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Preserving *La Historia* of Place:
Alternative Approaches to Evaluating Historic Properties

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Preserving *La Historia* of Place:
Alternative Approaches to Evaluating Historic Properties

by

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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to Eréndira, who from the moment of our shared first breath has been a source of inspiration and a supportive companion.

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Abstract

Preserving *La Historia* of Place: Alternative Approaches to Evaluating Historic Properties

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The following thesis argues that in order to reach underrepresented communities, preservation efforts must be engaged at the local level. A way to begin to do this is to utilize analytical methods that find value in the ordinary and affirm the dynamic and referential character of buildings and the values we ascribe to them. Applying these methods to increasingly challenging preservation projects can help shape a broader yet more acute representation of our shared heritage.

The thesis begins with a review of the American Latino Heritage Initiative within the framework of the Westside neighborhood of San Antonio, Texas. Intended as a large-scale effort to bring attention to the role of "Latinos" in the U.S., the initiative is evaluated for its efficacy at the local level. The interface of national goals and local needs, general characterizations and specific qualities, and standardized processes with particular circumstances brings forth the challenges of preserving places, which the current preservation system was not designed to protect.

Mexican and Mexican American communities established an important cultural and physical center in San Antonio at the beginning of the 20th century. While some of the physical remnants of this rich history have been lost, others endure in the people and buildings that inhabit the Westside. Valuable local preservation initiatives have helped record their stories and highlight their significance. Nevertheless, formal preservation organizations have, until recently, failed to recognize the significance of the Mexican American heritage of the Westside.

In recent years, the San Antonio Office of Historic Preservation and local groups have collaborated to begin to designate landmarks in the Westside. This thesis examines five of these buildings with the intent of identifying what makes them stand out as important landmarks in the community. Analytical mapping considers the spatial relationships between the buildings and their surrounding areas, and temporal mapping examines the change in use of each case study. A typology of values is generated from this analysis categorizing the distinguishing characteristics of the buildings. Together these exploratory methods start to define a language that goes beyond historical and aesthetic significance to recognize social, cultural and use values.

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1: Introduction

The role of historic preservation in American society has come a long way since the women-led grassroots efforts of Mt. Vernon and the focus on the historic house museum. These first preservation efforts were grounded in an upper-middle class nostalgia for a narrowly defined past. Changes in cultural values and expanded knowledge and influence have pushed the boundaries of those initial preservation ideals and driven the profession to evolve. Historic preservation has become more integrated into city planning and as such has had to embrace a progression of scales and typologies beyond the individual high-style landmark. In so doing, preservationists have had to make adjustments to their understanding of what is historic and what is significant. At the same time, as preservation has become a formally recognized profession, political pressures have inevitably become intertwined with what was initially a grassroots movement, albeit a largely Anglo, upper-middle class one. Within this context and the changing population of the United States, there has been an increased recognition of the need to broaden the scope of preservation to include heretofore-underrepresented heritage. Preservationists have come to acknowledge that certain communities including women, African Americans, Asian Americans, Latinos and other minorities are not equitably represented in the formal channels of preservation, such as the National Register of Historic Places. Furthermore, these marginalized communities have been disproportionally affected by urban renewal and more recently community revitalization efforts leading to the loss of important physical and cultural heritage. Regrettably, historic preservation initiatives in lower income neighborhoods, many times predominantly minority, have led to gentrification and gradual, or sometimes abrupt, forced relocation of the communities that made these areas unique.

These issues become evident when looking at Mexican American neighborhoods in Texas. Despite the presence of a strong historical and cultural tie to Mexican traditions, the recognized historic stock of structures in Texas does little to represent the history of Mexicans and Mexican Americans, or Tejanos. Even in San Antonio, where a large Mexican and Mexican American population has consistently existed from the formation of the city to today, the physical landscape of this community has yet to be equitably represented. Discussing the manner in which the city of San Antonio has chosen to preserve and represent its Hispanic (in this case both Spanish and Mexican) narrative, Daniel Arreola points out,

> Realization of the idealized Hispanic landscape-making process in San Antonio may be what one landscape historian calls the American need for ruins. In preserving a past landscape, Americans are inclined to celebrate a bygone era without a definite date. Often the symbolic landscape is constructed from the ruins of a derelict landscape. River Walk and La Villita represent that unspecific, romantic past, places where one can fleetingly relive a "golden age and be purged of historical guilt" (Jackson 1980, 102). But can San Antonio, or any place for that matter, ever be bound by the confines of an official past? "The past should never be one-dimensional. No matter how accurately a landscape is preserved, a scene depicting only one moment in time can never be authentic. No place has ever been so consistent" (Ford 1984, 47).[1]

The places where Mexicans and Mexican Americans lived, worked and socialized have largely been ignored, erased or adapted in favor of the preservation of a romanticized Hispanic past that precludes the need to discuss an alternative line to the dominant Anglo American story. Focusing on Spanish colonial relics, the Hispanic narrative is discussed as one that existed at a point in the past, but is disconnected from the present.

Recently, likely in part due to political pressures that acknowledge a growing Latino population in the United States, the leading nationwide preservation institutions

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[1] Daniel D. Arreola, "Urban Ethnic Landscape Identity," *Geographical Review* 85, no. 4 (October 1, 1995): 518–534.

have made a concerted effort to assess and revise this limited view of U.S. history. The following thesis reviews these efforts, questioning their current effectiveness at the local level. Examining preservation within the framework of a particular area, the Westside of San Antonio, Texas, the thesis proposes the use of alternative methodologies to evaluate the places that are significant to this community. Five case studies and their surrounding areas are analyzed to create a typology of values that can be used to identify, evaluate and potentially preserve local landmarks in the Westside. This study demonstrates that understanding local significance is essential to effecting change at a national level.

The American Latino Heritage Initiative

In June of 2011, at the La Paz Forum held at the National Chavez Center in Keene, California, then Secretary of the Interior Ken Salazar, introduced the American Latino Heritage Initiative.[2] The primary goals of the initiative were identified as the following: to compile an American Latino Theme Study, to recommend potential National Historic Landmark designations significant to Latino heritage, to expand interpretation at existing sites to include information about Latino heritage, and to develop new funding to aid in the above efforts.[3] The National Park Service (NPS) adopted the responsibility for carrying out this initiative and has since generated a variety of projects, spanning from the local to the national scale, that work to unveil and highlight the history of Latinos in the United States. In April of 2013, the National Park System Advisory Board published *American Latinos and the Making of the United States: A Theme Study*.[4] The theme study was broken down into an introductory core

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[2] *A Report on the American Latino Heritage Initiative 2012,* Rep. U.S. Department of Interior and the National Park Service, n.d., http://www.nps.gov/latino/.
[3] *A Report 2*
[4] "American Latino Theme Study: The Making of the United States," National Park Service, http://www.nps.gov/latino/latinothemestudy/index.htm.

essay and a series of supplemental essays centered on four broad themes. Within each theme, four subcategories were identified, for which essays were drafted by scholars recognized in the respective fields.[5] The theme study is intended to provide a historic context against which nominated properties can be evaluated, help guide the potential creation of new sites, and provide information that can be used to expand interpretation at existing sites. In an effort to share the theme study with Latino communities and to invite public participation in moving the initiative forward, the NPS has held two forums, a Latino Legacy Forum in Los Angeles, California in October of 2013 and a Latino Legacy Summit in San Antonio in February of 2014.

The American Latino Heritage Initiative has led to the inception of numerous national as well as state and local projects. There has been a strong push from advocacy groups as well as congressional representatives for the construction of a National Museum of the American Latino in Washington, D.C.[6] The American Latino Heritage Travel Itinerary, made available on the National Park Service website on September 20, 2012, features existing Latino Heritage sites.[7] In Texas, the National Park Service advanced an endeavor to attain World Heritage Status for the San Antonio Missions. The official submittal of the application to the World Heritage Committee was completed in January 2014, and if successful, the missions' inscription into the World Heritage List

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[5] Themes and Subcategories:
Making a Nation: "Empires, Wars, Revolutions" by Ramón Gutiérrez; "Immigration" by David Gutiérrez; "Intellectual Traditions" by Nicolás Kanellos; "Media" by Felix Gutiérrez
Making a Life: "Religion and Spirituality" by Timothy Matovina; "Arts" by Tomás Ybarra-Frausto; "Sports" by José Alamillo; "Food" by Jeffery M. Pilcher
Making a Living: "Labor" by Zaragosa Vargas; "Business and Commerce" by Geraldo Cadava; "Science and Medicine" by John Mckiernan-González; "Military" by Lorena Oropeza
Making a Democracy: "Struggles for Inclusion" by Louis DeSipio; "Law" by Margaret E. Montoya; "Education" by Victoria Maria MacDonald; "New Latinos" by Lillian Guerra

[6] David Ng, "Backers of national museum on Latino history call on Congress to act," *Los Angeles Times,* August 1, 2013.

[7] *A Report* 28.

would take place in 2015, making the San Antonio Missions the first World Heritage site in Texas.[8] The NPS's classification of this action as part of a Latino Heritage Initiative brings into question exactly how the term 'Latino' is being defined, but this will be discussed later in the paper. Texas state lawmakers have passed and Governor Rick Perry has signed a bill that provides funding for the construction of a museum and research center for the Hispanic Heritage Center of Texas, to be located in downtown San Antonio and intended to create and assist programs that acknowledge *Tejanos* as important players in Texas history.[9] These are only a few of the ongoing projects that have emerged from the initiative.

While the American Latino Heritage Initiative has proven to have a genuine impact on preservation, especially in the attempt to inform the public about previously overlooked threads of American history, these efforts also raise questions as to the intended, actual and potential scope as well as the methodology of the initiative. Who is included in the term American Latino? What constitutes American Latino heritage? Can this heritage be evaluated in the same way as past historic sites and resources? If not, why? And how should it be evaluated? What does preservation of this heritage entail? These are all concerns that come up when assessing the initiative. As a relatively recent endeavor, written evaluations of the initiative's effectiveness are limited; however, the documents and programs publicized as part of the NPS's undertaking provide an indication as to the direction in which it is headed.

A primary question at the heart of this initiative is what groups of people are included within the definition of the term American Latino. At the San Antonio Latino

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8 "San Antonio Application Process," Missions of San Antonio, http://www.missionsofsanantonio.org/san-antonio-application-process.html.

9 Elaine Ayala, "Hispanic Heritage Center Gets Funding Boost," *Hispanic Business*, August 19, 2013, http://www.hispanicbusiness.com.

Legacy Summit, held on February 15, 2014, at the Guadalupe Cultural Arts Center in the Westside of San Antonio speakers recognized the importance and difficulty of defining this term. "Multi-faceted" and "varied" were words that kept coming up as different members of the National Park Service, the American Latino Scholars Expert Panel and the scholars themselves, authors of the American Latino Theme Study, spoke about the inception of the theme study. Dr. Antonia Castañeda, historian and independent scholar, affirmed that the Panel recognized the controversial nature of this issue and discussed at length before determining to use the term Latino instead of Hispanic in the title of the study and to include Spanish settlement as part of what is considered Latino history. In deciding what heritage to evaluate, the panel chose to focus on the period from the second half of the 19th century to the present because they felt that pre-1800s resources were already well represented in the National Register and because "much of the contemporary Latino experience is directly rooted to the last two centuries."[10] "Ultimately," Castañeda said, "we determined Latino history is American history with an accent. That accent is on the experiences and geographies extensively shaped by the Spanish empire, or Spanish imperialism, in the Americas and by the rise of the United States as a global power beginning in the 19th century."[11] Covering a wide range of topics and cultures, from Cuban intellectual leaders to Mexican authors and Guatemalan civil rights leaders, both women and men, the American Latino Theme Study thus sought, and I think has been successful in providing, a broad foundation for the initiative as a whole. Nevertheless, the diversity intrinsic in an American Latino heritage is such that this large-scale overview cannot capture the local nuances that exist nationwide in the

[10] Antonia Castañeda, "American Latinos and the Making of the United States: A Theme Study" (presented at the San Antonio Latino Legacy Summit, San Antonio, Texas, February 15, 2014).
[11] Ibid.

neighborhoods of American Latinos. Moving forward, additional local historic contexts can provide a more accurate view of local heritage and also help inform and flesh out the national narrative.

The array of projects highlighted as part of the American Latino Heritage Initiative, on the other hand, has not been quite as successful in capturing this multifaceted character, at least not those published on the NPS website. This only emphasizes the gaps that preservationists must work to fill. A review of the Latino Heritage Travel Itinerary reveals a certain bias in the range of sites featured. The itinerary includes 16 recommended destinations in Texas. Six of these sites are associated with Spanish colonial heritage: the Alamo, the San Antonio Missions National Historical Park, El Camino Real de los Tejas National Historic Trial, and the Spanish Governor's Palace among them. An additional five commemorate the Mexican-American and Texas Revolutionary wars. Three sites, including Big Bend National Park, are protected park areas. Only two sites are representative of Mexican settlement in Texas, the Treviño-Uribe Rancho and the Roma Historic District.[12] The only historic district on the Texas list, the Roma Historic District was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1972[13] and designated as a National Historic Landmark district in 1993.[14] The consequences of this narrow list are important to note. It minimizes the influence of Mexican settlement in the formation of Texas and places Mexicans and Mexican-Americans in the realm of a group of people that was conquered and replaced.

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[12] "List of Sites: American Latino Heritage Travel Itinerary," National Park Service, http://www.nps.gov/history/nr/travel/American_Latino_Heritage/list_of_sites.html#Texas.
[13] "Roma Historic District," National Register of Historic Places, http://nrhp.focus.nps.gov/natregsearchresult.do?fullresult=true&recordid=2.
[14] "Roma Historic District," National Historic Landmarks Program, http://tps.cr.nps.gov/nhl/detail.cfm?ResourceId=1284&ResourceType=District.

These shortcomings can be partially attributed to the relatively new status of the initiative; however, the rather broad spectrum that the NPS has thus far covered as part of the initiative has also restricted its effectiveness. While more has been publicized as to the NPS's large-scale efforts and achievements with iconic sites such as the San Antonio Missions in Texas and the César Chávez National Monument in California, less has been published about undertakings at the local level. If one of the goals of the initiative is to increase Latinos' inclusion in, awareness of the value of and access to the tools for preservation, the efforts being made must reach Latino communities at a local level. It is here where local grassroots organizations have emerged at the forefront of local preservation efforts, some of which have been carrying out this work for more than twenty years. Speaking at the Latino Legacy Summit of the importance of addressing local heritage and the difficulties that local groups have had in preserving this heritage, Graciela Sanchez, from the Esperanza Peace and Justice Center in San Antonio, encouraged fellow preservationists to:

- "Learn from the horrors of urban renewal," and think twice about the resources destroyed and families relocated as a result of development projects.
- "Learn to be *buena gente*, good people," and "work in coalition" with local allies, giving full credit for the work completed, sharing resources and teaching them about "how the system works."
- "Stand in solidarity with community-based historic preservationists and be courageous" when fighting for their resources.
- "Hire staff with decision-making power" that speak the local language and know local history.
- "Listen and learn" about cultural norms and follow them to demonstrate understanding and consideration.

- "Be smart" with preservation initiatives: recognize that the community may not have access to computers or Internet, "implement guidelines that incorporate vernacular architecture of working class and poor people...that focuses on Latinos," and "hire progressive Latino cultural historians" as opposed to people who have no comprehension of or experience working with Latino communities.
- Help preserve these communities in a manner that avoids the potential for gentrification so common in these neighborhoods by creating policy that prevents this from happening and by moving beyond "just landmark[ing] Latino historical buildings...to find funding" for their inhabitants, typically poor and working-class, to be able to fix them up and continue to use them.[15]

Sanchez concluded that these issues must be addressed through conversations held among the different levels of organizations involved in preservation. This encounter of city, state and national agencies with local preservationists can be challenging, as each group is guided by different goals and responsibilities, but it can also provide an opportunity for enacting preservation in a way that best responds to the needs of the communities involved.

How Latino heritage is evaluated and preserved is an issue that the initiative is just beginning to address. The designation of new Latino heritage sites has pressed preservationists to reevaluate standards of identification, assessment and treatment of 'landmarks.' In her introduction to the panel "The American Latino Legacy in Texas: Moving Forward and Addressing the Challenges" at the San Antonio Summit, Stephanie Toothman, Associate Director of the National Park Service Office of Cultural Resources, Partnerships and Science, recognized,

[15] Graciela Sanchez, "The American Latino Legacy in Texas: Moving Forward and Addressing the Challenges" (presented at the San Antonio Latino Legacy Summit, San Antonio, Texas, February 15, 2014).

> There is a perception, I think it is based in experience, that the National Register and the National Historic Landmarks programs, in their criterias [*sic*] and their pathways to designation, present obstacles to nominating the resources not only of this community but many other communities, particularly those of local and state significance. So, this year I hope to put together a panel...to begin to do a really close look reaching out to various communities to really explore this idea that if there are obstacles, how can we address them and resolve them so again we have a clearer, smoother pathway towards recognizing the resources that are so important to all of you.[16]

As evident in this statement and in the review of the Latino Heritage Initiative as a whole, the recognition of Latino heritage sites has necessitated the convergence of a succession of organizations, moving toward a single goal but emanating from diverse scales and standpoints, and attempting to position a distinct type of heritage into a framework that was not designed to accept it.

