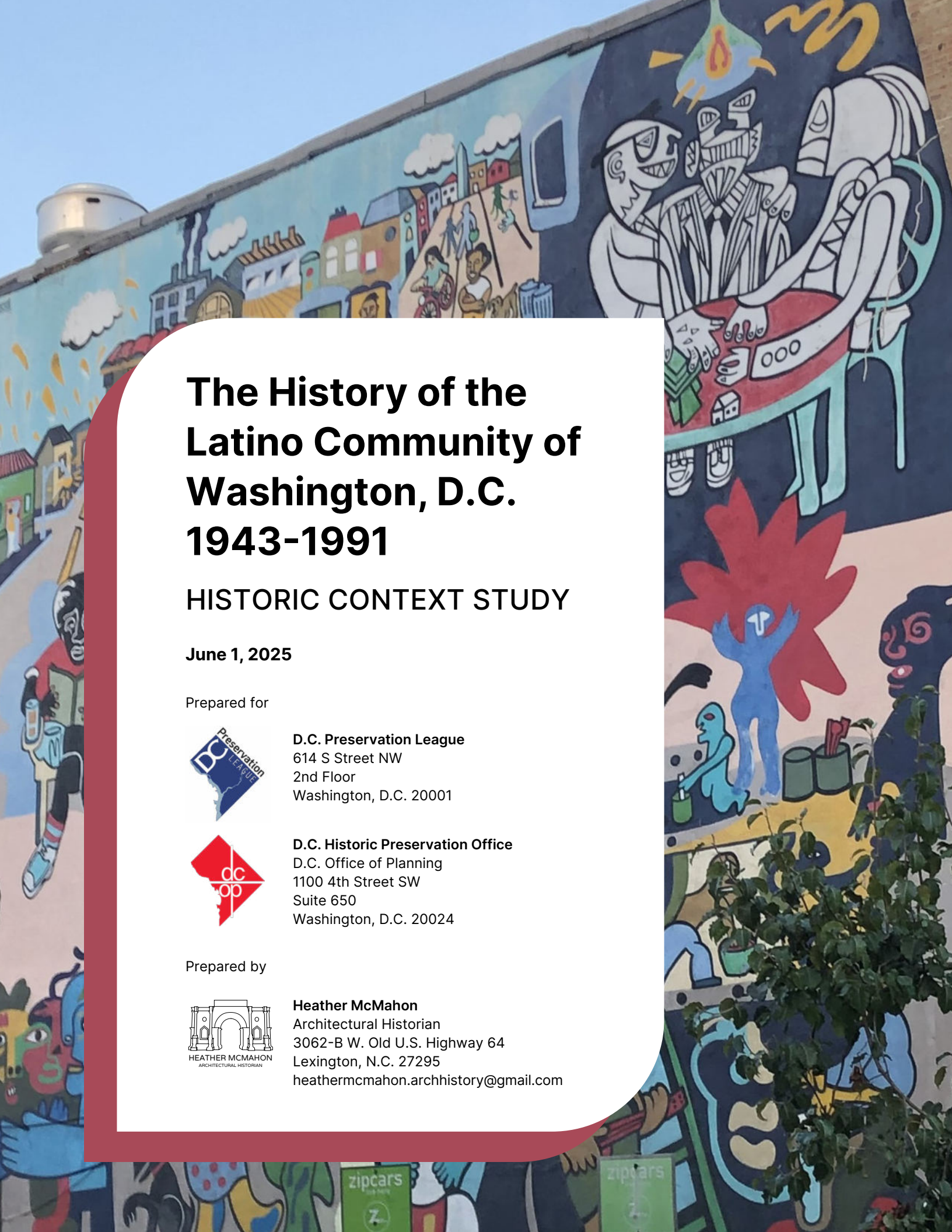

The History of the Latino Community of Washington, D.C. 1943-1991

HISTORIC CONTEXT STUDY

June 1, 2025

Prepared for

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ABSTRACT

This Historic Context Study (HCS) provides a thematic framework on the formation and evolution of a self-identified Latino community in Washington, D.C. during World War II and through the postwar decades of the twentieth century. The HCS provides an overview of the economic, cultural, and social ways in which Latinos and Latinas interacted with the District's built environment and provides examples of building typologies, places, and spaces significant to the formation and development of this community.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author would like to thank Rebecca Miller, Kelli Knox, Zachary Burt, and Shae Corey of the D.C. Preservation League as well as Kim Williams of the D.C. Historic Preservation Office for the opportunity to work on this project and for their support and assistance throughout. Mariana Barros-Titus, Community Engagement Manager at the D.C. History Center, was an invaluable resource to our team, introducing us to individuals in D.C.'s Latino community and guiding us to constructive source material. The staff at Kiplinger Research Library, including Alex Aspiazu, have been very helpful in the research process. The author would also like to thank the members of the advisory board who have, as peer reviewers as well as partners, donated their time and knowledge to ensuring the comprehensiveness, accuracy, and overall success of this report: Jose Gutierrez, Lori Kaplan, and Patrick Scallen. We are grateful to everyone who agreed to talk with us, providing oral history material that significantly shaped this report, or assisted in research: Lois Athey, Olivia Cadaval, Pepe González, Jorge Granados, Arturo Griffiths, Jose Gutierrez, Charles Kamasaki, Lori Kaplan, Rebecca Medrano, Marie Moll, Beatriz "BB" Otero, Carmen Torruella-Quander and Rohulamin Quander, Lupi Quinteros-Grady, Lois Vitt, and Ellie Walton. Additionally, several individuals and organizations have supplied images to help illustrate this report, and we wish to thank John DeFerrari, Jose Gutierrez, Carolyn Long, Carmen Toruella-Quander, Rohulamin Quander, Richard Reinhard, the D.C. History Center Collections, the People's Archive at the D.C. Public Library, the Smithsonian Institution, D.C. Historic Preservation Office staff, and the D.C. Preservation League staff for their photographic contributions. This author is particularly grateful to photographers who make their work available on Flickr and for all of the historic photographs in the public domain available through the Library of Congress and the National Park Service. Finally, the author wishes to express her gratitude to her partner, Maria Sanchez-Carlo, for all of her help and assistance; Maria spearheaded the oral history collections for this project, recruited the Advisory Board members, edited the Spanish translation of this report, and provided general support. The author is grateful to Joshua Metz, who lent his editing expertise, and Jackie Temkin of Afton Design Co. for the final report's graphic design.

This project has received Federal financial assistance for the identification, protection, and/or rehabilitation of historic properties and cultural resources in the District of Columbia. Under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, the U.S. Department of the Interior prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, color, national origin, or disability in its federally assisted programs. If you believe that you have been discriminated against in any program, activity, or facility as described above, or if you desire further information, please write to: Office of Equal Opportunity, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1849 C Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20240. This project has been financed in part with Federal funds from the U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service. However, the contents and opinions contained in this publication do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the U.S. Department of the Interior, nor does the mention of trade names or commercial products constitute endorsement or recommendation by the U.S. Department of the Interior.

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ABC	American Baptist Churches
AMO	Adams Morgan Organization
ANC	Advisory Neighborhood Commission
CADOLANCA	Committee for the Aid and Development of Latin America in the Nation's Capital
CARECEN	Central American Resource Center
CHANGE, Inc.	Cardozo Heights Association for Neighborhood Growth and Enrichment
CHEC	Columbia Heights Educational Campus
CIA	U.S. Central Intelligence Agency
CISPES	Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador
D.C.	District of Columbia
DCPL	D.C. Preservation League
D.C. HPO	D.C. Historic Preservation Office
D.C. Inventory	D.C. Inventory of Historic Sites
DMV	D.C., Maryland, and Virginia – a shorthand for D.C.'s metropolitan region
EOFULA	Educational Organization for United Latin Americans
EPICA	Ecumenical Program for Inter-American Communication and Action
ESL	English as a Second Language
FARC	Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia – People's Army
FSLN	Sandinista National Liberation Front
FMLN	Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front
GALA	Grupo de Artistas Latino Americanos, now GALA Hispanic Theatre
GED	General Education Development
GELAAM	Gente Latina de Ambiente
HCS	Historic Context Study
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/ Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
IDB	Inter-American Development Bank
INS	U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service
IRCA	U.S. Immigration Reform and Control Act
LAYC	Latin American Youth Center in Washington, D.C.
LEDC	Latino Economic Development Center
LLEGO	(National) Latina/o Lesbian and Gay Organization
LGBTQ	Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer
MALDEF	Mexican American Legal Defense Fund
MCIP	Multicultural Career Intern Program
MERIP	Middle East Research and Information Project
MPD	(Washington, D.C.) Metropolitan Police Department
NCLR	National Council of La Raza, now UnidosUS
NFWA	National Farm Workers Association
NMAH	(Smithsonian) National Museum of American History
NPS	National Park Service

NRHP	National Register of Historic Places
NW	Northwest (directional); also NE for Northeast, SE for Southeast, SW for Southwest
OAS	Organization of American States
OBED	D.C. Office of Business and Economic Development
PEILA	Program of English Instruction for Latin Americans
PEPCO	Potomac Electric Power Company
SED	Spanish Education Development Center
SYEP	D.C. Summer Youth Employment Program
UFWOC	United Farm Workers Organizing Committee
UDC	University of the District of Columbia
UPO	United Planning Organization
U.S.	United States [of America], used as an adjective or as shorthand
YLO	Young Lords Organization

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This thematic Historic Context Study (HCS) addresses the history of Washington, D.C.'s Latino community from 1943-1991. Although Latinos currently comprise nearly 12% of D.C.'s resident population, there are only nine properties associated with the Latino community listed in the D.C. Inventory of Historic Sites (D.C. Inventory) and the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP). Funded by a grant from the National Park Service's (NPS) Underrepresented Community Grants Fund, this HCS is intended to provide a clear framework to evaluate cultural resources and develop nominations for the D.C. Inventory and the NRHP.

Because the temporal scope was limited to five decades in the mid- to late twentieth century, the majority of sites and buildings identified as significant to and associated with D.C.'s historic Latino community lie in Wards 1 and 2, largely centered in the city's northwest neighborhoods of Dupont Circle, Adams Morgan, Mount Pleasant, and Columbia Heights. The building typologies range from vernacular commercial structures to monumental governmental edifices. The companion architectural survey documentation identified 90 extant properties and five lost properties associated with the historic Latino community in D.C. This list helped inform the thematic organization of the HCS, which addresses Employment and Commerce (e.g., sites of work and business); Religion and Education (e.g., churches and schools); Arts, Media, and Leisure (e.g., cinemas, museums, parks, public art); Health and Social Services (e.g., clinics and social welfare agencies); Housing and Gentrification (e.g., apartment buildings, single-family detached houses, rowhouses); and Politics, Governance, and Economic Development (e.g. embassies, police stations, municipal offices). Nearly one-third of the combined 95 sites are commercial businesses, generally bodegas and restaurants. This HCS finds that the growth of Latino-owned commercial businesses mirrored the growth and prosperity of the Latino community in D.C. as a whole. This typology is followed by social service agencies, which account for nearly one-quarter of the 95 sites. These agencies were created by Latinos/as to meet the unaddressed needs of a marginalized, minority population and they served as the bedrock of an ideation of a Latino community in D.C.

The report is also organized chronologically by decade or period. It begins with Pioneers (1943-1959), a 16-year span during which Latinos/as arrived in Washington to work for the federal government, embassies, or global institutions, the majority of whom were from Puerto Rico, Spain, Mexico, Panama, and Cuba. The Tipping Point (1960-1969) covers the 1960s, during which the Latino community in northwest D.C. grew to an extent that outsiders (and insiders) recognized Latinos/as as a bloc rather than a number of disparate individuals. Community Building through Community Action (1970-1979) spans a decade in which newcomers from South and Central America began to diversify the largely Caribbean-origin Latino community in D.C., and during which social service agencies and Latino politicization made strides. The final chapter, A New Guard (1980-1991), reports on a decade marked by the influx of refugees from Central America (largely El Salvador) and that was capped with the 1991 Mount Pleasant uprising and riots, which brought this marginalized community's needs to the fore and forced the D.C. government to give the Latino community greater consideration and recognition. The research for this report utilized several forms of primary and secondary source material but largely rested on oral history interviews conducted in the 1980s and 2010s and archived at the D.C. Public Library and the D.C. History Center's Kiplinger Library, as well as interviews conducted in 2024 by the author as part of this study.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Purpose and Scope

According to the 2020 U.S. census, the Latino population comprises 11.3% of D.C. residents.[1] Yet, the D.C. Inventory presently contains only nine entries that represent this community in any way. This Historic Context Study (HCS) is intended to provide a clear framework to evaluate cultural resources associated with this community and develop nominations for the D.C. Inventory and the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP). In addition, the context will provide a baseline to evaluate sites already listed in the D.C. Inventory and the NRHP and to summarily update those nominations to include Latino history. For example, the nomination for the Mount Pleasant Historic District, written in 1986, focuses on the development of the neighborhood as one of Washington, D.C.'s first suburbs and its early twentieth century maturation but makes no mention of the rise of the neighborhood's Latino-owned businesses on Mount Pleasant Street (beginning in the 1960s) or of the Mount Pleasant uprising of 1991.

In 2022, the D.C. Historic Preservation Office (D.C. HPO) received a grant from the National Park Service's (NPS) Underrepresented Communities Grant Program to underwrite the production of a historic context study on the District of Columbia's Latino community. The D.C. HPO promotes stewardship of the District of Columbia's historic and cultural resources through planning, protection, and public outreach. D.C. HPO is the staff for the Historic Preservation Review Board (HPRB) and Mayor's Agent for Historic Preservation. The D.C. HPO contracted the management of the project and of the consultant awarded the project to the D.C. Preservation League (DCPL). The DCPL is Washington's citywide nonprofit organization dedicated to the preservation and protection of the historic resources of our nation's capital. DCPL's mission is carried out through education, community outreach, landmark designation, and advocacy.

In September 2023, the DCPL released to the public a Request for Proposals (RFP) seeking the services of a qualified consultant to produce the HCS in addition to other tasks and deliverables. For the HCS, the consultant was requested to undertake research to identify themes, establish associated property types, and create a preliminary inventory of significant historic resources associated with the Latino community in Washington, D.C. In November 2023, the DCPL awarded the contract to Heather McMahon, Architectural Historian (HMAH)—a SWaM-certified (Virginia) and HUB-certified (North Carolina), woman-owned, sole-proprietorship with over a decade of cultural resource management and historic preservation experience. Research and writing for this HCS was undertaken between November 2023 and May 2025.

Geographic Distribution and Temporal Scope

Per the RFP released by the DCPL in September 2023, the HCS and its companion architectural survey documentation were intended to be citywide, encompassing all eight wards within the

District of Columbia. A concerted effort was made to identify sites, structures, objects, and buildings associated with D.C.'s historic Latino community throughout the entire District. Exhaustive primary and secondary source research identified 90 extant and five lost places and spaces that were consistently and repeatedly named as significant to the Latino community in D.C. either in scholarship or in oral interviews. However, with very few exceptions, the vast majority of these resources and spaces are concentrated within Ward 1, which holds the traditional Latino barrio, or neighborhood, today comprised of the adjacent neighborhoods of Adams Morgan, Mount Pleasant, and Columbia Heights (Figure 1.1).

Today, the legacy of D.C.'s Latino community can be seen in businesses, organizations, and public spaces across the city, but particularly in Wards 1 and 2. This community's history dates back to the early 1940s, when Puerto Ricans and Mexican Americans arrived in the capital to obtain work in the expanding federal bureaucracy and to fill labor shortages in other trades as the United States mobilized for World War II. In the 1940s through the 1960s, Latin American diplomats brought embassy staff to Washington, some of whom settled in Dupont Circle and Adams Morgan, moving in alongside an influx of Dominicans and Cubans coming to America for economic opportunity and to escape from political conflict in their home countries. Latinos/ as continued to settle in Adams Morgan and Mount Pleasant in the 1970s and 1980s, as South American and Central American—particularly Salvadoran—immigration increased due to civil war and domestic unrest in that region. By the 1980s

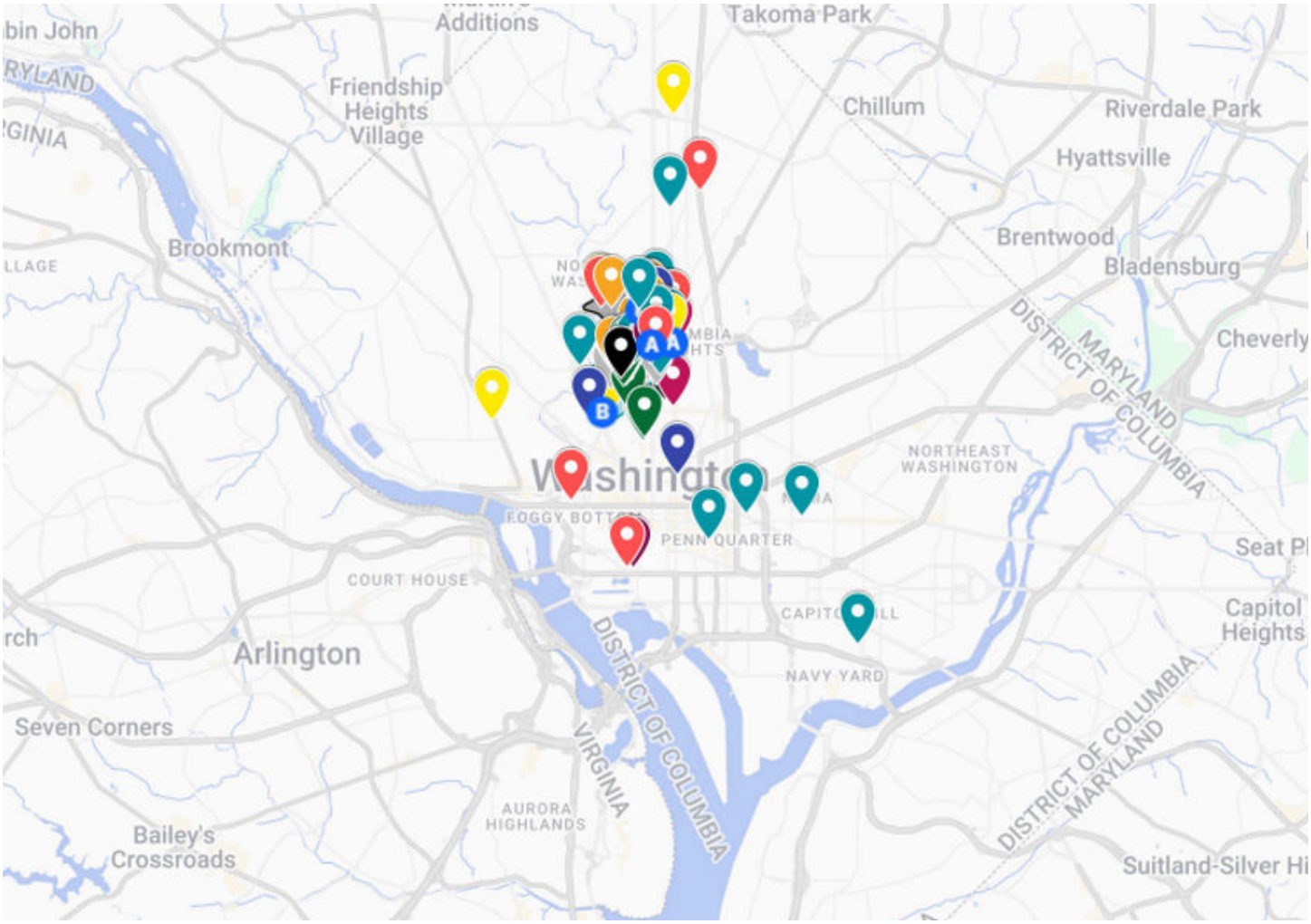


Figure 1.1: Map showing the geographic distribution of significant D.C. Latino sites. HMAH 2024.

and 1990s, the eastern edges of the barrio on 16th Street NW had pushed farther east into Columbia Heights, as housing shortages and rising housing costs pushed new Latino arrivals deeper into traditionally African American neighborhoods. This influx of immigrants throughout the years was not entirely without strife, most obviously demonstrated by the Mount Pleasant uprising of 1991, but the legacy of the historic Latino community on the District is undeniable.

It should be noted that the temporal scope affected (and limited) the geographic distribution as well. The period of significance was established in the RFP as 1943 to 1991, representing the initial surge of Spanish-speaking immigrants during World War II through the Mount Pleasant uprising. Although individual Latinos/as have always settled in the Maryland and Virginia suburbs as well as other parts of the District, and despite the fact that the community has dispersed throughout the entire Washington metropolitan area since the 1990s, generally, Spanish-speaking arrivals prior to 1991 started in the barrio. This report provides brief contexts for the decades immediately preceding and succeeding this temporal scope, as history is never well-confined to a single period. Furthermore, several buildings identified during the research and through the companion architectural survey documentation technically fall outside of this temporal scope, although the author has endeavored to remain faithful to its limits.

A final word about language, geography, and this scope of work. The author has used different naming conventions to describe Washington, D.C. including "the city;" "Washington;" "D.C.;" "the District of Columbia;" and "the District." For the purposes of this report, these terms should be considered interchangeable. Often, the phrases "the greater Washington area" or "the Washington metropolitan area" are used to describe D.C. and its surrounding environs, or suburbs. Although these concepts have clear boundaries today that encompass multiple localities in both Maryland and Virginia—even extending now to West Virginia—in the postwar period of the twentieth century, before suburban development had greatly altered the rural landscape of northern Virginia and central Maryland, the "greater Washington area" was smaller and more confined. For the purposes of this report, readers should understand the author's use of the phrases to encompass inner-ring suburbs, such as the City of Alexandria and the counties of Arlington and Fairfax in Virginia as well as the counties of Montgomery and Prince George's in Maryland for the period 1940-1970. By the 1970s through the 1990s, D.C. bedroom communities had spread to Frederick County, Maryland, as well as portions of Prince William and Loudoun counties in Virginia. Furthermore, it should be noted that while today's D.C. residents recognize Adams Morgan, Lanier Heights, Reed-Cooke, Mount Pleasant, and Columbia Heights as distinct and discrete neighborhoods, they were not always so well defined. When D.C. Latinos referred to the barrio, they were referring to portions of all of these separate neighborhoods as one neighborhood. Thus, when the author has used the term "barrio," the reader should understand it to encompass the aforementioned neighborhoods as a singular entity predicated more on cultural affiliation and less on geospatial bounds.

The author recognizes that today's Latino diaspora extends far beyond the boundaries of the District of Columbia, into Maryland and Virginia. However, the mandate established in the RFP for this project—in terms of both geographic and temporal scopes—limits consideration to the community of Spanish-speakers residing within the District's bounds, particularly in the northwest quadrant and especially in Ward 1. Therefore, Latino communities across the "DMV" (D.C., Maryland, and Virginia) are not specifically considered in this HCS but should be acknowledged as legacies of or complements to the Latino experience in the barrio.

Methodology and Literature Review

Research for this HCS commenced in December 2023. Over a three-month period, the consultants

reviewed secondary sources—including scholarly books, journal articles, Ph.D. dissertations, essays, reports, unpublished manuscripts, and brochures—as well as primary source material—including historic maps, photographs, city directories, U.S. census records, newspaper articles, videos, and oral histories. Of particular value was Mariana C. Barros-Titus' 2021 "A Guide to Selected Research Materials to the Latino/a/x Communities in Washington, D.C." that comprehensively catalogues the resources available on the subject at the D.C. History Center and elsewhere.

The consultants reviewed research materials at local D.C. repositories—such as the Kiplinger Research Library—as well as through digital collections, primarily the Library of Congress and the District of Columbia Public Library's *The People's Archive*. For various aspects of the thematic context, the *Prologue D.C.* *Mapping Segregation in Washington D.C.* website was a valuable resource, as were articles accessible through the *Hola Cultura Más* website for D.C. Latino arts and culture. The Library of Congress' *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers* collection is of paramount importance when seeking first-hand accounts in a historic period through the medium of print news. For attaining concise yet accurate narratives of U.S. foreign policies in Latin America through the postwar period, the author found the U.S. Department of State's Office of the Historian *Milestones* website to be exceptionally helpful.

In terms of the historic preservation industry, NPS resources provide standard guidelines and criteria for writing HCS reports and NRHP nominations. The consultants reviewed *National Register Bulletin 16B* on Multiple Property Documentation Forms as well as the NPS *White Paper: The Components of a Historic Context*. The consultants also reviewed two valuable NPS National Historic Landmark (NHL) Theme Studies: *American Latino Heritage* (2013) and *LGBTQ America: A Theme Study of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History* (2016). The former was amended in 2022 with the NPS' *NHL Registration Guidelines for American Latino Properties* (2022). The D.C. HPO has done a remarkable job presenting the developmental histories of neighborhoods in D.C. and the narrative descriptions of significant landmarks within each of the city's eight wards, published between 2015 and 2021 as *Ward Heritage Guides*. The *D.C. Inventory of Historic Sites* (2009) and the annual updates published since 2010 were valuable guides in creating the companion piece to this HCS, the architectural survey documentation. Lastly, D.C. HPO's *HistoryQuest D.C.* map viewer is a valuable tool for finding design and construction data (based on historic building permits as well as other documentary resources) of individual buildings within the District as well as buildings' statuses as either individually landmarked in state and federal registers or their contribution to locally-designated historic districts that are often also listed in the NRHP.

The history of the City of Washington—designed by Peter (Pierre) L'Enfant in 1791—as well as the founding of the District of Columbia and its development over time, although fascinating subjects, are not addressed in this HCS. For a comprehensive history of the city's development especially as it pertains to issues of race and demographics, the author recommends Chris Myers Asch and George Derek Musgrove's 2017 book, *Chocolate City: A History of Race and Democracy in the Nation's Capital*. Both authors also contributed an article to the 2015 book, *Capital Dilemma: Growth and Inequality in Washington, D.C.*, that the author found pertinent to the topic of gentrification and housing in Ward 1. Similarly, this HCS does not discuss the developmental growth of the formerly rural areas north of L'Enfant's federal city—like Mount Pleasant—into urban neighborhoods, although it is salient to this community history. The topic falls temporally outside of this scope of work, and there are many sources that do the subject justice, including the aforementioned *Ward Heritage Guides* produced by the D.C. HPO; Mara Cherkasky's *Mount Pleasant* (2007); brochures for walking tours of Mount Pleasant created by Tanya Edwards Beauchamp (2000) and Mara Cherkasky

with Jane Freundel Levey (2006); Ed Hughes' NRHP nomination for the Mount Pleasant Historic District (1987); and Celestino Zapata and Josh Gibson's *Adams Morgan: Then and Now* (2006). Also, the Smithsonian Anacostia Community Museum has produced a StoryMap—*Adams Morgan: The Power of Unity and Diversity*—that provides a concise history of the neighborhood since the 1950s as well as evocative imagery.

For scholarship pertaining to D.C.'s Latino community, this author is grateful to the prolific works of local scholars Olivia Cadaval, Richard Reinhard, Ana Patricia Rodríguez, and Patrick Scallen. Cadaval's essay in *Urban Odyssey: A Multicultural History of Washington, D.C.* (1996) and her book *Creating a Latino Identity in the Nation's Capital: The Latino Festival* (2021) should be first stops on the list of any researcher interested in the tangible and intangible cultural legacies of D.C.'s Latinos/as. Cadaval and Reinhard collaborated on a 1992 article for *Washington History*—the magazine published by the D.C. History Center—that addressed both the recent Mount Pleasant uprising and its one-year anniversary parade as well as the latter's parallels with the annual Latino Festival as politicized acts of "taking it to the streets." Reinhard, a photographer whose images provide a visual record of D.C.'s Latino community, contributed an article to *Washington History* in 2017 that discussed Latino community formation from the 1970s through the 1991 Mount Pleasant uprising. Rodríguez has authored scholarly articles on the Salvadoran community in D.C., but through her professorship at the University of Maryland, she has also created class curricula on the subject. Products include videos of annual walking tours she takes with her students that outline sites, buildings, objects, and organizations she considers significant to the local Latino (particularly Salvadoran) community. Scallen's 2020 article on the Mount Pleasant uprising for *Washington History* as well as his 2019 dissertation in partial fulfillment of a Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.) degree at Georgetown University, *"The Bombs that Drop on El Salvador Explode in Mount Pleasant:" From Cold War Conflagration to Immigrant Struggles in Washington, D.C., 1970-1995*, were heavily mined by this author, and quotations from his works figure prominently in the HCS. The works of innumerable other scholars and journalists contributed to this work, too many to list in detail here. A full bibliography is included in this HCS in the works cited section.

Perhaps unique to this HCS, videos played an important role as research material. They offer first-person accounts as equally as audio-recorded oral histories do and should be considered valuable primary source material. The film *La Manplesa: An Uprising Remembered* (2021), directed by Ellie Walton, includes interviews with D.C. Latinos/as who were on the ground during the protest and subsequent riots. Since 2021, the D.C. History Center has hosted panel discussions on topics related to the D.C. Latino community's history, inviting members of that community to speak on specific subjects. The organization has recorded those panel discussions and provided them for the public to view online. The author was pleased to discover videos taken in the 1970s by the Washington Community Video Center, a community-based, video-recording collaborative headquartered in Adams Morgan. The videos provide a snapshot of life in the Latino barrio in a time period now long past. Websites are also valuable tools for obtaining the histories of organizations and/or for finding specific details.

