was moved on-site and remodeled to become the parish hall in the mid-1970s. Some community leaders want the building named a National Historic Landmark for its association with Chavez and his faith; some preservationists are concerned about whether its integrity is sufficient. Photos: Ray Rast, top; Donald McDonnell, bottom.

National Register, but they may still be eligible for listing in the California Register. A resource that has lost its historic character or appearance may still have sufficient integrity for the California Register if it maintains the potential to yield significant scientific or historical information or specific data.” Importantly, the California OHP recognizes that “alterations over time to a resource or historic changes in its use may themselves have historical, cultural, or architectural significance.”¹³⁵ The state register also allows for relocating a resource if it is moved to prevent demolition, listing of resources less than fifty years old if “it can be demonstrated that sufficient time has passed to understand its historical importance,” and designation of a reconstructed building if “it embodies traditional building methods and techniques that play an important role in a community’s historically rooted beliefs, customs, and practices; e.g., a Native American roundhouse.”¹³⁶

Design and workmanship tend to be weighted most heavily when evaluating integrity, according to one report from the Preserve America summit.¹³⁷ Then State Historic Preservation Officer M. Wayne Donaldson argued at the “Multiple Views” gathering that historic designation processes should allow for emphasis on association, setting, and feeling over other aspects of integrity when needed to create more inclusive registries of historic resources. Donaldson described association and feeling “as the most subjective, but also the aspects that may be most readily

maintained” by underrepresented communities. Evaluating significance and integrity of historic places from the perspective of the cultures that view them as significant is an important and complex goal if the historic preservation in California is going to reflect its diverse population. Even preservationists sympathetic to rethinking integrity standards have questions about the possible results. Anthony Veerkamp, staff for the National Trust for Historic Preservation, said, “while giving a pass on integrity may seem laudable in terms of designating an already altered resource, such leniency opens the door to green lighting alteration of already designated resources.”¹³⁸ As Rast concludes, “if the preservation movement is to remain more than a ‘cult of antiquarians,’ if it is to close what has become known as the ‘diversity gap,’ and if it is to provide a sense of orientation to a diverse American population in the twenty-first century, it will have to revisit its adherence to twentieth-century standards for ‘integrity.’”¹³⁹

Relationship Between Historic Preservation and Education

The need to strengthen connections to all levels of education was discussed at the “Multiple Views” gathering, particularly to ensure that new generations comprehend and value historic sites. How to insert an understanding of the value of California’s historic resources and historic preser-

vation into elementary and secondary education has been a topic among preservationists for many years. Cal Humanities Director of Programs, Vanessa Whang suggested the potential in partnering with California History-Social Science Project, a collaborative of historians, teachers, and affiliated scholars “dedicated to increasing the achievement of all students through a research-based approach which focuses on standards-aligned content, historical thinking, and academic literacy.”¹⁴⁰ Housed in history and geography departments at seven state colleges and universities, the project defines, implements, evaluates, and refines professional development projects for K-12th grade teachers that strengthen teaching in history.

The particularly fertile promise of closer ties with colleges and universities came up frequently in several of the interviews and community conversations conducted for this study, as well as at the “Multiple Views” gathering. While academic scholarship has made great strides in documenting previously marginalized aspects of California history, connecting this research to place and to specific sites within the built and natural environments has received far less attention. San Francisco State University professor Deborah Brown argued that recent studies in queer history could be used as a lens to gain new understandings of places important to San Francisco history, California history and American history. Doctoral student Alison Rose Jefferson noted at the Community Conversation about African American

historic sites that accessible, scholarly work needed to be done on individual sites to help Angelenos understand the African American dimension to their urban landscape. At the Community Conversation on LGBTQ historic sites, University of California, Berkeley historian Martin Meeker expressed bewilderment at the unfamiliar terms being used by historic resource professionals and pointed to the need for more dialogue between the preservationists and historians.

As historic preservation processes became more institutionalized, the field became more fully professionalized and its educational programs more ensconced with the field of architecture. Both of California's graduate programs in historic preservation are housed in departments of architecture. University of Southern California offers a terminal M.A., and California State University at Pomona offers a concentration in historic preservation within their architecture programs.¹⁴¹ Four California universities offer graduate programs in architectural history (Stanford University and University of California campuses at Berkeley, Los Angeles, and Santa Barbara).¹⁴² Most of these programs are housed in departments of architecture. The National Council on Public History lists six graduate programs in public history in California at four campuses in the California State University system and two in the University of California system.¹⁴³ Creating more opportunities for students in these programs to work on surveys, historic context statements

and individual landmarks designations can help expand documentation of community heritage and will expand students' understanding of a larger arena for the historic preservation profession.