Alternative Perspectives

Assessing and preserving Latino heritage can be a difficult and controversial process. Challenges that may not emerge when preserving structures that easily fit into the criteria set up by the National Register can delay and even impede the preservation process from taking effect in places of Latino significance. For example, places that carry local significance may not be immediately identifiable when conducting visual surveys of Latino neighborhoods. Many times these buildings are constructed with limited resources and can seem ordinary if compared to high-style architect designed landmarks. In addition, important people and events associated with these buildings are typically not documented in mainstream sources of history. As a result, identifying and establishing the significance of these resources requires local knowledge and can demand extensive research. Once these landmarks have been identified, the question of how to preserve

[16] Stephanie Toothman, ""The American Latino Legacy in Texas: Moving Forward and Addressing the Challenges" (presented at the San Antonio Latino Legacy Summit, San Antonio, Texas, February 15, 2014).

them creates additional challenges. Limited resources as well as the essential nature of these places determine that treating the buildings as static representations of an established past is not only unfeasible but also impractical in terms of their long-term preservation. The particularities of these challenges are just now being discovered by the preservation agencies, which have taken on these projects at the city, state and national levels. Local preservationists, at the other extreme, have been struggling with many of these issues for years. In an effort to bridge this disparity, preservationists as a whole could turn to several perspectives that have attempted to understand heritage values and create frameworks within which these can be evaluated and retained.

Research on the Values of Heritage, The Getty Conservation Institute

From 1998 to 2005, the Getty Conservation Institute (GCI) undertook a research project to "bridge economic and cultural approaches to valuing heritage."[17] The project was conceived as a two-part approach that assessed how socio-cultural and economic values are attributed to heritage and how to better incorporate them into the materials conservation process. The final document, Assessing the Values of Heritage, built upon previous reports to recommend approaches for considering the broad range of heritage values as part of conservation planning strategies. This study is of particular relevance to this thesis because it examines the concept of "values" in contemporary conservation. One of the challenges of working with Latino heritage is that the values typically associated with historic buildings, high-style architectural significance, comprehensive historical significance, or association with significant persons, may not be immediately identifiable in Latino built heritage. Many times, the values of these buildings come from 'low-style' architectural significance, a historical significance that has yet to be

[17] "Research on the Values of Heritage (1998-2005)," The Getty Conservation Institute, http://www.getty.edu/conservation/our_projects/field_projects/values/.

uncovered, or the intersection of the variety of people who have inhabited them. The GCI study provides an expanded and fresh look at the identification of values that can be useful when evaluating Latino heritage.

As stated in the report, "one important outcome of this work was identifying 'values' as a key concept in understanding the relations between the conservation field and the societies it serves."[18] Defined values can create a common language and facilitate communication among the various actors in preservation and the community in which they work. Many times, the identification of values is separated from the preservation of these values. A set of values is established in the statement of significance, developed at the beginning of a project, and then simply carried through without reconsideration. At the end of this process, conservators, concerned with the material conservation of these places, accept the already defined values as fixed statements without attempting to understand where they came from or how they can change during the conservation process. An interdisciplinary approach, where conservators are involved from the beginning, when values are defined, and cultural historians or preservationists are involved at the end, to evaluate if these values have changed, could lead to projects in which values are better understood and preserved. As the report points out, the reality is that the decisions made during the conservation process can have an effect on the values being preserved, whether the conservator recognizes it or not.

Beyond the preservation professionals involved in a project, there are a number of additional stakeholders who must also be taken into consideration and engaged in a discussion about values. These can include "the individual, the family, the local

[18] Erica Avrami, Randall Mason, and Marta de la Torre, ed., *Values and Heritage Conservation: Research Report* (Los Angeles: The Getty Conservation Institute, 2000), 3.

community," developers and others.[19] The study recognizes, and the above review of the Latino Heritage Initiative confirms, that collaborations among these different participants can be productive as well as tense. Each of these stakeholders comes to a project with a different understanding of values, and their "motivations for the valorization (or de-valorization) of material heritage vary" greatly.[20] In addition, larger contextual conditions, including "continuity and change, participation, power, and ownership" affect the way these different parties interact with each other and influence the project as a whole.[21]

The GCI study found that in order to have a productive discussion about values, the values themselves have to be understood in a manner that recognizes the mutual and continuously evolving relationship between values and the society that defines them. Heritage is a "fluid phenomenon, a process as opposed to a set of objects with fixed meaning," and the buildings that form part of this heritage are not "static embodiments of culture but are, rather, a medium through which identity, power, and society are produced and reproduced."[22] This approach places preservation within its larger context and recognizes that in the same way that preservation shapes its context, context forms and reforms the social activity that is preservation. This context includes "forces such as globalization, technological developments, the widening influence of market ideology, cultural fusion," and in the case of Latino heritage, economic interests, gentrification, revitalization efforts, and larger dominant cultural and historical narratives.[23]

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[19] Avrami et al., *Values,* 9.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Avrami et al., *Values,* 6.
[23] Avrami et al., *Values,* 7.

In "Preserving the Historic Urban Fabric in a Context of Fast-Paced Change," an essay within the larger GCI study, Mona Serageldin discusses an additional contextual pressure that is particularly important to mention because of its relevance for Latino heritage, and heritage in other low-income areas. Serageldin argues, "The fundamental causes of the ineffectiveness of conservation measures lie in the stress experienced by communities undergoing rapid change."[24] Speaking specifically of historic centers in developing countries, Serageldin stresses,

> Change, whether desired or imposed, entails geographic mobility, social dislocation, and new economic systems. The imbalance between the quasi-static view of management adopted by conservation agencies and the dynamics of development in societies experiencing rapid transformation becomes untenable... widening [the] gap between the behavior required by preservation codes and rational individual economic, social, and cultural behavior [25]

The nature of many Latino communities today, where revitalization efforts and urban development are threatening historic but maybe not highly economically valued fabric places them under a similar pressure as these historic centers. Serageldin recommends acknowledging this change and learning to "handle it as an ingredient" of preservation strategies, rather than as a "force to be contained."[26]

The CGI study concludes with the suggestion of developing a framework that can chart "how heritage is created, how heritage is given meaning, how and why it is contested, and how societies shape heritage and are also shaped by it."[27] The result would not be one single path or solution to conservation, but, rather, an overview of themes that would reveal certain patterns within which conservation decisions can take place.

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[24] Mona Serageldin, "Preserving the Historic Urban Fabric in a Context of Fast-Paced Change," in *Values and Heritage Conservation: Research Report,* ed. Erica Avrami et al. (Los Angeles: The Getty Conservation Institute, 2000), 56.
[25] Ibid
[26] Ibid.
[27] Avrami et al., *Values,* 10.

Important in this framework is the integration of the assessment of values into the process of preservation and the interpretation of heritage as something that is "created and continually recreated by social relationships, processes, and negotiations involving actors from all parts of a society."[28]

A Theory of Place

Coming at preservation from a slightly different perspective, Dolores Hayden pulls from urban history and planning to develop what she calls a "theory of place."[29] Writing in 1988, Hayden observed that there was a lack of minority resources, of both ethnic minorities and women, being recognized in Los Angeles, a largely minority city. One reason for this discrepancy, she argued, was the source of nominations, a majority of which came about through the individual enterprises of people with the power and resources, as well as personal interest, to landmark these resources – "politicians seeking fame or favor, businessmen exploiting the commercial advantages of specific locations, and architectural critics establishing their own careers by promoting specific persons or styles."[30] As a result, places that memorialize the common activities of "earning a living, raising a family, carrying on local holidays, and campaigning for economic development or better municipal services" were overlooked.[31] Hayden suggested that the obstacles to preservation of minority resources lie not in the legislation guiding historic preservation, which while not extensively used to protect these places contains within it the capability to support them, but, rather, in the "creation and implementation of workable proposals for specific places."[32]

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[28] Avrami et al., *Values,* 14.
[29] Dolores Hayden, "Placemaking, Preservation and Urban History," *Journal of Architectural Education* Vol. 41 Issue 3 (April 1988): 45-51, accessed December 5, 2013, doi: 10.2307/1424895.
[30] Hayden, "Placemaking," 46.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Hayden, "Placemaking," 47.

Hayden proposed several strategies to overcome these obstacles. A way of making preserved structures more relevant to their context can be to find uses for them other than as museums or adaptive reuse commercial spaces. As well, "richer interpretations of possible landmarks, stressing the interconnections of class, race and gender" as opposed to focusing on a single narrative can help address and include a larger audience and possibly garner increased attention.[33] Through the creation of her non-profit, The Power of Place, Hayden put these ideas into action, developing a self-guided tour of multi-ethnic historic places of Los Angeles and a series of community workshops evaluating the chosen sites.[34] The tour was encapsulated under the theme of economic development with an emphasis on production as opposed to consumption as the basis for this development. The choice of the theme of productive economic development was a deliberate attempt to include a wide range of economic classes, from the wage laborer to the service employee, races, as people of all races play a role in the development of the city, and genders.

In 1995, Hayden published *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History,* in which she evaluates the work completed under the Power of Place and reviews the position of preservation in the contemporary 1990s urban landscape.[35] While recognizing that strides have been made to acknowledge diverse sites, Hayden asserts, "it is not enough to add on a few African American or Native American projects, or a few women's projects, and assume that preserving urban history is handled well in the United States." These sites, she contends, must be understood within a "larger conceptual

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[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes As Public History* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1995) *eBook Collection (EBSCOhost)*, accessed February 22, 2014.

framework" in order to be effective in asserting a sense of cultural belonging.[36] Hayden's concept of "power of place" comes from "the power of ordinary urban landscapes to nurture citizens' public memory, to encompass shared time in the form of shared territory."[37] Preserving minority, multiethnic places under this conception of the power of place requires the appreciation of the full range of resources found in the urban landscape and the identification of ways to involve ordinary historic buildings as important agents the living city in which they exist. It also involves the study and consideration of the social and political meanings of urban landscapes in addition to their physical shape. The power of place is hinged upon the potency of what has been termed place memory. As Hayden points out, "place memory," coined by philosopher Edward S. Casey as "'the stabilizing persistence of place as a container of experiences that contributes so powerfully to its intrinsic memorability'...is the key to the power of historic places to help citizens define their public pasts.[38] Interdisciplinary endeavors that engage in community participation can lead to the creation of projects that retain social memory and manifest a sense of place.

Application to Latino Heritage Preservation

The values-based GCI perspective and Hayden's placemaking urban strategy are clearly two very different approaches, yet they each provide valuable perceptions that can be applied to Latino heritage. Both point to the importance of assessing heritage at a larger contextual scale as well as at the local level. They encourage participating in interdisciplinary approaches that include equitable collaboration among preservationists, scholars of other disciplines and the broad gamut of project stakeholders, in particular the

[36] Hayden, *The Power of Place*, 8.
[37] Hayden, *The Power of Place*, 9.
[38] Hayden, *The Power of Place,* 46.

resident community. In their own way, they each advocate viewing heritage as something that is evolving, not static, and vulnerable to the forces of change and social, cultural and political pressures. Looking once more at the American Latino Heritage Initiative, it is evident that the above strategies provide useful insights that can help navigate the identification, assessment and preservation of Latino heritage.

Building on this idea, this thesis will consider how the above approaches can be applied in a specific location. First, the context for a particular locality, the Westside of San Antonio, is established. The various forces that influence the heritage of the Westside are presented alongside the groups involved in preserving this heritage. Then, five case studies located in this area are analyzed within the framework established above to develop a typology of socio-cultural values. These values are retroactively used to evaluate the heritage of the Westside and provide further insight as to how it can best be preserved.

2: San Antonio's Westside

The American Latino Heritage Initiative acknowledges that Latino heritage sites are underrepresented in conventional preservation systems. San Antonio's Westside demonstrates a local example of how this has occurred with heritage important to the Mexican American community of the city. The Mexican American center of the city of San Antonio, concentrated in the area west of downtown, flourished in the first half of the 20th century as a political, cultural and commercial center for the growing Mexican and Mexican American population of the United States. However, its presence is almost invisible in national, state and local preservation inventories. Only in the last two years have city preservationists begun to pay attention to the valuable resources located within the Westside. As a result, San Antonio's Westside is a useful case study to begin to examine why these areas have been overlooked and also to consider how they can be preserved in a way that is useful and meaningful to their communities.

History and Background

The city of San Antonio is located in south Texas, at the intersection of two major highways, Interstate Highway 10, which crosses east west, and Interstate Highway 35, heading north to Austin and Dallas and south to Laredo and Mexico. San Antonio has been an important city with a history of change and multiplicity. Where this could have resulted in the replacement of one culture over another, elements of each group of people who have called San Antonio home remain in the physical landscape that makes up the present city even if this is not manifested in the city's published image.

Before the 17th century, the area that is today known as San Antonio was sparsely occupied by Native Americans. First explored by the Spanish in the late 17th and early 18th centuries, the area became a central outpost for the northernmost province of the

Spanish empire. To establish their presence in the area, the Spanish constructed the San Antonio de Béxar Presidio, founded in 1718, five Spanish missions, built along the San Antonio river starting in 1718, and the Villa of San Fernando de Béxar, commissioned by Canary Island settlers in 1731.[39] Not without difficulties, the town grew in size and population and was named the capital of Spanish Texas in 1773. By 1813, when the city declared independence with the rest of the Mexican territory, the missions had become secularized and settlement was centered on its military operations. In 1820, approximately half of the population of San Antonio de Béxar was made up of self-identified Spanish residents. Indians, mestizos and mulattoes made up the other half.[40] Playing a central role in the Texas Revolution, San Antonio was the site of several recognized battles including the battle of the Alamo. Becoming a part of the Republic of Texas, San Antonio was appointed as the seat of the newly established Bexar County in 1837.[41] Texas' annexation to the United States in 1845 led to increased growth for the city of San Antonio, as it became a crossing point for westward expansion. What had been largely a Hispanic population of both Mexican and Spanish descent, 47 percent in 1850, was diversified through an influx of European and Anglo American newcomers.[42] Driving this growth were German immigrants, who became the predominant residents of the city until 1877.[43] The arrival of the first railroad in 1877 further augmented local cattle ranching, distribution and mercantile economies. By 1900, four additional railroads and immigration of Anglo Americans from other southern states made San Antonio the

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[39] T. R. Fehrenbach, "San Antonio, TX," Handbook of Texas Online, Published by the Texas State Historical Association, June 15, 2010, http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/hds02.
[40] Jesús F. de la Teja and John Wheat, "Bexar: Profile of a Tejano Community, 1820-1832," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 89, no. 1 (July 1, 1985): 7–34.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Daniel D. Arreola, "Urban Ethnic Landscape Identity," *Geographical Review* 85, no. 4 (October 1, 1995): 518–534.
[43] Fehrenbach, "San Antonio."

largest city in the state of Texas.[44] Immigration from Mexico also increased after 1900, largely as a result of the Mexican Revolution, adding to the exploding population.

The "Mexican Quarter"

From 1900 to 1930, the Mexican population in San Antonio grew from approximately 14,000 (of 53,521 total) to 84,000 (of 231,542).[45] During these first decades of the 20th century, Texas became a key attraction for Mexican immigrants because of its proximity, easy transportation access through the railroads, and availability of jobs. San Antonio became the center of dispersal for migrant laborers, who made their way from there to other cities in Texas as well as the rest of the U.S.[46] However, as the city of San Antonio became a central point of Mexican influence in the United States, the Mexican population was increasingly being displaced outside of the physical center of the city. As David Arreola points out in his essay "Urban Ethnic Landscape Identity," the early 20th century saw the creation of "a genuine Hispanic landscape, but one that was segregated and alien to almost everyone except the Mexicans in the city."[47] San Pedro Creek, located west of the downtown district, became the boundary line for the beginning of the "Mexican Quarter."[48] This district was centered around the relocated city market, which was moved from the Plaza de Armas, at the center of the city, to the market square created several blocks west between Commerce and Buena Vista streets on the north and south and San Saba and Santa Rosa streets on the west and east, as shown in Figure 1. Four open plazas surrounded the market square and became the social center for the

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[44] Ibid.

[45] Arreola, "Urban Ethnic Landscape Identity," 522.
Campbell Gibson, "Population of the 100 Largest Cities and Other Urban Places in the United States: 1790 to 1990," Population Division, U.S. Bureau of the Census, June 1998.

[46] Daniel D. Arreola, "The Mexican American Cultural Capital," *Geographical Review* 77, no. 1 (January 1, 1987): 17–34.

[47] Arreola, "Urban Ethnic Landscape Identity, 522.

[48] Ibid.

Mexican community, hosting concerts and special events.[49] The area just east of Santa Rosa Street became an important commercial corridor for the Mexican community, with 73 Mexican-owned businesses in 1924.[50] This commercial development placed San Antonio among the most important Mexican business centers in the US at the time.