The most important resource type to the development of this HCS was oral history interviews. Not only does this medium provide first-hand accounts of events, but it provides opinions *at that time* and not removed by forty years. Although contemporary oral histories rely on memory, and memories are fallible and often a bit fuzzy, they should be considered the most direct way of understanding what topics, spaces, and places are significant to actual individuals in D.C.'s Latino community. This author has utilized four collections of oral histories. In 1982, the Latin American Youth Center (LAYC) received funding to produce an oral history collection over two years. They mobilized Latino/a youths to interview

senior Latino/a leaders in the community. The resultant *Latino Youth Community History Project* is an exceptionally valuable resource for understanding the various issues the Latino community in the District was facing in the early 1980s, as great changes were underway. Also in the 1980s, the D.C. History Center—then called the Columbian Historical Society—produced the *Columbian Historical Society Oral History Project* (1986), which includes interviews with resident Latinos/as. A contemporary oral history project is Scallen's *Mount Pleasant Riot Oral History Project* (2017/2018), which informed his 2019 dissertation and provides first-person accounts of the Latino community's evolution as well as the 1991 uprising. Lastly, for this HCS, HMAH conducted oral interviews with 11 members of (or affiliated with) the Latino community of D.C. from January through March of 2024. These interviews, like the others, form the core of understanding the complex formation of a Latino polity in D.C. from the 1940s through the early 1990s as well as the emergence of a Latino LGBTQ identity in the late 1980s.

Document Framework, Organization, and Typography

This document is organized chronologically and thematically. Following the front matter—which includes the cover page, an abstract, acknowledgments, a list of frequently-used abbreviations and acronyms, a table of contents, a list of figures, and an executive summary—is this introductory chapter, which lays out the HCS' purpose, scope, methodology, and organization. The core of the HCS are chapters 2 through 5, which are arranged by decade or period. Chapter 2 covers the period 1943-1959, although it also provides a brief context for the half-century in D.C. before the United States became embroiled in World War II. Chapter 3 covers the 1960s; Chapter 4 the 1970s; and Chapter 5 covers the period 1980-1991, although it provides brief analyses of later decades as well. Each of these chapters has an introductory section and conclusion that summarizes the chapter's findings. The cores of each of these main chapters are divided thematically into eight sections: Politics at Home and Abroad, which provides a global and national historical context during the time period presented in each chapter; Navigating a Racialized Landscape, which addresses how immigrant Latinos/as were confronted with the U.S. racial and discriminatory policies and particular strategies or solutions Latinos/as implemented in each period; Employment and Commerce, which addresses the economic lives of D.C.'s Latinos/as; Religion and Education; Arts, Media, and Leisure; Health and Social Services; Housing; and Politics, Governance, and Economic Development. Only Chapter 2 is slightly different, as it does not include all of the eight thematic sections. In each of these thematic sections, sites, structures, objects, and buildings are listed that pertain to the theme. For example, in Employment and Commerce, Latino businesses that opened in that time period are named and discussed in some detail. The final chapter, Chapter 6, provides an overall conclusion to the HCS and findings.

The reader will discover a number of conventions used by this author in terms of typography. **PERSONS** of significance are highlighted in all capital letters, in bold, and in the color navy blue for their first use, but not thereafter. It is a means of visually cueing the reader that this person's name will be encountered again throughout the HCS and the individual is, in some respect, a significant figure or leader of the D.C. Latino community, often a community organizer or an activist or a business owner. **ORGANIZATIONS** that are important to the D.C. Latino community but either had no permanent address or shared a physical space with another organization are bolded, placed in all capitals, and given the color green. Significant **PLACES**—including buildings, open spaces and streets (i.e., sites), and objects that are included in the companion architectural survey documentation—are bolded in a red color and placed in all capital letters. This does not mean that these persons, organizations, and

places comprise an exhaustive list all significant community leaders, institutions, and addresses for members of D.C.'s Latino community in the temporal scope of 1943-1991. On the contrary, the HCS provides myriad other names of people, organizations, and spaces that were important in a normal typeface. The choice to prioritize some names over others is the author's and is predicated on the fact that these names were encountered repeatedly during the research process, elevating some above others. Similarly, certain places were mentioned more times as a significant space for Latino/a residents, and these have made it to the architectural survey list as well as to this report where others have not. Any omission or relegation is author's oversight, and the author wishes to convey that this in no way is intended to diminish the importance of people or places to members of the D.C. Latino community.

The reader may also recognize the author's frequent use of block quotes.

> Block quotes are used when a verbatim quotation is longer than 50 words. The reader is visually cued to a block quote by its indentation, creating an inset from the page's normal, left margin. If the block quote is in normal typeface, then the quotation was taken from a scholarly work (i.e., from secondary source, print material).
>
> *If the block quote is in italics, however, the language comes directly from a first-person narrative, either taken from an audio-recorded (or transcribed) oral history or from a speech recorded on video. Block quotes in italics should be considered primary source material, distinct from material filtered through scholarly analysis (i.e., secondary sources).*

This HCS also uses text boxes to highlight specific information.

TEXT BOXES

Separated from the main text by a box with a charcoal-gray-colored background, text boxes act as a side bar, drawing the reader's attention to information that the author believes is relevant or important, but which does not fit easily into the normal flow of the narrative. In many cases, the text boxes providemore detail about a specific place or person mentioned, or they feature a direct quotation of great length. Each text box has a heading that alerts the reader to the topic within.

The HCS uses two forms of and two strategies for citations. Within the text boxes, citations follow the APA's parenthetical style. The main body of text uses endnotes that are formatted per the Chicago Manual of Style. Endnotes are used for the myriad citations of source material as well as explanatory notes that either provide more detail or expand a point made in the narrative.

Language and Identity

How to define a Latino community has been the fundamental challenge of this project. The challenge is complicated because identity is complex, layered, fluid, and contextual. For instance, the way someone would introduce him- or herself—what attributes he or she chooses to disclose—to a new neighbor who moved in next door would differ from how that same person self-identifies when traveling abroad. In the latter scenario, a person might lead with his or her nationality, while in the former scenario the person's place of origin rather than citizenship might become the new denominator. Identity can be based on participatory contribution—in other words, how a person self-identifies, to what groups the person's interests align, or how that

person views oneself comparatively to others. But identity can also be imposed by others; identity based on gender or race are examples of the latter. How others see one is as important a marker of identity (at least de facto, in the public sphere) as a reflexive identity.

Identity is multi-faceted, encompassing nationality (or citizenship), place of birth, age, gender, language, religious affiliation, sexual orientation, and socio-economic background in addition to other signifiers. Attempting to define a collective comprised of individuals with multivalent identities leads to generalizations and pitfalls. Yet that is the historian's remand when attempting to create a historical thematic context. When attempting to define a Latino community in D.C., the author kept in mind the statement Barros-Titus made in her introduction to *A Guide to Selected Research Materials Relating to the D.C. Latino/a/x Communities in Washington, D.C.*:

> ...truth be told, there is no monolithic Latino/a/x identity. For the Washingtonians who moved here from El Salvador, Mexico, Guatemala, Puerto Rico, Cuba, Honduras, Colombia, Nicaragua, Mexico, the Dominican Republic, Jamaica, Panama, their nationalities and their class and race differences, not to mention their varying reasons for leaving behind their homeland, are often stronger markers of identity than commonalities of language.[2]

Compare this reflexive identity to the statement, "To many Washingtonians, Black and White, these twentieth-century immigrants appeared to be a monolithic, Spanish-speaking population competing for turf in Adams Morgan, Mount Pleasant, and Columbia Heights."[3] How one sees oneself and how others see one could be considered a moiety of one's fluid, dimensional, subjective identity.

If one were to begin trying to define the D.C. Latino polity through nationalities, which would be included? There are Spanish- and Portuguese-speakers from Africa, Asia, and Europe, but the term "Latino" is predicated on the assumption that an individual's place of origin is in the Western Hemisphere. For this report, the author has understood Spaniards and Portuguese who originate from the Iberian Peninsula in Europe, once they are in North America, as Hispanics. However, this term was used in the 1960s through the 1980s to describe Spanish speakers in North America who came from Latin America. The term has fallen out of favor with Latin Americans as it reeks of colonialism. Therefore, the use of the term "Latino" in this HCS should be understood by the reader as referring to people whose origins lie in Latin America, i.e., the Western Hemisphere, comprised of North America, Central America, South America, and the Caribbean.

However, not everyone who comes from the Caribbean, for example, is considered a Latino/a by scholars, sociologists, or by Caribbeans themselves. In the 1996 book *Urban Odyssey: A Multicultural History of Washington, D.C.*, Keith Q. Warner wrote an essay on Caribbean immigration to the District in which he posits that "the Washington area's Spanish-speaking Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and Dominicans are considered 'Hispanic' or 'Latino' and are not primarily identified as Caribbean."[4] Therefore, *language* becomes a common denominator for inclusion in the Latino polity. Language is also tied to a shared colonial history. Native English, French, or Dutch speakers from Caribbean islands that were former colonies of these European powers need not apply. So, when this HCS considers someone a Latino or a Latina, it understands that person to be a Spanish speaker from Latin America. Hence, this qualification precludes people from Belize, a Central American country where English is the dominant language; Guyana, Suriname, and French Guiana in South America, where the official languages are English, Dutch, and French, respectively; and some Caribbean island nations, notably Haiti and Jamaica (although some scholars have lumped Jamaicans into the Latino polity, this HCS does not, as Jamaica was an English colony from the seventeenth through the twentieth centuries and English is the primary language there). In sum, Mexico (in North America); the Caribbean nations of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Dominican Republic;

six countries in Central America (Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Panama); and the nine nations in South America (Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela) where Spanish is the official language are included in the concept of Latino as understood in this HCS. But where does that leave Brazil, whose inhabitants speak Portuguese? They are included in this report's definition of Latino as well.

This author also acknowledges that some immigrants to the greater Washington area from the aforementioned nations may not speak Spanish or Portuguese as their native tongues. There are, represented in D.C, indigenous Mayan languages (Mam, Ixil, and Quechi) as well as Afro-indigenous languages (Garifuna) and indigenous languages from South America, such as the Guaraní, spoken in the Andean region and Southern Cone of South America, or the Quechua and Kichwa languages. A Honduran who speaks Garifuna rather than Spanish complicates the above equation, which evolves from being an "and" syllogism to an "and/or" syllogism. But the quandary raises the issue of ethnic diversity among the immigrant Latinos and Latinas. They may have ancestors who originated in Europe, Africa, or who were indigenous to the western hemisphere. Ultimately, the reader of this report should understand by these caveats how ethnically and linguistically diverse the Latino polity in D.C. really is.

Complicating the matter is race, which the United States has historically viewed as a binary: Black or white. With indigenous and African as well as European ancestry, Latinos/as break the simplistic model upheld in this country. *Afro-Latinidad* is a deeper understanding of what it means to be a Latino in society that grades skin color. In a 1991 interview associated with the Smithsonian Anacostia Community Museum's exhibition, *Black Mosaic: Community, Race, and Ethnicity among Black Immigrants to Washington, D.C.*, Carmen Robles, reflecting on race and identity, affirmed both in her statement, "Let me say clearly that I am Black… When I'm asked to define myself in terms of checking off a little box on ethnicity or racial origins, I always put down Afro-Latino."[5] In his review of the exhibition in 1995, Jeffrey C. Stewart concluded that,

> Indeed the greatest contribution of this exhibit is that it forces viewers to examine the ways in which the people of the United States, both black and white, use race to construct their identities. Most do it out of a strictly black/white dichotomy that is unworkable for most of the migrants interviewed in "Black Mosaic." In what are some of the most lucid and articulate reflections on race and ethnicity portrayed in any exhibit, these migrants struggle to create self-definitions that accurately reflect their experiences. What emerges is the variety of options that such migrants have at their disposal. For example, Julia Lara from the Dominican Republic relates that coming to the United States was her first encounter with color as a factor in her life. "It isn't that people [in the Dominican Republic] are not aware [of color]. It isn't that no value is placed on light skin. It's just that I did not feel it in my environment," as she did when she came to the United States, where "color is an issue." Accordingly, she defines herself first as a Dominican, and only secondarily as a person of African descent. By contrast, Roland Roebuck resists the American insistence that blacks and Hispanics are two different identities. He notes that many in the Hispanic community in America wish him to define himself solely by geography, but that he defines himself instead as "Afro-Latino."[6]

D.C. DOMINICAN AFRO-LATINIDAD

Ginetta E. B. Candelario, a Professor of Sociology and Latino/a Studies at Smith College, has spent years studying Dominican diasporas in the eastern U.S. and has found that where you settle does affect how you see yourself and the world. In research conducted in the 1990s and early 2000s, Candelario found that Dominicans in New York City (which is the second largest Dominican city in the world) primarily identified as "other" in terms of race while less than one-third self-identified as Black. As a counterpoint, in the 1990 U.S. census, nearly half of D.C.'s Dominican residents identified as Black. Candelario's assessment is that the ratio of self-identification as Black is greater in D.C. for several reasons, including that the Dominican community is small (approximately 1,500 in 1990); its individual members had origins in West Indian cultures as well as in African American communities in the U.S.; the time periods in which the Latinos/as immigrated and their ages at the time of study; where they lived once in D.C.—Dominicans in D.C. resided more often in African American neighborhoods and less often in white neighborhoods than Latinos/as of other nationalities—and their occupations; with whom they socialized; and precisely because D.C. was a Southern, segregated city with a long and complex relationship to slavery and emancipation, and many of the Dominicans present in 1990 had come "of age in the midst of a large, economically and politically diverse African American community." (Candelario 2001: 69) In other words, living in a predominantly African American city still affected by the binary racial system imposed on American society since the early seventeenth century, Dominicans in D.C. had to address their blackness in ways that New York Dominicans perhaps did not. But it would be a mistake to reduce D.C. Dominican self-identification to the binary system imposed upon them. As Candelario noted in her scholarship, D.C. Dominicans "continue to sustain an ethnic identity as Dominicans, or more generally, as Latinos despite lacking a broad community base [which] is sociologically noteworthy." (Candelario 2001: 69) Identity is layered, with intersections, and is based not only on self-perception but how one is perceived by others; and, as Candelario attests, identity is social and dynamic, changing with context and situation. The D.C. Dominicans in her study identified as Dominican, as Black, as Latino/a, and as Afro-Latinos/as. In 2021, the D.C. History Center hosted a panel discussion on Afro-Latinidad in D.C., called "See Our Latinidad, See our Blackness." In the panel discussion, matriarch Carmen Torruella-Quander remarked that "People cannot get it through their minds that we [Afro-Latinos/as] exist. ...It's part of the educational system of this country. ...We learned nothing about Latin America, we know nothing about Africa. ...So it's simple confusion." Another panelist, Ana Ndumu, commented on the hierarchy of identity, saying, "We acknowledge our Blackness first [that's what people see first] and then our Latinidad equally but second. ...People make presumptions and they underestimate [us]. ...Oftentimes we're invisible...I meander through ethnicities [but] Blackness is my salient identity." (Candelario 2001: 56-69. Candelario 2007: 130, 142. D.C. History Center 2021.)

This HCS has attempted to thoughtfully address (Afro-)Latino race and identity that is both reflexive and imposed on immigrants by an antiquated yet entrenched paradigm that was historically based on the institution of slavery. It has done so by recounting several individual's experiences with and thoughts on race in the United States during the time periods set by the RFP's temporal scope. The author has relied on first-person narratives to untangle the issues surrounding race, nativeness, and immigration, which are also the foundations of the terminology North Americans use to describe Latin Americans. For instance, "Hispanic" was a term imposed on Latin Americans by a white, European-American hegemony[7] when it was selected to describe a new category of race/ethnicity in the 1980 U.S. census. The term "Latino," in contrast, was invented by Chicano and Puerto Rican political activist groups in the 1960s to forge a pan-ethnic, pan-national solidarity in an effort to achieve political parity and power. As the introduction to the NPS' 2013 *American Latino Heritage* theme study asserts, the contributing authors used the term "Latino" rather than "Hispanic" because it "punctuates the experience of peoples living in the Americas rather than Europe" and because "the term calls attention to the fact that Latino communities have significantly diversified over time and begun to settle beyond their traditional enclaves, producing new pan-Latino realities."[8] As Olivia Cadaval stated in her 2024 interview in preparation of this HCS,

> *Well, the important thing for me, and I think it was also felt here, that Latino or Latina is a name that we gave ourselves. Somebody wasn't calling us Hispano or calling us whatever they wanted to call us. No, and we heard the term, it sounded good, we became Latinas. …But that's the point of why it's important, because you have authority and control over it. You don't have control over Hispano. You know, it's sort of, the other naming you…*[9]

In this HCS, the author has chosen to use the word "Latino" as an adjective to describe individuals and a community. The author uses "Latinos" as a noun when talking about men from Latin America; "Latinas" when talking about women from Latin America; and the construction "Latinos/as" when talking about the collective. As a romance language, Spanish is gendered (the declination of its nouns informs the reader of the subject's gender); but the grammar also tends to consider collectives under the male declination, which is rather patriarchal. Although the author's use of the construction "Latinos/as" is clunky, it intends to be inclusive and provides (hopefully) a sense of gender equity. The term "Latinx" is even more inclusive of identities that defy a binary understanding of sex and gender. The author chose not to use this modern term, however, because every individual interviewed for this project self-identified as either a Latino or a Latina. Hence, the author uses the term most used by the people for whom and about whom this HCS is written.

Jorge Granados provided a succinct yet clear understanding of the term "Latino" when he was interviewed in 2024 for this project. To him, "Latino" means "a rainbow of races that come from the south to here."[10] This simple construction is extremely powerful, as the "rainbow" may refer to the polity's diversity in terms of race, ethnicity, languages, religions, nationality, gender, sexual orientation—even citizenship, in the case of Puerto Ricans or Chicanos who are both Latinos and U.S. citizens—while "the south to here" speaks to geography as well as the shared experience of migration and immigration.

This report also has appropriated (with no mal-intent) the term *Latinidad* to describe the formation of a Latino political and cultural identity. In her 2010 book, *The Trouble with Unity: Latino Politics and the Creation of Identity,* Cristina Beltran explains the concept best when she writes,

> *Latinidad* [is] the sociohistorical process whereby various Latin American national-origin groups are understood as sharing a sense of collective identity and cultural consciousness. Rather than speaking in terms of specific and distinct ethnic subgroups (Mexicans, Cubans, Puerto Ricans, Dominicans, etc.), "Latino"

> and "Hispanic" have become the shorthand designations of choice among journalists, politicians, advertising executives, academics, and other influential elites.[11]

Beltran continues to say that Latinidad, which is a process of becoming a part of a pan-ethnic collective or shorthand designation, involves experiences with immigration and colonialism as well as identity markers like race, skin color, gender, and class. She asserts that you cannot separate the process of Latinidad from "the homogenizing effects of racism experienced [in the United States] by Latinos and other people of color," that in effect, Latinidad is a racialized "otherness." As a critique of the concept's homogenization process, Beltran concludes that Latinidad is like a distilling "in which the regional and cultural history of all people of Latin American descent has been erased" into a pan-ethnic collective "fostered by a climate of xenophobia."[12]

If use of the words and concepts "Latino" and "Latinidad" are complicated and laden with complex and contradictory meanings, so too is the use of the word "community." In her 1982 interview, Lori Kaplan told her interviewer that she was unable to define "community" and did not believe in the possibility that community, as a concept, could be monolithic. In her subsequent speech, it becomes apparent that the social service agencies that supported and helped individual members of a Latino community in D.C. were elevated to the role of community leadership in her mind, forging a cohesion among groups and individuals and thereby becoming the nearest thing to a "community."[13] Christina Espinel was also interviewed in 1982, at which time she said, "I would like to expand on what I think of the community. … Because the groups that are here are very important."[14] She then goes on to name *organizations*—El Centro de Arte, the LAYC, Adelante, and Ayuda, among others—that she considered important, as they promoted the arts, helped to develop youths' skills and abilities, and assisted individuals in myriad ways. Through Espinel's speech, the role of social service agencies in understanding what is meant by a "Latino community in D.C." is paramount.

This HCS refers to a singular Latino polity in D.C. rather than multiple communities due to various scope limitations. But rather than claiming that a monolithic or singular Latino community ever existed or exists today, this HCS has argued that the process of Latinidad—of participating in a pan-ethnic, umbrella, Latino polity—or community *formation* best describes the experience of historic Latinos/as living in D.C. from 1943 to 1991. Politicization and social service organizations are at the core of understanding any concept of a Latino community in D.C. in the second half of the twentieth century.

Chapter 2: Pioneers in a Segregated City, 1943-1959

Setting the Scene: Destination D.C.

Until the fourth quarter of the twentieth century, Washington, D.C.'s population was overwhelmingly native-born. The city's immigrant population not only represented a very small percentage of its total population throughout much of the twentieth century, but it was also much smaller than that of other major urban centers in the country. In 1900, the District's foreign-born population accounted for only 7% of its total population, whereas cities like Boston, New York, Chicago, Detroit, and Cleveland had immigrant populations accounting for one-third of their inhabitants. Furthermore, the percentage of foreign-born people in D.C. actually decreased over the next several decades, amounting to only 4% of the total population in 1970. This decrease is in part explained by the 1924 Immigration Act, which granted visas to only 2% of the total number of people from most countries while barring Asian immigration altogether. From the mid-1920s until the mid-1960s, immigration regulation was severely restrictive. This quota system was amended with the passage of the Hart-Celler Act in 1965, but in the four decades in between, the United States experienced the lowest immigration rates in its entire history.[15]

In his 2012 work, *Reflections on Migration and Urban Development*, Enrique Pumar explains why D.C. was not a primary destination for immigrants until the last quarter of the twentieth century. Washington never supported large industries or economic drivers that could employ large numbers of under-skilled workers like the manufacturing centers of the Midwest and Northeast. Pumar concedes, however, that "various waves of Europeans, primarily from Northern and Eastern Europe…settled in D.C. as part of the migration wave of the late 19th century through the 1920s," and that while "many from this group were professionals…the majority was journeyman [sic] simply employed in retailing and other low-cost entry services."[16] An example supporting Pumar's statement may be seen in the personal story of the Pena family. The 1930 decennial census of Washington, D.C. enumerated two brothers, Domingo Pena (aged 37) and **MANUEL PENA (1898-1957)** (aged 31), living in a rented house at 1744 Church Street NW with Domingo's wife, Saladina, and four-year-old daughter Pauline (who had been born in D.C. circa 1926). The adults in the Pena family had emigrated from Spain prior to 1926, none claimed to have any schooling (although all were literate and could speak English), and both brothers were working as chauffeurs for private families.[17]

Washington, D.C. had one unique industry that attracted foreign nationals and that was politics and international affairs. Founded as the seat of the U.S. government in 1790, Washington evolved to host foreign diplomatic missions and institutions maintaining global relations. In the earliest days of the republic, U.S. consuls were sent abroad to establish missions, but by the second quarter of the nineteenth century, other nations were establishing bases in the United States.[18] Some of the earliest to establish diplomatic relations with the new United States of America were Latin American countries that had recently gained independence from their own colonizers, Spain and Portugal. These newly

independent nations would forge ties with the federal government through consuls, who would generally set up residence in extant houses within the federal city.[19] As time passed and diplomatic relations became solidified, these small legations or consulates would grow into embassies.

Before World War I, Latin American legations in D.C. typically changed premises frequently, suggesting that their governments' representatives only leased spaces for a year or two at a time. Smaller legations would rent rooms within luxury hotels like The Cairo, The Portland, The Albany, The Highlands, or The New Willard; offices in commercial buildings, such as the Union Trust Building, the American National Bank Building, and the Woodward Building; or apartments in swanky residential complexes, including the Stoneleigh Court Apartments and the Kenesaw Apartment House. From 1900 to 1915, Latin American diplomatic missions were concentrated along Connecticut and Massachusetts avenues from Thomas Circle through Dupont Circle and up to Kalorama. By 1915, two legations had reached as far north as Adams Morgan: the Spanish Embassy, at 1521 Harvard Street NW, and the legation of the Dominican Republic, which occupied a rowhouse at 1824 Biltmore Street NW. But a significant pattern shift occurred during and immediately after World War I so that, by 1921, a string of Latin American consulates ran up 16th Street from the White House north to Mount Pleasant.[20] In the first three decades of the twentieth century, developer Mary Foote Henderson "envisioned Meridian Hill as an elite residential and diplomatic community" and undertook "to transform Sixteenth Street into a grand and ceremonial gateway to the Nation's Capital;" by 1931 "Embassy Row," as the street was called by then, "was home to the French, Spanish, Polish, Lithuanian, Swiss, Dutch, Mexican and Italian embassies."[21]

From 1921 to 1989, the **EMBASSY OF MEXICO** occupied the former residence of Franklin MacVeagh, the Secretary of the Treasury from 1909 to 1913. The four-story, Beaux-Arts mansion designed by Nathan Wyeth and built in 1910-1911 had been among the first of many elite residences constructed on the avenue (Figure 2.1).[22] Upon acquisition in 1921, the embassy added a port-cochere to the 16th Street façade as well as an ell (or wing) on the south to house the chancery. In 1925, Manuel Tellez, the ambassador, began a decades-long campaign to redecorate the interior to reflect Mexico's fine arts and cultural heritage, which included the addition of murals.[23] Conversely, the **CUBAN LEGATION** is a rare example of a purpose-built embassy building in a period when most diplomatic missions were housed in extant mansions and rowhouses.[24] In 1915, after occupying rented quarters for more than a decade, then Cuban minister, Dr. Carlos Manuel de Cespedes, secured funds from the Cuban Congress to erect its own legation building in Washington (Figure 2.2).[25] Two years later, Cespedes purchased a site at 2630 16th Street NW on Meridian Hill, along the same opulent boulevard that housed the embassies of large European powers, including Cuba's former colonizer, Spain. Cespedes then dictated the choice of the building's neo-classical style of architecture versus a more Spanish-inspired style to deliberately illustrate the country's independence from Spain, noting that "classicism belong[s] to the whole world, while the Spanish style is of only one nation."[26] The limestone-clad Cuban Embassy building, designed by architects McNeil & McNeil, was completed in 1919 and is the second oldest surviving embassy building in the city. These Latin American embassies were joined by the Embassy of Spain, which occupied the 1921 mansion Henderson had built for the Vice President of the United States at 2801 16th Street NW in 1927.[27]

Figure 2.1: Mexican Embassy, 2829 16th Street NW, ca. 1925.
Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division.[28]

Figure 2.2: Cuban Embassy, 2630 16th Street NW, ca. 1922.
Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division.[29]

In addition to embassies, Washington became home to international organizations, such as the Pan American Union, now called the **ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES (OAS)**.[30] Founded in 1890, the OAS is considered the world's oldest international organization. The OAS began with the First International Conference of American States (October 1889-April 1890), at which representatives from 18 Western Hemisphere nations (the majority of which are Spanish-speaking) met to discuss global economic and political issues in an effort to strengthen democracy, promote human rights, address societal issues, and improve the public health and quality of the life of peoples living in the Americas.[31] In 1910, the organization built a monumental, Beaux-Arts edifice designed by architects Albert Kelsey and Paul P. Cret (Figure 2.3). Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney sculpted the figure at the head of the garden reflecting pool and fountain that is reminiscent of Mesoamerican arts. With the founding of the World Bank in 1945 and the International-American Development Bank in 1959, more foreigners, including those from Latin America, settled in Washington, D.C. to work in global banking and international relations.

As Pumar notes, this niche industry attracted a professional, highly-educated class that was fluent in English and typically from elite socioeconomic backgrounds, which distinguished them from the majority of immigrants who settled in the U.S. manufacturing centers at the turn of the twentieth century.[32] But, these diplomats or analysts brought with them support staff—chauffeurs, nannies, and domestics—who came from lower socioeconomic backgrounds and whose command of the English language may not have been strong at the time of their arrival.[33] When the terms of service were up for these diplomats and they (with their families) returned to their home countries, many of the support staff they had brought to D.C. remained and created new lives for themselves in the United States. This phenomenon is at the core of the creation of the post-World War II Latino community in Washington, D.C.