Linking the academy with community organizations and public agencies can take many fruitful forms. Cathy Taylor, Capital District Superintendent for California State Parks, stated emphatically that it was important to increase connections between state parks, colleges and universities in order to strengthen historic research and park interpretation. Margo McBane, professor of history at San Jose State University and a participant in the community conversation on women's history and state parks, described her department's work in providing a broader context for American history to K-12 teachers across Northern California and suggested that a similar partnership might aid California State Parks. Lauren Weiss Bricker described a current collaboration between the Preservation Alliance of Philadelphia and the University of Pennsylvania to nominate diverse sites and the possibilities for National Council on Preservation Education student internships with the National Park Service to focus on similar nominations.

Interpretation and Education

Designating these and other places important to communities whose histories have not been given pride of place is

only part of the challenge for California preservation. Developing powerful and sustained ways to make the histories of those sites available and relevant to people today is just as crucial. Even our best efforts to steward historic sites can be incomplete if their stories are not conveyed. The discussion about women's history and California State Parks revealed that interpretation is a relatively low priority for state parks and that there are not enough historians on staff in the field. Relegating interpretation as a secondary priority stems, in part, from the premise that physical structures can "tell their own stories." As historian Rast points out, the National Register and National Historic Landmark Program suggest that buildings and other properties that meet high standards of integrity can "speak to present-day visitors." In fact, integrity is defined by the NHL program as "the ability of a property to convey its historical associations or attributes."¹⁴⁴

Yet, many historic places do not communicate their historic significance without interpretation or educational programs that can inform the visitor about their meaning. As Dolores Hayden wrote in her book *The Power of Places: Public Landscapes as Urban History*:

The places of everyday urban life are, by their nature, mundane, ordinary, and constantly reused, and their social and political meanings are often not obvious.... It takes a great deal of research, community involvement and inventive signing and mapping—as well as restoration—to bring



A pilgrimage to Allensworth State Park organized by an Oakland church over 200 miles away shows the powerful connections between community institutions and historic sites. Photo: Donna Graves.

these social meanings forward. But this process can lead from urban landscape history into community-based urban preservation, as understanding the past encourages residents to frame their ideas about the present and future."¹⁴⁵

As he worked on the National Park Service's Cesar Chavez Special Resource Study, Rast said that community members who shared information also communicated their hope that the NPS would go beyond "bricks and mortar" to ensure the preservation of "memories of battles fought, lessons learned, and lives improved."¹⁴⁶

The Castroville Japanese School is an excellent example of a modest historic building whose meaning to the community was revived and amplified by repurposing and interpretation that built on shared values among diverse residents. The building was erected in the mid-1930s as a place for the children of Japanese immigrants to learn to speak and read Japanese, and for community-wide events. It sat empty during WWII but served as a hostel for Japanese Americans returning from forced relocation and incarceration. According to historian Sandy Lydon, “sometime following World War II, the building was acquired by the Castroville Elementary School, and slowly, over time, the building’s history began to fade away.”¹⁴⁷ Monterey County’s Redevelopment Agency acquired the building and the surrounding vacant property in 1999 to provide public playing fields and a community center. Ten years later the building once described by a one visitor as “Perhaps the saddest and most thought-provoking historic spot on the National Register that I’ve visited” was dedicated as a youth center for the now primarily Latino neighborhood.¹⁴⁸ The garden surrounding the schoolhouse interprets the site’s history through the phrase, “for the sake of the children,” a value that has guided many immigrant parents. As Lydon said, “It represents the hopes and dreams of immigrant parents for their children. It didn’t matter if they were from Japan, Spain, Italy or Mexico. The desire is the same. It’s universal.”¹⁴⁹



Signage and a Japanese-style garden communicate the historic use for the Castroville Japanese School, which now houses a community center serving primarily Latino youth. Photo: Donna Graves.