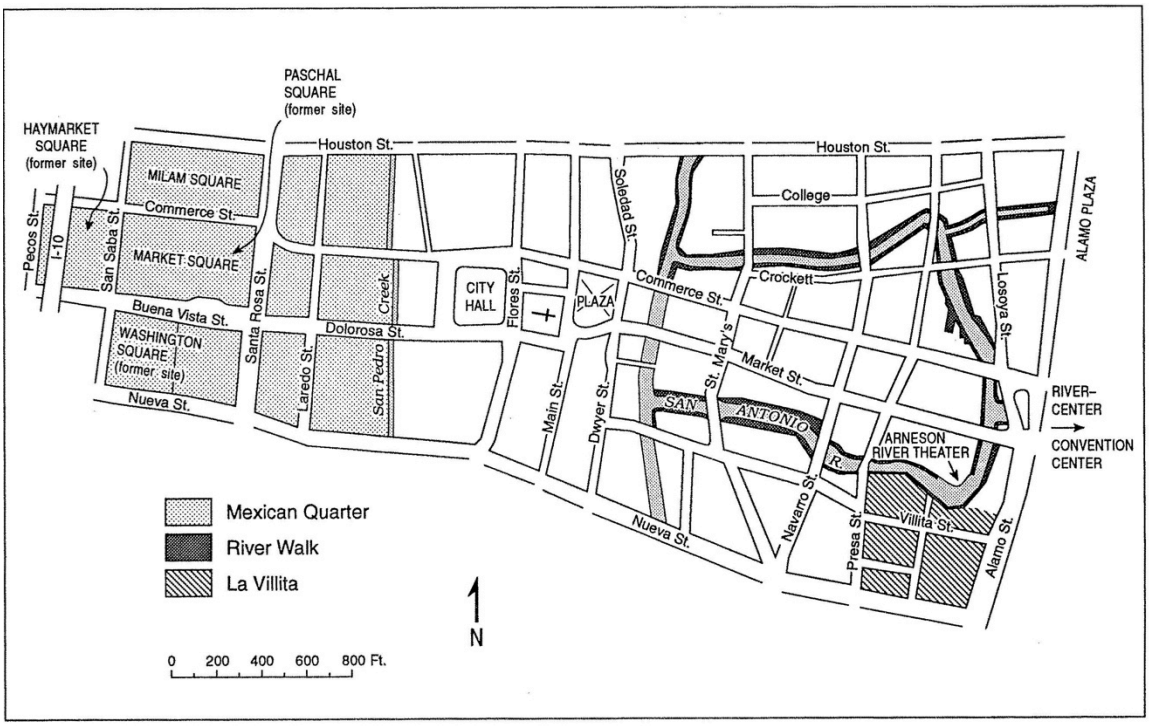

Figure 1: Hispanic landscape districts in downtown San Antonio, Early 20th Century
Source: Daniel Arreola, "Urban Ethnic Landscape Identity."

By 1940, almost three quarters of the Mexican population in San Antonio was concentrated in the area west of San Pedro Creek.[51] Composed of working class laborers as well as middle and upper class residents, San Antonio's Mexican American community was an important focal point for Mexican political and intellectual thought

[49] Arreola, "Urban Ethnic Landscape Identity," 523.
[50] Arreola, "Urban Ethnic Landscape Identity," 524.
[51] Arreola, "Mexican American Cultural Capital," 25.

and a cultural epicenter. A number of the community's first residents, arriving in the first decades of the century, were political refugees escaping revolutionary Mexico, many members of the upper class. At the beginning of the revolution, the refugees were primarily opponents of the dictatorial government of President Porfirio Díaz. After the revolution, exiled supporters of the ousted President joined the group. This ironic merging of two opposing groups in the same city may seem odd, but it only underlines the link between Mexico and the city of San Antonio and its accessibility to Mexican emigrants.[52] In 1913, Ignacio E. Lozano, a Díaz exile, founded *La Prensa*, a Spanish-language newspaper that became highly influential in Texas, the U.S. and internationally.[53] The headquarters for this newspaper and a second edition called *La Opinion,* distributed in Los Angeles, were located in San Antonio. In spite of its political bias, *La Prensa* was the foremost Spanish-language newspaper in Texas until 1954 and became a key disseminator of relevant news from Mexico for Mexican Americans of all political persuasions.[54]

San Antonio also saw the creation of important Mexican American organizations formed to help Mexicans, Texas-born Mexican Americans and other Mexican Americans. Among the most important, *La Orden Hijos de America,* The Order of the Children of America, was formed by a group of middle-class Texan-Mexicans with the goal of achieving economic, social and racial equality for its members.[55] Its membership was limited to native-born or naturalized American citizens and priority was given to helping its members learn English. The philosophy of this organization became the model upon which the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) was founded in 1929 at

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[52] Arreola, "Mexican American Cultural Capital," 26.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Arreola, "Mexican American Cultural Capital," 27.

Corpus Christi, Texas.[56] LULAC became and continues to be one of the leading Mexican American organizations in the United States and has played a critical role in advocating for the rights of this community. In 1967, The Mexican American Youth Organization (MAYO) was founded in San Antonio, with the aim of promoting civil rights and encouraging political participation by Texan Mexicans. MAYO and La Raza Unida Party (RUP), founded in part by MAYO members in 1970, were fundamental players in the increased presence of Mexican Americans in local politics that was seen in Texas and San Antonio in particular in the last decades of the 20th century.[57]

The Mexican American community of San Antonio also played an important role in the propagation of Mexican American cuisine, products and music. The city became notable for its chili stands. Located in the various city plazas, these stands were attended by "chili queens" and were popular nighttime eateries.[58] Commercial production of Mexican American food products for distribution to local, regional and nationwide markets was also a principal element of the San Antonio economy. Their widespread popularity attracted investments by Anglo American and European immigrants. Already in 1896, William Gebhardt, a German immigrant in San Antonio, had begun to manufacture and sell chili powder.[59] In 1911, his company became the first to commercialize canned Mexican American foods including *chili con carne* and *tamales*. *Conjunto* music, a distinctly regional variety of music, was popularized in west San Antonio's dance halls and clubs. Characterized by an accordion lead accompanied by bass, guitar and drum elements, its origins have been traced back to the lower Rio Grande

[56] Ibid.
[57] Arreola, "Mexican American Cultural Capital," 28.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Ibid.

Valley, south Texas and the northern Mexican city of Monterrey.[60] Sources also credit German and Eastern European influences for the introduction of the accordion to this type of music.[61] According to Arreola, 1930s San Antonio was an important center for the recording of Spanish-language music, *conjunto* especially, as record companies sent scouts around the country in search of ethnic music.[62]

Figure 2: Santa Rosa Street looking towards intersection with Commerce Street, Nov 1970 *Teatro Nacional on left; Chapa's Drug Store on right. San Antonio, Texas. Source: UTSA Libraries, Special Collections.*

[60] Arreola, "Mexican American Cultural Capital," 31.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Ibid.

The Westside

The area of physical and cultural influence of the Mexican American community was not limited to the original "Mexican Quarter." Especially as the Mexican American population grew throughout the 20th century, the district expanded further west until it covered the entire area now known as San Antonio's Westside. Largely pasture and farmland until the late 1800s, this area was an attractive location for settlement for Mexican immigrants who came to the U.S. at the start of the 1900s. The Westside provided a variety of opportunities for work in agriculture and ranching as well as industry and manufacturing because of the close proximity of the railroads. Unlike other areas in the city, the Westside did not have racial deed restrictions that would have excluded Mexican Americans from property ownership. In addition, low land values meant that ownership was possible even for lower-income immigrants. As a result of these factors, the Westside developed as a mixed income community, containing Mexican American residents of all classes. Residences in characteristic Victorian styles were built throughout the Westside alongside more modest Craftsman Bungalow and Shotgun styles.

Still, throughout the 1900s, infrastructure problems characteristic of minority, low-income neighborhoods afflicted the residents of the Westside even as the community grew. Access to water and sewage lines was a major issue, exacerbated by a lack of resources and political incentives to aid the Mexican American population. City government attempted to address these issues in 1915 with the creation of sanitation regulations and building standards meant for implementation in the Westside.[63] However, these regulations had minimal impact due to the absence of steady enforcement. In the

[63] *Guadalupe Westside Community Plan*, Prepared by residents of Guadalupe Westside area and the City of San Antonio Planning and Community Development Department (May 3, 2007).

1930s, Father Carmelo Tranchese, who was to become pastor of Our Lady of Guadalupe Church in the Westside, led a campaign to improve living conditions for the poorest residents in the area.[64] His appeal to President Franklin D. Roosevelt no doubt played a role in the construction of the Alazan Courts and Apache Courts, two of the first national housing projects completed upon the creation of the Federal Housing Administration in 1937.[65] Several additional projects were built, including the San Juan Homes in 1951 and the Cassiano Homes in 1953.[66] The San Antonio projects consisted of two to three story apartment blocks, some with single-family detached houses or duplexes.

Notwithstanding the infrastructure and housing difficulties in the Westside, the area enjoyed a vibrant and rich commercial and cultural scene. An important commercial neighborhood located just southwest of the early "Mexican Quarter" was the Guadalupe Street area. The Spanish settled in this area in 1733, calling it Villa Guadalupe.[67] Located within the 36-square mile area of the city boundaries as delineated in the 1837 City Charter, Villa Guadalupe developed in the late 1800s as a community of modest dwellings on large lots for residents of mixed ethnic backgrounds.[68] In 1908, water and sanitary lines were installed along the major streets.[69] A part of the Old Pecos Trail, a principal entry thoroughfare for Mexican immigrants into the U.S., Guadalupe Street became a catchment point for much of the Mexican population who made their way into San Antonio between 1910 and 1925.[70] This growth in population changed the character of the residential area into a mix of residences and commercial structures. Many

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[64] *Guadalupe Westside Community Plan,* 18.
[65] Ibid.
[66] *Guadalupe Westside Community Plan,* 19.
[67] *Casa Maldonado,* Prepared by the Westside Historic Preservation Group and the Esperanza Peace and Justice Center (May 5, 2011).
[68] *Casa Maldonado,* Westside Historic Preservation Group, 3.
[69] Ibid.
[70] *Guadalupe Westside Community Plan,* 17.

businesses located on or near this street flourished during the 1920s and 30s, including theaters, restaurants, taverns, bakeries, and stores.[71] Mexican Americans capitalized on the opportunity to become independent business owners such as shopkeepers, shoemakers, bakers, and blacksmiths and added to the economy of the area. Our Lady of Guadalupe Church as well as the Progreso and Guadalupe Theaters added to the social life of the neighborhood. The Guadalupe Street area became a principal cultural and business center for the Mexican American community of San Antonio.

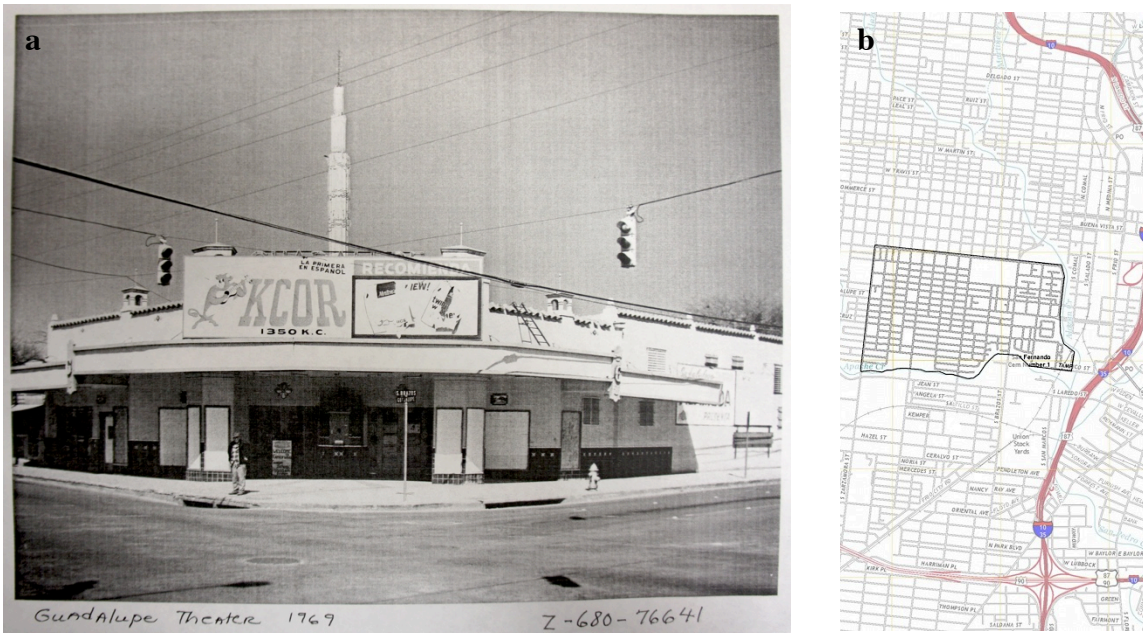

Figure 3: Guadalupe Theater, 1969 (a) and Map of Villa Guadalupe (b)
Source: UTSA Libraries, Special Collections (a), Map created by author (b).

In the Westside as a whole, the period from 1929 to 1941 saw the intersection of Mexicans and Mexican Americans of diverse social groups, classes and political ideas.[72] As these various groups sought to find their position within the Mexican American

[71] *Guadalupe Westside Community Plan,* 20.
[72] Richard A Garcia, *Rise of the Mexican American Middle Class: San Antonio, 1929-1941* (College Station: Texas A & M UP, 1991), 3.

community and more generally in the U.S., a change in consciousness surfaced that created divisions between the *ricos*, or wealthy class, and the middle and working classes. In his book, *The Rise of the Mexican American Middle Class: San Antonio, 1929-1941,* Richard Garcia traces the "crucial historical turning point in the development of Mexicans' consciousness and ideology from Mexican and immigrant to Mexican American and citizen" that occurred in the 1930s.[73] On one hand, the *ricos* had begun to turn their attention back to Mexico after the end of the Revolution in 1920, and the Mexican government tried to find ways to entice exiles to return and help rebuild the country.[74] The *ricos* continued to consider themselves primarily Mexican and maintained their ties to Mexico through publications that kept up with Mexican political events and propagation of Mexican traditions. On the other hand, the creation of groups such as LULAC strove to move away from *lo mexicano* to incorporate *lo americano* as part of the Mexican and Mexican American middle class consciousness. Stagnation in the flood of immigrants during the Depression served to consolidate the existing Mexican population. By the 1940s, Mexican American pragmatism, pluralism, liberalism and patriotism to the U.S. won out over Mexican positivism, elitism, high culture and nationalism; the 40s and 50s saw a move toward "Americanization" and the "economic and political expansion of the Mexican American middle class."[75]

The Westside in the 21st Century

Today, the Westside continues to be predominantly Mexican American. In 2012, the Westside population was 96% Hispanic.[76] Suburban flight in the 1940s and 1950s

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[73] Garcia, *Rise of the Mexican American Middle Class,* 4.
[74] Garcia, *Rise of the Mexican American Middle Class,* 6.
[75] Garcia, *Rise of the Mexican American Middle Class,* 7.
[76] "Demographics," Westside Development Corporation, accessed November 5, 2013, http://www.westsidedevcorp.com/index.php/wdc-datacenter/demographics1.

meant the loss of some residents, particularly in the middle and upper classes, but many Westside residents remain in or near their family homes. The development of malls and centralized shopping centers in the 1960s and 1970s had a harsher effect on the neighborhood, taking traffic away from the local businesses that were so important to the physical and economic landscape of the Westside. In 2010, just over 50% of homes were owner occupied.[77] The same year, Median Household Income in the area was $26,400 compared to $43,000 for the city of San Antonio and $54,442 for all U.S. households.[78] Despite a decrease in overall population from 1990 to 2000 by 0.46%, from 2000 to 2010, the rate of change was 0.14% annually.

Neighborhood groups and community festivals keep the neighborhood active. In 1970, the Guadalupe Cultural Arts Center (GCAC) was founded with the goal to "preserve, promote and develop the arts and culture of the Chicano/Latino/Native American peoples."[79] The Community Cultural Arts Organization undertook a project in the 1980s to paint more than 200 murals on the walls of the Cassiano housing project.[80] The Esperanza Peace and Justice Center (Esperanza Center), discussed in greater length in the next section, has been instrumental in recording and disseminating important traditions. Among other groups, the Avenida Guadalupe Association, formed in 1979, has conducted several construction projects and developed plans to revitalize the area.[81] Thus far, the association has built several senior housing projects: the Avenida Guadalupe Plaza, El Parian Market Center, which provides affordable rental space for businesses, and the association offices located in the historic Casa Maldonado. In 2007, the

[77] Ibid.
[78] Ibid.
[79] *Guadalupe Westside Community Plan,* 21.
[80] *Guadalupe Westside Community Plan,* 22.
[81] *Guadalupe Westside Community Plan,* 23.

association presented their *Guadalupe Westside Community Plan,* which was drafted in partnership with the City of San Antonio Planning and Community Development Department. The plan's goal is to "improve the overall quality of life for area residents" through focus on schools, parks, streets and buildings, as well as public safety, education and economics.[82] While providing a particular type of resource to residents, this revitalization has also threatened the preservation of significant historic buildings in the neighborhood.

A preliminary survey of the Westside reveals that significant resources, built during the area's most prolific period of growth from early to mid 1900, remain. Local community groups have, for more than ten years, been working to make visible the rich cultural heritage in the area. However, until recently, no efforts had been made to officially recognize these properties, so important to telling the story of this significant Mexican America center. Revitalization projects, while essential for renewed growth in the area, also pose a threat to these valuable resources. The combination of unrecognized spaces and a perceived need for new construction has led to the loss of significant historic fabric. Fortunately, local preservation efforts have helped curtail some of this loss. An acutely pertinent example of this is the case of Casa Maldonado. The historic wood-framed commercial structure, known as the Pink Building, was built in the early 1920s in what was then the flourishing commercial district of Guadalupe Street.[83] When the Avenida Guadalupe Association purchased this property and the land around it for their new offices, the historic structure stood in the way. Claiming that the building was structurally unsound and unsalvageable, the association planned to have it demolished. Local groups, lead by the Esperanza Center and the Westside Preservation Alliance

[82] Ibid.
[83] *Casa Maldonado,* Westside Historic Preservation Group, 3.

(WPA), fought to save the building, conducting extensive research to prove the building's significance. In 2011, City Council denied historic landmark status to Casa Maldonado.[84] However, persistence by the local groups resulted in City Council voting unanimously to start the landmark designation process for the structure. In the end, the Avenida Guadalupe Association chose to keep the building as part of their development plan and today the building stands, renovated and occupied. This is just one example of what is sure to be repeated as economic development comes in conflict with preservation. It also demonstrates the difference that acknowledging the significance of a building can make in merging the goals of progress and preservation.