In addition to diplomats and their staff as well as international aid workers, a third type of Latino immigrant to D.C. in the prewar era was the university student. Washington's several colleges and universities attracted international students throughout the twentieth century, including Latin

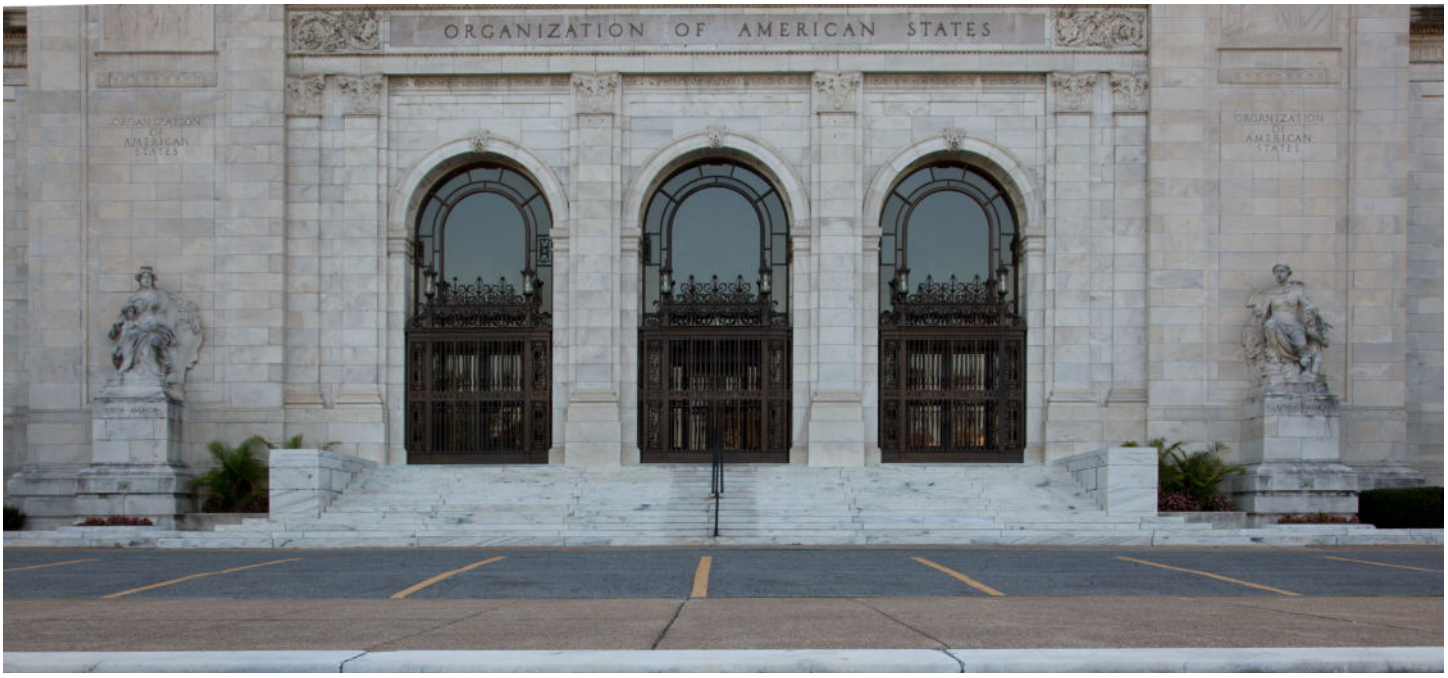


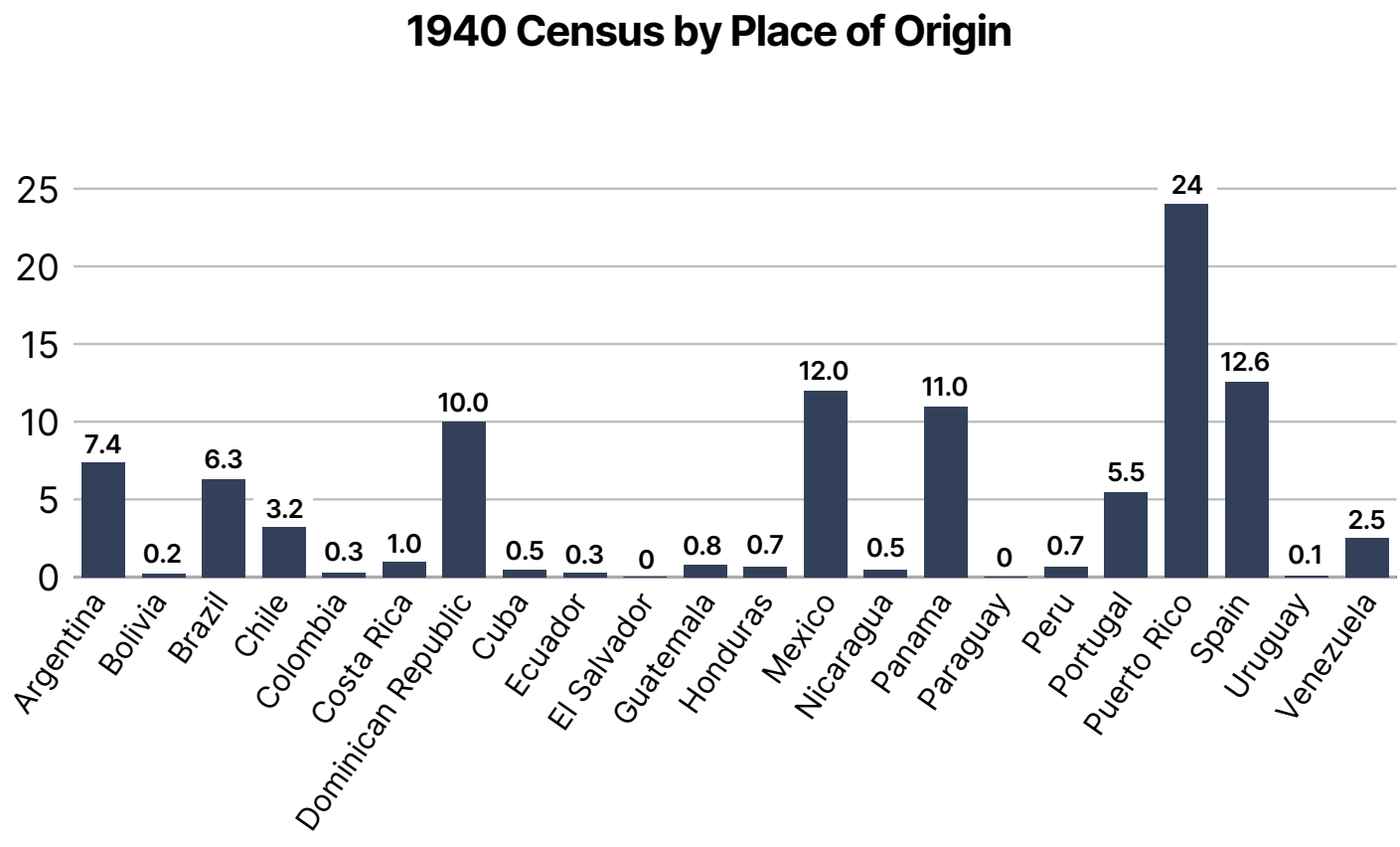
Figure 2.3: OAS Building, 200 17th Street NW, 2010. Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, photograph by Carol M. Highsmith.[34]

Americans like Salazar Arrué (or Salarrué), who came from El Salvador in 1916 to study painting at the Corcoran School of Art. After returning to El Salvador in 1919, Salarrué became a leading intellectual and artist as a painter, writer, and poet. International students continued to settle (albeit temporarily) in D.C. through the postwar era, as well. The Salvadoran poet Claribel Alegria arrived in 1945 and attained her Bachelor of Arts degree in English from George Washington University in 1948, the same year that she published her first book of poems, *Anillo de Silencio*. Although an important category within the Latino populace in D.C., the university student typically operated on the margins or outside of the emerging Latino community, as they were mostly transient, more fluent in English, and came from middle- and upper-middle-class backgrounds.[35]

One thing that all these prewar Latinos/as had in common was that they came with visas and work contracts (or spots at universities) in place. Unlike later waves of immigration to D.C., the pioneers came because of pre-established employment opportunities, which, in turn, assisted them in obtaining work or student visas and residency permits rather easily. Another factor worth noting is that a significant percentage of prewar Latinos/as were Puerto Ricans who had U.S. citizenship a priori, which would have eased or even facilitated their acculturation.[36] In fact, the 1940 decennial census records that, of all of the people enumerated who self-reported to have origins in Spanish- or Portuguese-speaking countries (which were only 1,345 people, or 0.2% of D.C.'s total population), 24% were Puerto Rican. The next largest ethnic group, Spaniards, composed 12.6% of the 1940 Spanish- or Portuguese-speaking, immigrant population in D.C., followed by Mexicans at 12%, Panamanians at 11%, and Cubans at 10% (Table 1).

Not surprisingly, the largest numbers of Latino constituents came from countries with which the United States had historical bonds: Cuba (which the U.S. occupied 1898-1902), Puerto Rico (a U.S.

Table 1: Percentage of Immigrant Spanish- and Portuguese-Speakers by Place of Origin within D.C.'s Latino Community, Derived with Data from the 1940 Decennial Census



territory since 1898), Mexico (a neighboring nation with whom the U.S. had territorial disputes, a war in 1846, and land annexations), and Panama (U.S. investment in the construction of the Panama Canal, 1903-1914). Through their lived experience with American imperialism, these nationals would have had a slight advantage with acculturation in the U.S. over other Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking immigrants.

Through the shared experience of expatriation, a very small community was born. As historian and scholar Patrick Scallen asserted in his 2019 dissertation, "As early as the 1930s, Spanish-speaking Caribbean migrants to Washington had cobbled together community ties based upon their shared language and cultural/religious values."[37] This idea of "community" in the 1930s, however, should not be understood as a monolithic block, but as a loose association of expatriates. The analysis of 1940 census data reflects a truth about the Latino/a pioneers who came to D.C. before World War II: they were ethnically and racially diverse as well as socioeconomically diverse. They were not a collective, but individuals coming from (and identifying with) numerous and varied home countries with distinct cultures, mores, and histories.

CALCULATING LATINIDAD IN THE 1940 CENSUS

Calculating Latinidad in the 1940 federal census, which did not enumerate this ethnic category, is both complicated and highly fallible. In 2002, the U.S. Census Bureau attempted to chart the migration of Latinos/as into the United States, or the emergence of the Hispanic polity, through census data that predated the creation of the "Hispanic" or "Latino" ethnic category that was first added to the 1970 census. Their chart entitled "District of Columbia – Race and Hispanic Origin: 1800-1990" has only one census predating 1970 with reverse-engineered data on Latinos/as: the 1940 census, in which the Census Bureau took a 5% sample set from the White population only and counted people who reported Spanish as their mother tongue. They came up with 720 individuals, or 0.1% of D.C.'s population. (See U.S. Census Bureau, 2002) This methodology, however, entirely fails to account for Afro-Latinos/as who were enumerated as Black persons in the 1940 census. My methodology was to look for persons from countries of origin that spoke primarily Spanish and Portuguese, including nations comprising the Iberian Peninsula in Europe (e.g. Spain and Portugal), the Caribbean (e.g. Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, and Cuba), Central America, South America, and North America (e.g. Mexico). Using Ancestry.com as a searchable database, I came up with approximately 1,345 individuals, or 0.2% of the entire D.C. population in 1940. As stated at the beginning of this explanatory note, however, this number should not be considered 100% accurate or definitive. Firstly, censuses rely on self-reporting, and some people choose not to engage in census data collection, which leads to undercounting and erroneous reporting. Secondly, censuses were historically collected by volunteers, and mistakes are common. Thirdly, my use of technology (e.g. a database search function) rather than comprehensively combing the records in person opens up the possibility of omissions. Fourthly, my search included people from Spain and Portugal although these European populations are not considered Latinos/as. Fifthly, using country of origin as the search term eliminated Chicanos (Mexican-Americans) from my data set and included Anglo-Americans who had been born in the Panama Canal Zone. All this to say that this number is as inconclusive as that the U.S. Census Bureau derived in 2002; however, we can safely say (between the two exercises) that the Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking, immigrant population in Washington, D.C. in 1940 was extremely small, less than half of one percent.

The 1940s: World War II and Post-colonialism

Politics at Home and Abroad

Although the U.S. involvement in World War II only technically lasted from December 1941 to August 1945, the longue durée of this cataclysmic war stretched from early mobilization efforts starting in 1939, when war was declared in Europe, through official demobilization in June 1947. The postwar era was one in which a new world order was being established, and it was not without its turmoil. As the Cold War took root, several nations in Latin America, Africa, and Asia were used in the proxy war between the United States of America and its European allies and the Soviet Union and its sphere of influence. Coups, conflicts, and conflagrations that would come to characterize the 1950s and 1960s began as early as the late 1940s, including "La Violencia," the start of a decade (1948-1958) of political violence in Colombia that would engender politically motivated emigration, and the 1949 coup d'état in Panama.

The global war dominated both international and domestic policies in the United States through the 1940s. While the country mobilized to fight Axis powers in two theaters, domestic labor markets shifted dramatically in favor of women and imported labor. Mexican immigration into the United States increased after 1942 with the introduction of the Bracero Program (otherwise known as the Mexican Farm Labor Supply Program, which was created by the 1942 Emergency Farm Labor Agreement). As a result of wartime conscription and mobilization, the U.S. faced an agricultural labor shortage. In response, agribusinesses lobbied the federal government to enter into a bilateral agreement with the Mexican government to supply emergency, contract laborers to work in agricultural fields or perform railroad maintenance and repair. During the war, an average of 70,000 laborers worked in the U.S., receiving a fair wage, decent food and housing, and basic legal protections. The program continued and expanded after the war, reaching a peak of 400,000 laborers (mostly Mexican, but also including Jamaicans, Bahamians, Barbadians, and Hondurans) per year between 1955 and 1960. When operations ceased in 1964, the Bracero Program had brought approximately 4.2 million Mexican laborers into the U.S. economy over the preceding 22 years.[38] Because the Bracero Program was agricultural, however, its effect on Washington, D.C.'s population in that 22-year span is likely negligible.

OPERATION BOOTSTRAP

One postwar policy that had bearing on D.C.'s Latino population was Operation Bootstrap, which began in 1947. After the war, Puerto Rican migration to the mainland U.S. increased significantly, primarily due to a depressed economy and widespread unemployment. These Puerto Ricans were labor migrants (often farmers, but also urban workers) who were displaced by a series of legislative initiatives that were intended to industrialize Puerto Rico and raise its quality of living. However, the consequence was that as many as 18,000 Puerto Ricans per year came to the U.S. mainland as contract laborers. Whereas the number of Puerto Ricans in the entire mainland U.S. accounted for 70,000 souls in 1940, their numbers jumped to 300,000 in 1950 and 887,000 in 1960. While Puerto Ricans traditionally concentrated in the Northeast (especially New York City), this wave settled in industrial centers and second-tier cities, like D.C. (Gutiérrez 2013 and Vargas 2013).

The end of the Great Depression and the lead-up to World War II was a watershed moment for D.C., in which the District experienced, in 1940, a 36.2% change in population from a decade earlier.[39] This wartime population boom resulted

in a housing crisis throughout the District, as new construction ceased and houses were subdivided into rentals to meet demand.[40] The neighborhood of Mount Pleasant provides an illustrative example: before World War II, Mount Pleasant was a well-established, middle-class, streetcar suburb with grand houses, but during the war the neighborhood's "many dwellings, both large and small…were converted to apartments and rooming houses to accommodate the thousands of young people flooding into Washington to work for the expanding government."[41]

While the federal government expanded in the 1940s, so did the foreign presence in D.C. The list of postwar foreign legations in D.C. nearly doubled from its prewar number, and international organizations also expanded in the postwar era, such as the Pan American Union (OAS), which constructed its Secretariat building on Constitution Avenue in 1948.[42] Such institutions magnified America's postwar global influence and altered the nature of D.C.:

> The decades following World War II ushered in Washington's transformation from a chocolate-and-vanilla government town to an increasingly multi-cultural international city, spurred at least in part by significant Latin American migration. …Many countries that had previously not maintained permanent presences in the United States established official diplomatic embassies in Washington. The staff of these international organizations, combined with those of new embassies, infused a formerly provincial southern town with a multitude of diverse languages and cultural traditions, galvanizing its rise to fame as an international city.[43]

Navigating a Racialized Landscape

Throughout its early history, Washington, D.C. had been a small and thoroughly Southern city with only two primary constituents: white European-Americans and enslaved and free African Americans whose ancestry lay in Africa and the Caribbean. In the twentieth century, Washington was a segregated city in which Jim Crow laws shaped the urban environment. When **JUANA AMPARO CAMPOS (1905-2004)** arrived in October 1940, she was "perplexed by the vast social distance between African Americans and whites in the United States," and "neither in New York City, where her boat from the Dominican Republic had docked, nor in her hometown of Pelmar had she experienced the kind of visibly entrenched Jim Crow segregation that characterized the U.S. Capital."[44] Her son, **RAMBERTO TORRUELLA**, speaking about growing up in D.C. in the 1950s, recalled that

> *All we spoke at home was Spanish. So we didn't know any English. All our friends were Spanish-speaking. And when we started learning English, my mom would say, "Never speak English in public. Always speak Spanish." At the People's Drug Store, blacks couldn't eat. "No coloreds." Coloreds could not sit at the counters and my mom would take us there and the waitresses would look at her and look at us. We were actually speaking Spanish because they'd say, "Oh, they're not colored, they're foreigners. You can feed them." We grew up like that. We grew up going everywhere because my mom knew how to play the game. So we grew up knowing it was important that we were Dominicano, Latino, Dominicano.*[45]

Prewar Latino immigrants entered a racialized system and were immediately identified within its confines as either White or Black, as exhibited in the 1940 decennial census structure. Yet as Torruella's anecdote illustrates, Latinos/as could code-switch, or use language, as a means of obviating this deep-rooted racialized system.

As Ginetta Candelario argued, "For second-generation Dominicans coming of age in the 1950s and 1960s, Spanish language use became means of affirming a Latino identity and for Afro-Latinos a shield against anti-black racism."[46] Such strategies created a third way, something outside of the American binary racial system. The idea of Latinidad as a third alternative is expressed by Candelario's assessment that America's

Figure 2.4: Lunch Counter at People's Drug Store on G Street NW, 1942. Photograph by Marjory Collins. Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, Farm Security Administration/Office of War Information Black-and-White Negatives.[47]

racial systemization "has categorized Latin Americans and U.S. Latinos as 'not white' by definition. 'Not white,' however, has not necessarily meant 'black' where Latinos are concerned.

Rather, it has meant some version or another of 'mestizo.'"[48] This third way was not without its problems, however, in a society so fixated on seeing race as binary. As a Latino who came to D.C. in 1963 recalled, "from the white side we would get racism, and from the Black side we would get prejudice."[49] A Latina who emigrated from Bolivia in 1960 as a child and whose family moved into a predominantly white neighborhood in D.C. recalled having racial slurs thrown her way.[50] Race and the American response to race fundamentally shaped and transformed the lives of these Latino transplants in D.C. in the mid-twentieth century.

WASHINGTON, D.C. AND ITS HISTORY OF RACE

This binary system based on skin color–White or Black–developed in the British American colonies in the seventeenth century as a function of slavery, not long after the first enslaved Africans were brought to Virginia in 1619. At first, the enslaved Africans' non-Christian beliefs were used as a justification for their enslavement, but as generations of Africans were born into bondage on American soil and adopted Christianity, the justification for their continued enslavement morphed into a racialized paradigm that continues to affect and shape U.S. society to this day. Founded in 1790 at the behest of a Virginia planter and slaveholder, Washington, D.C.'s federal city was literally built by enslaved labor while the farms and plantations in the rural edges of the District of Columbia continued to use enslaved labor until the local emancipation proclamation was passed in 1862. Therefore, the District was home to both free and enslaved African Americans since its inception. Since the first decennial census was taken in D.C. in 1800, the population was divided by this racialized paradigm as either White or Black; and as Ginetta Candelario explained in her 2001 article, *"Black Behind the Ears" – And Up Front Too? Dominicans in the Black Mosaic*, about this white/non-white dichotomy: "Historically, those of wholly European descent have been considered white, although not without a surprising degree of legal, political, and socio-economic conflict. One ceases to be white when "one-drop-of-(African)-blood" is introduced into the family lineage. Thus, to have African ancestry and to be black are synonymous" (Candelario 2001: 59-60). From 1800 until 1950, the ratio of White inhabitants in the District to Black remained steady (with some fluctuations): White Americans composed between 66%-80% and Black Americans accounted for 20%-33% of the District's population. By 1950, the trend started to reverse, and by 1960, African Americans comprised the majority of the District's inhabitants, giving rise to the city's moniker, "Chocolate City." (U.S. Census Bureau, 2002). For a more thorough account of D.C.'s African American history, see Asch and Musgrove 2017.

Employment and Commerce

During the Great Depression, in response to President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal programs as well as mobilization for World War II, Puerto Rican and Mexican-American citizens flocked to D.C. in search of professional jobs in the federal government. This is exemplified by the personal story of **ELISA GONZALEZ**, a Chicana from El Paso, Texas. After passing the civil service examination, Gonzalez moved to Washington in September 1941, where she attained a position in the Department of War as a clerk, in which her duties included conducting inventories of stored ordnance. Gonzalez and a few other female colleagues from El Paso shared rooms in a boarding house on the corner of Columbia Road and 13th Street, in what is today considered the Columbia Heights neighborhood.[51]

MARCELA Q. DÁVILA came to D.C. from Puerto Rico in 1943 to work in the Social Service Commission and had moved to the edge of Petworth and Columbia Heights (at 1235 Shepherd Street NW) by 1949.[52] In an interview given in 1982, Dávila emphasized the role that embassies and international organizations—rather than the federal government—played in employing Latinos/as in the 1940s. She asserted that many Latinos/as came to D.C. to work as cooks, nannies, and chauffeurs. Women (mostly) and men would leave behind their families and homelands in the promise of improved economic opportunities, but too often they found a difficult situation when they arrived. Dávila spoke of the working conditions some of the domestic staff faced, in which they labored long days and were confined to their employers' homes or the embassy buildings with limited

ability to leave. Sometimes, the employers would take and keep an employee's documents and passport, thereby rendering them hostage. These restrictions on mobility also allowed for employer exploitation; too often, according to Dávila, these support staff would receive less pay than they had been promised in the work contracts they had signed in their home countries. If they voluntarily left their employment, or if the diplomatic family returned home and they remained in D.C., they were abandoned, with little to no social safety net to rely on. If they overstayed their work visas, they became illegal immigrants, immediately subject to deportation under federal immigration laws.[53]

An epitome of the diplomatic labor migrant settlement pattern is Juana Campos, who emigrated from the Dominican Republic in October 1940. Campos had been contracted to work (as a seamstress) for a Dominican diplomatic family residing in Washington. Eventually, the diplomatic family returned home, but Campos decided to remain in D.C. She married Juan Torruella, a Puerto Rican, who also had arrived in Washington in 1940 to finish his studies in electrical engineering at American University (Figure 2.5).

Figure 2.5: Juana Campos and Juan Torruella with their first child, Ramberto Torruella, 1944. Courtesy of Carmen Torruella-Quander.

The couple had two children, Ramberto Torruella and **CARMEN TORRUELLA QUANDER**, whom Campos raised as a single mother after divorcing Torruella. As an early and long-standing Latina resident of D.C., Campos became a godmother to Dominican new arrivals and was frequently engaged in acts of community service.[54] As Campos' obituary related, "Her residences, always in the Adams Morgan neighborhood, became a way station for those in need of a good meal, advice, a place to lay your head for a few days, or a couple of dollars," and for this philanthropy, "she won several community service awards and recognitions, including the D.C. Mayor's Award for Dedicated Service to the Latino Community, in 1984."[55]

As more and more of these transient workers stayed in D.C., a diverse community took root. Although Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking pioneers were dispersed throughout the District, a settlement pattern began to emerge in the 1940s and 1950s.[56] Latin American professionals and diplomats who came to work for embassies gravitated towards the Adams Morgan, Mount Pleasant, and Dupont Circle neighborhoods in Wards 1 and 2 because of their proximity to their places of employment either downtown or along Sixteenth Street, Connecticut Avenue, and Massachusetts Avenue (Table 2). The domestic and support staff to these professionals, if not living with the diplomatic families, often rented affordable apartments or rooms in rooming houses that were predominantly in African American enclaves or transitioning neighborhoods south of Columbia Road. When they were working as chauffeurs for private families, Manuel Pena and his brother lived in a rented house at 1744 Church Street NW in 1930, which was between Dupont Circle and the 16th Street corridor; by the 1940 decennial census, Pena was still residing in the Dupont Circle neighborhood, in a house on 17th Street near R Street NW. Another Spanish émigré, the poet Juan Ramon Jimenez, temporarily lived with his wife at the Dorchester House, at 16th and Euclid streets across from Meridian Hill Park, when the couple arrived in December 1942.[57]

Table 2: Latin American and Iberian Embassies in Washington, D.C. in 1946.[58]

EMBASSY / LEGATION	FUNCTION	ADDRESS / NEIGHBORHOOD	YEAR BUILT / OCCUPIED	NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES / DC LANDMARK
Argentina	Ambassador Residence	1600 New Hampshire Ave. NW / Dupont Circle	1907 / 1913	Dupont Circle Historic District / No
	Chancery	1806 Corcoran St. NW / Dupont Circle	1939 / 1922	Dupont Circle Historic District / No
Bolivia	Ambassador Residence	3014 Massachusetts Ave. NW / Normanstone	1923 / by 1946	Massachusetts Ave. Historic District / No
	Chancery	1511 K St. NW / Downtown	1923 / by 1939	Financial Historic District / No
Brazil	Ambassador Residence	3000 Massachusetts Ave. NW / Normanstone	1912 / 1935	Massachusetts Ave. Historic District / Yes (listed 1968)
	Chancery	3007 Whitehaven St. NW / Normanstone	Unknown/ by 1946	N/A [demolished]
Chile	Ambassador Residence	2305 Massachusetts Ave. NW / Kalorama H.	1908 / 1923	Massachusetts Ave. Historic District / No
	Chancery	1736 Massachusetts Ave. NW / Dupont Cir.	1908 / by 1946	Massachusetts Ave. Historic District / No
Colombia	Ambassador Residence	1520 20th Street NW / Dupont Circle	1904 / 1944	Dupont Circle Historic District / No
	Chancery	910 17th St. NW / Downtown	1926 / by 1946	Individually Listed 2013 / Yes (listed 2013)
Costa Rica	Embassy	2114 S St. NW / Kalorama	1920 / 1943	Sheridan-Kalorama Historic District / No
Cuba	Embassy	2630-2639 16th St. NW / Meridian Hill	1919 / 1919	Meridian Hill Historic District / No
Dominican Republic	Ambassador Residence	4530 16th St. NW / Crestwood	1923 / by 1946	No / No
	Chancery	4500 16th St. NW / Crestwood	1924 / by 1946	No / No

Table 2 *(Continued)*

EMBASSY / LEGATION	FUNCTION	ADDRESS / NEIGHBORHOOD	YEAR BUILT / OCCUPIED	NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES / DC LANDMARK
Ecuador	Ambassador Residence	2320 Bancroft Pl. NW / Kalorama Heights	1940 / by 1946	Sheridan-Kalorama Historic District / No
	Chancery	2125 Leroy Pl. NW / Kalorama Triangle	1911 / by 1946	Sheridan-Kalorama Historic District / No
El Salvador	Embassy	2400 16th St. NW / Meridian Hill	1916 / by 1935	Individually Listed 1983 and Meridian Hill Historic District / Yes (listed 1982)
Guatemala	Embassy	1614 18th St. NW / Dupont Circle	Unknown /by 1930	N/A [demolished]
Honduras	Embassy	2611 Woodley Pl. NW / Woodley Park	Unknown / by 1939	N/A [demolished]
Mexico	Embassy	2829 16th St. NW / Meridian Hill	1910 / 1921	Individually Listed 2013 and Meridian Hill Historic District / Yes (listed 2013)
Nicaragua	Embassy	1627 New Hampshire Ave. NW / Dupont Cir.	1913 / 1942	Dupont Circle Historic District / No
Panama	Ambassador Residence	2601 29th St. NW / Normanstone	1925 / by 1946	No / No
	Chancery	2862 McGill Ter. NW / Normanstone	1942 / 1942	No / No
Paraguay	Embassy	5500 16th St. NW / Sixteenth Street Heights	1914 / by 1946	No / No
Peru	Ambassador Residence	3001 Garrison St. NW / Chevy Chase	1928 / by 1946	No / No
	Chancery	1320 16th St. NW / Dupont Circle	Unknown / by 1935	N/A [demolished]
Portugal	Embassy	2660 Woodley Rd. NW / Woodley Park	1918 / 1920	N/A [demolished 1979]

Table 2 *(Continued)*

EMBASSY / LEGATION	FUNCTION	ADDRESS / NEIGHBORHOOD	YEAR BUILT / OCCUPIED	NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES / DC LANDMARK
Spain	Embassy	2801 16th St. NW / Meridian Hill	1921 / by 1930	Meridian Hill Historic District / No
Uruguay	Embassy	1025 Connecticut Ave. NW / Downtown	Unknown / by 1946	N/A [demolished by 1967]
Venezuela	Embassy	2443-45 Massachusetts Ave. NW / Kalorama Heights	1938 / 1938	Massachusetts Ave. Historic District and Sheridan-Kalorama Historic District / No

Pioneer Latinos/as typically worked and socialized with other Latinos/as. Because the expatriate communities were so small and they shared a common language, their social activities were not necessarily codified along class lines. Support staff had regular interactions with the elite diplomatic and professional classes in D.C. in the 1940s and 1950s.[59] These expatriates also did not self-segregate by race. As Torruella-Quander recalled, "because there was such a small [Latino] community…everybody got together. Everybody, from no matter what country you came… We didn't have this racial hang-up that later came."[60] Socializing happened at gatherings and parties in private homes, but even in the public sphere, Latino immigrants found common ground. Spanish and Portuguese speakers from Latin America and Europe would mix with or encounter one another in shops, restaurants, dancehalls, theaters, cafes, and bars that catered to expatriate (and specifically Latino) patrons. In such circumstances, a Latina might encounter another Spanish speaker at a grocery store that carried produce from her home country and strike up conversation in her mother tongue. The two might exchange information and learn that they shared similar barriers with language acquisition, finding affordable housing, or with employment.[61]

One such grocery store and meeting place is **PENA'S SPANISH STORE** (also called Casa Pena) (Figure 2.6). By 1940, Manuel Pena had married Adelina (a Spanish émigré), had moved out of his brother's house and purchased his own home, and had changed careers from chauffeur to grocer. By 1946, Manuel and Adelina opened a grocery store in a rowhouse at 17th and R streets, in the Dupont Circle neighborhood in which they resided.[62] The Penas imported specialty items from around the world (international products from Africa, Europe, and the Middle East as well as Latin America), offered a delivery service, and primarily served the various embassies in the vicinity. The Galician couple were considered "pioneers in the field of small Latin businesses in Washington."[63] In addition to this vital business, from October 1944, Manuel Pena edited a newsletter, *Spanish Home News*, which is considered the first Hispanic publication in D.C.[64]

Food ways are important to any expatriate community, as familiar food items offer the comforts of home to nostalgic and homesick immigrants. Therefore, it is not surprising that (in addition to grocery stores) restaurants were the most common business type to cater to Latinos/as in this pioneer era. A cursory look through the 1946 city directory provides the names of such

Figure 2.6: Pena's Spanish Store, 1636 17th Street NW. Photograph by Jack Brewer, 1991. Courtesy of the D.C. History Center.[65]

restaurants as El Patio, at 711 13th Street NW, or El Comodoro, at 1516 Connecticut Avenue NW, whose very names elicit a Latino kinship.