Translating scholarly research and community-based knowledge about historic places into interpretive and educational programs should be a priority for the historic preservation field. Knowing *why* places are important, and experiencing the stories they hold in a powerful way, is critical for expanding broader support for historic preservation across California and the nation. While much research

needs to be conducted on sites associated with the histories of communities who are underrepresented by California's landmarks, a trove of infor-

mation generated for historic surveys and nominations lies untapped and could be made publicly available.

The means for interpreting historic sites can take myriad forms. The simple tool of historic marker programs is relatively underutilized and can be an accessible way to commemorate events, people, and historical associations. Familiar strategies of walking/driving tours and plaques have been expanded to include interpretive artworks, performances, film showings and more. The promise of new technologies as a means to recover and share histories that have been erased or forgotten was a recurring thread of the "Multiple Views" discussion. New social media including Facebook, Twitter and Tumblr can share information broadly and allow for crowd-sourcing, and can be an important way to engage youth in preservation. The LA Conservancy's *Curating the City: Wilshire Boulevard* website, recently unveiled Berkeley Historical Plaque Project, and the "Preserving LGBT Historic Sites in California" Facebook page are examples that invite viewers to share their own memories and research in building a fuller understanding of a street, a city, and the state.¹⁵⁰

Translating scholarly research and community-based knowledge about historic places into interpretive and educational programs should be a priority for the historic preservation field.

Site-based interpretation can build a richer and more inclusive public memory for California, revealing the experiences and contributions of "invisible" Califor-

nians. At its most powerful, interpretation can speak to how historic places connect to the issues and challenges faced by current residents and the dreams they have for the future of their communities.

Relevance

At the 2010 California Preservation Foundation conference, Stephanie Meeks cautioned that preservationists "have to come to grips with the reality that for many diverse communities, preservation is more about social issues and having a say in their future than it is about architectural integrity."¹⁵¹ Preservation practitioner and theorist, Ned Kaufman, went further when he wrote:

Heritage victories, unless accompanied by significant victories in the area of property values and political power, are likely to be essentially symbolic. When a preservation victory not only opens up the canon of heritage celebration but also changes the balance of wealth and power (even in a small way), then heritage politics will have achieved a real measure of empowerment.¹⁵²

Kaufman’s argument rests on the understanding that racial disparities no longer define inequity in ways they have in the past. To be relevant, historic preservationists need to understand and explicitly address barriers of class along with race/ethnicity.

The relevance of historic preservation to low-income communities is being demonstrated in grassroots community development projects happening across California today. Oakland’s historic California Hotel, now a low-income housing development, is the keystone of a larger neighborhood development plan led by East Bay Asian Local Development Corporation. The hotel will anchor the revitalized San Pablo Avenue Corridor, a key element of the organization’s Healthy Neighborhoods initiative dedicated to transforming Oakland’s disadvantaged neighborhoods into healthy areas where residents have access to stable housing, nourishing food, services, and educational and employment opportunities. The Hotel California Garden boasts a thriving greenhouse enterprise and farm that, in partnership with the People’s Grocery, sponsors programming and events, and acts as a hub for community building and gathering. Likewise, Eastside Heritage’s work on historic preservation has been created with the primary goal of neighborhood revival. Coalition co-founder Laura Dominguez views their work in the context of unincorporated East Los Angeles’ ongoing struggle for political determination, “a campaign that has long been associated with questions of historic and cultural identity.”¹⁵³

Working *with*, rather than *for*, communities was acknowledged as critical at the “Multiple Views” gathering, but also a big step for many heritage professionals and organizations. Empowering people to identify and preserve what is important to them means giving up some authority and standards that many preservationists and agencies have come to rely on. The broad coalition formed around preserving Los Angeles’ Wyvernwood Garden Apartments is especially instructive. Formed in opposition to the property



The People’s Grocery, a community development organization devoted to food security, is part of revitalizing Oakland’s historic California Hotel with an urban farm and greenhouse. Residents of the single room occupancy hotel are employed to help with plant start sales around the Bay Area. Photo: Leslie Tom.