Figure 4: Local preservationists and community members gather at Casa Maldonado
Source: Casa Maldonado Booklet prepared by Esperanza Peace and Justice Center, May 2011.

[84] "Casa Maldonado," National Park Service American Latino Preservation Toolkit, last modified December 17, 2012, http://www.nps.gov/latino/maldonado.html.

Preservation in the Westside

Despite the unequivocal presence of a vibrant Mexican American community in the history of the development of the city of San Antonio, this face of the city is not particularly evident in the image that the city has chosen to promote for itself or in the prosperous preservation efforts that the city is known for. As Arreola notes,

> The association of the city with a Spanish, not Mexican, heritage is testimony to the widely held perception that many Texans share about the state's Hispanic past. San Antonio has been ethnically Mexican for almost seven decades longer than it was under Spanish rule. Nevertheless, the modern Hispanic identity of the city is linked to ideal landscapes conceived, created, and sustained by local non-Hispanic city patrons.[85]

Arreola is referring specifically to the idealized landscapes of the River Walk and La Villita as well as to the area surrounding El Mercado or Market Square, the location of the vibrant market of the 1920s and 30s. To this can be added the focus on the Spanish missions, in particular the Alamo site. This is not to say that these are not meaningful places. The city was founded and built upon Spanish cultural traditions and these idealized spaces have played vital roles in the San Antonio tourist economy; however, focus on these sites has resulted in disregard for the spaces linked to other historically important groups, such as those where the Mexican American community lived and worked and developed their own flourishing economy. As a result, many significant places have been overlooked and demolished in the name of progress or revitalization. Almost all of the original "Mexican Quarter" has been lost and replaced by hotels and the extensive Santa Rosa Hospital complex, demonstrating a lack of understanding of the value of what was there before. A shortage of resources and derelict conditions only add to the likely demise of these buildings. Nevertheless, enough of these structures still

[85] Arreola, "Urban Ethnic Landscape Identity," 531.

remain in the city's Westside, and renewed focus on this area can help protect them so they too can become a part of the narrative of San Antonio history.

Preserving San Antonio

The city of San Antonio has seen its share of loss of valuable historic fabric. Urban renewal efforts in the 1960s alone resulted in the demolition of two-thirds of the city's most important historic buildings.[86] Nevertheless, it has also been the location for some critical preservation achievements. These efforts have been invaluable for San Antonio's tourism economy and have permitted San Antonio's mixed heritage to remain visible in the city we see today. The conservation of unique sites including important national monuments such as the River Walk, La Villita, the Alamo and the San Antonio Missions National Historic Park, as well as historic hotels, theaters, and entire neighborhoods of local and state significance has been accomplished through the dedication of local preservationists and support from national preservation groups and civic leaders. No group has been more important to these successes than the San Antonio Conservation Society, first formed in 1924 by a small group of women with a common concern for saving their historic city.[87]

Since then, preservationists have been actively defending and protecting properties of Spanish, German, French and Anglo American heritage to preserve what they recognize as the historic fabric of San Antonio. Until very recently, most Mexican American properties, as much a part of the shared heritage of the city as the groups mentioned above, have been overlooked and as such are in danger of being eliminated from the physical landscape that portrays San Antonio's history. Prior to 2013, only four

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[86] Lewis F. Fisher, *Saving San Antonio: The Precarious Preservation of a Heritage* (Lubbock, Tex: Texas Tech University Press, 1996).
[87] Lewis, *Saving San Antonio,* 2.

buildings within the city's Mexican American neighborhood of the Westside had been listed on the National Register of Historic Places: The Jose Antonio Navarro Elementary School (November 1978), the Ximenes Chapel (September 1980), Prospect Hill Missionary Baptist Church (September 1986) and Lerma's Night Club (March 2011).[88] Of these, only Lerma's Night Club, designated within the last years, was listed for its significance to the Mexican American community. There were also no local historic landmarks located within the Westside prior to 2011. Cattleman Square Historic District was the only locally designated district within the area of the Westside. According to the San Antonio Office of Historic Preservation website, it was designated a local historic district in 1985 for its commercial and industrial structures associated with the International and Great Northern Railroad.[89]

In 1986, Andrew Perez Associates, Architects, produced a Historic Resource Assessment of the Villa de Guadalupe area of San Antonio pursuant to 36 CFR Part 800 of the National Historic Preservation Act.[90] A proposal to construct a "mixed use development of urban plaza, arts, entertainment, offices, retail, commercial and multiple units housing elements; and the reconstruction of new single family housing units under the HUD Section 8 program" triggered the NHPA requirement for an analysis of the project's effect on properties eligible for inclusion in the National Register.[91] The resulting document provided an intensive survey of Block 2444, the area proposed for the Guadalupe Plaza, as well as a more general survey of the surrounding area, bounded by

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[88] "NPS Focus Database," National Register of Historic Places, National Park Service, accessed December 5, 2013, http://nrhp.focus.nps.gov/natreghome.do?searchtype=natreghome.
[89] "Cattleman Square," City of San Antonio, Office of Historic Preservation, accessed Nov. 4, 2013, http://www.sanantonio.gov/historic/Districts/Cattleman_Square.aspx.
[90] Andrew Perez Associates, Architects, *Villa de Guadalupe Historic Resources Assessment,* prepared for the City of San Antonio, 1986.
[91] Perez Associates, *Villa de Guadalupe Assessment,* 1.

Durango Street on the north, Zarzamora Street on the west, Apache Creek on the south and Alazan Creek on the east. The survey is quite comprehensive and records the historical background and development of the area, general urban patterns, building typologies and architectural styles. Within Block 2444, the report found five structures that "appear to be eligible for the National Register on the basis of Criteria C," which recognizes properties of architectural and design significance.[92] It also identified two buildings "of marginal significance."[93] None of these recommendations, however, led to nominations to local, state or national landmark designation. Three of these seven structures were demolished in the construction of the Guadalupe Plaza. Four remain, have been or are in the process of being restored, and are occupied. One of these buildings is Casa Maldonado, discussed at the beginning of this section.

Local Preservation Efforts

For about ten years and in the absence of formal preservation efforts, grassroots organizations have taken action to identify and bring attention to the significance of the cultural and physical heritage of the Westside. The Westside Preservation Alliance (WPA) was formed by members of the Esperanza Center in response to losses and near losses of significant buildings in the Westside. Demolition of La Gloria, a historic 1930s rooftop dance hall, captured the attention of residents and the Esperanza Center in 2002, which was already involved in the Westside through community arts, social justice and oral history programs.[94] The WPA was founded shortly after and was a key player in saving two other buildings from a similar fate. The group joined forces with the

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[92] Perez Associates, *Villa de Guadalupe Assessment,* 200.
[93] Ibid.
[94] Erin Eggers, "Interest Building in Protecting West Side Historic Structures," *San Antonio Express-News*, June 20, 2012, http://www.mysanantonio.com/default/article/Interest-Building-in-Protecting-West-Side-3648971.php.

Esperanza Center, community members and the Westside Development Corporation (WDC) to support Mary and Gilbert Garcia, owners of Lerma's Night Club, when in 2010 the Dangerous Structures Determination Board of San Antonio slated their structure for demolition.[95] With help from the local groups, Lerma's was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in March of 2011. Unable to fund the necessary repairs, the Garcias ultimately donated the building to the Esperanza Center, which continues to raise funds to complete the restoration of this 1946 *conjunto* music venue. In 2011, the WPA presented its case for saving Casa Maldonado and was successful in preventing its demolition by the Avenida Guadalupe Association (case presented earlier in this section).

At the heart of the ongoing efforts in the Westside is the Esperanza Center, established in 1987 by a group of Chicana women including Graciela Sanchez, the center's director, and notable Chicana author Sandra Cisneros (author of *The House on Mango Street* and *Caramelo*).[96] The women saw a void in Chicano activism for the inclusion of women, the LGBTQ community and other minorities, and the Center was their solution to creating a space for this community. The Esperanza Center's mission is "to preserve and promote artistic and cultural expression of and among diverse communities."[97] For more than twenty-five years, the Esperanza Center has led the creation of numerous cultural programs throughout San Antonio, many of these centered in the Westside. In 1998, they began the *Arte Es Vida* (Art is Life) program, which is intended to assist communities "in recovering their history, art, culture, language, stories,

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[95] "Save Lerma's," accessed November 4, 2013, http://www.savelermas.org/.
[96] Al Kauffman, "S.A. bred Latino rights organizations," *San Antonio Express-News*, November 21, 2013, http://www.mysanantonio.com/default/article/S-A-bred-Latino-rights-organizations-4999245.php.
[97] "Vision and Mission," Esperanza Peace and Justice Center, accessed November 4, 2013, http://www.esperanzacenter.org/index.html.

and traditions."[98] As part of this program, the center has spearheaded a series of *Pláticas*, or conversations, monthly gatherings of community elders at the center's *Casa de Cuentos* (House of Stories) in the Westside, to share stories and memories of the Westside. In 1995, the Esperanza Center founded *Mujer Artes* (Women Arts), a pottery cooperative for women of the Westside to learn about and practice sculpture, drawing and painting. [99] The women design, produce and sell their art out of an historic home in the Westside. The Esperanza Center has also sponsored a series of community-led walking tours. The *Paseos por el Westside* (Strolls through the Westside) are held approximately twice a year and feature significant buildings of the different neighborhoods of the area. An important project initiated by the Esperanza Center is *En Aquellos Tiempos: Fotohistorias del Westside* (In Those Years: Photographic Histories of the Westside). Through this project, the center has formed a collection of historic photographs of the Westside and its residents dating mostly between the 1900s and 1950s. Photos are donated by residents, scanned and saved in a digital archive. In October of 2006, approximately 50 photos were printed and displayed on wall size banners throughout the Inner Westside alongside caption signs that contained descriptions of the photos.[100]

The WPA and the Esperanza Center have also advocated for the preservation of minority resources beyond the Westside. Most recently, members from both groups were at the forefront of a battle to save the Univision building located at 411 E. César Chávez Boulevard in San Antonio. The organizations provided significant evidence of the 1955 building's importance as the nation's first Spanish-language television station and

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[98] "Arte Es Vida," Esperanza Peace and Justice Center, accessed November 4, 2013, http://www.esperanzacenter.org/index.html.
[99] "Mujer Artes," Esperanza Peace and Justice Center, accessed November 4, 2013, http://www.esperanzacenter.org/poderdelpuebloFotohistorias/Home.html.
[100] "En Aquellos Tiempos," Esperanza Peace and Justice Center, accessed November 4, 2013, http://www.esperanzacenter.org/poderdelpuebloFotohistorias/Home.html.

gathered written support from numerous members of the community. In this case, however, the organization's efforts along with support from the city's Historic and Design Review Commission and others were not enough to safeguard the building from the developer's wrecking ball. The building was completely erased from San Antonio's urban landscape by November 22, 2013.[101]

Figure 5: *Fotohistorias* project, historic photographs along Guadalupe Street
Source: Photo taken by author.

Recent Westside Preservation Efforts

In 2011, the Office of Historic Preservation for the City of San Antonio (OHP) began efforts to complete a Westside Cultural Resource Survey (WCRS). Pressure from local organizations and community residents was instrumental to starting this effort, and

[101] "Appeals, arrests fail to save former Univision building," Southside Reporter, *San Antonio-Express-News,* November 18, 2013, http://www.mysanantonio.com/default/article/Appeals-arrests-fail-to-save-former-Univision-4992125.php.

their research formed the better part of the completed survey. The community reached out to the OHP in an attempt to increase awareness of and interest in the history and culture of the Westside. As stated by the OHP, the goal of the survey was to "identify, document, and protect places of cultural, historical, and architectural significance on the Westside of San Antonio."[102] The WPA and the Esperanza Center executed the survey in partnership with the OHP, the Westside Development Corporation (WDC), the San Antonio Conservation Society, the Old Spanish Trail Centennial (OST 100), and others. The groups used National Register Criteria as the basis for identification.

Over ninety significant properties and potential districts were identified. Community meetings were held in August and December of 2012 to obtain public feedback on the properties and inform owners of their potential landmark designation. At these meetings, the different organizations presented the list of potential landmarks and information regarding local landmark designation, including designation criteria, protection provided and restrictions such as the required design review process for exterior modifications of existing structures and new construction. For Phase I of the initiative, twenty-two properties were recommended, and in March of 2013, designated as local historic landmarks by City Council. A meeting with owners of an additional thirty-five properties was held in September of 2013 for Phase II of the landmark process. The Historic and Design Review Commission of San Antonio recommended twenty-five of these for designation as local landmarks in November of 2013.[103]

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[102] "Westside Cultural Resources Survey," City of San Antonio, Office of Historic Preservation, accessed September 27, 2013, http://www.sanantonio.gov/historic/events.aspx.
[103] Scott Huddleston, "West Side landmarks proposed," *San Antonio Express-News,* November 21, 2013, http://www.mysanantonio.com/default/article/West-Side-landmarks-proposed-4997789.php#photo-5492176.

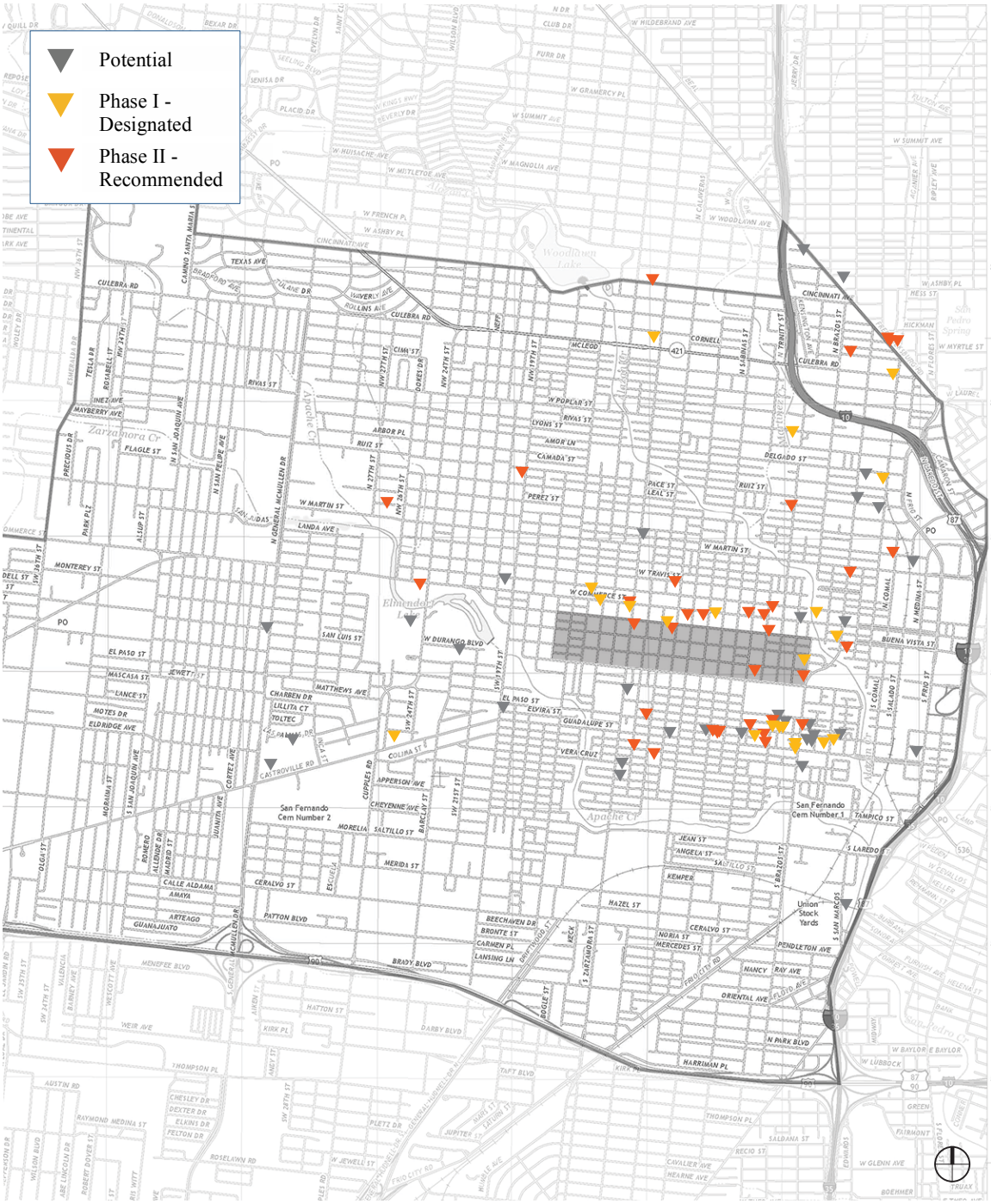

Figure 6: Map of Landmarks based on Westside Cultural Resource Survey (2013)
Gray area indicates potential historic districts.
Source: Map created by author.

Moving Forward

As the Westside receives more attention through the designation of the remaining identified landmarks, it is important to consider what steps are necessary to assure that this effort moves beyond this initial phase. The recognition of these sites is essential, especially as it provides enough time for the buildings to be designated before demolition is directly upon them. Ultimately though, the buildings must become an essential part of revitalization efforts if they are to truly endure as significant places for the environment in which they are located. Additional research is also necessary to continue to unveil properties that may not, at first glance, be considered noteworthy. The recent Latino Legacy Summit, held in the Westside, was a critical step forward. It provided a medium through which conversations between national, state and city government organizations and local preservationists and community members could be held.

Finding methods to evaluate and discuss these resources in ways that can be understood by the different participants will help propel these efforts forward. The following chapter will look specifically at 5 buildings identified by the WCRS, using several methods to identify the values that make these buildings stand out and examine how these values can be preserved.