In D.C. in the 1940s, however, restaurants that claimed any semblance of Latinidad were predominantly Mexican (such as the Copacabana) or Tex-Mex (such as the Ranch). The Copacabana was a nightclub opened in 1940 by an Italian immigrant, Luigi Calvi. An advertisement in the 1946 city directory claimed that the Copacabana at 1716 Eye Street NW offered a "Real Latin American Atmosphere," but it also served Chinese and American dishes along with its Mexican cuisine. Another advertisement in the same directory claimed that one had to go to the Ranch restaurants (there were two locations: 729 12th Street NW and 10 Massachusetts Avenue NW) "to get real Mexican Food" and that the Ranch Restaurants were "Famous in Washington for Chili and Chili Mac."[66] The Ranch was an authentic (and one of the first) Tex-Mex restaurant in the city, established in 1900 by William H. Nichols, a former Texas Ranger from Galveston; its popularity remained steady until it closed in 1977.[67]

The question of authenticity regarding the Mexican cuisine served in 1940s D.C. might be best illustrated in the establishment of Little Mexico (later renamed El Mexico), founded in 1948 by a Greek immigrant, Demosthenes Papanicolas. Papanicolas capitalized on what was considered an exotic fare at the time and opened his Mexican-cuisine restaurant on Connecticut Avenue. The back cover of Little Mexico's 1948 menu suggests Mexican cooking was largely unknown to the average D.C. diner, as it explains basic ingredients and dishes, such as tortillas, tamales, and tacos (Figure 2.7). The inclusion of the stock illustration showing a Mexican with his large sombrero sitting beside a saguaro cactus was a familiar stereotype to Anglo-Americans, perhaps intended to further de-mystify the exoticism of the cuisine. The popularity of Papanicolas' venture is exemplified by his opening a second location on 20th Street NW before he died prematurely in 1963, soon after which both restaurants were closed. Papanicolas may have taken his cue from Greek-born William George Chippas, who opened the Alamo Grill on 14th Street, south of Thomas Circle, in 1939.

Our food is carefully prepared daily from selected meats and choicest ingredients to insure a perfectly blended flavor of rare old Mexican cookery. It is not highly seasoned and the chili is made without the use of grease.

The following are explanations of the Mexican dishes served in "Little Mexico":

TORTILLAS

Tortillas are the typical Mexican bread. They are flat corn cakes similar to the American pancakes.

Tortillas are used as the base of many Mexican dishes, such as Enchiladas, Tacos, Tostadas or can be eaten plain as bread.

ENCHILADAS

Enchiladas are soft Tortillas filled and rolled up with either chicken, cheese, sausages, beef or pork and covered with Chili Con Carne or a delicious spicy sauce topped with onions and grated cheese and garnished with lettuce and tomato.

TACOS

Are Tortillas filled with either meat or chicken or cheese which are fried in deep fat to a crisp, and covered with spicy tomato sauce and garnished with lettuce and tomato. They are properly eaten with your fingers as a sandwich.

TOSTADAS

A Tostada is a flat Tortilla fried to a crisp in deep fat.

TAMALES

Tamales are made from hominy corn or (masa) filled with chicken or beef and cooked by steam.

PICOSA

Picosa is a hot sauce used on Mexican food for desired seasoning and taste.

Figure 2.7: The back cover of the menu for Little Mexico, 1948. Courtesy of John DeFerrari.[68]

Despite the allusion to Tex-Mex cuisine, Chippas' Alamo Grill served primarily seafood and steaks. Ultimately, small businesses owned and operated by Latinos/as for Latinos/as were few and far between in D.C. in the 1940s. Latin American immigrants to D.C. were employed primarily by embassies in the first half of the decade, and then in the postwar era by "global lending institutions such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank [that] planted their headquarters in D.C., attracting thousands of employees from around the world."[69]

Religion and Education

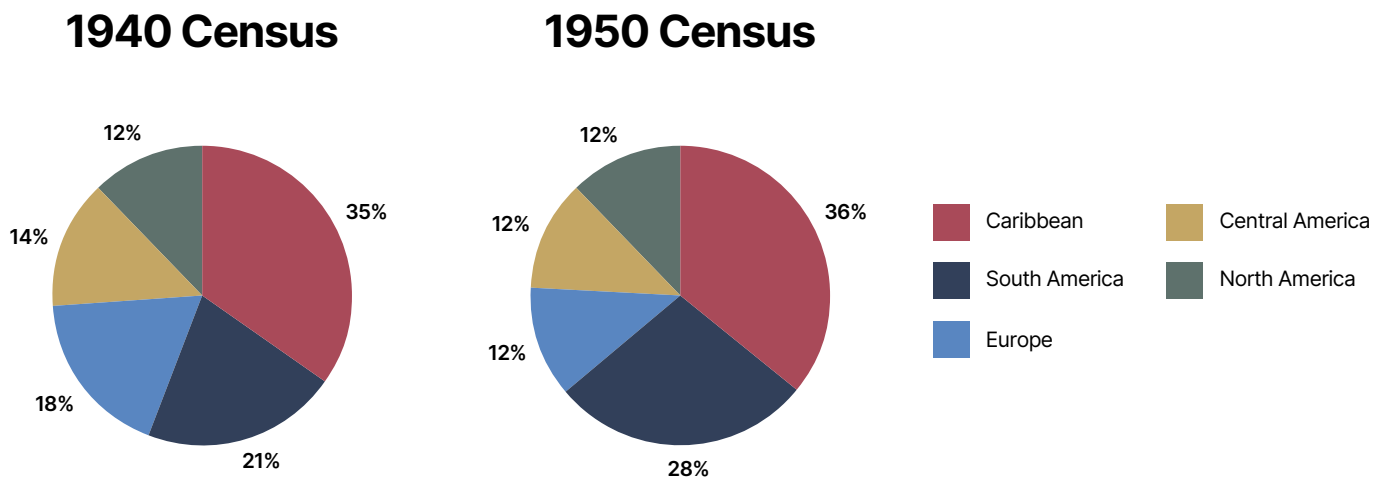
Religion provided Spanish-speaking immigrants solace, familiarity, and succor. Before D.C.'s Catholic churches offered services in Spanish, Campos would conduct holy hours in people's homes on Sundays, in which Spanish-speakers would come to pray and eat together.[70] Although many Latinos/as were Catholics, there were also Latino Protestants in D.C. "Latino Protestantism was initially centered in denominations like Methodists, Presbyterians, and Baptists," while Pentecostalism grew rapidly from the beginning of the twentieth century.[71] Interestingly, per an announcement in the 28 November 1942 edition of The Evening Star, an Evangelist church was one of the earliest in D.C. to advertise both services and Bible classes in Spanish. The First Church of the Nazarene in Capitol Hill (at 7th and A streets NE) announced its intention to hold regular services in Spanish, starting the next day with the sermon, "He aqui el Cordero de Dios." Miss Ruth Barnes, "a daughter of missionaries to Argentina, and herself born in that country, is conducting a Spanish Bible class each Tuesday evening at the church."[72] By May 1957, the Capitol Memorial Seventh-Day Adventist Church at 5th and F streets NW was also advertising Spanish- and Portuguese-language Bible classes as well as services in Spanish. Led by Pastor Manuel Rosado, the Spanish-language services were expected to draw around 80 congregants.[73]

Secular education for newly arrived immigrants was limited in this period. The Americanization School, founded as part of the D.C. Public School system in 1918, relocated from the Daniel Webster Elementary School at 10th and H streets NW to the John Quincy Adams Elementary School in Adams Morgan in 1949.[74] The presence of the Americanization School, "along with the many embassies nearby, helped Adams Morgan earn its reputation as a truly diverse neighborhood."[75] The school served both adults and children, was free to District residents, and offered classes in the day as well as at night. The school taught English literacy classes as well as citizenship courses, and teachers assisted students with filing for citizenship with the Naturalization and Immigration Services. As the school's name might suggest, assimilation was the dominant theme in the pedagogy.[76] The Americanization School was truly international in this pioneering period. An article in a 1952 issue of *The Evening Star* recounted an entertaining program held in the Adams School auditorium, in which students sang, recited poetry, or gave speeches; among the performers were a Hungarian, two Ukrainians, "a former Yugoslav lawyer," an Indian, and "Anita Brouwer of Panama [who] sang 'Cielito Lindo.'"[77]

The 1950s: Onset of the Cold War

Between 1940 and 1950, Latino immigration to D.C. increased, albeit minutely. Spanish- and Portuguese-speakers from the Western Hemisphere and from Europe accounted for only 0.2% of the District's total population in 1940 and 0.4% in 1950. Cubans, Puerto Ricans, and Dominicans together comprised the majority (at 36%) of the nascent Latino community in D.C. in the 1940s. The proportion of Mexicans remained steady from the previous decade (at 12%), and the proportion of Iberians decreased. South Americans made the greatest gains in the percentage of the Latino population from 1940-1950, increasing from 21% to 28% (Table 3).[78]

Table 3: Pie Charts Comparing 1940 and 1950 Census Data of Spanish- and Portuguese-Speaking Immigrants to D.C., Percentage within the Latino Community by Region.



Perhaps coincident to and symbolic of this increase in South American immigration to the city was the rise of public art devoted to South Americans, such as the General Jose Gervasio Artigas Memorial (erected 1950) and the equestrian statue of Simón Bolívar (erected 1959). A gift from the people of Uruguay, the bronze figure of Artigas (the man considered the father of Uruguayan independence) was created by Juan Manuel Blanes in 1948. The bronze equestrian statue of the Venezuelan military and political leader, Bolívar, was produced by American sculptor Felix de Weldon and was a gift from the Venezuelan state. These two memorials became the second and third figural representations of a Latin American patriot erected in D.C. in a set called the Statues of the Liberators.[79]

But the Spanish-speaking nationalities that made the greatest gains in D.C. through the 1950s were Puerto Ricans, who largely moved to the capital for economic opportunity, and Cubans and Dominicans who were fleeing political upheaval characteristic of the Cold War era.

Politics at Home and Abroad

When Dwight D. Eisenhower succeeded Harry S. Truman as President of the United States in January 1953, the liberal, New Deal era ushered in by President Roosevelt 20 years earlier came to an end and the Cold War was in full swing, as evidenced by America's involvement in the Korean War (1950-1953). The Cuban Revolution kicked off in July 1953 when rebels fighting General Fulgencio Batista's rule attacked the Moncada Barracks. The following year, "the first major Cold War U.S. intervention in Latin America—which ended the Good Neighbor Policy and began a renewed era of direct U.S. interventionism—took place in Guatemala."[80] Driven by fear of the spread of communism across Latin America, and at the behest of the United Fruit Company (which had colonized Central America for nearly a century), the U.S. government (via the CIA) backed a military coup d'état of Guatemala's democratically-elected president, Jacobo Arbenz Guzman, in 1954 because it feared that any agrarian reform movement would limit or end its economic interests and control in the region.[81]

The post-colonial era in the western hemisphere is perhaps best represented by the founding of the West Indies Federation in 1958. Several former British island colonies came together to create a federation intent on joining the British Commonwealth as post-colonial members. However, the brevity of this political union (it dissolved by May 1962) speaks to the strife and turmoil these new nations faced in the postwar era as they fought for self-determination and

national standing on the global stage. Former Spanish island colonies in the Caribbean fared no better. By the late 1950s, opposition to Rafael Trujillo's decades-long rule and oppression in the Dominican Republic had come to a boil, and a younger generation advocated for democratic reforms. This led the Trujillo regime to crack down with even greater repression, and between 1957 and 1962, his regime was responsible for nearly 6,000 murders and disappearances. Meanwhile, the Cuban Revolution, which had almost spanned the entire decade, came to an end in 1959 when Batista was driven into exile and Fidel Castro became Prime Minister of the island nation.

The consequence of all this bloodshed and repression was mass emigration in the late 1950s and the early 1960s. Cubans, fleeing the revolution and its results, and Dominicans, fleeing the U.S.-backed Trujillo regime, came to the United States in large numbers seeking both political asylum and better economic opportunities. Cubans were assisted by U.S. immigration policy, which in the Cold War era provided grace to refugees from countries in the Soviet sphere of influence (which is how the U.S. classified Castro's Cuba). "Through the Cuban Refugee Program, 300,000 Cuban refugees were resettled throughout the U.S. to offset the impact of relocation on Miami and south Florida."[82]

By the end of the 1960s, Cubans composed about one-fifth of D.C.'s Latino population. These new arrivals settled in Adams Morgan, where diplomats and their support staff had been setting down roots for decades, where groceries and restaurants welcomed them with familiar foods, and where the housing stock provided a variety of options. The neighborhood offered larger townhouses for wealthier individuals as well as more affordable, high-occupancy apartment buildings for members of the working classes. These new arrivals differed from earlier waves of Latino immigrants to D.C., however, as many came as political asylees or asylum-seekers rather than as labor migrants with pre-established work contracts. In D.C., these new arrivals had to take work in whatever industry could absorb them, and that was typically low-paying, menial jobs such as hotel service, restaurant service, and retail work.[83]

Navigating a Racialized Landscape

In the second half of the decade, America was coming to painful and violent terms with the Civil Rights movement, a milestone of which was the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1957. Signed by President Eisenhower, the legislation attempted to protect voter rights by creating a vehicle to prosecute anyone suppressing another's right to vote. Neither this nor previous legislation or decrees, however, brought immediate relief from the oppressed and segregated experience African Americans had lived since slavery was abolished in 1865. Although the U.S. Supreme Court decision in Brown vs. the *Board of Education of Topeka* in 1954 had established that the segregation of public schools by race was illegal, various states (especially in the South) refused to abide by the ruling. In 1956, Senator Harry Byrd of Virginia initiated what he called "Massive Resistance," telling Southern political leaders and bureaucrats to not comply with the court's directive to integrate schools. As a result of Massive Resistance, a number of white public schools in municipalities (and entire school systems in some rural counties) across Virginia closed for years rather than integrate by order of the courts in 1958 and 1959. In September 1957, nine African American students (later called the Little Rock Nine) were barred from entering Little Rock Central High School until President Eisenhower sent National Guard troops to Arkansas to escort them in.[84] America was divided by race, as it always had been, but tensions were at a critical point.

D.C., AHEAD OF THE CURVE

Two cases heard in the U.S. Supreme Court in 1953 illustrates how D.C. was on the leading edge for the fight for equal rights and desegregation of public schools and spaces. The first case was *District of Columbia vs. John R. Thompson Co.*, Inc. This U.S. Supreme Court case, which began in April 1953 after three years of lower court rulings and appeals, determined whether local D.C. Acts passed in 1872 and 1873, which prohibited segregation in public spaces within the District, should be properly enforced in a locality that experienced de facto segregation. The case was brought by African American activist Mary Church Terrell, who was refused service at Thompson's Cafeteria on 14th Street NW in January 1950. In June 1953, The U.S. Supreme Court determined that the policies practiced by Thompson's Cafeteria were illegal. The second, *Bolling vs. Sharpe*, was a landmark case prohibiting segregated public schools in the District of Columbia. It was originally argued in December 1952, a year before *Brown vs. the Board of Education of Topeka*, when the courts upheld the city's segregated school system. In December 1953, the case was taken up by the Supreme Court as a companion case to *Brown vs.* the *Board of Education*, and the ruling was issued on May 17, 1954, the same day the court announced its decision on Brown.

The desegregation of public schools coupled with the earlier 1948 decision by the U.S. Supreme Court in *Shelley vs. Kramer* that found racially restrictive deeds and covenants unenforceable, promulgated a major shift in the racial demographics of D.C.'s residential neighborhoods. In 1940, when racially restrictive deeds were common in many residential neighborhoods, African Americans were largely concentrated in the city's older neighborhoods in northwest D.C. and Georgetown; in emerging housing developments in far east Capitol Hill and east of the Anacostia River (in the middle of Ward 8 and the eastern corner of Ward 7); in the isolated southwest quadrant of the city; and along the Georgia Avenue corridor. After the 1948 Supreme Court decision, Blacks began to move into houses and apartments in formerly restricted areas of the city, particularly north of Park Road, which had theretofore been a racial dividing line. In the early 1950s, as African Americans moved into formerly all-white neighborhoods such as Mount Pleasant, they also opened those formerly restricted neighborhoods to other non-whites. Indeed, by the late-1950s, Mount Pleasant was characterized as a working-class neighborhood with a mix of whites, African Americans, and immigrants from various countries.[85]

As neighborhoods like Mount Pleasant and Adams Morgan transitioned, they offered a greater variety of and more affordable housing options, including single-family rowhouses and high-density apartment buildings not only to African American residents, but to non-white newcomers as well. But once settled, the new arrivals were confronted with America's racialized paradigm which they had no experience with in their home countries and hardly understood or expected. In a 2023 interview, **ARTURO GRIFFITHS**, who emigrated as a young man in 1964, recalled that "I'm a black person, and in Panama the discussion of race was…taboo. So when I came here, I came to 14th and Fairmont Street in the middle of the Black community. …It was a big shock. …Because I did not discuss the race question enough, I did not know about it."[86]

Furthermore, some Latinos/as were competing with African Americans for entry-level jobs. As Cadaval argued, the early leaders of the emergent Latino community in D.C. were Puerto Ricans, who had an advantage over other Spanish-speaking new arrivals by dint of their U.S. citizenship, their by-right residency, and their command of the English language. These factors allowed them to attain well-paid, stable jobs in federal agencies

and adjust well, generally, to life in Washington. But non-Puerto Ricans composed the bulk of the nascent Latino community, and many of these "often came from rural or small-town backgrounds, although some had been teachers or were skilled artisans. The majority, whatever their social or economic background, found work in homes, apartment-building maintenance, hotel services, and other work with low pay and few benefits," jobs that were "most recently held by African Americans."[87] As more and more immigrants settled in D.C., resources were perceived to dwindle, stirring animosity between a marginalized population struggling for economic parity, social equity, and political rights and new arrivals who quickly realized they would have to do the same.

Employment and Commerce

Although every individual's reason for emigrating is personal and different, many newcomers from Latin America who came to D.C. in the early 1950s came as labor migrants or for perceived improved economic opportunities. With their U.S. citizenship, Puerto Ricans continued to obtain jobs in the federal government, such as **CARLOS MANUEL ROSARIO (1922-1987)**. Born in Puerto Rico, Rosario joined the U.S. Army and served in France, Germany, and North Africa during World War II. In 1950, he attained a position in Montana as an X-ray technician with the U.S. Public Health Service.[88] He relocated to D.C. in 1952 and settled on Hobart Street, at the southern edge of the Mount Pleasant neighborhood, by 1957.[89] Rosario spent his early career driving a mobile van that offered chest x-rays to lower-income residents. Through his job, Rosario met other Latinos/as and recognized that a sizeable Latino expatriate community was taking shape in the District.[90]

As in the previous decade, foreign embassies and global institutions continued to expand their footprints in D.C. through the 1950s. In 1953, the government of Belize built a small embassy building on Massachusetts Avenue; the Dominican Republic moved its headquarters into a large domicile on 22nd Street NW in 1957; and the Honduran Embassy occupied a Classical Revival-style mansion in the Sixteenth Street Heights neighborhood through the decade. The Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) was founded in 1959, although it, too, had its roots in the first Pan American Conference in 1890.[91] Such global institutions and embassies employed many Latino pioneers in this decade. Campos' son recalled from his childhood in Adams Morgan in the 1950s that,

> *The only Latinos in this town were embassy personnel. The support staff of the embassy. So we grew up with all the embassies. If the Embassy of Venezuela would have a celebration to celebrate their Independence Day, all the Latinos were invited. And we'd go to the Venezuelan Embassy, eat Venezuelan food, and dance Venezuelan dances. And the same with the Mexican Embassy, the Dominican Embassy. There was a handful, within a 50-mile radius there must have been 100 Latinos. We knew every Latino in D.C. Every Latino in D.C. knew each other.*[92]

BEATRIZ "BB" OTERO's father accepted a position with the IDB and moved his family from La Paz, Bolivia, in 1960. In her recollections of growing up in the Chevy Chase area of D.C., the family's only connection to a Latino community was the socializing her parents would do with colleagues and friends who also worked at the IDB or World Bank. Most of her father's colleagues did not reside in the District, but lived in fashionable suburban neighborhoods such as Potomac, Maryland. Hers was one of the only families she recalled from this social set who lived in the District.[93]

The D.C. Latino community continued to be extremely small and insular in the 1950s, centered on the embassy circuit. During this era, women were actively recruited from Latin American countries to support these diplomatic families and other upper-middle-class families stationed or settled in Washington. Terry Repak, in her 1995 work *Waiting on Washington: Central American Workers in the Nation's Capital*, emphasizes the importance of gendered (i.e., female) domestic

labor recruitment (specifically from Central America) in the formation of the Latino community in postwar D.C. Repak provides personal stories of women who, under their own agency, left families behind (but often taking small children with them or sending for them later) to seek economic opportunities in the United States. In a few instances, private agencies with contacts in U.S. embassies abroad found women willing to work for North American families and relocate; in other instances, diplomats in Washington had representatives seek out women in Latin American countries to come be live-in maids, cooks, and nannies. Sometimes the support staff just followed families at the latter's behest. One example is Lucia Herrera, who served an American family in San Salvador as a housekeeper in the 1950s; the head of the family worked for USAID, and when he was recalled to the United States and the family relocated to Chevy Chase, Maryland, they asked Herrera to join them. Herrera chose to emigrate with her daughter, and her employers sponsored her work visa. Rosa Lopez is another example; she also worked for a USAID family in San Salvador and emigrated when her employers moved to the United States.[94]

The centrality and importance of women in the formation of a Latino community in D.C. cannot be understated. In this period, more women than men came to the city to work as domestic laborers. Fewer men emigrated to D.C. because there were fewer economic opportunities for them in an extremely gendered labor market. What strikes Repak is the agency that these women showed in making these life-altering decisions. She states that in the sample of women she interviewed, most made the decision to emigrate without consulting (or accompanied by) a *compañero* and brought children with them, or sent for their children later, once they were established.[95] They came because of perceived economic advancement and sent remittances home to care for the ones they left behind. In several instances, these women became the major breadwinners within their families.

PROVIDENCIA FERRERA PAREDES (1924-2015)

Perhaps one of the more famous Latinas working in domestic service in Washington, D.C. in this pioneering era was Providencia F. Paredes. Born in the Dominican Republic in 1924, "Provi" first came to Washington, D.C. in 1948 with the Dominican Republic's Ambassador to the United States, Luis Francisco Thomen. She returned to the Dominican Republic when Thomen's diplomatic term concluded, but she migrated again to D.C. circa 1953, where she met and married Gustavo A. Paredes. In 1957, she made the acquaintance of Senator John F. Kennedy; from 1959 to 1965, Paredes was the personal assistant to Jacqueline Bouvier Kennedy, first in the Kennedy's Georgetown home and then in the White House. Paredes is believed to be "the first Latino to work in [President Kennedy's] inner circle," and she was both a friend and a stylist to Jackie Kennedy. After John F. Kennedy's assassination in 1963, Paredes worked for his two brothers, Senators Robert and Edward (Ted) Kennedy, until 1969. She retired from her career at the U.S. Postal Service in 1992 and died in her Washington, D.C. home in 2015. (Bever 2015).

Luis Gonzales emigrated from Ecuador and arrived in D.C. in September 1956. In his oral history interview conducted in 1982, Gonzales stated that the Hispanic community in D.C. was small and little known at that time, and it was difficult to find someone who spoke Spanish. He recalled that there were no businesses in Mount Pleasant owned by Spanish-speakers in the mid-1950s.[96] Most of the Latino commercial endeavors in this decade were concentrated in Dupont Circle and Adams Morgan. Carmen Torruella-Quander,

who grew up in Adams Morgan in the 1950s with her brother Ramberto, recollected that the Del Rio grocery, which catered to the expatriate community, was opened at 1828 Columbia Road NW by 1954; before that, her mother had shopped for specialty items at the Italian market at 1772 Columbia Road. Torruella-Quander also remembered when the Safeway (a grocery store chain popular in the D.C. metropolitan area today) started carrying plantains and other Latin American foods.[97] While this fact may seem inconsequential, it is indicative of the growing number of Latinos/as in the neighborhood. The early pioneers created a demand for commerce and services that catered to their needs and tastes, and the establishment and development of Latino businesses went hand-in-hand with the growth of the Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking expatriate community itself. Generally, the early businesses were grocery stores (like Pena's Spanish Store) and restaurants. These businesses not only created social spaces in which diverse Latinos/as could meet and congregate, they provided an economic base for immigrants intent on staying in the United States. While businesses diversified and more were established after World War II, as a rule they catered to a predominantly (if not wholly) Latino clientele.[98]

Several businesses that catered to Latinos/as had their roots in the 1950s, but because the Latino population was still so small, none of these businesses catered to one nationality or even linguistic group. **LA SEVILLANA** is considered the first grocery to carry Latin American goods in Adams Morgan, established by 1958.[99] Like Pena's Spanish Store, however, La Sevillana advertised itself as an international market that carried "Foods and Novelties from Other Lands," including Spanish, Italian, Oriental, and French goods (Figure 2.8). The use of the prefix "pan" to suggest an all-encompassing Latinidad was popular with a few local, small businesses in this decade, such as Ernesto's Pan American Restaurant (in city directories from 1957) and the **PAN AMERICAN BARBER SHOP**, which was in business on Columbia Road open by 1959.[100] Mexican restaurants continued to be popular in D.C. in the 1950s, as exemplified by El Sombrero Cordobes, listed in the 1957 city directory. But the most popular Mexican restaurant in this era was **LA FONDA**, which similarly advertised itself as having an "International Chef" who was versed in Spanish and French dishes as well (Figures 2.9 and 2.10). La Fonda was established circa 1953 by the first-generation, Spanish-American Adelina Pena Callahan and her husband Bob Callahan. The Callahans opened La Fonda in the Pena family home, which Manuel Pena had purchased by 1940 and in which Adelina and her younger siblings had been raised. The 1896 rowhouse at 1637 R Street NW was catty-corner from Adelina's parents' grocery store. By 1961, La Fonda had grown so popular that the Callahans decided to open a second restaurant in that space and move La Fonda next door, to the larger corner rowhouse at 1639 R Street.[101]

Figure 2.8: Advertisement for La Sevillana, 1959. Library of Congress.[102]

Figure 2.9: La Fonda, 1639 R Street NW. Photograph by Jack Brewer, 1991. Courtesy of the D.C. History Center.[103]