owners' plans to transform the entire complex into a \$2 billion new, mixed-use development, coalition members have assisted the resident community in making their case for preservation. Now home to 6,000 residents, Wyvernwood was lauded when it opened in 1939 as a model of middle-income and working-class housing with buildings arranged around communal open spaces and walking paths. Current observers commented that the historic Boyle Heights complex fulfilled many tenets of the New Urbanism; it is pedestrian-friendly and affordable, is environmentally sited, and features shared open spaces. But it is the residents' own assessment of Wyvernwood's success in supporting a community over generations that has helped sway public opinion.¹⁵⁴ As part of the campaign to save the garden apartments, the resident group *Comité de la Esperanza* partnered with the Los Angeles Conservancy and the Los Angeles Media Collective on a multimedia project, "We Are Wyvernwood," funded by the National Trust for Historic Preservation. Students at Cal Poly Pomona developed designs in response to the Draft EIR for Wyvernwood that addressed varying preservation goals ranging from twenty-five to seventy-five percent retention, and proposed new uses such as independent senior housing that would support long-time residents to age in place. Community members, city staff, and elected officials listened to their proposals at a public meeting, and their site plans were submitted as part of the official

comments to the EIR process. Organizations supporting Wyvernwood's preservation go beyond preservation leaders such as the LA Conservancy to include local and statewide organizations focused on community development, public health, environmental justice, and immigrant rights.¹⁵⁵

The common thread for these projects is that historic preservation is not an end in itself, but a means to realize the larger goals of a community. "Multiple Views" participant Ned Kaufman advanced a new framework for the field of preservation reflecting this enlarged sense of purpose



A coalition of organizations is working with residents of Wyvernwood Garden Apartments to save this East Los Angeles community from displacement by a new development. Photo: Adrian Fine, Los Angeles Conservancy.

that he calls “cultural heritage services.” His premise is that a preservation field modeled on social services would emphasize the everyday benefits that preservation can provide when the focus shifts from physical resources to people and when service is the core mission. The five primary services heritage provides under Kaufman’s proposal are: supporting cultural identity for social inclusion; helping people understand their world so they can improve it; creating better living environments for social and economic justice; reducing global warming; and supporting individual identity, which promotes psychological health. Loss of homes, neighborhoods and meaningful public spaces is not simply a question of dollars and cents or protecting historic artifacts, it can be devastating to people and communities. Protecting these places and supporting their living heritage is a key service preservationists can provide. We need new tools and a new paradigm in order to avoid having the same conversation about the lack of diverse landmarks in California and to create the diverse, dynamic and democratic historic preservation programs that California deserves.

Recommendations

The California Cultural and Historical Endowment’s legislative mandate for this report included “recommendations for steps that should be taken to fill in the missing or underrepresented elements” of California heritage.¹⁵⁶ AB716 was enacted during a period of economic vigor, while this report

is being written as Californians suffers through one of the worst economic downturns in living memory. Given the present context, it is understandable that consideration of the potential policies and programs described in this report would appear politically and economically untenable. Yet it is also obviously important to take a long-term perspective, even in times such as these, and perhaps especially in relation to historic places that embody our shared heritage.

1. The California Office of Historic Preservation (OHP) and the National Park Service (NPS) can sponsor an update to the *Five Views* project that investigates sites associated with additional underrepresented communities and supports communities in their designation, preservation and interpretation.
2. The OHP can work with communities in the Certified Local Government program to strengthen the diversity of California landmarks in several ways. The Office already adds extra points to funding applications that focus on diverse resources. They might also encourage and add extra points to Certified Local Government grant applications that support historic context statements, surveys and nominations that include intangible, as well as physical resources, and surveys conducted in partnership with community-based organizations.

3. The OHP and NPS cultural resource staff can convene meeting with individuals who participated in Community Conversations for this report, the Asian/Pacific Islander American Historic Preservation Forums, and others to discuss issues associated with diverse sites and integrity, as well as possibilities for a more flexible and community-friendly survey and designation process.
4. The California Preservation Foundation (CPF) can sponsor webinars and incorporate panels into their annual conference that strengthen understanding of these issues in the field including: best practices for collaboration between academics and communities, case studies on innovative ways to interpret historic resources, and broadening understandings of integrity and significance. The 2011 CPF Conference in Oakland had a five-hour “Local Government Forum” with OHP staff. A similar forum led by OHP staff and leaders in the field could help representatives of Certified Local Governments, Main Street communities and Preserve America communities with training and discussion about new strategies for making their programs more inclusive.
5. Preservation leaders at the OHP, CPF and the California Historical Society can explore possibilities for partnership with California History-Social Science Project to integrate place-based learning about history and geography, and more awareness of the values of historic and cultural resource stewardship in K-12 education.
6. California’s graduate programs in historic preservation and public history can partner with local preservation organizations and agencies to support communities in identifying, documenting, and designating sites associated with underrepresented aspects of California history.
7. Cities can post landmark nominations, historic context statements and surveys in readily accessible webpages and distribute them in hard copy to local libraries, with the goal of informing on-going interpretation and education about their historic resources. There may be an important role for the California State Library and the OHP in bringing this effort to the statewide scale.
8. Los Angeles’ Office of Historic Resources and the California OHP can make the tools and strategies used in SurveyLA widely available after assessment of their success in the field.