3: *Historias de Locales*, A Case Study Analysis

The previous chapters establish the need for expanded preservation efforts that recognize the Mexican American heritage of the Westside of San Antonio and provide methods to preserve it in a way that make sense for the community. The following analysis looks more closely at five buildings in this area using several different methods to examine the significance of these buildings and their relationships to their context. Through this analysis, a typology of values is generated with the intent of providing a way to understand and discuss this particular heritage.

Methodology

The study began by selecting five buildings as case studies (See Table 1). The selection of the case studies took as a starting point the Westside Cultural Resource Survey. The fact that this survey was initiated and largely completed by community organizations was important in establishing a base that depended not on outsiders' selection of externally-valued sites but, rather, on the local community's identification of places that were significant to them. The potential landmarks were then narrowed to *locales*, commercial establishments. Building upon Hayden's selection of the theme of productive economic development for its ability to include a broader range of community members who contribute to the growth of a place, the focus on commercial structures was intended to target buildings that are or have once been part of the economic structure of the Westside. Until construction in the late 1920s of a trolley line along Guadalupe Street to connect the Westside to downtown, the separation of the area necessitated the formation of an independent system of services whether formal or informal.[104] These commercial structures, alongside schools, police and fire stations and restaurants, formed

[104] Tracey Cox, "Avenida Guadalupe Analysis," prepared for the Office of Historic Preservation, 2004, 4.

a part of the network that allowed the Westside to grow as an independent town within the City of San Antonio.

The five buildings chosen represent a particular type of commercial building, which while not uncommon in historic cities in general, is particularly prevalent in Mexican American neighborhoods: the combination store/residence (S/R). The Villa de Guadalupe Historic Resources Assessment of 1986 recognized the prevalence and importance of this typology in the Guadalupe Street area and identified three types of store/residence structures. In the first type, construction of the building as both a store and residence was intentional from the beginning. This is most commonly seen in two-story structures in which the first floor served commercial purposes and the second floor functioned as residential. The second type includes buildings which were originally residential, and the commercial element has been added to the front or corner of the building or lot. Lastly, the third type reverses this process and consists of a commercial building into or onto which a residential use is added. In the case studies presented below, commercial buildings associated with adjacent residential buildings are included in these typologies; for example, a store whose owner lives in a separate home located directly behind the store but within the same lot is still considered a store/residence property. As the historic resource survey points out, "the absence of or nonconformance with zoning regulations allow[ed] these mixes to occur."[105] This store/residence typology acutely highlights the mixed-use quality of the Westside area.

The case studies are located within three separate areas of the Westside, identified as Areas A, B and C (Figure 8). Each area contains a mix of residential, civic, commercial and industrial buildings, though the proportion of each and relationships

[105] Perez Associates, *Villa de Guadalupe Assessment,* 15.

among them vary by area. These differences result in three distinct contexts for the case studies and provide opportunities for comparison. Area A contains Case Study 1, 401 Arbor Place, and is located in the northeast zone of the Westside. This site is distinct because of its adjacency to the railroad tracks and as a result of several industries including lumber and plastics manufacturers and a paper box factory. Case Studies 2 and 3, 1403 Saunders Avenue and 423 S Brazos Street, are located in Area B. This area is more residential than the others. Lanier Junior High School, which has expanded to a middle school and a high school, is located within this area. Directly adjacent are the Alazan Courts, one of the U.S. Housing Authority projects built in the 1940s. The last area, Area C, is located along Guadalupe Street, which as has already been indicated, was an important commercial corridor for the Westside throughout the 20th century. Case Studies 3 and 4, 1807/1809 and 1500 Guadalupe Street, are sited in Area C.

Table 1: Summary of case studies
Refer to text above for a description of store/resident (S/R) types.

Case Study	Area	Address	Year Built	S/R	Primary Use
1	A	401 Arbor Pl	1926	1	Grocery, Bar
2	B	1403 Saunders Ave	1910	3	Grocery
3	B	423 S Brazos St	1929	2	Butcher Shop, Restaurant
4	C	1807/1809 Guadalupe St	1922/1924	1	Grocery/Bakery
5	C	1500 Guadalupe St	1924	1	Drug Store

Figure 7: Map of Case Studies 1-5 and Areas A, B, C
Source: Map created by author.

Assessment Tools

Numerous tools were used to investigate the case studies identified above. Primary archival research, including examination of historic texts and photographs, as well as secondary literature research provided both broad contextual information and specifics about each building. This research was conducted through the University of Texas at Austin's library system, in particular at the Dolph Briscoe Center for American History and the Benson Latin American Collection. Other archives visited include the San Antonio Conservation Society, University of Texas–San Antonio's Institute of Texan Cultures and the Texana Department of the San Antonio Public Library. San Antonio City Directories were important to identifying the particular residents who occupied these buildings. Detailed research in the City Directories focused on the time period between initial construction of each case study and 1941, gathering data every ten years after. An important source of information was the research conducted by the Esperanza Center and the WPA and compiled by the OHP for the Westside Cultural Resource Survey. This research included some City Directories information and clippings from historic newspapers. Public comments, gathered and recorded during the public meetings held as part of this survey effort, were crucial in providing insight into the community's perspective on these buildings. A street-level survey of each case study was conducted to assess its material composition and structure and investigate its current condition. Each case study was visited several times during the period between December 2013 and May 2014. The buildings were assessed from the exterior, as access to the interior was not possible. Each building was photographed, obtaining views of the primary elevations as well as detailed photographs of important elements and deteriorated conditions.

The research conducted formed the infrastructure for the construction of a series of maps that interpret the data and provide a means to begin to capture complex and

layered significance of these buildings. In mapping the data and deciding how to represent the information gathered, the analysis took into consideration the approaches presented by the GCI study and Hayden in Chapter 1. The research encompassed the larger context of San Antonio and preservation in the city as a whole, described in Chapter 2, but then focused in on specific buildings in the Westside neighborhood, incorporating both a large scale and local context. The history of the buildings was studied from construction to present day and centered on the buildings' occupants. This underlined the significance of the buildings as active participants in the history of the Westside, places of production and activity. Their meaning was understood as coming not from a single event or moment during which they were important, but from their persistence in remaining relevant through time. The goal was to find ways to understand and illustrate the values that these buildings held for their users.

The GCI study provided a model for how to begin to categorize the sociocultural and economic values of heritage. The model consists of three steps: "identifying all the values of the heritage in question; describing them; and integrating and ranking the different, sometimes conflicting values, so that they can inform the resolution of different, often conflicting stakeholder interests."[106] After reviewing several typologies created by different scholars, the GCI determined a provisional "typology of heritage values."[107] The typology is divided into two major groups, sociocultural and economic values. Sociocultural values are further subdivided into historical, cultural/symbolic, social, spiritual/religious and aesthetic values. The model endeavors to integrate the values found in a way that can guide prioritization and decision-making in a conservation

[106] Marta de la Torre, ed., *Assessing the Values of Cultural Heritage: Research Report* (Los Angeles: The Getty Conservation Institute, 2002), 5.
[107] de la Torre, *Assessing the Values,* 9.

project. The GCI model served as the basis for developing a typology of values unique to the case studies in the Westside, concentrating exclusively on the sociocultural values. Starting with four of the five sub-categories, use value was introduced instead of religious/spiritual value. The value categories, defined below, served as a framework for identifying case specific values, manifested through the analyses and mapping exercises.

Sociocultural Values

The sociocultural values were divided into five basic categories. For the purpose of this study, the definition of *historical values* includes those that relate to specific events or people associated with the building's past. These include the time and context in which the building was constructed as well as important events that have happened at specific moments in the building's history. *Cultural/symbolic values* comprise the shared meanings associated with a building. These shared meanings can be related to the role of a building within its larger context, the creation of an ethnic identity or the demonstration of unique craft techniques. The social connections, networks and interactions that take place within buildings form the basis of *social values*. These values are dependent on a certain public, shared quality of the physical space of the building and on the relationship between the building and the public sidewalk and street. *Aesthetic values*, as typically defined, emerge from specific visual qualities that are considered to be static and intrinsic to the buildings. In this study, aesthetic qualities are understood within their larger context and include qualities that have changed throughout the building's history. They are evaluated with an understanding that access to resources may be limited.

A separate category was introduced for *use values*. This addition recognizes the importance of use patterns for understanding buildings in general and attempts to capture the unique capacity of the Westside case studies to adapt within their context. Use values

combine historic, cultural and social values to look at the ways that buildings have evolved over time. They look at history as dynamic not static, shared meaning as evolving, and social connections as interdependent on both history and culture. Identification of use values becomes particularly important in areas with limited economic resources because continued use can be the determining factor of whether a building is preserved or disposed of.

Case Studies

Area A

The first focus area is located in the northeast section of the Westside. Centered on the International-Great Northern Railroad, this area historically encompassed residential, commercial, civic and industrial buildings. As seen in Figures 9 and 10, these multiple uses were integrated into a network of services that provided places to live, work, and socialize within a tight radius. Manufacturing companies clustered around the railroad, while businesses were concentrated at the corners of blocks and along major thoroughfares. The James Bowie Public School, which grew from a single building to a complex that covered half a block, and several churches provided cultural centers for the area. From 1900 to 1950, the area experienced continuous growth, as evident in Figure 9. This map also shows the additive quality of the buildings in this area, something that is seen in the other areas of the Westside as well. Buildings expanded and porches were enclosed to increase the available square footage. The majority of the oldest buildings in this area (darkest on the maps) are residential, but it is interesting to note that a bakery, at the corner of N. Colorado Street and Arbor Place, also endured for the entire first half of the 20th century. This bakery no longer exists, but the house adjacent to it remains.

Figure 8: Spatial Adjacencies Map of Area A in 1950, N.T.S.
Opacity indicates duration: 40% - 1950, 60% - 1938, 80% - 1911, 100% - 1904
Source: Map generated by author from 1904, 1911, 1938, 1950 Sanborn maps.

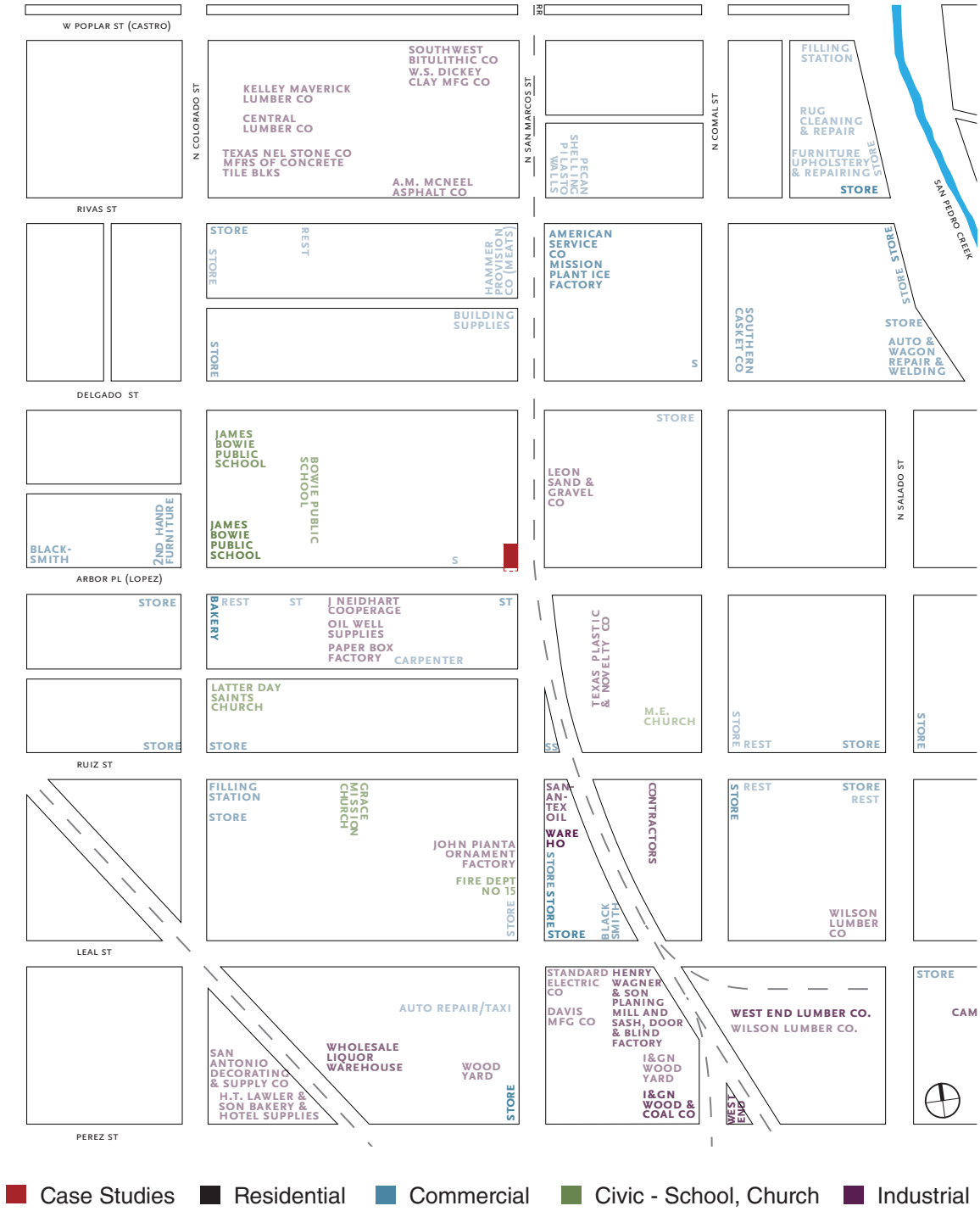

Figure 9: Map of non-residential building uses in Area A from 1904-1950, N.T.S.
Opacity indicates duration: 40% - 1950, 60% - 1938, 80% - 1911, 100% - 1904
Source: Map generated by author from 1904, 1911, 1938, 1950 Sanborn maps.

Case Study 1: 401 Arbor Place

The building at 401 Arbor Place provides an interesting case study to examine within the established network of Area A. Built in 1926, this two-story structure replaced a one-story wood frame building owned by Peter (Pietro) Granata since 1914. Granata, a grocer, is listed in City Directories as owning 401 and 403 Arbor Place from 1914-1926. Granata likely lived in the small shotgun house at 403, which still stands. The original building at 401 was perhaps a rental property, as it is labeled as 'dwelling' on a Sanborn map from 1911; however, it is also possible that it was an informal commercial space, considering that Granata is recorded as a grocer at this address. By 1927, Adela and Emmett Howerton owned both properties as their residence and grocery, and the existing two-story structure had been constructed. The current building is located on a corner lot, giving it two street facing facades, and is directly adjacent to the railroad tracks.

401 Arbor Place can be characterized as an example of early 20th century two-block commercial masonry buildings, with commercial on the ground floor and basement, and residential on the upper story. Its exterior walls are structural clay tile with brick facing on the elevations fronting the street, an economical use of materials that nevertheless recognizes the public character of the building. The two primary elevations, east and south, have simple but distinctive ornamentation, including quoins, dentils along the roofline, and a simple cornice, all produced through the manipulation of the brick facing and the use of different color bricks. A continuous checkered crown runs along the top of the windows on these elevations. The building has a flat roof surrounded by a parapet, which is stepped on the west elevation. On the south, a 2-story wood-framed porch projects out over the sidewalk, creating an interstitial space between the public sidewalk and the building entrance. Double-hung windows, configured as doubles and singles, are enclosed in wood frames and brick sills.

Figure 10: 401 Arbor Place, South Elevation (a) and Sanborn Map, 1938 (b)
Source: Photograph by author (a), San Antonio Public Library, Texana Dept. (b).

Figure 11: 401 Arbor Place, West Elevation (a) and East Elevation (b)
Source: Photographs by author.

The use history of this first case study exhibits continuous shifts in ownership, as evident in Figure 13. A Chinese grocery store for at least one year, it was converted into a bar during the 1940s and remained so, under seven different names and owners, until 2000. Most of these owners are recorded as living at the same address, placing 401 Arbor Place within the first type of store/residence, in which the two uses are incorporated from the beginning. According to newspaper articles from January and February of 1931, 401 Arbor Place was officially padlocked after officers found "a large quantity of 'bottled in bond' liquor" on the premises, in which "LeRoy Patten, alias Roy Moore...[is] alleged to have been operating [a] 'bar' over the Chinese grocery."[108] Officers alleged, "Entrance could be gained only by password, and slot machines and a cash register were among the paraphernalia" discovered.[109] This clandestine use of the building during Prohibition not only gives it an intriguing character but also ties it back to an informal economy that no doubt played a role in the development of the area. In the public meeting held by the OHP, residents of the area commented on the building's role as a "bookend to [the] residential area" and a "social center for the neighborhood for decades."[110] It is not hard to imagine a bar here being visited by workers from the lumber companies nearby.

Today the building is vacant on the ground floor, though it still reflects its last use as a bar in the painted sign above the entrance. The second floor is rented as residential space. Several storefront windows have been filled in on the ground floor, which has also been painted, but no other major alterations have been made. Wood elements throughout the building exhibit various levels of deterioration and the brick facing has significant efflorescence and biological growth that has caused staining.

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[108] "Westside Designated Landmarks: Phase I," published by the San Antonio Office of Historic Preservation, March 2013.
[109] Ibid.
[110] Ibid.