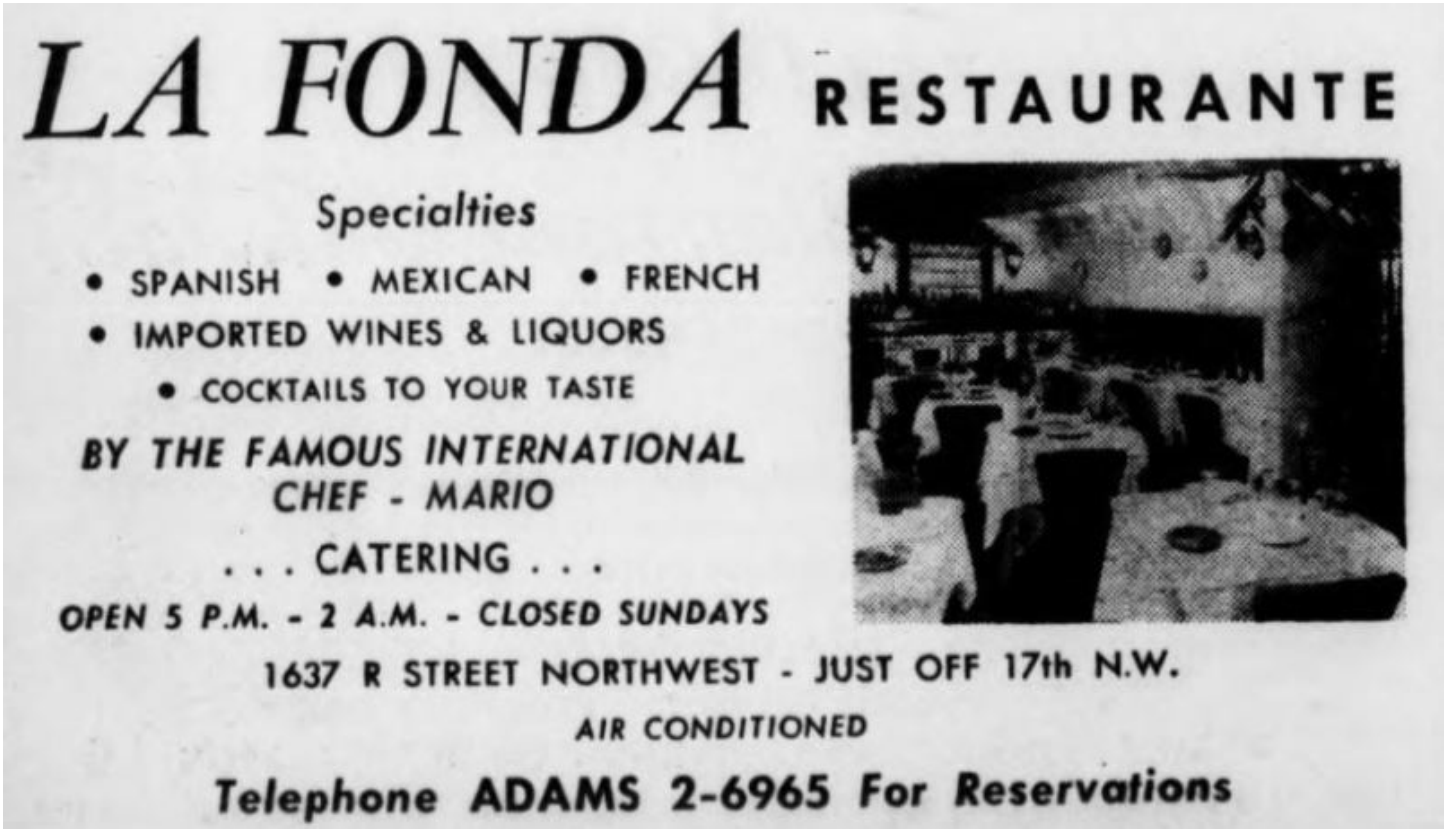


Figure 2.10: Advertisement for La Fonda Restaurant, 1953. Library of Congress.[104]

Religion and Education

The role of organized religion in assisting and integrating Latino immigrants in D.C. expanded in the 1950s. As institutions, churches provided social welfare and support programs as well as places to meet and congregate. Churches like the **SHRINE OF THE SACRED HEART**,[105] which catered to a growing Latino congregation, "enabled a retention of Latin American identity for the second generation through shared cultural practices…and through the retention and use of Spanish."[106] As many of the pioneer Latinos/as in this era were Catholics, the Archdiocese of Washington and parish churches were central to this early Latino community formation. For example, St. Paul's Church, on the corner of V and 15th streets NW, was one of the first known churches to offer services in Spanish in the 1950s.[107] The Shrine of the Sacred Heart offered its first mass in Spanish in 1954, and by 1957, the Cathedral of St. Matthew the Apostle began producing bulletins in Spanish.[108]

SANTERÍA

In this pioneering period, Cubans and Puerto Ricans settling in D.C. brought with them the religious practice of Santería. "Santería is a religious belief system historically practiced by Yoruba-speaking people in present-day Nigeria and Benin; it was transplanted to Cuba in the nineteenth century through the massive importation of slaves from this region of West Africa" and "came to Washington, D.C., in the 1950s with the arrival of a small Afro-Cuban community that settled in the neighborhood of Columbia Heights." (See Smithsonian Latino Center 2010). One rowhouse, in particular, is associated with this Afro-Cuban community and is known as a ritual space for Santería: 1354 Parkwood Place NW. The 1910 rowhouse in Columbia Heights was originally developed by Harry Wardman and designed by architect Albert H. Beers. Private homes like this one were used by Santería practitioners, who use music and dance to invoke spirits and deities through trances and possession. Drumming on Bata drums, chanting, and animal sacrifice are also used in Santería rituals. Both religious and secular Santería ceremonies continue to be observed in D.C. today. (Koconis 2010).

Figure 2.11: Interior of a Santeria temple in Trinidad, Cuba. Photograph by Jean-Luc Assor. Courtesy of Adobe Stock.

Churches were particularly central to the experiences of Latina domestic workers who could only leave their residences and places of employment on Sundays. In a 2024 interview, Otero recalled that some of the single women who worked as live-in domestics for diplomats or other elite families in this era would stay in a sort of dormitory at the Shrine of the Sacred Heart on weekends or on days off. This Catholic church on 16th Street was very important to the burgeoning Latino population in D.C from its beginning and grew to play a significant role in providing space and programming for Spanish speakers (Figure 2.12). It was at Sacred Heart that Campos started annual novenas (nine days of prayers) to the Patron Saint of the Dominican Republic, La Virgen de la Altagracia, in 1950. She also advocated for the Archdiocese to provide the first permanent Spanish-speaking priest at Sacred Heart, Monsignor Joaquín Martínez, in 1954.[109] A Dominican woman who arrived in D.C. in 1960 recalled that she would encounter other Spanish speakers at the Shrine of the Sacred Heart "where a Spanish-speaking priest helped them with English."[110]

Figure 2.12: Shrine of the Sacred Heart Catholic Church, 3211 Sacred Heart Way, 2010. Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, photograph by Carol M. Highsmith.[111]

Churches provided another important aspect to early Latino community formation: education. Prior to 1954, with the landmark ruling in *Brown vs. the Board of Education of Topeka* (Kansas), D.C. public schools were segregated. Private schools offered a desegregated alternative. St. Paul's Academy, associated with the aforementioned Catholic church and located nearby, at 1412 V Street NW, was the first among white Catholic schools in D.C. to enroll an African American – Roy Davenport, Jr. – in 1948.[112] This is the school where Manuel and Adelina Pena sent their eldest child, **ADELINA PENA CALLAHAN (1935-2023)**, who graduated from there in 1953. Although it was segregated until 1950, the **SACRED HEART SCHOOL** on Park Road NW had a co-educational student body from the early 1930s onward and served a diverse, international community in the mid-century (Figure 2.13).[113] It was the elementary school to which Campos sent her two children as soon as it became integrated in 1950. Carmen Torruella entered Kindergarten, Ramberto Torruella joined Richard Washington in first grade, and Rohulamin Quander (Carmen Torruella's future husband) transferred from a public school into the second grade class. But the Quanders' individual recollections of their time and experiences at Sacred Heart Elementary differ As Torruella-Quander commented, "we were treated differently" despite both being people of color. For Rohulamin Quander and Richard Washington, who are African Americans with Caribbean heritages, discrimination persisted among both classmates and the school administration. As Quander expanded, "the distinction of being American and Black and being 'other'"—or foreign—was one with differing results: while Ramberto was allowed to serve as an altar boy, Richard and Rohulamin were not.[114] The complexities of being native or not, fluent in English or not, and darker complexioned or not in D.C. in this era were myriad and inescapable for pioneering Latinos/as and African Americans (Figure 2.14).

Figure 2.13: Sacred Heart School, 1621 Park Road NW. Photograph by Zachary Burt, March 2025. Courtesy of the D.C. Preservation League.

Figure 2.14: Rohulamin Quander (center) at his first communion, Shrine of the Sacred Heart, May 1951. Courtesy of Rohulamin Quander.

Conclusion

The Latino pioneers who settled in D.C. in the period 1943-1959 were few, comprising less than half of one percent of the city's total population in both 1940 and 1950. Nearly one quarter of the Spanish-speakers in the District in those decades were citizens, Puerto Ricans who had moved to the mainland to work for the expanding federal government during World War II and the postwar era. The other dominant nationalities were Spaniards, Mexicans, Cubans, and Panamanians, but no one nationality ever comprised more than one quarter of all of the Spanish-speaking immigrants in the District, emphasizing a truth about D.C.'s Latino community that exists even today: that it is widely diverse, and that no one ethnicity or nationality is in the majority. This is unique among other U.S. cities, such as Miami, with its Cuban majority; New York, associated with large populations of Puerto Ricans and Dominicans; or Los Angeles and cities in Texas and the Southwest, where Mexicans and Chicanos have established roots for centuries.

Because Washington, D.C. never had a significant industry other than governance, its foreign-born population was miniscule through the late twentieth century. What did attract foreign nationals to D.C. was international politics, and so many of Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking immigrants living in the District from its inception through the 1960s were linked to foreign legations and global institutions (such as the OAS, the World Bank, and the IDB). Some émigrés also came to D.C. as scholars and students to either work for or study in Washington's numerous colleges and universities, but this population was often transient, returning home after their tenures were up. The same could be said for the foreign-service diplomats who returned to their home countries after their tours of duty were completed. However, these diplomatic families often brought with them support staff—nannies, cooks, maids, chauffeurs, even seamstresses—who stayed in D.C. after their employers returned home. It was these immigrants, mostly Latinas, who really formed the rudiment of D.C.'s Latino community.

While the nationalities and socioeconomic backgrounds of these individuals were varied, they shared a common language, a sense of otherness, perhaps some shared cultural traditions, and they shared the hardships that mark expatriation and acculturation to a new homeland. These individuals with mutual experiences would seek each other out for social, cultural, and economic reasons. The Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking expatriate scene in Washington in this pioneering era revolved around the embassies that employed these newcomers while providing a built-in social network. Most social activities in this era were embassy or private parties, or perhaps social gatherings in local restaurants that served cuisines reminiscent of home. When pioneers left the employ of diplomats or private families and struck out on their own in D.C., they helped build places and spaces for compatriots, either by opening businesses that became meeting places for other Spanish-speakers—like Manuel Pena's Spanish Store—or by working with local churches to offer services and programs to aid Spanish-speaking arrivals, like Campos.

The four most important building typologies in this pioneering period were **embassies**, **commercial businesses**, **churches**, and **schools**, and every single one of these typologies touched on more than one of the four aspects of immigrant life in D.C., whether it be economic, political, social, or cultural. For example, embassies are in their very purpose political institutions, yet for the immigrants they were a place of employment, socializing, and even residency. Commercial businesses obviously reflect local economies, and yet a grocery like Pena's Spanish Store could be a social nexus (a place to gather, meet, share language and information) as well as a cultural one (providing goods that reflect an origin country's foodways). Churches are bastions of culture, where people of the same faith practice and express their religion together; but churches can also serve as social spaces where people interact and as social service organizations that assist congregants with acculturation. Churches, in this period, were often associated with education, and especially the establishment of private, parochial schools that were important to the Latino pioneers. Many of the early pioneers sent their children to Catholic elementary and secondary schools, such as Sacred Heart School and Academy, St. Paul's Academy, or Blessed Sacrament Catholic School and Immaculata Preparatory School, where Otero and her siblings were educated after her family was brought to D.C. in 1960.[115]

In terms of the built environment, embassies and global institutions could be purpose-built, as several were in the early twentieth century, but most were housed in large mansions or rowhouses that had been constructed originally as private dwellings. Early businesses, too, occupied converted dwellings or the storefronts of mixed-use rowhouses built in the late nineteenth or early twentieth centuries. The churches and schools named in this chapter were also existing prior to 1943 and served varying populations before becoming associated with the nascent Latino community in D.C. The architectural styles of the examples listed in this chapter vary from academic Beaux-Arts (like the purpose-built Cuban Embassy, OAS Building, and the Shrine of the Sacred Heart) to various vernaculars (like the residence that became La Fonda restaurant in 1953). What these buildings have in common is that pioneering Latinos/as occupied spaces that had been built before them, not for them, whether those spaces were dwellings or storefronts, churches or schools. In the 1940s and 1950s, assimilation was the dominant practice for immigrants coming to America, and this is subtly reflected in the pioneers' fitting into D.C.'s existing built environment.

Chapter 3: The Tipping Point, 1960-1969

The 1960s in the United States was a decade of heightened political awareness and activism as youth across the nation fought for Civil Rights, advocated for equal rights for women, and protested the United States' involvement in the Vietnam War. The Latinos/as settling in and establishing roots in D.C. were politically active throughout the 1960s and the 1970s, both in the nationwide Civil Rights and anti-Vietnam War movements and in local issues such as advocating for Home Rule in D.C.[116] In this activist milieu, D.C.'s Latino community began to take shape as a politicized collective. By 1962, both D.C. natives and recent transplants recognized that there was a sizable Latino population living in Adams Morgan and the southeastern edge of Mount Pleasant. Thus, the 1960s were a tipping point in the formation of a Latino community in D.C.

Politics at Home and Abroad

The 1960s, like the short-lived John F. Kennedy presidential administration (1961-1963), could be characterized as a time marred by a poignant mix of hope with bitter disappointment. On the world stage, conflict and the onset of military dictatorships in Latin America proliferated, starting with the thirty-year Guatemalan civil war (1960-1990)[117] and coup d'état (1963); the 1961 founding of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) by Nicaraguan revolutionaries (whose revolutionary political and socioeconomic agendas would have impact in Central America in the 1970s and 1980s); two coups d'état in Ecuador (in 1961 and 1963);[118] a coup d'état in El Salvador (1961), when the right-wing National Conciliation Party took power; the assassination of Rafael Trujillo (1961) followed by a coup d'état in the Dominican Republic (1963); coups d'état in Bolivia and Honduras in 1963; a coup d'état in Brazil (1964); a riot in Panama over the right to fly the Panamanian flag in the Canal Zone, which led to a brief disruption of diplomatic relations between Panama and the U.S. (1964); the 1964 launch of Operation Marquetalia, a military offensive by the Colombian Army that signaled the start of the Colombian Conflict between the government and FARC—a Marxist-Leninist People's Army founded in 1964—that would continue through the remainder of the century; the start of the Argentine Revolution with General Juan Carlos Onganía's coup d'état (1966); and a coup d'état in Peru in 1968.[119]

At the center of this Latin American turmoil, and uppermost in the American collective consciousness, was the United States' failed Bay of Pigs (Cuba) invasion in April of 1961 and the October 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis. Cold War-era policy under President Kennedy centered on the doctrine of counterinsurgency against (perceived and real) Soviet threats. Its praxis was covert CIA operations in staging countries in Central America, where insurgents were trained and armed. The Bay of Pigs invasion was a CIA-backed mission in which Cuban exiles attempted to invade Cuba and depose Castro. In the wake of its failure, the Cuban Missile Crisis exacerbated tensions between the United States and Cuba when Castro agreed to host Soviet nuclear missiles. The confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union through Cuba, a proxy nation, was the closest the

world came to nuclear war.

The Cold War mentality that infected presidential administrations from Harry S. Truman (1945-1953) through Ronald Reagan (1981-1989) is encapsulated by the domino theory first named by Truman, made popular by Eisenhower, and then made mantra by U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger (1969-1977). The domino theory proposed that if one country fell under communist (namely, Soviet Russia or Red China) control, then all of its neighbors were subject to the spread of this anti-capitalist belief system, and that the United States' national security was predicated on stopping the spread of communism. The domino theory directly informed the escalation of the United States' involvement in a conflict that defined this generation: the Vietnam War (1955-1975). Although Presidents Truman and Eisenhower financially supported France's struggle to retain its control over Indochina after 1945, and then, when that failed and Vietnam was partitioned in 1954, to support the pro-Western government of South Vietnam, the United States' true involvement in Southeast Asia occurred during Presidents Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson's administrations. From 1962 until 1965, the United States' government supported South Vietnam in an advisory capacity, which meant training Vietnamese helicopter pilots, training combatants in counterinsurgency, and placing small detachments of U.S. Army Special Forces as well as CIA advisors on the ground. By March of 1965, all pretense that the United States would not be drawn into another war in Asia was dropped, and troops were sent to Vietnam in successive waves to fight the communist North Vietnamese army until a ceasefire was called in January 1973. The United States government's withdrawal was complete two months later.[120]

Fear of the spread of communism, especially into the western hemisphere, guided the United States' geopolitics in Latin America through the postwar period. Either covertly or overtly, the federal government's policies and actions opposed any Latin American figurehead who was deemed to be too left-wing while supporting (in most cases) the military juntas that opposed democratically elected governments. Unfortunately, the 1960s was rife with United States' interventionism in foreign states, such as the U.S. Marine intervention in the Dominican Republic's civil war in 1965. Interventionism could also be construed as passivity: the U.S. Army stationed in the Panama Canal Zone accepted the deposed President Arnulfo Arias, who fled to its safety on October 11, 1968, but otherwise did not intervene with the military junta. Additionally, a U.S. State Department memorandum claims their intelligence was unaware of the attempted coup in Panama in December 1969.[121]

As scholar David G. Gutiérrez succinctly wrote, "The demographic landscape of Latino America began to change dramatically in the 1960s as a result of a confluence of economic and geopolitical trends."[122] The Cuban Revolution continued to foment exodus, and the United States experienced a second wave of Cuban immigration from 1965-1970, at the end of which Cubans composed 7.2% of the nation's Latino immigrant population. These Cubans, fleeing a Communist regime, received U.S. State Department visa waivers that paved their way to swift immigration, which the U.S. believed would weaken Castro's regime. Once in the United States, they received unparalleled federal support in terms of work authorization permits, permanent residency status, cash-allotments, educational programs, and other services through the Cuban Adjustment Act of 1966 and the well-funded Cuban Refugee Program (1961-1980), a federal effort to centralize and streamline refugee aid. This preference separated Cubans from other Latin American immigrants, who were never extended the same privileges or benefits despite their similar reasons for emigrating (i.e., to escape political and/or economic turmoil). In short, Cubans were seen as de facto refugees by agents of the United States government because they left a nation considered an enemy to the United States. Other refugees who came later would not enjoy the same recognition, status, or privileges because they were escaping countries

under repressive regimes that the United States supported.[123]

On the home front, the United States was plagued by the failures of the previous decade's efforts of the Civil Rights movement to bring real and lasting equality to African Americans. By the mid-1960s, racial tensions had reached a boiling point at the height of the Civil Rights movement, and violence was rife. 1965 began with the assassination of African American leader Malcolm X, followed on March 7 by a day known afterwards as "Bloody Sunday," in which the police in Selma, Alabama, brutally attacked 600 marchers attempting to walk to Montgomery. The year also witnessed the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which prohibited the use of literacy tests as a prerequisite to voting, as well as the introduction of President Johnson's Great Society programs, which were bold initiatives to address poverty, health, education, urban renewal, and other issues plaguing American society. Seen as an extension of the fight for Civil Rights, the Immigration and Nationality Act (also known as the Hart-Celler Act) was also passed in 1965, which amended the entry quotas established in the 1920s and ushered in the modern period of immigration.[124] Coupled with the end (in 1964) of the labor-contract Bracero Program, the Hart-Celler Act would change "patterns of immigration and the utilization of immigrant labor in the U.S." as well as "obscure important structural changes in both the U.S. economy and the economies of Latin America that continue to the present day."[125] The grassroots-organized, participatory democracy and activism that characterized the Civil Rights movement and the anti-Vietnam War movement in the latter half of the 1960s radicalized Latino workers in the United States, and some became leaders in national unions during this period.[126]

The United States in the late 1960s and 1970s also witnessed the rise of identity politics, or activism centered around a particular identity based on race, gender, ethnicity or nationality, religion, socioeconomic background, or sexual orientation. The Civil Rights movement—which had been linked wholly with African American struggles for equity and recognition—provided impetus for civil rights

Chicanos and Puerto Ricans. Radicalized by the era's protest-centered political activism and 1960s New Left theory, Mexican American (Chicano) and Puerto Rican activists focused their efforts towards group social betterment and representation in

THE HART-CELLER ACT

Signed into law by President Lyndon Johnson on October 3, 1965, the immigration reform bill named for Senator Phillip Hart and Congressman Emanuel Celler ended the National Origins Formula enacted in 1921. The latter had prioritized immigration from northern Europe while limiting or excluding immigration from southern and eastern Europe as well as Africa and Asia. It did not, however, restrict immigration from nations in the Western Hemisphere, which served the labor interests of corporations in the United States. By 1965, immigration reformers openly recognized the inherent racism of the National Origins Formula. The Hart-Celler Act replaced the quota system and with limits per country worldwide, prioritized family reunification, and provided new visa preferences for employable skills. At the same time, the Hart-Celler Act restricted immigration from the Western Hemisphere for the first time. (Troyano 2015). This actually made it more difficult for Latin Americans to migrate legally to the U.S., yet immigration increased after the passage of the Hart-Celler Act for several reasons, including a postwar population boom in Latin America; depressed economies, political turmoil, and violent conflicts in the late twentieth century that fostered exodus; and transportation advances (such as transcontinental commercial air travel) that made migration more feasible.

electoral politics, spawning the Latino voting bloc as a powerful tool for recognition. As Cristina Beltran described it in her 2010 work, *The Trouble with Unity: Latino Politics and the Creation of Identity,*

> During the late 1960s and 1970s, Mexican American and Puerto Rican activists put forward a politically charged critique of American politics. Bringing together a paradoxical mix of cultural nationalism, liberal reformism, radical critique, and romantic idealism, the Chicano and Puerto Rican movements created a new political vocabulary, one emphasizing resistance, recognition, cultural pride, authenticity, and fraternity (hermanidad). The movements – organizations, issues, and events – left a profound legacy.[127]

The Chicano movement, which had its centers in California and the Southwest, railed against the traditional messages of assimilation and individualism as actual barriers to socioeconomic advancement. Their strategies for politicization included mass protests, grassroots organization, labor activism, voting drives, and use of the arts for political messaging. This movement is perhaps best exemplified by the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (UFWOC), founded in 1966 when Cesar Chávez and Dolores Huerta's National Farm Workers Association (NFWA; founded 1962) merged with the Filipino Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee. The UFWOC carried out a fruitful consumer boycott on grapes from 1966 to 1970, picketing outside grocery stores in Canada and the United States, which expanded into labor strikes against lettuce and strawberry growers. The Chicano movement is also associated with the founding of La Raza Unida Party in 1970 and the founding of the National Council of La Raza (NCLR; founded 1968), which is a civil rights organization dealing with issues of immigration, housing, health, economic mobility, and education by assisting over 300 local affiliates across the nation. NCLR has been based in Washington, D.C. since 1972 and was renamed UnidosUS in 2017 to reflect its service to all Latinos/as in the United States.[128]

Somewhat contemporaneously, Puerto Ricans (primarily in New York and Chicago, but across the upper Midwest and Northeast as well) "were building a social movement that emphasized cultural pride, community control, direct action, and decolonization."[129] Prior to World War II, Puerto Rican politics in the mainland U.S. had been leftist, but postwar Puerto Ricans, in general, succumbed to the doctrine of assimilation prevalent in the 1950s and 1960s. Working-class labor activism had declined in those years, but by the mid-1960s, a young generation of Puerto Ricans began advocating for Puerto Rico's independence and generally critiquing American society's emphasis on individualism over community. In 1968, José "Cha-Cha" Jiménez established the Young Lord's Organization (YLO) in Lincoln Park, Chicago, a party that emerged from a street gang and was inspired by the Black Panther Party and Black Power Movement. These community-based activists advocated for "minority access to healthcare, education, housing and employment," but most importantly, YLO was "multiethnic and inclusive to African American, Latino/x, women, and LGTBQ membership" from its inception (Figure 3.1).[130]

This inclusivity became a hallmark of both the Chicano and Puerto Rican social movements, which formed a coalition as both groups recognized that they shared a common distrust of institutions manned by non-Latinos and they advocated for the same issues: "substandard housing, inferior health care, failing schools, dangerous and exploitative working conditions, and inadequate civil rights protection."[131] Decades, if not centuries of facing inequality and racism in the United States fostered a desire among these young activists to take control of their own resources, create their own social welfare programs and institutions, and to work together as a powerful voice and voting bloc. It was through this unification that the term and concept *Latino* was born, a pan-ethnic umbrella term that defied nationalities and encompassed all western hemisphere, Spanish-speaking immigrants in the United States whose shared experience was expatriation and the struggles it evoked. "Latino" was a self-affirming term created by Latinos/as for

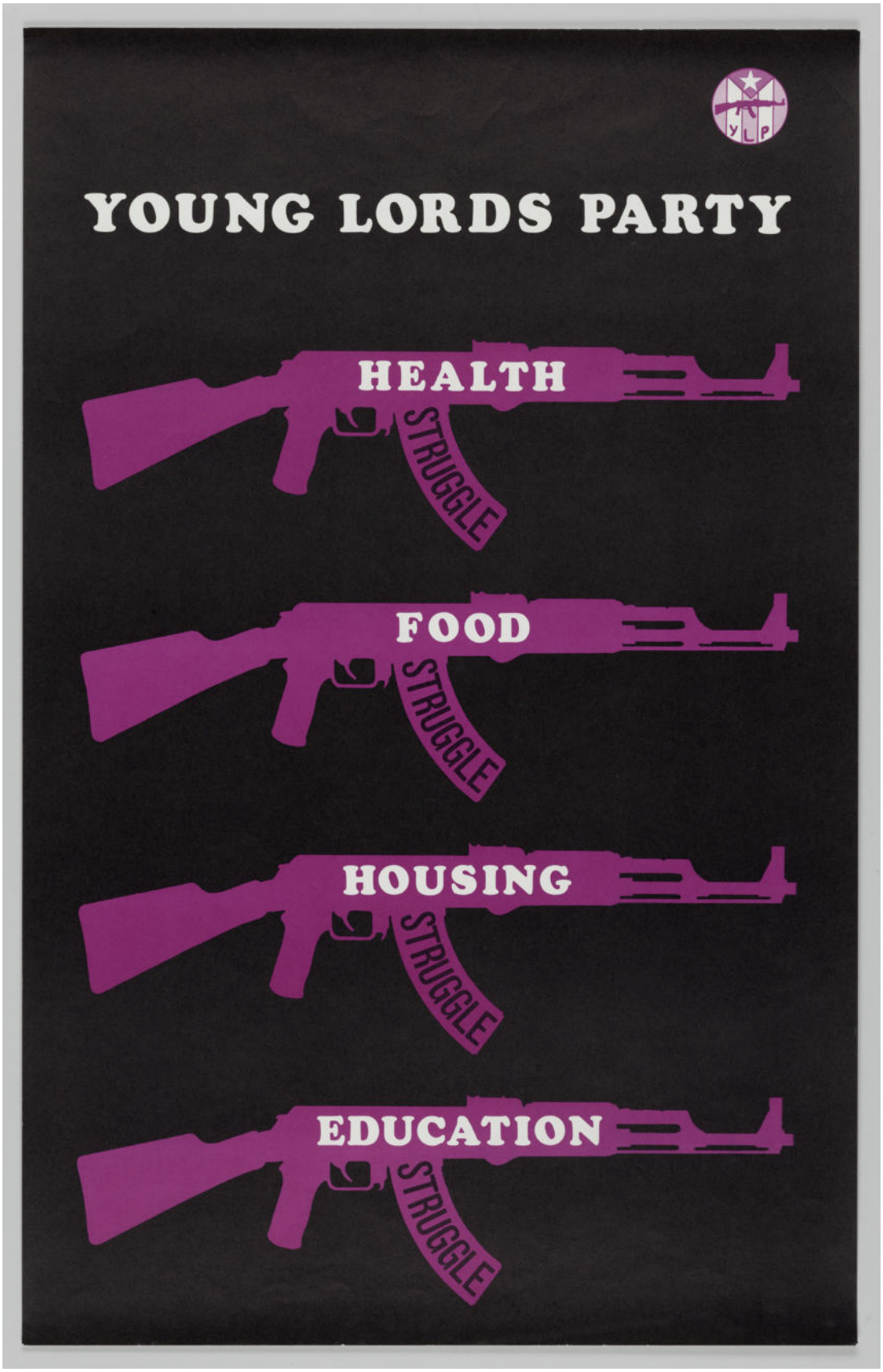


Figure 3.1: Young Lords Party poster, ca. 1971. Collection of the Smithsonian National Museum of African American History and Culture, purchased with funds provided by the Smithsonian Latino Initiatives Pool, administered by the Smithsonian Latino Center.[132]

Latinos/as, not one placed upon them by the hegemony such as the descriptive term "Hispanic," which also reeked of colonization. As Beltran asserted, the very use of the word *unida* (united) in the 1970 La Raza Unida Party speaks to "the belief that shared cultural identity is a sufficient basis for political action and mobilization," and the modern concept of *Latinidad*, or the concept of a Latino unity, "has its roots in the Chicano and Puerto Rican social movements of the late 1960s and early 1970s."[133]

The Civil Rights movement was dealt a devastating blow with the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. on April 4, 1968. The response in Washington, D.C. was rage and sorrow, as inhabitants released their grief by taking to the streets, culminating in four days (April 4-8) of civil unrest that exploded into rioting, looting, and arson. The damage was such that plumes of black smoke could be seen rising over the Capitol and martial law was declared. National Guard troops patrolled the streets after the anger subsided and fires were extinguished (Figure 3.2). Within days, on April 11, President Johnson signed into law the Civil Rights Act of 1968 (also known as the Fair Housing Act).[134] But the loss of King ended the era of passive resistance that had been the hallmark of the Civil Rights movement of the 1950s through mid-1960s, and ushered in the violent political action of the 1970s.