9. The OHP can engage Cal Humanities and the California Arts Council in discussion about ways to leverage previously-funded projects that convey stories about underrepresented communities and place, and the potential for a new collaborative initiative that supports interpretive projects about historic sites.



Sailing Away, Zaccho Dance Theater. Inspired by San Francisco's early African American settlers, this site-specific performance features eight prominent African Americans who lived and worked near Market Street during the mid-nineteenth century and evokes their participation in the mass exodus of African Americans from California in 1858. San Francisco, September 2012. Photos: Donna Graves, left; Lewis Watts, right.



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A Note on Appendices for The Legacy of California's Landmarks: A Report for the California Cultural and Historical Endowment

Three appendices were prepared for this report: the first two include analysis of data from the *Five Views* project and information gathered about sites on the California and National Registers of Historic Places. Appendices A and B have been posted as Excel spreadsheets because we believe there may be new ways to organize the data that will be useful to future readers. The third appendix consists of collected notes from the six Community Conversations organized as part of the research for this report. All are posted on the California Cultural and Historical Endowment website at <http://www.library.ca.gov/grants/cche>.

Appendix A is comprised of data gathered on the 505 sites identified in the study *Five Views: An Ethnic Historic Site Survey for California*. The Appendix summarizes this report's research on the current status of each site and whether it received any form of landmark designation after

Five Views was published. Data was drawn from the original inventories prepared for each site, designation records from the California Office of Historic Preservation's Historic Resources Inventory, the National Park Service's online database for the National Register, websites of local historic preservation agencies, and Google Earth. The spreadsheets include individual pages for each of the five groups documented in the alphabetical order they appear as published. As noted in the body of this report, approximately half of the inventory records prepared on Native American sites were not shared for reasons of site and/or information sensitivity. A sixth spreadsheet organizes all of the *Five Views* sites by county, which provides an intriguing glimpse of geographic patterns in the histories the *Five Views* researchers captured.

Appendix B holds data on sites listed on the California and National Registers of Historic Places for underrepresented aspects of California's history. Base data came from the Office of Historic Preservation's Historic Resources Inventory (HRI), which is maintained by OHP as a statewide inventory of historical resources identified and evaluated through federal and state programs managed by OHP under the National Historic Preservation Act or the California Public Resources Code. This Appendix includes all of the HRI listings for sites designated on the California and National

Registers with historic attribute codes for Ethnic Minority Property and Women's Property, as well as all properties that appeared under the separate column of Ethnicity. Categories for Ethnicity in the HRI are African American, Asian American, Chinese American, European American, Italian American, Japanese American, Korean American, Hispanic, Native American, and Other. As discussed in the body of the report, this list in no way accounts for all of the designated sites that may be associated with underrepresented aspects of California's history because there are undoubtedly other designated resources whose associations with these aspects of our history were not documented as part of the designation process. Another weakness in the data stems from disparities that were identified between the HRI data and other sources such as the National Register on-line database. Despite these shortcomings, the data is revealing and instructive. It is organized by individual sheets for Women, Native American, African American, Chinese American, Japanese American, Latino, and Other, which in this case includes all sites associated with ethnicity or race that do not fall in the previous categories. Each sheet is arranged alphabetically by county.

Appendix C records six conversations that were organized across California with representatives of communities whose histories are underrepresented by formal landmark

programs. Although a common agenda was used, each meeting had its own unique tone. Records of the meetings were prepared by note-takers hired for each gathering. The notes were then circulated to the meetings' participants for review and comment, and lightly edited for clarity.