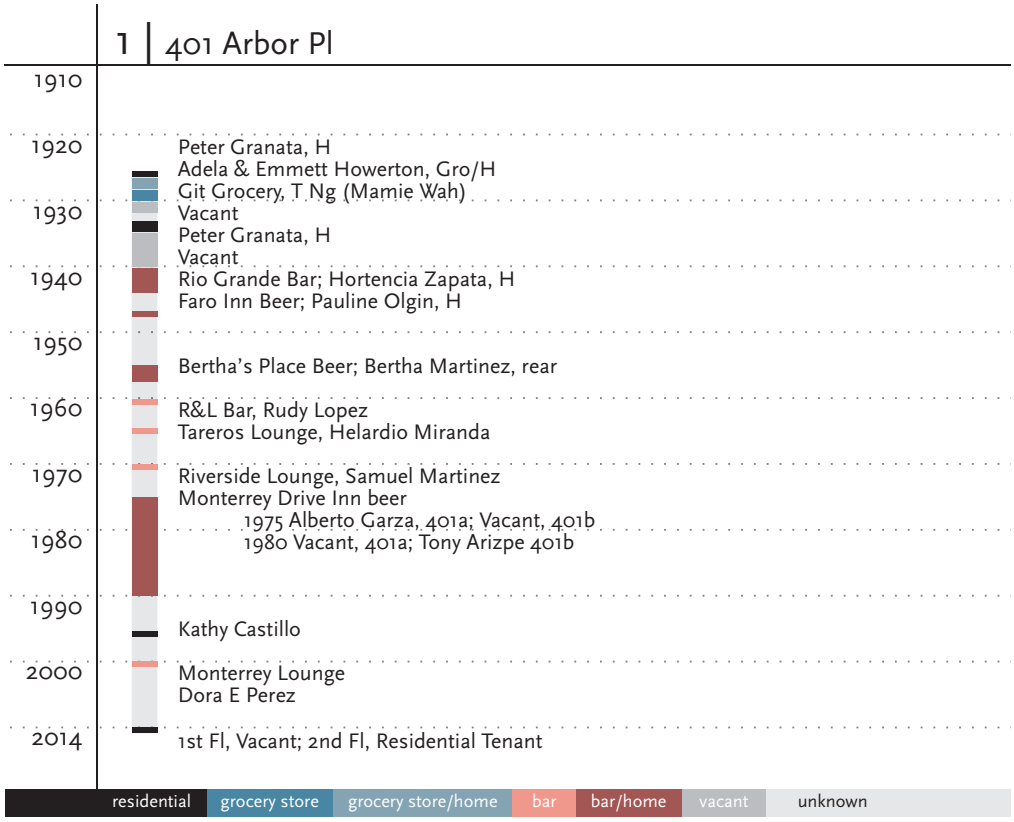

Figure 12: Temporal mapping of use at 401 Arbor Place
Source: Timeline created by author from City Directories.

Area B

The second study area, Area B, was and continues to be largely residential in its composition. The growth patterns visible in Figure 14 reveal more uniform construction periods and forms. Repeated housing blocks, built from the 1930s to 1950s, are visible on several blocks. These include the Alazan Courts to the southeast, constructed in the 1940s. Compared to Area A, there is much less evidence of enlargement of individual homes. Lanier School, which has since expanded along the three blocks surrounding Case Study 3, is an important cultural and social center for this area. Many generations of Westside residents have attended this principal education center since the early 1900s.

Figure 13: Spatial Adjacencies Map of Area B in 1951, N.T.S.
Opacity indicates duration: 40% - 1951, 60% - 1938, 80% - 1912, 100% - 1904
Source: Map generated by author from 1904, 1912, 1938, 1951 Sanborn maps.

Case Study 2: 1403 Saunders Avenue

The case studies in Area B are important examples of the few commercial buildings located in this area. Built in 1910 as the Brazos Meat Market, 1403 Saunders Avenue is one of the oldest structures in the area. The small single-room structure is located at the southeast corner of its lot. Notwithstanding the shared lot, the building was found under its own address at 1401 Saunders Avenue (Matamoros Street before 1914) until 1996 when it was combined with the residence on the back of the lot under the address of 1403 Saunders Avenue.

The one-story structure is constructed of rock-face cast stone blocks, an early type of concrete masonry units (CMU). The blocks are made of concrete cast to resemble stone and were a common and economic building material in the early to mid 1900s. The textured pattern provides the look of more expensive stone, but the true material is disclosed by the regularity of the blocks. 1403 Saunders Avenue has a false front facade prevalent in certain early 20th century commercial masonry buildings. Its Mission style stepped parapet is possibly an attempt to relate to Spanish architecture and adds grandeur to an otherwise modest structure. The primary, south, elevation has a single central entrance. A large blank area above the entrance, made up of flat blocks as opposed to the textured blocks of the overall structure, could have functioned as a sign for the businesses located within, but has been painted over. There are two tall windows on the east and west elevations and a small secondary entrance on the back, north, elevation. The wood-framed double hung windows have a twelve over six light panel pattern, uncommon for the area and period of construction. It is possible that these were repurposed from an earlier building. Doors and windows have masonry lintels; the windows have masonry sills as well. The structure has a gabled roof, concealed by the false front on the south side, with standing seam metal panels.

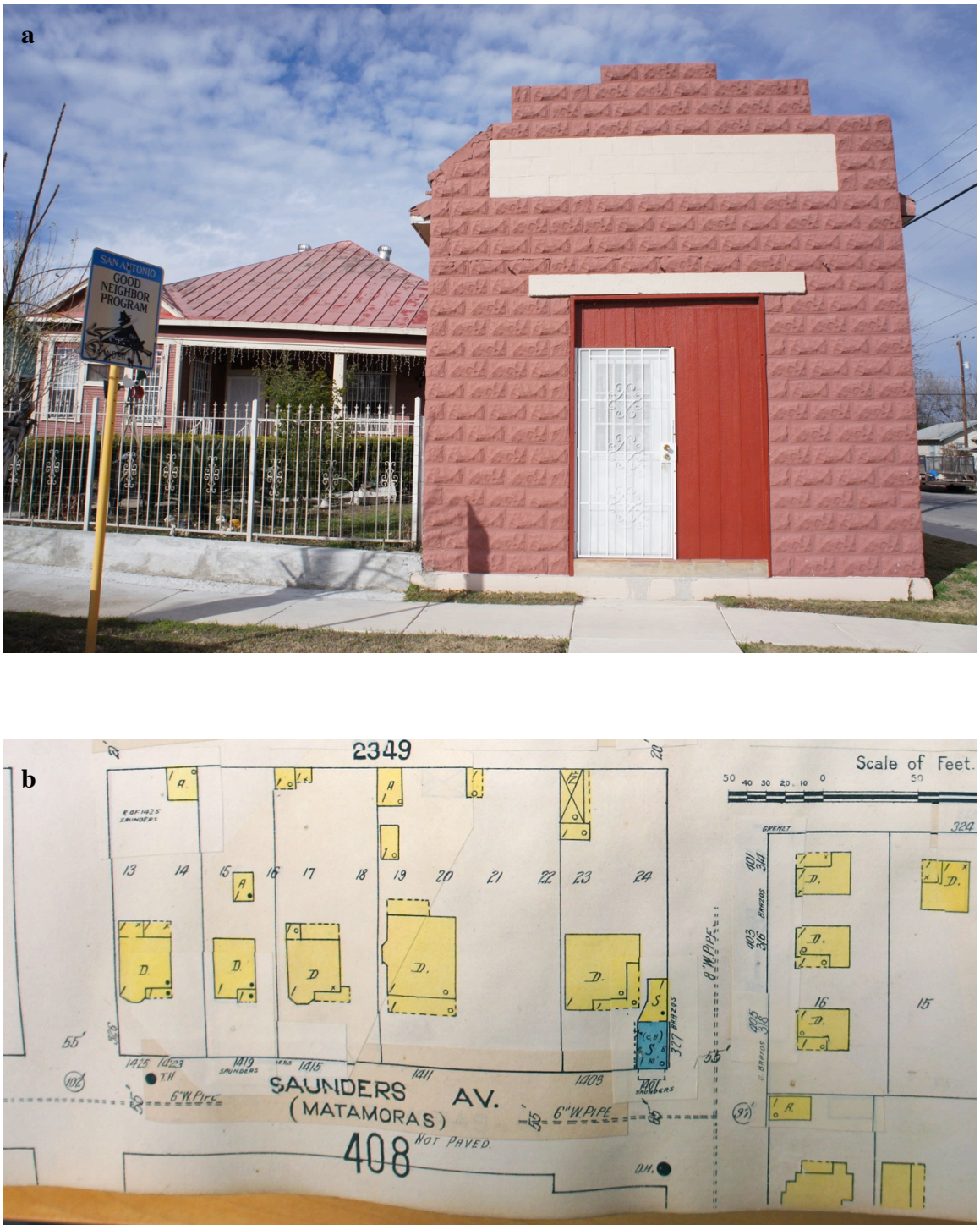

Figure 14: 1403 Saunders Avenue, South Elevation (a) and Sanborn Map, 1938 (b)
Source: Photograph by author (a), San Antonio Public Library, Texana Dept. (b).

Figure 15: 1403 Saunders Avenue, East Elevation (a) and West Elevation (b)
Source: Photographs by author.

1403 Saunders Avenue has also undergone significant changes in ownership. Aside from its first years as a meat market, the address is consistently listed as a grocery store in City Directories from 1914-1974, under eight different names. For much of this time, 1401 Saunders is listed as both the grocery store and the home of the storeowners, although the current footprint seems too small to accommodate these two functions at once. It is possible that the home was actually the larger residential building behind. A few mentions of this building in newspapers confirm this theory. A newspaper advertised a "butcher outfit" for sale at 1401 Matamoros in 1913.[111] An article from 1925 told the story of WC Yuerol (WC Youree in City Directories), the owner of a grocery store at this address, who "drove three prospective holdup men from his grocery store in front of his home."[112] Public comments from the OHP meeting spoke of the building as an important example of a "*tiendita,*" a small neighborhood store typology common in Mexican neighborhoods. It is interesting to note that although one would assume that this *tiendita* was built by Mexicans or Mexican Americans, the original owners of the meat market were R.A. and Emilia Loeckelin (Laechelin). This intersection of multi-ethnic vernacular typologies points to a power held in buildings whose shared meaning crosses typical cultural boundaries.

The building is presently owned by the residents of the house on the back of the lot, built in 1920, and is no longer being used for commercial purposes. The 1938 and 1951 Sanborn maps show an addition on the back of the building, also labeled as a store, that no longer exists. No evidence of this addition and its removal is visible on the building. The building was recently painted, and repairs could have been made during

[111] "Westside Designated Landmarks: Phase I," published by the San Antonio Office of Historic Preservation, March 2013.
[112] Ibid.

this time. The top left corner of the parapet appears to have been damaged and patched. Small metal rods protruding above the entrance indicate that something, possibly a light awning, was hung from this location at some point. Re-entrant cracks, developed at natural stress points such as the corner of openings, are visible at the top corners of the east windows.[113]

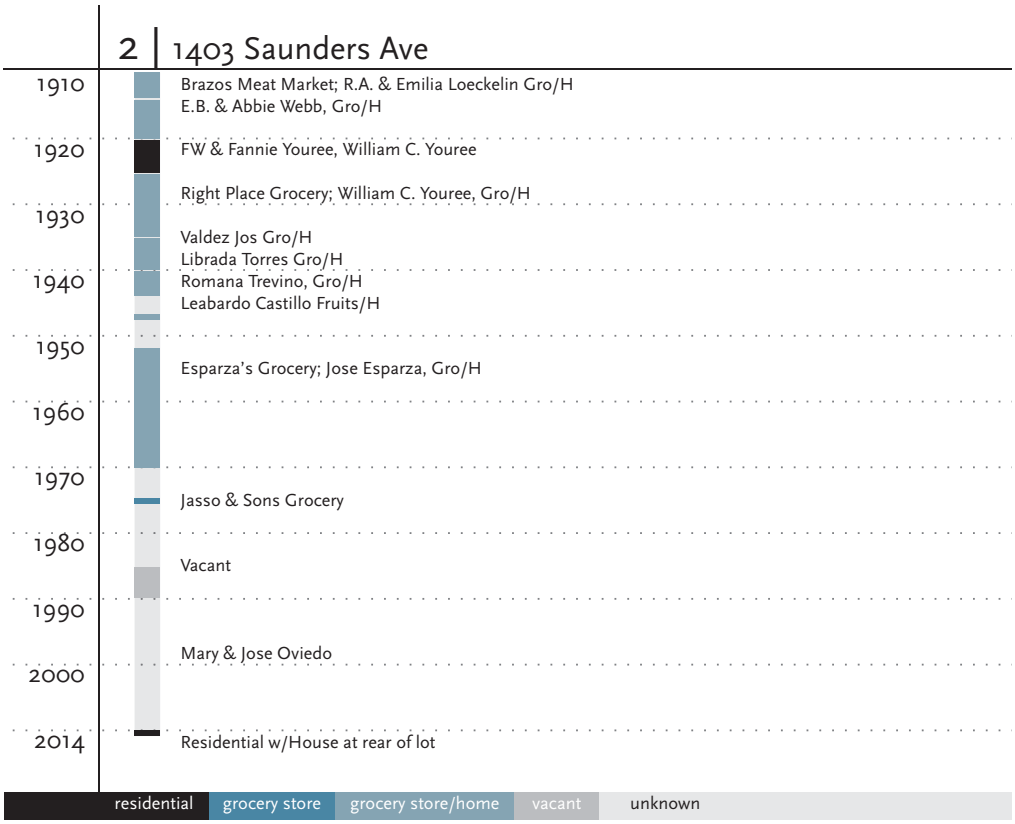

Figure 16: Temporal mapping of use at 1403 Saunders Avenue
Source: Timeline created by author from City Directories.

[113] "Definitions," *Technical Bulletin 60: Exterior Plaster*, Technical Services Information Bureau, published December 15, 2011, http://www.tsib.org/pdf/plaster-assemblies-definitions.pdf.

Case Study 3: 423 S Brazos Street

423 S. Brazos Street is also a small one-story corner commercial structure. Built in 1929, this building housed Carlos Amaya Grocery until 1941. During this time, the owner, Carlos Amaya, lived just behind at 425 S. Brazos Street. This *tiendita*'s location directly across the street from Lanier School meant it was passed, and likely visited, by numerous generations of Westside residents on their way to school. The construction of the Alazan Courts just one block over only added to its possible visitors.

Listed as 1501 Durango before 1996, 423 S. Brazos Street is a wood-framed building. The exterior walls are clad in horizontal wood drop siding, which is made up of two-panel modules. The building has a square floor plan, which is extruded straight up to give it a cubical massing. This form is emphasized by the building's flat roof and even parapet extending along three sides. The homogeneous and solid quality of this mass is contradicted by the materiality of the structure creating an interesting juxtaposition. Located on the asymmetrical south elevation facing the school, the front entrance is slightly off center with one window on either side. This entrance is raised and accessed by three uneven steps. A wood-framed awning with metal roof, held up by round metal posts, extends out over a raised platform. This platform and the steps that lead up to it create a front stoop of sorts, an informal public space with a view to the school. There are no windows on the east and west elevations, but a secondary entrance and small window are found on the north, rear, elevation. An enclosed shed roof extension was added to the north side of the building after 1951, creating a back porch. Windows have wood frames and are single paned with metal screens on the exterior. The overall quality of this structure is one of unsystematic construction through the most economical means. Nevertheless, the building still manages to create inhabitable public spaces and portray a cohesive sense of design.

Figure 17: 423 S. Brazos Street, South Elevation (a) and Sanborn Map, 1938 (b)
Source: Photograph by author (a), San Antonio Public Library, Texana Dept. (b).

Figure 18: 423 S. Brazos Street, East Elevation (a) and West Elevation (b)
Source: Photographs by author.

In addition to changing ownership, this simple structure stands out for the variety of uses it accommodated throughout its years. It served as a drug store, an ambulance service, and four different restaurants. At the public meeting, a resident remembered delivering Bear Ice Cream to this and other stores in the Westside with his father.[114]

The building is currently vacant and is no longer owned by the same owner as the house behind it. Some of the wood structure and siding has deteriorated. Much of the paint has peeled off and blistering is visible in areas where the paint remains.

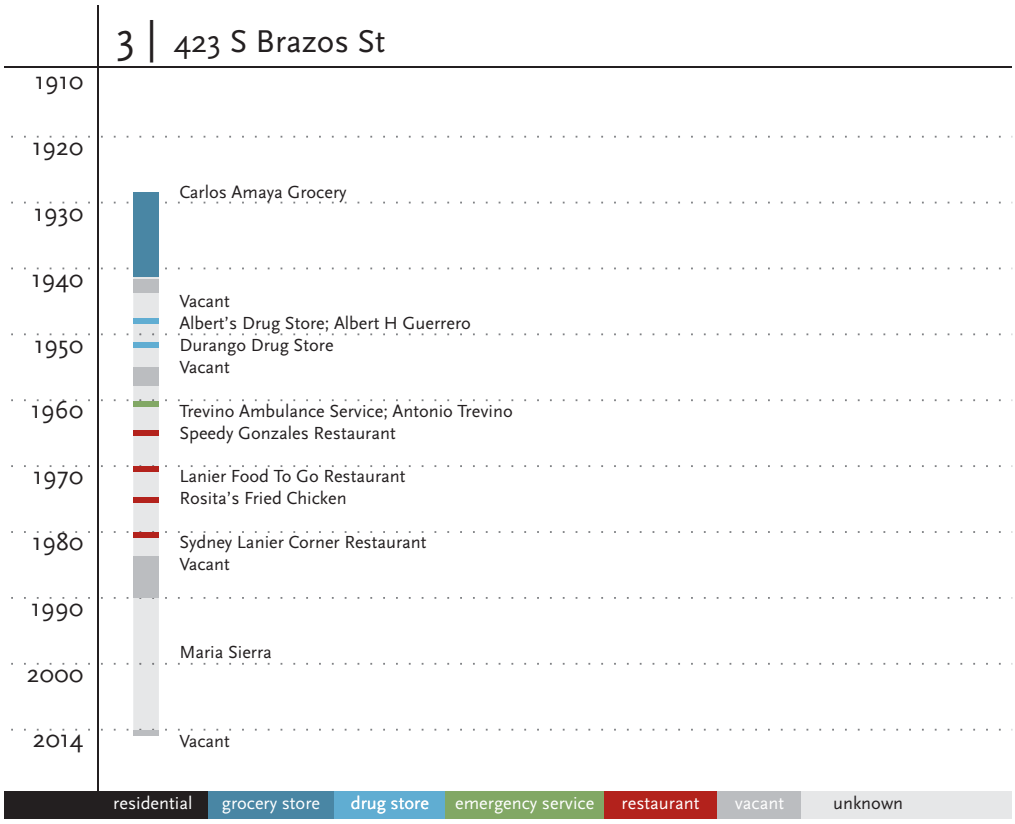

Figure 19: Temporal mapping of use at 423 S. Brazos Street
Source: Timeline created by author from City Directories.