Navigating a Racialized Landscape

Segregation and racial discrimination were still widely felt in D.C. during the 1960s. Washington's racial divisions faced national and international scrutiny for "widely publicized racist incidents leading to diplomatic debacles…in particular when several dignitaries from newly independent African nations were refused service at Maryland and D.C. establishments on repeated occasions."[135] However, for the first time since its founding, Washington had an African American majority by 1960, and D.C.'s Black inhabitants had moved into sections of the District that had theretofore been off-limits to them, particularly in Wards 4 and 5. During the 1950s, as Blacks moved into formerly restricted, all-white neighborhoods, white-flight ensued and these neighborhoods experienced a radical transition from all-White to all-Black residency, with only a short period of racial overlap. Other residential areas, like Adams Morgan and Dupont Circle, had been racially diverse since the 1940s and continued to be so.[136]

Figure 3.2: National Guard at 7th and N streets NW, April 8, 1968. Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division.[137]

In other neighborhoods, the transition was less racially binary. Between 1960 and 1970, Mount Pleasant went from a majority white neighborhood to a racially mixed one.[138] After **PEPE GONZÁLEZ** moved here from Puerto Rico in 1963, he experienced Mount Pleasant as predominantly African American neighborhood, "the hardest neighborhood in D.C. known at that time. Hard. I mean, people could not walk into Mount Pleasant without getting robbed or beat up or both."[139] In interviews, González relates the difficulties he had acculturating to D.C. as a light-skinned Latino youth, and in these interviews, he often code switches between the street slang he learned from his African American neighbors and friends and the academic English associated with white America. His experiences underscore the difficulties in, as well as the choices made by Latino immigrants in acculturating within, the United States' strictly binary, racialized system as well as Latino strategies to mediate between two divided populations.

By 1960, D.C.'s Latino community had expanded more rapidly than it had in any previous decade,[140] fueled by émigrés who were leaving behind economic hardships and political strife for what they imagined was a better future. The era saw an uptick in both legal and illegal immigration from numerous countries, but none so large as the Cuban emigration: "virtually overnight the exodus of Cubans after the revolution created a major new Latino American population. Numbering fewer than 71,000 nationwide in 1950, the Cuban immigrant population shot up to 163,000 by 1960."[141] Cubans, who received favorable immigration status, tended to speak fluent English and generally adjusted well and quickly to life in the United States.[142] **LUIS RUMBAUT**, a Cuban-born lawyer, became an early leader of the local Latino community after emigrating to D.C. in 1962.[143] Rumbaut described the diaspora-creation process:

> The first person to arrive here from a given village sends his address back home, and he's the first stop when the next person arrives. One shabby apartment building just north of Ontario and Columbia roads is a de facto re-creation of a small village in the Zacapá province of Guatemala.[144]

This "push-and-pull" factor theory of how immigration works and diasporas are formed is reflected in the growth of *el barrio* starting in the early 1960s, particularly along the around the main commercial corridors of Columbia Road in Adams Morgan and Mount Pleasant Street in Mount Pleasant. **CASILDA LUNA**'s personal account of her arrival in D.C. in 1961 illustrates the tipping point at which a critical mass is met to create a palpable diasporan community. When she arrived from the Dominican Republic to work as a domestic for an American general, she did not recognize an organized Latino neighborhood, and in her recollections, most of the Latinos/as at the start of the decade were embassy employees (and mostly women) continuing the labor migrant tradition of the previous two decades. [145]Additionally, when the **BARNEY NEIGHBORHOOD HOUSE** relocated from southwest D.C. to the eastern edge of Mount Pleasant in 1960, it served a predominantly African American base.[146] But when employees Harry Struthers and Ann Houston were interviewed in 1982, they recalled that Mount Pleasant's population began leaning Hispanic in 1962 or 1963. With no Spanish-speaking social agencies in the neighborhood, the Barney Neighborhood House's director George Flannigan—who had worked with Casita Maria in New York—offered new programming to serve Latino children. The organization, at that time, had only one bilingual social worker on staff but, in 1966, it obtained United Planning Organization (UPO) funds to start a Spanish-Speaking Community program, which taught English as a Second Language (ESL) and assisted with career development.[147]

If the 1960s were a period of growth for D.C.'s Latino community, they were not without growing pains. The riots that shook Washington, D.C. from April 4-8, 1968—spurred by the assassination of Civil Rights leader Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.—were largely isolated to the African American neighborhoods in the northwest quadrant. Looting

and arson devastated the 14th Street corridor. Many locals lost their jobs, and the micro-economy suffered because a number of stores had been lost in the violence. The riots hastened white flight to the Maryland and Virginia suburbs that had been ongoing since the 1950s, and middle-class Latinos/as left the city in the wake of the destruction. With abandoned storefronts and entire apartment buildings empty, real-estate prices in the neighborhoods adjacent to 14th Street NW plummeted. Even more than they had previously, the neighborhoods of Adams Morgan and Mount Pleasant became appealing as "low housing prices attracted a diverse mix of young people, artists, musicians, and families fleeing political and economic turmoil in Central America, Southeast Asia and elsewhere."[148]

The relationship between the African Americans who had resided in these neighborhoods for decades and the Latino newcomers in the 1960s was often tense. Prejudice and fear of the other abounded on both sides, and as Barney Neighborhood House employees Houston and Struthers related in a 1982 interview, they could see tensions, isolationism, and self-segregation in their service work. As they recalled, the Barney Neighborhood House served all children—white, Black, and Latino—who, as very young kids, interacted with each other with ease; but as the children reached the age when they attended junior high school, divisions based on race (i.e., three distinct groups with only occasional integration) became readily apparent, and those divisions carried through to adulthood. This became evident at the Barney Neighborhood House when attendance from white and Black children began to decline as Latino children's numbers rose, and in the early 1980s, when the Barney Neighborhood House worked closely with the nearby Spanish Senior Center that had difficulty attracting white and Black senior participation.[149]

Recalling his youth in Mount Pleasant, González initially had trouble (was often in fights) with local youths as a light-skinned Latino in the early and mid-1960s. The racialized violence of the times, in turn, made him act violently, as he felt it was the only avenue open to him for surviving on mean streets. He and a couple of Latino friends made inroads with the African American youth in Mount Pleasant eventually, but he asserted that he would never venture east of 14th Street; to stay safe, they had to stay to the west of the racial dividing line, in the areas where he was known. He was 15 years old when the 1968 riots occurred, and he recalled that Latinos/as "were literally invisible for…about a whole week [and] even afterwards, unless they were going to work…"[150] Only he and two friends, Rudy and Ernie, ventured down to 14th Street during the four days of rioting. Perhaps because his older brother took him to Black Panther political awareness classes on 18th Street and Columbia Road when he was 13, González understood the frustration and rage palpable in the streets at that time. In interviews, González has stressed the importance of the African American struggle for recognition, equity, and parity as the shoulders on which Latino civil rights activism stands. González's efforts to rise above social divisions led him to co-form the first integrated jazz band in D.C., Zapata, which featured Latino and African American musicians. The band became very successful before it disbanded in 1974, opening for internationally renowned jazz musicians such as Miles Davis and Herbie Hancock. But in the early days, the band would play in bars in Anacostia, a center of D.C.'s African American community; scuffles would sometimes erupt in the audience when Zapata took the stage. Eventually the band's message of integration would calm the audience down so that they could enjoy the show.[151]

In Griffiths' recollections, instances of violence between Latino and African American youths fostered the creation of one of the Latino community's most seminal and earliest service organizations, the **LATIN AMERICAN YOUTH CENTER (LAYC)**. Before the establishment of the youth center in 1968, young Latinos/as would informally hang out at the Spanish Catholic Center, located on the first floor of the Kenesaw Apartment House. At one dance, African American youths showed up, angry that they had not been invited to the dance, and a fight ensued. The damage done to the Spanish Catholic

Center's space led Father Rutilio del Riego to tell the Latino youths the next day that the Spanish Catholic Center was a social service agency, not a youth center, and that the kids were no longer welcome. With nowhere to congregate, young Latinos/as gathered in the greenspace south of the Shrine of the Sacred Heart and in the streets, which unfortunately led to some becoming involved in drugs and petty crime. When the riots in April 1968 occurred, the violence highlighted the turbulence of race relations in a still very segregated city in that period. As Griffiths recalled in 2024, after the riots, "the city was more open to help, to assist the youth that were sort of left out for many years…the riots led to a feeling that we need to deal with the young people. We need to build their capacity."[152] Following the April riots, in September 1968, the brand new Lincoln Junior High School at 16th and Irving streets was only open for three days before the Latino and African American students rioted. The damage was so extensive (broken windows, etc.), that the school was immediately closed and remained so while it was repaired. When it reopened, however, several Latino parents were hesitant to let their children return. At the same time, the Lincoln Junior High School riot got the attention of bureaucrats in the local D.C. government, making some aware that Latinos/as were a growing (and vulnerable) population in Wards 1 and 2. **GARRY GARBER** was a Chicano boxer from California and a University of Maryland graduate who had been working with at-risk Latino youth at the Spanish Catholic Center as the first agent of the D.C. Department of Parks and Recreation's Roving Leader Program. He hired Griffiths to help him create a summer program for Latino youths. At first, the two went door to door, trying to convince parents to send their kids back to Lincoln when it reopened. The two created an after-school program called the Courtesy Patrol, which was funded by the Department of Parks and Recreation. In the summer of 1969, Garber and Griffiths held an open-air summer program in the yard fronting Lincoln Junior High School, which was so popular that by 1971, the two decided that they needed a physical space for an all-season youth center. With the assistance of **ROBERTO BAQUERIZO**, who was a Masters candidate at Catholic University at the time, they prepared a proposal for the D.C. Office of Youth Opportunity Services. It was approved, and the LAYC was born (Figure 3.3).[153]

In coming to and settling down in Washington, D.C., Latinos/as could not escape the legacy of repression and violence inherent to America's centuries-long, binary racial paradigm. Racism shaped how Latinos/as navigated the segregated built environment and how they formed social bonds with the white and Black native populations (and even with each other). Too often, Latinos/as' experiences with D.C. natives were negative, marked by mutual distrust, prejudice, and violence. But as their political and social awareness grew, Latinos/as came to understand that they shared similar plights and fortunes with D.C.'s African American community, and solidarity grew. As Cadaval and Reinhard phrased it:

> The emergence of Washington's multi-ethnic Latino community as a community distinct from but parallel to the city's larger African-American community coincided with a period of neighborhood activism and civil rights empowerment. The two communities shared the same space and similar circumstances. The goals, strategies, and successes of the black civil rights movement inspired other minority leaders, including the Latinos in Washington. These Latino leaders drew from existing strategies of neighborhood organization and public street manifestation in efforts to unify and mobilize the capital's diverse multicultural Spanish-speaking population.[154]

LATIN AMERICAN YOUTH CENTER

Established in 1968 by Garry Garber and Arturo Griffiths as an outgrowth of the D.C. Recreation Department's Roving Leader Program, the LAYC was founded "to address the needs of disenfranchised youth in an emerging Latino community" and which "Over the decades…has developed numerous, successful programs and achieved a wide range of goals related to helping Latino youth and the community." (Sprehn-Malagón et al. 2014: 45) The founders of the LAYC identified a need—an absence of services for Latino youth—and offered, in LAYC's embryonic stage, educational and vocational activities as after-school and summer programming, held in multiple locations across Wards 1 and 2. In June 1971, the LAYC was firmly established when the founding partners received funding from the D.C. Office of Youth Opportunity Services and the LAYC (newly named as such) opened its doors at 2325 18th Street NW. With enough money to rent a large space for $200 per month (the rent was low because the area was still deserted following the 1968 riots) and pay for programming, the LAYC hired Erasmo Lara as its first director (1972-1973). By 1974, José Sueiro became the organization's second director (1974-1976) and oversaw its move to rented space at 2700 Ontario Street NW. In that building, the LAYC shared the second floor with Roberto Baquerizo and his staff at the Spanish Education Development (SED) Center. That same year, the LAYC received 501(c)(3) status as a non-profit organization. By 1975, the LAYC found a permanent home in the former manse of the Central Presbyterian Church at 3045 15th Street NW, which by that point had become the Woodrow Wilson Center. In 1978, the LAYC received funding from the D.C. Department of Employment Services, which enabled the organization to offer vocational training programs in automotive mechanics, catering, and clerical skills. This young-adult educational programming expanded to ESL and General Education Development (GED) classes as well as after-school and summer employment programs. In the early 1980s, the fine arts (mural painting, street theater, monthly newspaper publishing, and music lessons) became a focus of LAYC programming as the organization worked closely with El Centro de Arte. By the mid-1980s, Lori Kaplan started her three-decade tenure as the organization's CEO, and the LAYC initiated mental health counseling and social service programs to help traumatized youth from Central America fleeing war. It also designed a course to promote youth leadership and advocacy in this period. By the early 1990s, LAYC was creating programs in response to rising problems with gang violence, teen pregnancy and homelessness, and drug abuse. In 1998, the LAYC moved into its current home at 1419 Columbia Road NW. Today, with satellite campuses in Maryland, the LAYC services the evolving needs of the area's Black, Latino, and immigrant families. Lupi Quinteros-Grady has served as CEO since 2018. (Griffiths 2024. "About Us," *Latin American Youth Center:* https://www.layc-dc.org/history).

Figure 3.3: Cover of the first LAYC newsletter, August 1971. Courtesy of the Anacostia Community Museum, Smithsonian Institution.[155]

Employment and Commerce

As in previous decades, embassies and global institutions continued to attract foreign nationals to D.C., and a number of these privileged diplomatic or international-agency families either brought or recruited domestic staff from Latin America. Women continued to compose the bulk of labor migrants to D.C. through the 1960s, and Central Americans were increasingly sponsored by families to come work in domestic service or in childcare. If these women did not reside in their employers' homes, they settled in Latino enclaves, typically in Mount Pleasant and Adams Morgan.[156] At the same time, the Washington metropolitan area's institutions of higher learning were responsible for attracting scholars and students from Latin America.[157]

From the pioneering era of the 1940s and 1950s through the 1960s, the storefronts on 14th Street served as the primary commercial center for residents in northwest D.C. (Figure 3.4). As González recalled, "Now, that strip on 14th Street used to be 'Nuestro Centro', our center. The Centro de Washington. You could go down there in downtown…but it took too long to get down there and you had to catch a bus… We could go to 14th Street where they had all of the affordable shops [that] catered to the Blacks and other Latinos. [But] of course, most of it was burned during the riots."[158] As Mount Pleasant resident Charlene Howard recalled, "After the '68 riots, there wasn't anything up here. We were lucky we had a grocery store…after the riots, everything pretty much changed."[159]

Figure 3.4: Shoppers crossing 14th Street at Park Road NW, 1965. Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division.[160]

Howard also recalled that there were family-owned and operated, independent, small businesses on Mount Pleasant Street at that time.[161] The opening of small businesses that cater to a specific clientele has always been a bellwether of the growth of a demographic, in which case it can be said the year 1962 was a watershed one for D.C.'s Latino business community. That year, **CASA DILONÉ** opened in a two-story dwelling with a storefront at 3161 Mount Pleasant Street NW (Figure 3.5).[162] Considered the first bodega in Mount Pleasant, the grocery was opened by **FRANCISCA MARRERO-DÁVILA DILONÉ (1932-1998)**, from Puerto Rico, and her husband **FÉLIX ANTONIO DILONÉ (1923-1975)**, a native of the Dominican Republic. The couple and their six children, who helped mind the store, lived in the apartment above the business. The store "quickly [became] the social center for the city's Spanish-speaking community and... attracted Latino residents to the neighborhood."[163] Until it closed in 1998, Casa Diloné carried produce and goods from the Caribbean and Latin America that appealed to immigrants and embassy staff. Its location attracted more Latino businesses to Mount Pleasant Street, which became secondary only to the Columbia Road and 18th Street commercial corridors as the center of Latino commerce in the 1970s and 1980s.[164]

Figure 3.5: East side of the 3100 block of Mount Pleasant Street, with Casa Diloné located on the right-hand side of the pair of two-story commercial buildings with Dutch gable roofs, shown in the center of this photograph. Photograph by Stefan Zweig ca. 1980. Courtesy of the D.C. History Center.[165]

The Spanish-cuisine restaurant **EL BODEGÓN** also opened in Dupont Circle in 1962.[166] Founded by the Callahans following the popularity of their earlier restaurant, La Fonda, El Bodegón specifically served Spanish cuisine, breaking from the pan-ethnic or international menus that characterized Latino restaurants in D.C. in the 1940s and 1950s. El Bodegón also featured flamenco nights with **TORCUATO ZAMORA HERRADA**, a classically-trained Spanish guitarist who emigrated in the early 1960s and is credited with popularizing flamenco in D.C. He also played at La Fonda, next door, and both restaurants featured other notable musicians from the 1950s through the 1960s, including Cuban bassist Luis Salome. The Callahans operated El Bodegón until its closure in March 1997.[167]

Resulting from a confluence of variables in the postwar era, Latino migration increased in the mid-1960s. Although D.C.'s Latino community was estimated at 10,000 persons in 1960, when **GUSTAVO SULVAGA** arrived in the District (from Colombia by way of Los Angeles) in 1966, the Latino population in the city was estimated between 30,000 and 40,000 people. Migration further accelerated after 1968-1970.[168] This influx also resulted in more Latino businesses: "Latino business and commerce exploded, becoming the fastest growing sector of the U.S. small business community."[169] Most of the commercial ventures in this period were operated by Latinos/as for a Latino clientele, and businesses could range from tailor and shoe repair shops to barbershops. In Adams Morgan in 1967, "Alberto's dry cleaning shop [displayed] a *se habla espanol* sign" in the window.[170] One business that attested to the Latinidad of Mount Pleasant by 1969 was El Latino Esso Station at 3150 Mount Pleasant Street.[171]

However, a number of D.C. Latino businesses in the mid- to late 1960s continued to be associated with food service, including bodegas (or grocery stores that sold Latin American products, like La Casa del Pueblo, opened circa 1965) and restaurants. The new businesses in this period reflected the changing demographics of the community, such as **BAZAAR NELLY**, a neighborhood bodega opened by Cuban immigrants, and **EL CARIBE** and **OMEGA**,[172] both Cuban restaurants established circa 1963-1965. El Caribe grew to be so popular that the owners opened a second location in Georgetown in 1978 and a third branch in Bethesda, Maryland, before shuttering in D.C. in 1992.[173]

Religion and Education

Religion and parochial education continued to play seminal roles in the lives of Latino émigrés through the 1960s. Many Latin American immigrants in D.C. during this period were Catholic, and the Archdiocese of Washington quickly realized that Latinos/as constituted an important and growing polity that should be served. In 1966, Father Virgilio Zaroli and Father Armando Jimenez began to offer (with the Archbishop's approval) Spanish and Portuguese masses in the chapel of the **CATHEDRAL LATIN HIGH SCHOOL**,[174] which was the Archdiocese of Washington's preparatory seminary school. Within one year, attendance to the Spanish-language services grew so that nearly 300 worshippers would go to mass with **FATHER LEO BEATO** each Sunday. The chapel was nicknamed "La Capilla Latina" (the Latin Chapel) for its popularity among the Latino community. As Scallen wrote, the services at La Capilla Latina "offer[ed] new arrivals a means to connect in their native languages and opportunities to forge meaningful bonds in a safe and welcoming environment in addition to serving as a key site for both pastoral and civic activities geared towards empowering the immigrant population."[175] Following the success of La Capilla Latina (and advocacy from members of the Latino community), other area Catholic churches began offering masses in Spanish, including the Shrine of the Sacred Heart in 1967, the Cathedral of St. Matthew the Apostle at 1725 Rhode Island Avenue NW and St. Thomas the Apostle Church in Woodley Park.[176]

The Archdiocese of Washington's outreach to D.C.'s Latino community was expanded further in

December 1967, when the **SPANISH CATHOLIC CENTER** (El Centro Católico Hispano, or simply Centro Católico) opened in the first floor of the Kenesaw Apartment House on 16th Street.[177] Under the leadership of Father Beato, the Spanish Catholic Center offered ESL courses, after-school tutoring for children, and other services meant to assist new arrivals. As it grew, the Spanish Catholic Center broadened its scope of services to advise on legal matters, including immigration and housing, and to provide healthcare. It also served, briefly, as a gathering place for Latino youth. The Spanish Catholic Center is considered the first social services agency for the expatriate Latin American community in D.C.[178]

The growth of a larger and more diverse Latino community is reflected in programming at the **NATIONAL BAPTIST MEMORIAL CHURCH** on Columbia Road, which began offering services in Spanish circa 1964 (Figure 3.6).[179] That same year, an organization of Latino religious groups was formed through the efforts of Reverend Cagin, Pedro Arroverri, Marcelino Garcia, and Nilda del Villar. Early leaders in the D.C. Latino community, they lobbied the National Baptist Memorial Church for space to offer a lecture series on the various religious practices among Latinos/as in D.C. Around the same time (circa 1966), two women described as evangelical missionaries[180]—Sheila Hargraves and Zulay Carmona, who came from Costa Rica—arranged for another congregation space for Latino Protestant worshippers. The Central Presbyterian Church at 15th and Irving streets leased space in its educational annex to a group of Spanish-speaking supplicants overseen by a Puerto Rican pastor, Miguel Ángel Morales. By 1968, the **REVEREND ANTONIO WELTY**, a Colombian, replaced Morales as pastor of the Spanish-speaking congregants. Under Welty's pastoral service, the congregation became larger and called itself the Good Shepherd United Presbyterian Church (or, la Iglesia Presbiteriana Unida del Buen Pastor).[181]

In the early 1960s, religion and activism began to coalesce in D.C. **The POTTER'S HOUSE**[182] was opened in a storefront on Columbia Road in 1960.

Figure 3.6: National Baptist Memorial Church, 16th Street and Columbia Road NW, 2010. Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, photograph by Carol M. Highsmith.[183]

It was conceived by Mary and Gordon Cosby, who served as the pastor of the Church of the Savior, "as an alternative, non-profit restaurant and meeting space."[184] With the aura of an intellectual café or bookstore where ideas were exchanged, the Potter's House served not only as a meeting place for activists, but as a business incubator: later, in the 1980s, the owners would seed a number of local, social support organizations, such as Mary's Center and Family Place, which largely served the Latino community, as well as Jubilee, Columbia Road Health Services, Christ House, and Joseph's House.[185] **ALL SOULS UNITARIAN CHURCH** became a center for political activism in the 1960s, and would grow to become an important institution for D.C.'s Latinos/as through the next two decades (Figure 3.7).[186] Within the Latino community, All Souls Church was seen as a focal point for the progressive movement at the height of the Civil Rights era. Suann Hecht and Charlene Howard both recalled the programs that

All Souls Church provided for the entire community, including educational lectures (they frequently featured speakers on Civil Rights advocacy) and music or dance classes for neighborhood children. Furthermore, All Souls Church offered community meeting space in the ground-floor of their building. Howard emphasized All Souls' role as one of "two big venues in terms of politics, education. In terms of educating the community about neighborhood issues, world issues, and national issues, All Souls Church was like a haven."[187]

Figure 3.7: All Souls Unitarian Church, 16th and Harvard streets NW, 2010. Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, photograph by Carol M. Highsmith.[188]

Secular education was still primarily in the hands of the D.C. Public School system. The Adams School continued to host the Americanization School through the early 1960s, but most non-native children attended neighborhood primary and secondary schools. Howard grew up in Mount Pleasant in the early 1960s, after her family moved into a house on Hobart Street. She attended H.D. Cooke Elementary School in Adams Morgan, which had an international student body: her school friends hailed from Pakistan, El Salvador, and Panama. Unfortunately, few pedagogical accommodations were made for non-English speakers in this era, and Latino children had difficulties entering and succeeding in the public school system. From 1963 to 1969, the Barney Neighborhood House offered English classes for school-age children to supplement their educations. The Barney Neighborhood House also worked closely with the Sacred Heart School, which had a large population of Latino children in this era and later.[189]

Assimilation was also the praxis at Sacred Heart Elementary. Carmen Marrero Doren, who attended the school from 1959 to 1964, recalled:

> *As for Hispanics at Sacred Heart School, there were a significant number back in the 50s and early 60s. Once the Dominicans pulled out and the Franciscan order took hold, there's been an exponential increase of Hispanics in attendance, as more and more settled into Mount Pleasant. The early Hispanics attending Sacred Heart were predominantly of Dominican and Puerto Rican descent. ...We were taught Latin and English. We were discouraged from speaking Spanish. None of the nuns spoke Spanish. French was the universal language at the time; the Latin was so we could pray and understand the prayers. As for our cultural backgrounds, nada, zippo, rien. We were Americans. Not Hispanic-American nor Latin American. Just Americans.*[190]

Arts, Media, and Leisure

As early as 1960, Spanish-language films were being shown in the **COLONY THEATRE** on Georgia Avenue (Figure 3.8).[191] On Sunday, December 11, 1960, a special, one-day-only viewing of two Spanish-language films—*Mujeres de Fuego* and *Viva la Parranda*—was advertised in the local newspaper, *The Evening Star*.[192] From that day forward for the next few years, there were weekly advertisements for Spanish-language films at the Colony Theatre, such as the advertisement in the January 22 and January 29, 1961, issues of *The Evening Star* announcing to "Spanish Students, the Colony Theatre, 4935 GA. AVE. NW, TU

2-9757, is showing Spanish, Sound, First Run '10 Commandments.' Starts Jan. 30, 1961, starring Charleton Heston."[193] But the Colony Theatre was not the only cinema in town to capitalize on Spanish-language film audiences: in March 1961, the movie *Pepe*, starring the Mexican comedian Cantinflas, which had been nominated for seven academy awards, was presented in "continuous performances" at the Trans-Lux Theatre at 14th Street between H Street and New York Avenue NW.[194] The **AMBASSADOR THEATRE** on Columbia Road, before it ceased operations as a cinema in 1967, also screened Spanish-language films.[195] Spanish-language films rose in popularity at the start of the decade, perhaps because, as Scallen stated, "Theaters showing Spanish-language films drew a broad cross-section of area Latinos, bridging economic divisions and national rivalries by appealing to shared cultural experiences."[196]

COLONY THEATRE
4935 Georgia Ave. at Farragut
NO. 7-4484 and TU. 2-9757
"LA CUCARACHA," Maria Felix and Dolores del Rio, dramatic color picture about the Mexican Revolution, and "AMORES REALES," Paquita Rico, Spanish movie in color. Fridays, 8:00; Saturdays and Sundays continuous from 2:00. March 29 (one night only), sensational German Film, "LUDWIG II" and DEUTSCHE VOLKSBRAEUCHE (both in Color).

Figure 3.8: Ad for the Colony Theatre in The Evening Star, 1962. Library of Congress, Chronicling America.[197]

Local lore has it that Carlos Rosario started renting theater space at the Colony Theatre to show family-friendly Spanish-language films and hold meetings for D.C.'s Latino community in 1962. González recalled that on Sundays at 3 pm, the Colony Theatre would show Cantinflas films, and members of the Latino community would go see a film after church services. At the beginning of each film, Rosario would ask the audience whether anyone needed work or a place to live, and if so, they should come speak with him after the viewing; thus, the leisure gathering would also function as a way to support new arrivals and identify their needs. Within a few years, Rosario rented the **ONTARIO THEATRE** on Columbia Road and moved his viewings there.[198] These Spanish-language film viewings became a significant leisure pastime for D.C.'s Latino community that continued well into the 1980s, at which time as many as 400 people would attend.[199]

Per Cadaval, D.C.'s older Latino leaders "agree that the Latino community basically grew around three focal points: an Italian-owned store on Columbia Road; Saturday night dances in individual homes and church basements; and Spanish-language films at the Colony Theater on Georgia Avenue."[200] Rosario was responsible for organizing community dances in the basement recreational spaces of churches—such as the Saturday night dances at St. Stephen and the Incarnation Episcopal Church on Newton Street in Columbia Heights—but also in rented hotel ballrooms, such as at the Omni Shoreham Hotel on Calvert Street.[201] At these parties, Latinos and Latinas from different countries and backgrounds met, courted, and married. Through such means, "Rosario and other community leaders tapped into the deep Latin American cultural traditions of *compadrazgo*, a kinship system based on mutual assistance and reciprocity, to stitch together a web of social and later political support for the burgeoning Latino community in the District."[202]

Musical entertainment in restaurants, clubs, and bars was also a common leisure activity in this period. The Spanish guitarist Torcuato Zamora Herrada performed to accompany flamenco dancers at El Bodegón after it opened in 1962, but as the decade progressed and through the 1970s, he performed in other D.C. restaurants, including as El Caribe. González recalled the long-standing popularity among Latinos/as of The Oasis, a restaurant at 3171 Mount Pleasant Street that had turned its basement into a music venue for Rock and Roll bands in the early 1960s. In the late 1970s, the Chicano Lounge occupied the subterranean space.[203]

JEAN MARIE BUTLER/MARIA RODRIGUEZ (1926-1998)

Born Jean Marie Butler in Cleveland, Ohio, this classical and jazz piano teacher, arranger, accompanist, and composer married Tito Rodriguez after coming to D.C. in the 1950s. She performed under the name Maria Rodriguez with her Afro-Latino musical groups, La Jazz and Maria Rodriguez y Sus Magnificos. Rodriguez was one of the first African American women to graduate from Oberlin College and New York's Dalcroze School of Music. As Pepe González said of Rodriguez, "She was a pillar of our community, artistic community. She nurtured so many generations by taking us out of the street, including me, and showing us music." A mural, *The Birth of Our Dreams*, was painted at the historic Military Road School at 1375 Missouri Avenue NW by the Argentinian painter and sculptor Cecilia Lueza in Rodriguez's honor in 2014. (Dobuzinskis 2014. González 2024. "Jazz Musician Jean Marie Butler Dies," WP 1998).