[114] "Westside Proposed Landmarks: Phase II," published by the San Antonio Office of Historic Preservation, 2013.

Area C

The last area is located within what was once Villa Guadalupe. This area's transformation from a sparsely populated residential stretch to a dense mixed-use district is evident in Figure 21. This map also illustrates that much of the growth occurred in the later years between 1900 and 1950. Prevalent throughout are examples of buildings that have been added as needs arose and finances allowed. There are several examples of the different types of store/residences discussed at the beginning of this chapter. Commercial spaces are, for the most part, extended to the front of the lots facing Guadalupe Street, a primary cross street that connects the Westside to downtown San Antonio. Industrial buildings include a tobacco manufacturer, paint manufacturer and lumber shed and are located across from each other. The mapping of the area in its development from 1900 to 1950 visible in Figure 21 highlights many of the characteristics that make the Westside neighborhood and particularly this commercial corridor noteworthy. The additive and multi-faceted nature of the buildings and the manner in which they grow, building on adjacencies and creating informal centers, is acutely clear in this view of the area.

Case Study 4: 1807 + 1809 Guadalupe Street

Case studies 4 and 5 provide a closer look at the businesses located within the commercial corridor of Guadalupe Street. The two buildings located at 1807 and 1809 Guadalupe Street were constructed in 1922 and 1924, respectively. Sanborn maps show them to have adjoining walls, but on site observation demonstrates that an open space exists between the two buildings and has been masked by an exterior wall that connects them. As other commercial structures along Guadalupe Street, the buildings are set directly fronting the sidewalk.

Figure 20: Spatial Adjacencies Map of Area C in 1951, N.T.S.
Opacity indicates duration: 40% - 1951, 60% - 1938, 80% - 1912, 100% - 1904
Source: Map generated by author from 1904, 1912, 1938, 1951 Sanborn maps.

The one- and two-story structures are both built of wood frame construction. 1807 Guadalupe Street is clad with vertical board and batten wood siding. Its most distinctive feature is a simple but elegant cantilevered second floor balcony that faces out onto Guadalupe Street. The balcony has a wood deck and a simple railing; turned wood posts support a shed metal roof. The solid wood columns supporting the balcony on the ground floor, seen in the historic photograph below, have been replaced by steel angle brackets, similar to those used at 1809. There is a slender brick chimney at the northeast corner of the building. The building has wood double hung windows throughout. The primary, south, elevation is symmetrical with an entrance on the ground floor flanked by double windows. Two symmetrically placed doors open out to the 2nd floor balcony. 1807 has a front-gabled metal roof. The original drop wood siding on the front facade of 1809 Guadalupe Street has been partially replaced by board and batten siding to match 1807. The east and west elevations have matching board and batten siding. Two large double doors provide entrance to the building. A shed roof awning stretches out above the Guadalupe Street sidewalk and is supported by steel angle brackets. This building has a flat roof with a level front parapet and stepped parapets on either side. The wall connecting 1807 and 1809 Guadalupe Street has board and batten siding similar to 1807. It has a stepped roofline. A single door is located at the center of this facade with vent above. The awning at 1809 extends across this connecting structure. Entrances for all three sections are raised and accessed through concrete steps. From street level, the buildings appear as a single structure with various entrances. This coherence is achieved through the continuous siding and the use of the awning to connect the three parts. Considering that until the last two decades these buildings had distinct uses, it can be assumed that these changes were made within this later period. Nonetheless, this change represents an effort to create a certain image and is important to the buildings' meaning.

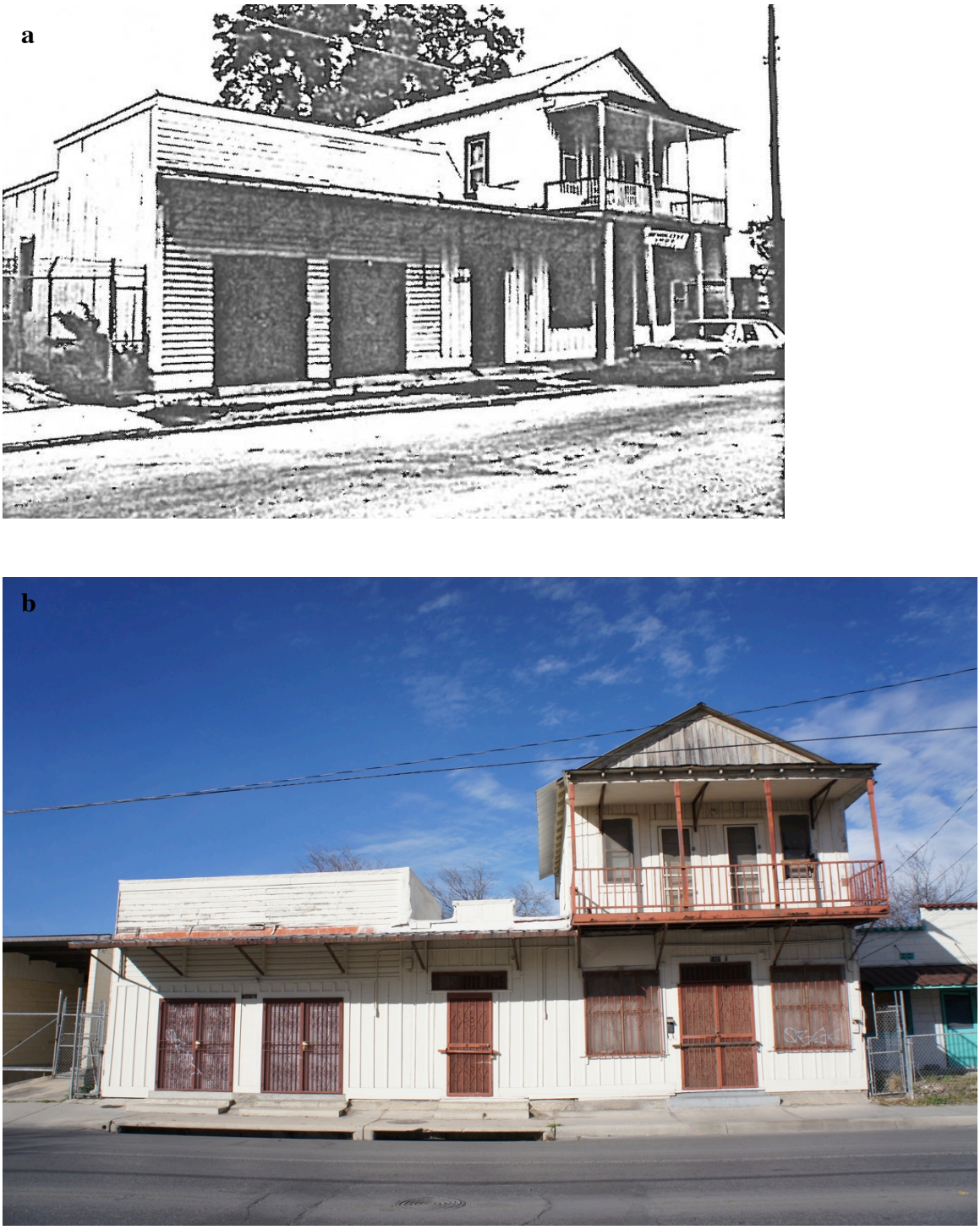

Figure 21: 1807/1809 Guadalupe Street, 1986 Photograph (a) and South Elevation (b)
Source: Perez, Villa de Guadalupe Assessment (a), Photograph by author (b).

Figure 22: 1807/1809 Guadalupe Street, West (a), East Elevations (b), Sanborn Map, 1938 (c)
Source: Photographs by author (a, b), San Antonio Public Lib., Texana Dept. (c).

Until 1992, when the lots and other lots around them were re-platted as the Segovia Subdivision, 1807 and 1809 had separate owners and uses. 1807 Guadalupe Street was owned by Hipolito Rodriguez and his wife Alejandra until 1948 (Alejandra took over the business when Hipolito passed away in 1931). They lived in the building, likely on the second floor, and ran a grocery store below. For two years, from 1927-1929, City Directories record a filling station at this address as well. From 1948-1985, the property changed hands to Manuela Rodriguez, who ran the Rodriguez Variety Store for almost forty years. After 1985, the building appears to have been rented out as apartments. For more than sixty years, the Rodriguez family was able to maintain their grocery store at this location, a significant accomplishment in an area that saw significant change. More so, the fact that the property could be sold and adapted to accommodate solely residential use without rendering the building unrecognizable speaks to the adaptability of its spaces. 1807 was distinguished in the 1986 Historic Resource Assessment as a good example of the store/residence typology. 1809 Guadalupe Street was first rented by a pecan sheller in 1926. From 1927-1960, it was used as a bakery, under four separate owners, who lived elsewhere in the Westside. 1809 was rented out to several different tenants until the 1980s, when it became A&M Auto Upholstery. At the public meeting, residents of the Westside commented on 1807 Guadalupe Street's importance as a multi-purpose structure housing both businesses and their owners. Several people cited the bakery at 1809 as having the "best *pan dulce*," sweet bread, in the area.[115] One resident said the building "demonstrates the evolution of a community."[116]

[115] Ibid.
[116] Ibid.

Today a single owner owns the two buildings at 1807 and 1809 Guadalupe Street. The second story of 1807 is being rented as residential and the ground floors of both 1807 and 1809 are being used as storage by the owner. Security bars have been added to all the doors and windows along Guadalupe Street. A layer of rust covers the steel elements that were left exposed and some of the wood siding exhibits significant decay.

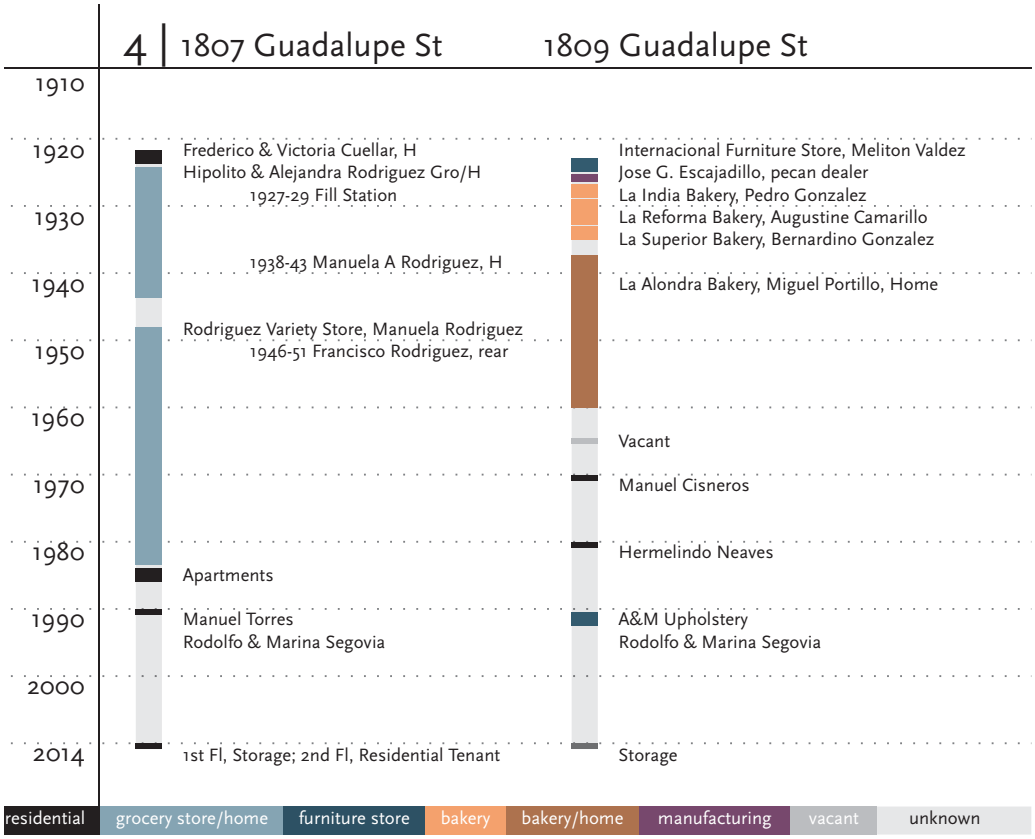

Figure 23: Temporal mapping of use at 1807 and 1809 Guadalupe Street
Source: Timeline created by author from City Directories.

Case Study 5: 1500 Guadalupe Street

The final case study, 1500 Guadalupe Street has a different story than the others in that it served a single use for most of its history. Built in 1924, this was the locale for the Pearl Drug Store (also known as *La Perla*) from 1924-1975. The building is located at

the corner of Guadalupe and S. San Jacinto Streets and abuts the sidewalks on both sides. This building is located just down the block from where the Guadalupe Plaza was built in the late 1980s and was just one block short of being included in the demolition that resulted in the construction of office and retail spaces by the Avenida Guadalupe Association.

1500 Guadalupe Street is a wood-framed building with stuccoed exterior. This exterior finish, presumably applied onto a metal mesh attached to the wood frame, provides the building with a more permanent and even expensive appearance. It discloses a deliberate effort made to differentiate the building from the more common wood-framed construction of the time. Adding to its distinguished appearance, the primary elevation of the building, facing Guadalupe Street on the north, has a false front facade with tall stepped parapet. The parapet is defined along the top with a small trim outline and flat cornices on the horizontal portions. This elevation is symmetrical and has a raised central entrance with double doors. A double window with single lights is located on each side of the entrance. A metal awning is suspended above the entrance by metal tie rods and wraps around the east elevation of the building along S. San Jacinto Street. The east and west elevations of 1500 Guadalupe Street are mostly blank with a few small openings and an additional door at the back of the east elevation. The building has a three part gabled metal roof supported by wood framing. A 2-story projection in the southern half of the long rectangular plan, divides the front section from the back, which has an extended shed roof on the west side. Painted signs for *La Perla,* on the east and west elevations, have been mostly painted over by a recent repainting of the entire building. A ramp leads to a side entrance on the east elevation, a later addition in response to code requirements. Some time ago, a bus stop was placed in front of 1500 Guadalupe Street and a concrete bench built below the awning.

Figure 24: 1500 Guadalupe Street, North Elevation (a) and Sanborn Map, 1938 (b)
Source: Photograph by author (a), San Antonio Public Library, Texana Dept. (b).

Figure 25: 1500 Guadalupe Street, East Elevation (a) and West Elevation (b)
Source: Photographs by author.

Unlike the other case studies, 1500 Guadalupe Street was owned and operated by the same person for almost fifty years. Woodfin G. Smith was the owner of *La Perla* Drugstore from 1924-1975 and lived in the adjacent 1502 Guadalupe Street for the first twenty years. By the beginning of the 1940s, Smith also owned three other drug stores in San Antonio. Smith's granddaughter, Antoinette Cadena, called *La Perla* "a pillar of the neighborhood."[117] Residents agree, and in the public comments added, the drugstore "provided medical services and credit for residents of the neighborhood."[118] One resident pointed out that "Mr. Smith married a Mexican American lady" and they moved to San Antonio after being driven out of their previous home by a "KKK cross burning."[119] For about one year, Moore I. Sellers Physicians is also listed at this address. Even in its name, *La Perla* manifests the blurring of boundaries between Mexican and American. City Directories varied between recording it as Pearl or *La Perla*. Remnants of the painted name on the building evince that to residents in the Westside, this place was known as *La Perla*. Is it possible that city officials chose not to record its Spanish name? The large plan of the building and remark about the services provided hint at the function of the business as much more than an in and out drug store. Informal consultations and arrangements of payment most likely took place in this important community center.

The building retained its use even when ownership changed. In the 1970s, the building was a *botica,* a local pharmacy, under two different names. However, from 1988-2002, the building lay vacant as it does today. According to Smith's daughter, the structure has not been physically modified from its original construction. The building has been completely repainted in the last two years, possibly in preparation for being

[117] Ibid.
[118] Ibid.
[119] Ibid.

sold. Security bars have been added to the windows. Notably, the current owners of the building were the only owners to object to their building's designation as a local landmark, and 1500 Guadalupe Street was removed from the list of nominated sites. The decision to opt out of nomination puts this important landmark at risk for demolition.

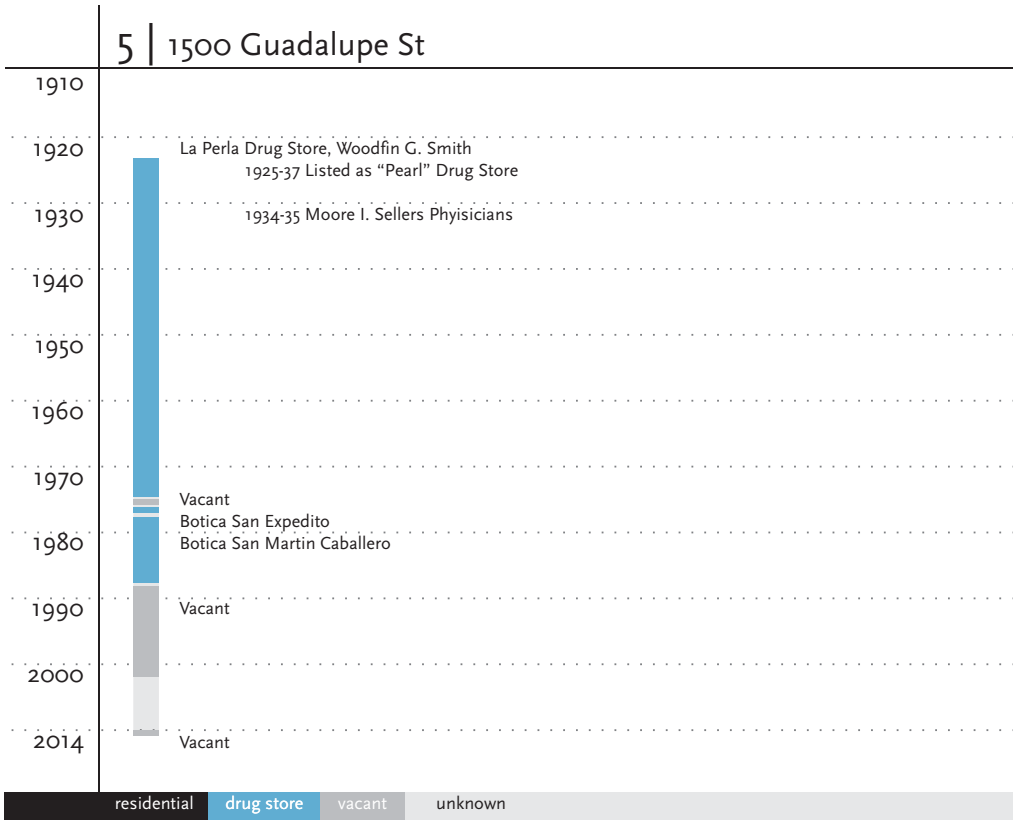

Figure 26: Temporal mapping of use at 1500 Guadalupe Street
Source: Timeline created by author from City Directories.

Discussion and Values Assessment

The above analysis provides a broad but also in depth view into the heritage of the Westside of San Antonio. Through the case studies, one can imagine what life was like in different periods of the development of this neighborhood. Design and material choices together with alterations across time disclose specific intentions to portray a certain

image or shape a particular type of place. The individual history of each case study tells a story of investments and inheritances, of purchases and sales, and of numerous families and individuals who inhabited a single space, occupying it in their own singular ways. On a larger scale, the different mapping techniques serve to highlight certain aspects of the focus areas that illustrate the relationships in space and time between the buildings and moreover between the uses that took place in these buildings. Reviewing the findings, we begin to discern an assortment of specific values that can be attributed to these buildings (Table 2). Identifying these values provides a means to describe the significance of these places in relation to their cultural, social and use value over and above their historical and aesthetic value. As opposed to imposing a set of predefined and largely irrelevant values onto a heritage, this strategy pulls these values from the analysis of local conditions and reapplies to them to the valuation of what is significant in this particular place.

Table 2: Typology of Sociocultural Values of the Westside
Value categories are defined at the beginning of this chapter.

Values		examples
Historical	store/residence	Case Studies 1-5
	informal landmark	Case Study 1
	labor development	Area A
Cultural/ Symbolic	*tiendita*	Case Studies 2, 3
	economic producer	Case Studies 1-5
	informal infrastructure	Area C
Social	confluence point	Case Study1
	informal public space	Case Studies 2, 5
Aesthetic	resourceful design	Case Study 1
	adaptable footprint	Areas A, C
Use	dynamic stability	Area A
	multiplicity	Areas A, C
	versatility	Areas A, B, C

Looking in the first place at the three areas examined, there are several patterns that emerge. Figure 10, which displays the adjacencies of non-residential spaces in Area A, provides a clear visualization of the complex network created as certain types of uses clustered together and others grew outside of these clusters. We can identify specific buildings that stand out for the role they played within this network and attach certain values that relate to that role to the significance of these buildings. For example, the bakery at the corner of Arbor Place and N Colorado Street is distinct for its stability, its capacity to remain relevant and in business for the entire first half of the 20th century. Looking at its footprint in Figure 9, which expanded and adapted through time, we can further qualify this capacity as a specific value of *dynamic stability*, a capacity to endure through adaptability. To the manufacturing buildings clustered around the railroad, we can attribute the value of *labor development*, for their role in providing valuable jobs for wageworkers. By applying this value to them, we focus on their worth to the immediate community as opposed to for the owners or investors who benefited from their production. Seen in this context, Case Study 1, 401 Arbor Place, can be ascribed value as a *confluence point,* a social gathering spot that nurtured the interactions of residents and probably non-residents of the area.

The spatial adjacencies maps, Figures 9, 14 and 21, portray the dynamic nature of the Westside neighborhood, belying the view that heritage is only valuable if it is static and unchanging. These maps also allow the examination of specific spatial relationships among buildings. The juxtaposition of regular, repeated units next to more loosely arranged irregular elements observable in Area B provides an interesting comparison of how exterior space between these different building types is defined. In addition, each building's siting in relation to the street says something about perceptions of public and private space, and accessibility. Certain characteristics stand out as significant features of

the spaces portrayed in these maps. In Areas A and C, we see values such as *adaptable footprint*, a plan configuration that can be easily transformed and expanded, and examples of *multiplicity*, the ability of spaces to accommodate more than a single use. In some cases, these two values overlap. Intersections where commercial buildings are located on each corner, as found in Area C, become examples of zones where *informal infrastructure,* is created. This value applies to places where informal frameworks emerge in the absence of formal planning methods that dictate zoning.

The case studies themselves comprise specific values that become evident through their investigation. Its history as an illegal Prohibition era bar, bestows in 401 Arbor Place value as an *informal landmark*, important for events outside mainstream threads of history. All five case studies can be considered to have value as *store/residences*, spaces that combine to accommodate commercial and residential uses. These spaces not only capitalized on valuable real estate but also may have accommodated family businesses where young or elderly members of the family could be cared for while attending the store or restaurant. Unique within this category, Case Studies 2 and 3 stand out as *tienditas*, small, corner establishments that specifically targeted local customers. In the front stoop of 423 S Brazos Street and the bus stop bench of 1500 Guadalupe Street, we find the creation of *informal public spaces*, areas that are transformed into community spaces through their unintended occupation. The use history of all the case studies, but in particular 423 S Brazos Street and 1809 Guadalupe Street, emphasizes their *versatility*, their flexibility in adjusting to distinct uses. In the construction of every case study, we can find instances of deliberate efforts to advance their appearance. While not resulting in high design, these decisions must be acknowledged. The refined brickwork at 401 Arbor Place is a clear illustration of this *resourceful design*, which uses economical and available means to create simple but deliberate aesthetic statements. Lastly, the value of

each case study as an *economic producer*, a space that contributes to the economic development of the area and its residents, cannot be over overstated.

Figure 27: Detail of brickwork on Case Study 1, 401 Arbor Place
Source: Photograph by author.

The values described above, listed in Table 2, represent only an initial catalogue that could be expanded through extended research and analysis of the Westside. They are enough, however, to demonstrate the importance of reaching into the local heritage of a place to find sources of meaning for this heritage. This process may result in values that change and overlap; yet, that not only acknowledges the true nature of values but also keeps them relevant in a changing context. The analysis presented illustrates how using a variety of techniques, from individual building assessments to area mapping exercises to use histories and personal accounts, can add to an understanding of why certain places should be preserved. As a whole, this study can begin to inform the conversations that are currently occurring among preservationists seeking to save the Westside. Additional research, ethnographic studies and most importantly, the personal stories of the residents of the Westside will be critical to solidifying these values, but at the very least, this analysis provides a basis for discussion of what and how to preserve in the Westside.

4: Conclusion

> The common ground between an ideal past and an official or authentic past may be a landscape that tolerates temporal diversity and accommodates multiple land uses that give character, not charm alone, to the cityscape.[120]

Recent efforts to recognize the heritage of underrepresented groups in the formal narrative of preservation implicate more than just inclusion of others into an established system. As those involved have begun to realize, this process requires a reconfiguration of our understanding of the past and of the built environment that conveys it. It calls for creative methods that look at buildings from different perspectives and examine daily use as a relevant aspect of a building's significance. Inclusion of the ordinary into our concept of historic fabric, acceptance of the dynamic and referential character of buildings and valorization of social and cultural qualities in addition to historic and aesthetic values are required if the intention is to have a broader yet more acute impact on our shared heritage.

The American Latino Heritage Initiative is important as a formal recognition that work needs to be done. The theme study, especially, has highlighted the richness and depth of history that Latinos have contributed around the country. Through the Initiative, the NPS has created funding opportunities for new projects. At the same time, the immense scope that the NPS has taken on as part of this initiative is challenging, at best. The reality is that the history of Cubans in the US is not the same as the history of Mexicans; the history of Mexicans is also different from the history of Mexican Americans; and even the history of Mexican Americans can vary from region to region. Just as British colonial architecture does not define the diversity of modern American landscapes nor, for that matter, those of other regions that were once a part of the British

[120] Arreola, "Urban Ethnic Landscape Identity," 532.

Empire, the shared Spanish heritage of different Latino groups cannot be used to represent the diverse cultures that have evolved from it.

In order to understand the nuances of this varied heritage, efforts must derive from local understandings. The San Antonio summit and Los Angeles forum are important first steps in reaching out to local preservationists and communities. Uniting the various groups involved in spaces that form a part of local heritage to discuss the preservation of this heritage is invaluable. Not only does this demonstrate to the community that the national, state and city organizations exist and care, but it immerses preservationists in the Latino heritage they are trying to protect. These meetings also give local groups an opportunity to speak out about the problems they have had in trying to actively preserve the history and culture of their communities. Moving forward, this collaboration must continue as the different organizations learn to embrace new ways of working together and with the communities they represent. Preservation of underrepresented sites depends on community participation for an accurate and complete evaluation of heritage. Most importantly, all stakeholders involved in preservation initiatives should be recognized and involved in conversations throughout the entire process. Acknowledging that there will be conflicts of interest and intention among the groups, open and inclusive conversations can help lead toward greater participation and coordination.

At a policy level, evaluation of existing standards is required to address the needs and challenges faced when working with an expanded heritage definition. As Hayden points out, this does not automatically mean replacing the entire system but, rather, demands a reformulation of what can be included within current definitions of significant places. Engaging in an interdisciplinary approach to identify, define and assess the various values attached to a building provides a starting point and guiding framework for

understanding buildings that do not fit into the typical landmark definition. Looking at the history of a place from the point of view of the user, the worker, or the financially limited owner automatically reshuffles the prioritization of meanings found when approaching the building from an architect's or wealthy landowner's perspective. What follows is testing out how this expanded definition of significance can influence the conservation treatment of these buildings. How do the processes of preservation, rehabilitation, restoration and reconstruction need to be reevaluated to be appropriate to this particular heritage?

As a point of departure, locally defined significance that emanates from a building's everyday use compels preservationists to look at buildings as more than static objects. It encourages projects that seek to conserve a sense of place and not just the material frame that encloses a space. Applied to the treatment of buildings, this approach could help deter the effects of gentrification that are often associated with traditional preservation efforts in minority and low-income areas. Community members are encouraged to preserve the places that are important to them through the validation of their definition of significance. Likewise, outside investors or new residents are obliged to understand the cultural and social values associated with the buildings in this particular context and to take them into account.

Learning from the Westside

The Westside neighborhood of San Antonio provides a useful base upon which to discuss the issues described above. Mexican American neighborhoods, as other minority areas, have been plagued with the extremes of either neglect or insensitive large-scale urban development. Both processes threaten to destroy historic fabric, which results in the loss of the rich cultures and histories contained in these spaces. As evident in this

paper, failure to recognize the value of these neighborhoods only adds to their demise. The overview of the Westside demonstrates that there is in fact a lack of formally designated Mexican American sites in a city that has been at the center of the Mexican American community since the 19th century. Despite local efforts, preservationists are just now beginning to pay attention this important heritage. Conversely, because of local efforts, a wealth of resources and opportunities exist within the Westside for the implementation of new approaches that can lead to improved and more appropriate preservation projects.

Investigating five locally identified landmarks in this neighborhood demonstrates that residents of the Westside have, for generations, been enacting their own preservation strategies. Building owners have developed ways to adapt to a context of change, modifying buildings to extend their viability. The adaptive and versatile use of buildings has guaranteed their continued relevance to users and to the larger community. By default, this has ensured their preservation. Acknowledgment that values such as these and others identified in the case study analysis not only exist but also are essential to the meaning carried in these buildings is crucial. These values must form the basis of buildings' significance if current preservation efforts are to succeed in conserving a history that is genuine to those who have been a part of it.

What nature these preservation efforts will take in the future remains to be seen. Two of the five buildings studied are currently vacant and one is partially vacant (the second floor has a residential tenant). The two that remain in use are no longer publicly accessible spaces. As we have seen, the functionality of these spaces is vital for their continued preservation. Now that they have been nominated, and will hopefully be designated, as local historic landmarks, they are protected from demolition. However, local designation also means that they have to abide by certain regulations that limit the

alterations that can be made to their exterior. When discussing the preservation of these buildings, we must acknowledge that designation is just the beginning of the preservation process. Re-examining the values identified in these buildings brings into question whether preservation, as defined by the Secretary of Interior's Standards, is really the best way to keep these buildings alive in their context.[121] Rehabilitation may be a more appropriate treatment that acknowledges their dynamic character and provides flexibility to owners with limited means.[122] Owners should be encouraged to take the necessary steps to maintain the use of their buildings and retain their significance, cultural, social, historic and aesthetic. Special care must be taken to ensure that owners understand the value of designation and are not threatened by it. As seen in the last case study, *La Perla* drugstore, owners can reject designation for fear of unmanageable regulations. The Office of Historic Preservation and the Historic and Design Review Commission, the parties responsible for reviewing proposed alterations, must also keep these values in mind when making approval and permit decisions. They cannot apply the same strict preservation requirements as would be appropriate for a high-design historic house museum to an operational store in a low-income neighborhood.

An important partnership that will help these preservation efforts move forward in a positive direction is that between preservation and economic development. Combining these two enterprises would place this study of cultural and social values into the bigger scheme of land development. Ideally this evaluation would be centered on economic

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[121] The Standards define preservation as "the act or process of applying measures necessary to *sustain the existing form, integrity, and materials of an historic property*." Emphasis added.

[122] Rehabilitation is defined as "the act or process of making possible a compatible use for a property through repair, alterations, and additions while preserving those portions or features which convey its historical, *cultural*, or architectural values." Emphasis added.

production, not consumption, and lead to the development of new ways to connect preservation and economic revitalization.

Beyond Buildings

Historic preservation efforts would also benefit from broadening their focus beyond the built environment. Heritage is embodied in more than solely buildings, and recognizing this can help save a part of history that gets lost when preservationists limit themselves to the conservation of structures. The Westside, for example, is currently the subject of several cultural heritage preservation projects worth mentioning. The historic photograph and oral history projects already in place at the Esperanza Center are notable examples of creative ways to share and record the history of places without depending on the buildings themselves. At the most recent monthly *Convivio,* a community meeting held by the Esperanza Center, I witnessed the value that the simple sharing of stories and photographs can have. At this meeting, a graduate student from a local university asked residents, mostly community elders, about their experiences in local theaters. The elders, in a not so orderly fashion, related stories of visiting the Progreso, Nacional, Alameda and Guadalupe theaters in their younger days. One woman told of her years as a concession girl in several of these theaters and how this gave her a chance to meet some of the famous stars of the time. She even had a photograph of herself on the job in one of these theaters. Residents spoke of seeing American and Mexican movies, and one person even mentioned learning more Spanish by watching the Mexican films. These stories hold within them the significance of the places in which they have occurred. They only highlight the importance of getting to know the inhabitants before we can even begin to think about preserving the built spaces in which their memories took place.

Other people are catching on. The achievements of the Esperanza Center and the WPA as well as the efforts of the American Latino Heritage Initiative have attracted the attention of several groups interested in heritage preservation (this author included) to the Westside. One of these groups is the Historic Preservation department of the University of Texas, San Antonio, specifically Professor William Dupont and his Historic Preservation Seminar Class. The goal of the class was to come up with a project that would preserve traditions as opposed to buildings. They chose to focus on the tradition of planting the umbilical cord of a newborn next to a tree as a way to create a connection between the child and his or her home, of rooting the child to a place. Students are engaging residents in a project to map the location of these *ombligos*, belly buttons, throughout the Westside. By recording their location along with information about the traditions, the students hope to preserve this tradition and its importance to the community.

These projects, which focus on more than physical remains, are important in that they help preserve what a building alone cannot express: the stories and traditions that make these place important. The value assessment presented in this thesis presents one step toward bridging the gap between these stories and their places.

A Shared Heritage

The applications of this study reach beyond Mexican American neighborhoods to other groups, whose heritage has been rendered invisible because of a limited interpretation of what is significant in the historic fabric of our built environment. This approach advocates for the acceptance of a shared heritage that acknowledges diversity in values and promotes the authentic character of the history of the United States as a whole.

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