Circa 1968, the integrated jazz band Zapata with another band, Father's Children, started performing outdoor concerts in **KALORAMA PARK**, which hosted events as part of the NPS's "Summer in the Parks" programming initiated by Congress that year.[204] González, Zapata's bassist, recalled that the concerts brought the local African American and Latino communities together, and that Kalorama Park was filled with people when they performed. By the third summer, concert-goers spilled into the streets, which brought Zapata to the NPS's attention; Zapata members were asked whether they had a permit to perform in the park, and as they had not, that put an end to Zapata's popular outdoor shows.[205]

Open spaces such as parks, both large and small, were and continue to be important to D.C.'s Latino community. González stated that **UNITY PARK** (or the Triangle Park) on Columbia Road and **RABAUT PARK** (or Pigeon Park) on Harvard Street were open-air, passive-recreational spaces in the city where Latinos/as would meet, talk, and generally enjoy leisure time outdoors.[206] In warm weather, "those parks were flourishing."[207] Kalorama Park in the 1960s and the 1970s was a main greenspace for African Americans and Latinos/as in the barrio, as was **MERIDIAN HILL PARK** (also known as Malcolm X Park) (Figure 3.9).[208] People would gather in these parks for picnics, or to play a little impromptu soccer. Meridian Hill/Malcolm X Park was often the start or end location for organized political marches downtown as well.[209]

Latino media in D.C. also began to take root in the 1960s. As scholar Félix F. Gutiérrez described it, "Latino media are produced by, for, or about Latinos and their communities," and the typology encompasses a diverse range of products that "[share] news and information that is both local and international, [offer] entertainment, and [provide] avenues for advertisers to reach consumers."[210] In terms of print media in the mid-1960s, *The Hispanic Voice* was founded as a community newsletter.[211] But radio made the largest strides in this decade. As early as 1960, the radio station WFAN (which had call numbers first at 100.3 FM and then 1340 AM) played Latin music, and from 1966-1978, WFAN featured Spanish-language programming (Figure 3.10).[212] An article in the September 19, 1966, special issue of the trade publication *Broadcasting* described how,

> WFAB owner Richard Eaton operates WFAN (FM), a 100% Spanish-language outlet in the capital. The Washington market is characterized as "most diversified," numbering perhaps 80,000 Spanish-speaking people from every Spanish-speaking nation. About 50,000 of these are regarded as permanent, others are on 'temporary' duty, which can last in some cases for many years.[213]

An advertisement placed in this issue claimed that WFAN was "on top of the Washington D.C. Spanish

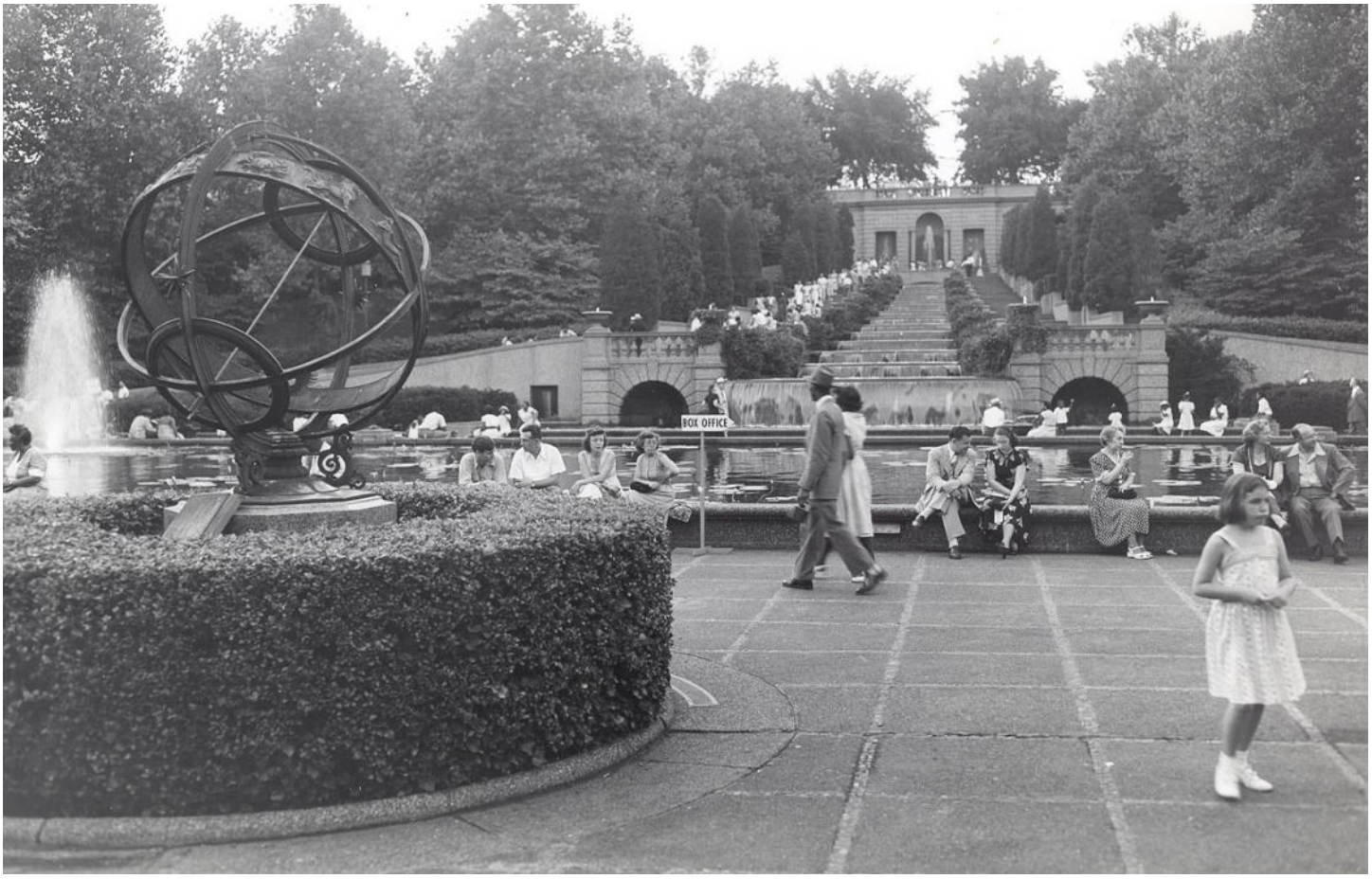


Figure 3.9: Meridian Hill Park ca. 1960. Courtesy of the National Park Service.[214]

Market."[215] This supremacy was reflected in a 1978 *Washington Post* article, in which the journalist emphasized the importance of WFAN as D.C.'s "only Spanish-language radio station…linking the Latin immigrant community to its roots with words and music."[216] Unfortunately, the community lost WFAN that year to a complicated and scandalous lawsuit between Eaton/the United Broadcasting Company and the Washington Community Broadcasting interest group. But the closure of WFAN did not occur without protest from D.C.'s Latino community: Silverio Coy, who headed the Washington Metropolitan Coalition Pro-Radio Latina said that the loss of WFAN was "a matter of survival as a community…[that would] affect 150,000 people, many of [whom] are illiterate and the radio is their only vehicle of communication."[217] At the time, Coy's coalition was seeking an alternative outlet through WGTB, the college radio station at Georgetown University, which was also shutting down and was offered to the University of the District of Columbia (UDC); if UDC passed on the offer, then the station would go to the Archdiocese of Washington, which agreed to fund and operate Spanish-language programming.

In terms of Latino public art in D.C., the 1960s were bereft save for the addition of two public statues. The first was the bronze figure of Queen Isabella of Spain, set in front of the OAS building on 17th Street NW and dedicated on April 14, 1966. Cast by sculptor Jose Luis Sanchez, the statue was a gift from the Institute of Hispanic Culture of Madrid through the Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs. The Benito Juárez Memorial was added to the Statues of Liberators set in 1969.[218] The figural sculpture in bronze honors the 26th President of Mexico, Benito Juárez (1806-1872), and is a cast of the original sculpted by Enrique Alciati in 1891. It was a gift from the government of Mexico to commemorate the country's sesquicentennial.[219] Despite the lack

of Latino public art in this decade, they and the fine arts would flourish in the next.

Health and Social Services

Although the Spanish Catholic Center (founded in 1967 by the Archdiocese of Washington) is considered the oldest Latino service agency in the barrio, there were other (non-parochial) organizations that assisted Latino immigrants beforehand. The Barney Neighborhood House, which had relocated to 16th Street in 1960, received United Planning Organization (UPO) funds in 1966 to start their Spanish-Speaking Community program, which taught ESL to new arrivals and assisted Latinos/as with attaining work and career development. On 14th Street there was a neighborhood development center—the **CARDOZO HEIGHTS ASSOCIATION FOR NEIGHBORHOOD GROWTH AND ENRICHMENT (CHANGE, INC.)**[220]—founded in 1966, which was also funded by the UPO. It took over the Barney Neighborhood House's Spanish-Speaking Community program after 1968 and was "the first job training program to include Latinos."[221]

The **EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR UNITED LATIN AMERICANS (EOFULA)** was founded in 1967 and incorporated in 1969, although it made its largest contribution in the 1970s, when it opened a senior citizens center.[222] Rosario was affiliated with and instrumental in the latter two organizations, leveraging "the social capital he created to rally for the rights of the city's burgeoning Latinx population" and "adamant that the Spanish-speaking community receive its fair share of federal and city funding."[223] Although social and political

Figure 3.10: Ad for WFAN in The Evening Star, 1960. Library of Congress, Chronicling America.[224]

organizations that aided members of the nascent Latino community were few in the 1960s, their number would grow exponentially in the 1970s and form the basis for the formation of a cohesive Latino community in the District of Columbia.

Housing

On the topic of housing in the barrio, both González and Griffiths recalled that some Latinos/as had "big houses, like on Hobart Street in Mount Pleasant, [and] on Kenyon Street."[225] The single-family houses were either owned or rented, and a few Latino homeowners converted their dwellings into rooming houses, leasing bedrooms and basement apartments to Latino individuals or families. But the majority of new arrivals rented the more-affordable apartments in the numerous apartment buildings located in Adams Morgan and Mount Pleasant. Starting in the 1960s and accelerating in successive decades, "Latinos settled mostly in apartment buildings and shared houses on the southeast side of [Mount Pleasant], adjacent to Adams Morgan, where the Spanish-speaking population was growing even more dramatically."[226] **THE IMPERIAL** on Columbia Road was a predominantly-Latino apartment building, a popular destination for Puerto Ricans, Dominicans, and Cubans arriving in the 1960s.[227] Five adjacent, once-luxury apartment buildings developed between 1905 and 1909 on Mount Pleasant Street offered affordable housing options for new arrivals from Latin America and elsewhere in the latter half of the twentieth century. They included the New Bloomfield (now the **ADELANTE COOP**) at 3149 Mount Pleasant Street;[228] the Monticello at 3151; the Mount Pleasant at 3155; and the Chesterfield and the Winston, which were connected in 1958 and renamed the **DEAUVILLE APARTMENTS**, at 3145 (Figures 3.11 and 3.12).[229]

Figure 3.11: The New Bloomfield (now Adelante Coop), 3149 Mount Pleasant Street NW. Photograph by Zachary Burt, March 2025. Courtesy of the D.C. Preservation League.

Figure 3.12: The Deauville Apartments (now the Monsenor Romero Apartments), 3145 Mount Pleasant Street NW. Photograph by Zachary Burt, March 2025. Courtesy of the D.C. Preservation League.

In 1960, the top five neighborhoods with the highest percentage of residents with Spanish surnames were Dupont Circle, Georgetown, Petworth, Reed-Cooke, and Columbia Heights between 14th and 16th streets, Florida Avenue and Spring Road. Census Tract 40, which is the heart of Adams Morgan, came in at number 10, with 0.7% of its population having Hispanic heritage.[230] By 1970, Adams Morgan was the number one neighborhood in all of D.C. with Spanish-American residents, at 11.4% (followed by Foggy Bottom, Kalorama Triangle, Reed-Cooke, and Friendship Heights).[231] The dramatic increase of Spanish speakers in Adams Morgan through the 1960s shifted the heart of the barrio from Dupont Circle northward; this was reflected not only in residency, but in the growth of Latino businesses on Columbia Road and 18th Street in Adams Morgan during the same period. The demographics would shift again to Mount Pleasant and Columbia Heights between 1970 and 1980. Crucially, however, even in the 1960s, these Ward 1 neighborhoods were thought of as a way station: Latino new arrivals would settle there for the neighborhood's affordability and familiarity (surrounded as they were by other Spanish speakers and immigrants). But within one to three years, after successful acculturation and economic improvement, many moved out into the Washington area suburbs.[232] This pattern is reflected in the personal story of **NORMA SMALL-WARREN**, who emigrated from Panama in 1964 in order to matriculate at Howard University. Initially, Norma and her mother, Olga Small, lived at 1431 Euclid Street NW in Columbia Heights. Eventually, mother and daughter moved into an apartment in Mount Pleasant, in a 1917 apartment building at 3426 16th Street NW. Norma Small-Warren stayed in that apartment until she married, and then she and her husband purchased a 1929 rowhouse up in Sixteenth Street Heights. The couple lived there for seven years, but when they had their second child, they moved to suburban Maryland.[233] This typically middle-class suburban flight accelerated after the 1968 riots. Thus, the Latinidad of the barrio was always fragile, shifting, and somewhat transient.

Politics, Governance, and Economic Development

Through the 1960s, D.C.'s nascent Latino community was bound together through self-selection. Spanish-speaking immigrants met and interacted in grocery stores and retail shops that catered to their consumer needs and wants; in churches that offered Spanish-language services and classes; and in social milieus, such as parties, dances, and at cinemas showing Spanish-language films. Community leaders such as Rosario sought to forge Latinidad, or a pan-Latin identity, among a diverse and fragmented Spanish-speaking population through cultural and leisure pursuits that brought individuals together. Political consciousness percolated amidst members of the community who were active in the Civil Rights Movement and in supporting the growing Latino community; but, on the whole, the organizing actions were small. Casilda Luna, for example, would host regular meetings in her apartment in which Latinos/as would discuss the various social ills affecting the D.C. community. These salons were a means of collectively considering larger issues and of organizing, but they did not extend beyond the periphery of the barrio.[234] But by the end of the decade, when a critical mass was palpable in Adams Morgan and Mount Pleasant, "the Latino population of the District took a more vocal and public presence in the city's affairs," and "leaders such as Carlos Rosario, Antonio Welty, longtime activist Casilda Luna, and others sought increased political clout in local affairs and recognition from District officials, utilizing personal pressure and high-profile public actions to achieve their goals."[235]

In 1968, the **COMMITTEE FOR AID AND DEVELOPMENT OF LATIN AMERICA IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL (CADOLANCA)**[236] was founded by Reverend Welty and Rosario. A *Directory of Spanish Speaking Organizations in the United States* published that year described the organization's objectives as "Assist[ing] the Spanish speaking in filling out tax forms, and with immigration problems. Referral through proper channels for such services as health, welfare, housing, education, employment, etc. Establish programs for English classes and skills."[237] This early community organization was conceived as a means of building coalition support and bringing the issues of Latino residents to the attention of local government. Growing out of the Civil Rights movement, it was a grassroots, participatory, advocacy group intended to inspire Latinos/as living in D.C. to vocalize and demand their civic and legal rights.[238]

Following the 1968 riots, after which some middle-class Latinos/as left the city, Rosario politically pressured the federally-appointed mayor of Washington, D.C.—Walter Washington—to address the outstanding needs and barriers Latinos/as in the District faced in acculturation and economic upward mobility. With the assistance of Senator Joseph Montoya (a Democrat elected from New Mexico and the only Latino member of Congress at the time), Rosario was able to achieve headway: the D.C. Council held a hearing to address the obstacles faced by the local Latino community, and in 1969, Mayor Washington created the 15-member **SPANISH COMMUNITY ADVISORY COMMITTEE**, led by Rosario. Nestled within the D.C. Office of Human Relations, the committee was provided funding through Congressional appropriations.[239] The committee "focus[ed] on economic and social improvement, advocating for city and federal funds for poverty assistance, job training, language services, health care, and legal aid," and forged coalitions "with African American activists in the District to advance common agendas for minority rights while at the same time appropriating methods of organizing and direct action honed in the black freedom struggle to advance their own political agenda."[240] In summation, the Latino community in D.C. became politically active in the 1960s and began to organize as a polity by the end of the decade, a trend that would expand with the growth of by-Latinos-for-Latinos service agencies in the 1970s.

Conclusion

In the period 1960-1969, Latin American Spanish-speakers settling in Washington, D.C., continued to come mainly from the Caribbean, although other immigrants from Central and South America were moving into the city as well. An influx of Cubans after Castro's ascension to power in 1959 shifted Latino demographics in the United States overall, which was reflected in Washington's Cuban-owned businesses established in the early and mid-1960s, such as Bazaar Nelly, a bodega, and the restaurants El Caribe and Omega. Various oral histories suggest that 1962 was a tipping point in which Latino community members and outsiders began to acknowledge or recognize a *community* of Latinos/as (rather than a handful of foreign, Spanish-speaking individuals) concentrated in Adams Morgan and Mount Pleasant. But what really forged a common Latino identity among the very diverse Spanish speakers in D.C. was the "early institution-building events [that] took place in the late 1960s atmosphere of social activism and civil rights."[241]

The young Latinos/as coming to D.C. in the 1960s were shaped by the Zeitgeist of activism in America, at the height of the Civil Rights movement and the protest movement against the United States' involvement in the Vietnam War. They were also influenced by the era's identity politics, embodied by the Chicano and Puerto Rican solidarity movements in urban and rural centers across the nation. These Latinos/as found common causes with each other as well as with African Americans fighting for their civil rights. Politics and activism brought these individuals together in a formidable unity under a new, pan-ethnic identity. As Cadaval succinctly phrased it,

> Although they came from different nations and experiences, Washington's Spanish-speaking immigrants began to forge a shared identity around a common language, shared cultural values, and similar legal, housing, and employment issues. Without losing their individual national identities, they became "Latinos," a term unfamiliar in Latin America. Indeed, the increasing use of the term and the idea of a Latino identity indicated that community formation was taking place, with diverse groups coalescing around common experiences and a shared language. Thus a Latino aesthetic and culture emerged in the Adams Morgan-Mount Pleasant neighborhood…[242]

The racialized landscape young Latinos/as found when they came to Washington, D.C., also shaped their experiences becoming American Latinos. Several D.C. Latinos/as have recalled how race and violence affected their acculturation and formation of worldviews. One early Latino organization—the LAYC, founded in 1968—can be said to have originated from two racially-motivated events, the 1968 riots in D.C. following the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Lincoln Junior High School riot later that same year. But however common racial antagonism between newly arrived Latinos/as and D.C.'s resident African Americans may have been, the two groups also recognized that they shared similar problems, goals, and strategies for mitigating those ills and receiving recognition and parity in civic society. The Latino civil rights movement in D.C. and across the nation acknowledges that it owes a debt to the African American Civil Rights movement and struggle that came before it.

Latino businesses in this era continued to center largely around foodways (bodegas and restaurants), but the Latino presence in D.C. expanded into the arts, media, and leisure. Rosario, an early community leader, would rent space at the Colony Theatre and then the Ontario Theatre to show Spanish-language movies, a leisure pursuit but also a community-building effort that brought members of the nascent Latino community together. Flamenco was made popular in D.C. in part by the Spanish guitarist Torcuato Zamora Herrada, who performed at the restaurants El Bodegón and El Caribe through the decade. In 1966, the first Spanish-language radio station in D.C. (WFAN) was put on the air,

signifying the growth of the Latino community in the greater Washington area.

Churches also continued to bring Spanish-speaking individuals together by offering services in Spanish and Portuguese. In this era, religion and social services or social activism went hand-in-hand. One of the earliest Latino social services agencies in the barrio was the Spanish Catholic Center, started by the Archdiocese of Washington. But non-parochial service agencies also arose in the late 1960s to assist the burgeoning Latino community in issues of healthcare, housing, legal aid, and finances. As a polity, the Latino community made headway in local governance in this decade, culminating with the creation of the 15-member Spanish Community Advisory Committee in 1969.

While the four most important building typologies in the earlier pioneering period had been **embassies**, **commercial businesses**, **churches**, and **schools**, in this period of activism and community cohesion, one could add **cinemas**, **parks**, **apartment buildings**, and the **offices** of social service organizations and relevant governmental agencies. As in the previous period, the retail businesses and offices of government and organizations occupied converted dwellings or the storefronts of mixed-use buildings built in the late nineteenth or early twentieth centuries. The churches, cinemas, and apartment buildings named in this chapter also existed prior to 1960 and served varying populations before becoming associated with the nascent Latino community in D.C. The architectural styles of the examples listed in this chapter vary widely. What these buildings have in common is that young activist Latinos/as occupied spaces that had been built before them, not for them.

Chapter 4: Community Building through Community Action, 1970-1979

According to U.S. decennial censuses, the Latino population in the District of Columbia grew from approximately 2% in 1970 to 2.8% in 1980.[243] Although members of D.C.'s Latino community believed the 1970 census data undercounted and did not reflect the community's true numbers, the fact remains that the Spanish-speaking population in Washington remained a small minority through the 1970s. This quantitative fact is supported by personal observation:

> *No, we were very small… As a matter of fact, most [Latinos] congregated in this house with my parents. Weekends in this house was all the South Americans and Caribbean. But it was a small contingent of us until around late '79, '80, '81, when this new influx came by the hundreds and then the thousands. And then it became a different dynamic.*[244]

While the majority of heritages represented within the Latino community continued to stem from the Caribbean through the 1960s, the largest uptick in the 1970s was represented by South Americans, especially Chileans, Colombians, and Argentinians who were leaving behind political repression.[245] Furthermore, from the late 1970s, Central Americans—including those from Nicaragua, Guatemala, and El Salvador—joined the exodus from Latin American countries enmeshed in U.S.-backed, anti-communist policy.[246] While these Central and South American immigrants were not officially refugees or political asylees, per se, they came to the United States in search of political and economic freedoms. Some were politically progressive, while others were culturally conservative. With the arrival of this former cohort, political activism (and activism through the arts, in particular) began to flourish amid D.C.'s Latino community. As Otero recalled, "in the '70s, the Adams Morgan/Mount Pleasant area was really very interesting because there were a lot of young Latinos who were doing solidarity work for various countries."[247] González described the Latino community in the 1970s as diverse, but also open to learning from, respecting, and supporting one another.

Latino activism in D.C. was not confined to political concerns abroad. The District's Latino residents recognized that the local (and federal, which was especially hard to separate in D.C. prior to the establishment of Home Rule in 1973) government was not supporting the growing Latino community with commensurate (to their proportion as city residents) services or funding. As González recalled, "we helped each other find jobs… [because] there were no agencies" at that time (that he was aware of) that were accessible to Latinos.[248] Used to self-sufficiency and working within an informal support network, a number of Latinos/as in the 1960s and 1970s became leaders in their own community, which ultimately "organized itself to help itself."[249] Based on these findings, the period from 1970-1979 was crucial in the formation of a collective Latinidad identity among D.C.'s various Spanish-speaking residents. Ultimately, D.C.'s Latino community was formed around the desire to be recognized by governmental agencies and by society-at-large, both of which had ignored the Latino presence theretofore. Crucially, however, a distinct Latino

community emerged from the creation of several social service agencies that provided support in sectors where the government had been found lacking.[250] Scallen summarized it best when he wrote:

> Beginning in the late 1960s, Latinos founded organizations to address the growing needs of their fledgling community, which were often overlooked or outright ignored by local city officials: educating infants and youth, caring for the elderly, providing mental health and substance abuse support, advocating for affordable housing and tenants' rights, offering free legal services, teaching English as a Second Language, providing adolescents with practical skills and job opportunities, and exposing them to music and the arts. By the mid-1970s, Latinos had established an increasingly effective network for the provision of a wide variety of social services to Spanish-speaking District residents, services that would prove vital to the thousands of Salvadoran migrants who would arrive in the coming years.[251]

Politics at Home and Abroad

Political repression, coups d'état, and violent conflicts continued to plague Latin America through the 1970s, starting with a coup d'état in Bolivia (1970); the death of Salvador Allende and the 1973 coup d'état by General Augusto Pinochet that led to decades of military dictatorship in Chile (1973-1990); the onset of Argentina's Dirty War (1974-1983); the beginning of Operation Condor (1975-1983), a U.S. campaign promoting CIA intervention and intelligence operations in South America; a coup d'état in Argentina (1976); the start of the Nicaraguan civil war in 1978 between the FSLN and the government led by President Anastasio Somoza (a U.S. ally who was deposed in July 1979); and culminating in the coup d'état of President Carlos Humberto Romero in El Salvador and the start of that country's civil war and insurgencies waged by the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN). In addition, the Guatemalan civil war (1960-1990) was intensifying in the 1970s. As in previous post-World War II decades, wars in Latin America (as well as the economic strife and insecurity they wrought) fomented mass migrations and increased immigration, both legal and illegal, to the United States.[252]

The restructuring of Latin American economies in this period as well as the neoliberal restructuring of the U.S. economy from 1973 onward had its bearing on the country's demographics, namely "the explosive growth of a Latino population with origins in virtually all the nations of Latin America, and an unprecedented explosion of the unauthorized population in the U.S."[253] Washington, D.C. can be seen as a microcosm of the larger national trend, in which the Latino population accounted for less than 5% of the country's total population in 1970 and was more homogenous (largely composed of Mexicans and Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans), but grew to 6.5% by 1980 and then 9% in 1990 and was composed of a more diverse demography including Central Americans, South Americans, and Dominicans.[254] Other scholars have suggested that the United States' Latino immigrants increased from 4.5 to 8.7 million during the 1970s.[255] Geopolitics and the 1965 Hart-Celler Act, which changed immigration standards, both fomented a new wave of immigration: middle-class émigrés continued to arrive with the documents necessary to live and work legally in the United States, but they were joined by "poorer, often relatively unskilled immigrants seeking escape from economic and political hardship."[256] This expansion and diversification of the Latino population across America coincided with mounting political awareness, activism, and electoral influence among Latinos in the U.S.[257]

This population growth and its voting power led the federal government to officially recognize a Latino polity in the United States. In 1970, during President Nixon's administration, the U.S. Census Bureau added a "Hispanic" category to the U.S. census questionnaire and, in 1976, Congress passed the Congressional Roybal Act, which

required the U.S. Census Bureau to prepare separate statistical accounts for persons of Hispanic ancestry. This federal recognition was further boosted in the 1980 U.S. census, in which the Hispanic-origin category was added to the short form that is mailed to every household in the U.S.[258]

In Washington, D.C., Home Rule was established by an act of Congress in 1973 and approved by a special referendum the following year. Elections for Mayor, Council members, and Advisory Neighborhood Commissioners (ANCs) were held in the autumn of 1974. Walter Washington served as the first elected Mayor of D.C. from 1975 to 1979, and was succeeded by Marion Barry (1979-1991).

Navigating a Racialized Landscape

Before the 1950s, African Americans were restricted from living in various D.C. neighborhoods due to racial covenants, discriminatory housing practices, and market value. By 1970 when, Washington, D.C.'s African American population peaked, African Americans were living in all of the residential areas east of Rock Creek Park that had previously been prohibited to them. Mount Pleasant, which had been a starkly white neighborhood in 1950, was 65% African American by 1970. Across the entire neighborhood, the rate of owner-occupied houses was extremely low (12.9% for African Americans, 14.9% for whites) while the number of dwellings with lodgers was high, averaging between 10-15%. The real estate market in certain neighborhoods in northwest D.C. (including Mount Pleasant and Adams Morgan) plummeted following the 1968 riots, and as a result—given its affordability, the diverse housing stock, and the neighborhoods' proximity to downtown—students, artists, and recent arrivals flocked to Ward 1.

PEDRO AVILÉS came to D.C. from El Salvador in 1974. Avilés was the first of four children that his mother brought to D.C. one by one. They lived in Adams Morgan on Mintwood Place and Columbia Road, and his impression of the neighborhood on arrival (six years after the 1968 riots) was that,

> *...the streets were dirty and leaves and trash were strewn in the street and an abandoned gas station at the corner of Kenyon... [apartment] buildings that were sort of like dilapidated, they were not even locked, the front doors. You could just go in and out. ...But back then it was completely... I don't know, I would call it ghetto-ish. And of course, you would go to the west and you have all of this beautiful housing stock... a lot of it's empty. Because everybody had left, the white flight, and immigrants would come and fill them up and students and, I guess, starving artists. There were Jamaicans, I remember, in the neighborhood back then. ... Of course, there were pockets of whites that never left, but by and large, this was a black neighborhood.*[259]

In another recollection made in 2011, Avilés called 18th Street a racial dividing line circa 1974, where the majority of people living east of 18th Street were African American, and only a small percentage of people in Columbia Heights, Adams Morgan, and Mount Pleasant were white.[260]

In the first half of the decade, the District's residential population was still comprised of relatively few Latino immigrants, and the Latino community was still predominantly Cuban, Dominican, and Puerto Rican with a small percentage of Central Americans. But between 1971 and 1979, an increase in the percentage of Central Americans in D.C. was helped in part by people like **SIGFREDO CHAVEZ**, who brought hundreds of Intipuqueños to the city. Chavez had come to D.C. in 1966 with a work visa; he had emigrated from a small village in eastern El Salvador called Intipucá. There, he had worked as a bank teller, but his education and middle-class background had little credence in the United States, where he started by washing dishes in a metro-area restaurant. His ultimate economic success in D.C. prompted others from Intipucá to immigrate to the greater Washington area in the late 1960s; and while they worked in menial occupations by North American standards, often they earned more in one week of labor in

the United States than they would have earned over months in El Salvador. The socioeconomic background of the Intipuqueños was highlighted in a *Washington Post* article in 1979: the authors, Christopher Dickey and Karen DeYoung, claimed that while the South Americans who were arriving in larger numbers in the 1970s were typically middle-class, educated, urban, and politically progressive, the Intipuqueños were poor, rural, with little-to-no education and culturally conservative. The journalists credited Chavez with being the anchor for this Salvadoran diaspora, reporting that he would make weekly trips to National Airport to meet as many as ten Intipuqueños at a time. Chavez and other Intipuqueños who arrived in the late 1960s created a direct, transnational migration system for their compatriots that brought thousands in the early 1970s and later assisted the greater numbers of Salvadorans and Central Americans fleeing civil war in the late 1970s and 1980s. By the end of the 1970s, the D.C. metropolitan area counted. some 30,000 Salvadorans who could offer refugees from El Salvador places to stay, employment opportunities, and social services so that they might build new and better lives in the United States.[261]

By 1979, the number of Latinos/as concentrated in Ward 1 neighborhoods led leaders of the Latino community to propose renaming Adams Morgan the "Latin Quarter."[262] Despite this overture, D.C. was not necessarily a welcoming place for the new arrivals in this decade. Firstly, D.C. Latinos/ as faced a local government dominated by African Americans who, after centuries of struggle for social and political parity, were disinclined to share their newly-won achievements, power, and resources with immigrants. Secondly, Latino immigrants faced a hostile federal government cracking down on illegal immigration. The atmosphere for illegal immigrants had always been volatile and insecure, but it was made more so by certain events in the late 1970s. In December 1976, the police frightened some 350 spectators at a soccer match (in which a team of local Peruvians faced a team of Salvadoran immigrants) at West Potomac Park, leading spectators and players to plunge into the Tidal Basin to escape arrest. At the Annapolis Hotel in 1979, 92 undocumented service workers were arrested in what was the largest bust of illegal immigrants in D.C. up until that time. Understandably, illegal (and even legal, to a degree) Latinos/as lived under a pervasive degree of terror.[263]

Employment and Commerce

As in previous decades, the main business of Washington, D.C., remained politics and governance, both foreign and domestic. Embassy staff and employees at global organizations based in D.C., such as the World Bank and the IDB, continued to recruit domestic workers from Latin America. In the 1970s, the majority of these workers were Latinas from Central America. They often brought children, parents, spouses, or siblings to D.C. with them, thereby contributing to a growing Central American diaspora in the DMV. This pattern is reflected in the personal account of Rhina Garcia, who was working as a nurse in Guatemala City in 1977 when she was recruited to work for a World Bank family as an au pair. She lived with the family on Foxhall Road for only a few months, and then left to do similar childcare work for another family. In both households, she was underpaid and exploited. Eventually, Garcia found other work in the city, married and acquired permanent residency status, and fostered her four siblings, parents, and cousins to settle in the Washington area.[264]

Beyond domestic service in individual households, Latinas in this era worked in the service industry as well. Cadaval commented on the numerous women who worked at the Washington Hilton Hotel on Connecticut Avenue as maids or in the laundries, washing the thousands of sets of hotel sheets.[265] Hotels were significant places of employment for Latinos/as in the kitchens as well as in the laundries. In addition to the service industry, the construction industry employed some new arrivals. Griffiths remarked that, in this decade, "a lot of Dominicans were involved in construction"

and eventually created their own construction companies, continuing to hire and support their compatriots.[266] A number of Latinos/as organized within labor unions that recognized the growing number of Spanish-speaking immigrants in these two sectors.

As the number of Latinos/as in D.C. rose in the 1970s, many "settled in the adjacent neighborhoods of Adams Morgan and Mount Pleasant in northwest Washington, and…transformed this compact geographic area into a growing commercial and cultural hub" with "proliferating restaurants and small stores [that] reflect not only the area residents' varying nationalities, but also the regional distinctiveness within national groups."[267] After Otero moved into Adams Morgan in 1974, she worked with Dominican families that had settled on Park Road between 14th and 16th streets. As the Dominican community grew in that enclave, Dominican businesses did too, such as the Dominican restaurant Los Hermanos, at 1428 Park Road, which Otero remembers as having "been around for forever."[268] The Salvadorans who settled in D.C. coalesced around the Columbia Road and Mount Pleasant Street corridors, which offered affordable apartment buildings, proximity to Spanish-language services, and direct transportation routes to jobs downtown or in the suburbs. The Reverend Welty remarked that, by 1972, at least half of the commercial storefronts lining Columbia Road were Latino businesses. And in 1974, when Elinor Hart moved into Mount Pleasant from Chevy Chase, Maryland, she was aware of a Latino presence in the still-predominantly African-American neighborhood through the merchants on Mount Pleasant Street, which included Casa Diloné among others.[269]

Bodegas (or neighborhood grocery stores) continued to be a seminal commercial typology for the D.C. Latino community. Circa 1975, a social group composed of the wives of federal bureaucrats created a homemade directory for new arrivals to D.C. The "Administrative Wives Booklet," as it was called, conveniently listed the "Gourmet Grocers in the Metropolitan Washington Area: Nationality Shops," including **CASA LEBRATO**, which the wives described as selling Spanish products. In fact, Casa Lebrato was a market owned by Cuban émigrés, Caridad and Manuel Lebrato, who sold a variety of goods (Figure 4.1).[270] The "Administrative Wives Booklet" also listed **EL PROGRESO** as a "Spanish Supermarket [with a] large selection of Latin American foods" and **LA AMERICANA** as "one of the smaller groceries, [that] stocks a good selection of canned seafoods and fresh cheeses, along with the typical fresh, canned and frozen products."[271] The latter was opened by Gilberto González, who would frequently travel to New Jersey and New York City to purchase produce from wholesalers to stock the D.C. bodegas, including his. Eventually, González expanded his wholesaling business by operating a produce warehouse in D.C.[272] The "Administrative Wives Booklet" listed two other bodegas that opened in the 1970s: La Central at 2503 Champlain Street NW, which was Cuban and sold "empanadas, casadilla [sic], panatela. Bags of dried peppers, sacks of rice and beans, pinatas, etc." and Santa Anita at 7510 Georgia Avenue NW, which was described as a Salvadoran grocery. Both La Sevillana and Pena's Spanish Store were still in operation circa 1975, and the wives described the latter as carrying "Mexican, Spanish, Indian, West Indian, African, Pakistani – flours, oils, beans, nuts, spices, fruits, teas," while Casa Diloné was described as having "Caribbean specialties – Jamaican hard dough bread, canned juices from Puerto Rico. Argentine pumpkins and tiny sweet potatoes in syrup are also rarities."[273]

Figure 4.1: Casa Lebrato, 1733 Columbia Road NW, 1974. Courtesy of D.C. Public Library, People's Archive.[274]

Two other bodegas opened in the barrio in the mid- to late 1970s: **LOS PRIMOS** and **EL GAVILÁN**. Los Primos, which still serves the neighborhood, was opened by Dominican cousins to the Diloné family, while El Gavilán was opened circa 1978 by a Dominican nicknamed "El Gavilán," or the hawk.[275] As Cadaval said of El Gavilán, "the store's merchandise has reflected the needs of the area's emergent Latino, African, and Caribbean communities," and the preponderance of bodegas opened in the 1970s by Cubans and Dominicans supports Cadaval's claim that "Cubans and Dominicans owned the neighborhood's earliest Latino stores."[276] These bodegas acted as anchors in the barrio that attracted more Latino settlement, as individual examples of economic development within D.C.'s Latino community, and as social spaces for Spanish-speaking émigrés. They also reflected the continual change in demographics: while the earliest grocery stores (like Pena's Spanish Store and La Sevillana) sold a wide variety of international goods catering to a global clientele, the first wave of bodegas (like Casa Diloné) offered mostly Caribbean merchandise alongside Spanish and South American goods. By the 1970s and into the 1980s, however, these bodegas featured empanadas, which are largely associated with Argentina although they are found in the Iberian Peninsula and across Latin America. Latinas prepared these savory, filled pastries in their homes and sold them through shops as an alternative revenue stream. Empanadas became a signature snack in D.C., a quick, affordable food item sold at the counter.[277]

As in previous decades, Latin American restaurants continued to proliferate in D.C. and thereby express, commercially, the growing Latino presence in the District. Rumbaut mentioned the Dominican restaurant El Caburán and the El Gato restaurant in a 1982 interview. González recalled Los Panchos at 3166 Mount Pleasant Street prior to 1974.[278] But the two best remembered restaurants from this period were the **CARLOS GARDEL RESTAURANT** and the **CHURRERÍA MADRID**. The Carlos Gardel Restaurant served Argentine cuisine in a converted, 1902 rowhouse on Columbia Road.[279] The Churrería Madrid has operated in Adams Morgan since 1973. Circa 1975, the "Administrative Wives Booklet"

described it as a "Luncheonette and store [selling] cocido madrileno [sic], empanadas, tortilla."[280]

Latino businesses in the barrio were not limited to merely food service. Commercial enterprises broadened in their scope in the 1970s and included shops for shoe repair, tailoring, and hair cutting. For example, Rodolfo de León, who had emigrated from Guatemala in 1969, opened Leon's Shoe Repair shop at 3201 Mount Pleasant Street in 1979; the store is still operated today by his son Randy.[281] **VITERBO MARTINEZ** emigrated from Santo Domingo in 1967, first settling in New York City and opening a business there. Around 1976, Martinez brought his family to Washington and opened a barbershop on Mount Pleasant Street. Members of the Martinez family also operated a sewing shop in the rear of the store that offered repairs, alterations, and custom pants for men. The **MARTINEZ BARBERSHOP** attracted a mostly Latino clientele.[282]

Latino retail businesses expanded in the 1970s. In 1972, González's older brother opened a bicycle shop on Mount Pleasant Street, called La Biciclette. In 1979, their younger brother took over the lease of the storefront from his eldest brother and opened **BROTHERS AND BICYCLES**, which operated until 1992. González described the shop as "more of a community service than a capitalistic endeavor," as they extended credit to Latino and African American youths in the neighborhood who hung out in the shop.[283] **DANIEL BUENO**, a Dominican, and his Salvadoran wife, María Socorro, opened **ZODIAC RECORDS** on Columbia Road in the 1970s (Figure 4.2). The extremely popular record shop was a nexus for D.C.'s Latino community, and was so successful that Bueno eventually opened five more stores in the Washington metropolitan area, becoming one of the area's largest distributors and promoters.[284] Zodiac was important to the Latino community because it was the only retail shop in which one could buy records by Latino musicians, and as one scholar stated, "in the history of Adams Morgan, Zodiac and its owner Daniel Bueno were emblematic of the social and entrepreneurial networks inextricably connected to the perception of the Mount Pleasant and Adams Morgan area as D.C.'s Latinx barrio."[285] Small, family-owned, commercial businesses were important to the Latino collective not only economically but socially: "These institutions served as vital social and cultural meeting grounds for Latin American migrants, leading to the development of strong community networks as the years progressed."[286]

Figure 4.2: Zodiac Records, 1756 Columbia Road NW, 1974. Courtesy of D.C. Public Library, People's Archive.[287]

THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE RODRIGUEZ FAMILY

Leonor and Estuardo Rodriguez, both Peruvian émigrés, were central figures in D.C.'s Latino community during the Community Building era of the 1970s. Estuardo Rodriguez-Valdemar (b. 1942) immigrated to the U.S. in 1961; his girlfriend, Leonor Infante (b. 1942) joined him soon after, and the couple settled in Washington. In the 1970s, under the name Estuardo Valdemar, Rodriguez was among the first Spanish-language disc jockeys (DJ) at WFAN (1003.FM). Playing South American folk and pop music as well as announcing the news in Spanish, Rodriguez developed quite a following among Spanish-speakers in D.C. who tuned into his 6 p.m. to midnight shift. By 1977, Rodriguez was directing programming at WFAN.

During the day, Rodriguez managed a print shop for an environmental, nonprofit group. Soon, the couple started their own printing business in a storefront on Vermont Avenue and K Street NW. In 1978, the couple opened the **Valdemar Travel** agency at 1796 Columbia Road NW. This was the same premises from which Leonor Rodriguez had opened her bookstore, **Editorial El Mundo**, in 1977. When the bookstore closed in 2006, a *Washington Post* staff writer published a profile piece on the business and asserted,

> Nominally a bookstore, for nearly 30 years Editorial El Mundo has purveyed so much more. There was a time when this corner of Columbia Road and 18th Street NW was the gateway to an American life for generations of immigrants, the place in Washington where they metaphorically landed first. Editorial El Mundo was where they found help decoding the new land. It set an example for striving. (Montgomery, *WP*, 2006)

In addition to these business ventures, the Rodriguezes also opened and then sold two restaurants. One was the Peruvian Room at 1794 Columbia Road NW. (Arturo Griffiths, email communication to Heather McMahon, 29 July 2024. Montgomery 2006.)

Religion and Education

Religion has always played a significant role in the lives of Latinos/as, and the Shrine of the Sacred Heart was an important center to Spanish-speaking Catholics. Innumerable baptisms, confirmations, and weddings were held there over successive decades. In the late 1970s, the Shrine of the Sacred Heart began an annual tradition of celebrating Good Friday with a Drama of the Passion performed in Spanish. Afterward, congregants proceed with candles from the church down Park Road, Mount Pleasant Street, Harvard Street, and then back to the church via 16th Street, led by clergy carrying Christ on the cross and singing hymns. The Easter tradition continues to this day.[288]

Figure 4.3: Signs for Sunday Services in English and Spanish. Courtesy of the D.C. Public Library, People's Archive.[289]

As the 1970s progressed, religious denominations offered more and more social programming

at the same time that secular educational organizations and programs grew (Figure 4.3). The Spanish Catholic Center, administered by the Archdiocese of Washington, continued to serve the Latino community in the barrio. It was joined by the ecumenical Community of Christ, an activist, ascetic, and communal congregation that left Dupont Circle and moved into a storefront on Mount Pleasant Street in 1974. There, the congregation opened **LA CASA** as a community center for recreational activities. From La Casa the group operated the Life Skills Center, which had been founded by a church member to provide valuable education to new arrivals.[290] The space still functions today as a community services and advocacy center, now known as La Casa Community Health Action Center, an arm of La Clínica del Pueblo since 2017. In 1978, the **ECUMENICAL PROGRAM FOR INTER-AMERICAN COMMUNICATION AND ACTION (EPICA)** moved into the Wilson Center. Philip Wheaton was an Episcopal priest who had opened schools and ministered to the poor in the Dominican Republic during the Trujillo regime. After Wheaton settled in Washington in 1968, he founded EPICA, an ecumenical program to support Latin Americans' human rights struggles. The program was based on liberation theology and the new theology movements of the mid-twentieth century.[291]

Bilingual early childhood development made strides in D.C. in the 1970s, starting with the establishment of the Columbia Road Children's Center, which occupied the former school annex of the Central Presbyterian Church at 1470 Irving Street NW (part of the Wilson Center) in 1971. Renamed the Barbara Chambers Children's Center by 1989, the early childhood development and childcare facility still occupies the annex on Irving Street.[292] On October 2, 1972, the **ROSEMOUNT CENTER** opened in the former House of Mercy on Klingle Road (Figure 4.4).[293] The House of Mercy was a home for unwed mothers established in the nineteenth century; by 1971, its board of

Figure 4.4: Rosemount Center, formerly the House of Mercy, 2000 Rosemount Avenue.
Photograph by Kim Williams, October 2024. Courtesy of D.C. HPO.

directors had concluded that this mission was obsolete, and they engaged sociologist Richard Zamoff to explore alternative areas of service. Zamoff identified a lack of daycare facilities, particularly for infants and especially in "the low and middle income Mount Pleasant area," as a pressing community need. Approximately 60% of mothers interviewed had expressed interest in a licensed daycare facility.[294] As a result of these findings, the House of Mercy's board closed the institution in early 1972, and a newly incorporated board reopened the facility as the Rosemount Infant Day Care Center, which was intended to "establish a bilingual infant day care program in a center… designed… to provide day care services, professional consultations, and family support from social workers… [and] to serve as a nucleus for a program to train and supervise local adults who would offer day care in their own homes."[295] From the outset, the Rosemount Center was a multicultural, racially integrated, and inclusive institution that served locals from diverse socioeconomic backgrounds. Alternately known as El Centro Rosemount, it developed a program to teach both English and Spanish-speaking children a second language. It was the first bilingual infant daycare center in the Washington area.[296] By 1986, the bilingual day-care facility had "one of the earliest, if not the first, Head Start programs for Latino kids and childcare programs" in D.C. In addition to early childhood development programming, the Rosemount Center (or El Centro Rosemount) also offered family support and guidance to parents in Spanish.[297]

By the late 1960s, the D.C. government recognized that the growing immigrant population from Latin America required instruction in Spanish, and the Bilingual Education Program was introduced into the D.C. Public Schools in 1970.[298] Still, bilingual education in the D.C. public school system was too often found lacking, prompting the founding of the English-Spanish bilingual program at the **OYSTER ELEMENTARY SCHOOL** (now the Oyster-Adams Bilingual School) in 1971.[299] Founded by **MARCELO FERNÁNDEZ-ZAYAS**, who had emigrated from Cuba in 1959, the Oyster school served the Latino population in Adams Morgan and Woodley Park and was the first bilingual school (grades pre-kindergarten through eighth) in the city. Its "dual-language education program [has become a] model within D.C. and in the country," because Oyster "is extremely unique in which students are taught English and Spanish by two teachers in each class, and English speaker and a Spanish speaker."[300] By 1982, Fernández-Zayas had become the director of the D.C.'s Office of Bilingual Education.[301]

In terms of high school and adult bilingual education, a number of noteworthy programs started in the 1970s. The first was the **PROGRAM OF ENGLISH INSTRUCTION FOR LATIN AMERICANS (PEILA)**, founded in 1970 by Rosario and Humberto Vidaña. PEILA was an outgrowth of EOFULA, supported by federal funding, and was initially housed in the Wilson Center. Fernández-Zayas served as the program's first director (1970-1971) and was succeeded by Hilda Moreno, who served for less than one year. Between 1972 and 1978, when the program was transformed from solely English language classes into a charter school for adult learners, PEILA was under the direction of **SONIA GUTIERREZ** (née Fairchild). When Gutierrez became director in 1972, PEILA had 60 students and offered two English classes in the morning and four classes at night. During her tenure, the program grew to 300 students and new programming included citizenship classes. The student body outgrew its third-floor space in the Wilson Center, and in 1978, Gutierrez opened the Gordon Center in the old Gordon Junior High (1930) in Georgetown.[302] By 1982, the bilingual programming at the Gordon Center had grown to include ESL, literacy in English and Spanish, citizenship courses for naturalization, computer science classes, and GED prep in both Spanish and English. The passage of the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) in 1973 provided funding for job training, which the D.C. Department of Education doled out to schools including the Gordon Center, which offered three vocational courses for secretarial work, food service, and

telecommunications. From two morning and four evening programs the Gordon Center grew into a Monday-Friday, 9-3 school with multiple evening classes on Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Fridays. In addition, under Gutierrez's guidance, the Gordon Center expanded into social services, retaining a psychiatric social worker on staff who offered student counseling as well as offering education on breast cancer screening, tuberculosis screening, eye examinations, and conferring with police. At the time of her 1982 interview, Gutierrez stated that enrollment at Gordon was 1,700 students representing 90 countries, 85% of whom were Latino; the majority of the Latino students hailed from Central America (665 persons, or 40% of the entire student body, were from El Salvador). It also had satellite campuses at the Shrine of the Sacred Heart and the Wilson Center. In 1996, the Gordon Center was forced to close due to lack of funding, but in 1998, the school reopened as the **CARLOS ROSARIO INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC CHARTER SCHOOL**, the first adult public charter school in the nation that, by 2000, had expanded into six campuses to meet demand.[303]

The **SPANISH EDUCATION DEVELOPMENT (SED) CENTER** was created by Roberto Baquerizo circa 1971, at which point it was housed in the former manse of the Central Presbyterian Church at 3045 15th Street NW (i.e., part of the Wilson Center). By 1974, it was located in rented office space at 2700 Ontario Road NW, on the same (the second) floor as the LAYC. Like PEILA, the SED Center was one of the first bilingual, ESL programs in D.C. and was tailored for adult learners. It was funded through federal grants made available through the 1962 Manpower Development and Training Act. The SED Center catered to professionals arriving from Latin American countries and was affiliated with (and accredited by) U.S. institutions of higher learning. Through the SED Center, adults could take courses to attain teaching certification through City College. The SED Center also had a childcare element, and by 1975, the SED Center was running a preschool at 1459 Columbia Road.[304]

In 1979, **MARIA TUKEVA** was instrumental in establishing the **MULTICULTURAL CAREER INTERN PROGRAM (MCIP)** for high-school students and young adults (ages 16-21) who were from lower-income backgrounds, were not native English speakers, had learning or behavioral disabilities, and were not succeeding in or graduating from the D.C. public school system. The alternative educational program, funded by a U.S. Department of Labor Career Intern Program grant in 1981 and in collaboration with D.C. Public Schools, provided vocational classes and functioned as a career center, requiring students to participate in an internship program in addition to the curriculum. MCIP began with 40 students who had dropped out of high school, were on the cusp of dropping out, or who had been graduated despite not attaining any meaningful education. Within a decade, the program had 680 students—many of whom were refugees from El Salvador—and had become a fully accredited alternative school. In 1989, MCIP merged with the Bell Career Development Center, forming Bell Multicultural High School, a D.C. public school. Bell Multicultural High School was located in a 1910 school building that opened as Powell Elementary School and was rechristened the Alexander Graham Bell Vocation High School in 1948. In 2008, the Bell Multicultural High School merged with the Lincoln Multicultural Middle School, becoming the Columbia Heights Education Campus (CHEC), serving grades six through 12.[305]

Arts, Media, and Leisure

The arts and media created by and for D.C.'s Latino community exploded in the 1970s and adopted diverse forms. One explanation for this flourishing was the politicization of the arts common in the era, or the use of public, artistic media as a vehicle for organization, expression, and protest. As noted by Scallen,

> As the 1970s progressed, Washington's Latino community absorbed new nationalities and

ideologies due to changing conditions in Latin America. South Americans—Chileans, Argentines, Uruguayans, Paraguayans, and others fleeing US-sponsored authoritarian dictatorships—introduced a new level of international political awareness and activism. Younger, more affluent, and with higher levels of formal education, they had been radicalized by their experiences fighting right-wing repression in their countries of origin. Ideologically, many strongly identified with Third World struggles of liberation, which they linked to the local fight for recognition and dignity for D.C.'s Latinos. These new immigrants galvanized the Latino artistic community through mural painting, protest music, and street theater, forming an art collective and Latino cultural center named El Centro de Arte that operated out of the Wilson Center. Although they sometimes clashed with more established leaders of the Latino community, these South American immigrants forged bonds of social cohesion among D.C.'s younger Latinos through their arts-inspired activism.[306]

EL CENTRO DE ARTE was a loose collective of mostly South American émigrés who decided to act politically via mural painting.[307] One of the co-founders was **CARLOS "CACO" SALAZAR**, who left Chile to escape the state's authoritarianism and brutality. These Latino artists came from a fine arts tradition that valued murals as a "monumental public art form [that] links aesthetics to advocacy and education," and they recognized that, as an artistic medium, murals were "one of the most powerful and enduring legacies of the Latino cultural reclamation project" of the twentieth century.[308] In 1975, this small collective—originally calling themselves the Spanish-American Community Arts (SACA) Project—was affiliated with the Fondo del Sol Visual Arts Center. They initially met in a stable behind the museum near R Street and Florida Avenue NW. But by 1976, the group had separated from Fondo del Sol, rebranded themselves El Centro de Arte, and moved into the basement of the Wilson Center. There, the independent organization offered guitar lessons and ceramics classes while periodically hosting poetry readings, musical concerts, and photography exhibitions. The group introduced Latino kids to street theater and artistic endeavors they had not been exposed to theretofore. **CARLOS ARRIEN**, the director of El Centro de Arte, also published a newsletter called *El Barrio* through the organization.[309]

Through the remainder of the decade and into the 1980s, El Centro de Arte partnered closely with the LAYC to teach youth members how to paint murals, thereby developing a new generation of community-centered visual artists. Murals were El Centro de Arte's lasting and greatest legacy.[310] The majority were painted in Adams Morgan and Mount Pleasant by Salazar, Arrien, and **JORGE LUIS SOMARRIBA** with the assistance of volunteers. These "murals became part of the identity of the neighborhoods, or barrios, in which they were painted" and "provide a sense of connection among Latinos because they portray various stories and a shared ethnic aesthetic."[311] Unfortunately, several of the murals painted in Adams Morgan during this early period have been lost to redevelopment, such as Salazar's interior wall mural in El Centro de Arte's basement space inside the Wilson Center.[312] But a significant exterior mural from this period still exists: on the side elevation of the Kogibow Bakery building is the mural painted by Salazar and Felipe Martinez in 1977, later titled **UN PUEBLO SIN MURALS ES UN PUEBLO DESMURALIZADO** (Figure 4.5).[313] The verbal pun insinuates that a people without public art are a demoralized people. The mural was restored by Juan Pineda in 2005 and again in 2014, following a damaging earthquake in 2011. Of the mural, Pineda said "It's the largest and oldest Latino outdoor mural in Washington, D.C. It highlights the cultural movement of immigrants from the late '70s and '80s in the nation's capitol [sic]" and "it identifies us as a community—people with strong traditions and rich cultures."[314]

Figure 4.5: Un Pueblo Sin Murales, Adams Mill Road. Photograph by Stefan Zweig ca. 1980. Courtesy of the D.C. History Center.[315]

In the fine arts, the Fondo del Sol Visual Arts Center was founded in May 1973 as a non-profit, bilingual, community museum owned by its members. Considered the second Latino museum in the nation (after El Museo del Barrio in New York), its collection focused on the arts and diverse heritages of the Americas. Fondo del Sol's permanent and rotating exhibits ranged from Pre-Columbian to Folk arts, while programming included concerts, films, lectures, and poetry readings.[316] The **ART MUSEUM OF THE AMERICAS** was opened in 1976 as an outgrowth of the OAS in an effort to raise awareness of and appreciation for the fine arts of the OAS' 34 member states. Among its permanent collections are the works of a Cuban art collector and D.C. resident, **JOSÉ GÓMEZ-SICRE (1916-1991)**, who was appointed the OAS's chief curator of the Visual Arts Unit in 1948 before founding and serving as the first director of the art museum.[317] In terms of public art, the last equestrian memorial was added to the Statues of Liberators set near the National Mall in 1976: the bronze figure of Bernardo de Gálvez (1746-1786), the Governor of Spanish Louisiana and an ally to the American colonies' during the War for Independence. The statue was a gift from King Juan Carlos of Spain.[318] The bronze bust of Sor Juana Ínes de la Cruz by sculptor Beatriz Caso was dedicated on the south lawn of the OAS building in April 1977.

Cultural centers also became popular in this decade, as they "stressed the holistic view of culture as inseparable from education, economic development, personal growth, and social and political equity."[319] The circa-1975 "Administrative Wives Booklet" listed the Brazilian-American Cultural Institute (BACI) at 4201 Connecticut Avenue NW. From 1970 until its closure in 2008, Dr. José Neistein served as the director of the non-profit organization that was "established to promote awareness in the United States about the music, art, and culture of Brazil" and which included "a large art gallery, recital and lecture space, and 8,000 volume bilingual library" as well as offered courses in the Portuguese language, samba, and guitar.[320] Cultural centers associated with embassies would proliferate in the next two decades.

FOLK DANCING

In the 1970s, especially following the establishment of the annual Latino Festival in 1971, folkloric dance troupes became prevalent in D.C. (Figure 4.6). One example is the Ecuadorian Folklore Group, founded in the first half of the decade. Another is the *Grupo Folklórico Panameño in Washington*, or GRUFOLPAWA. Olga Small and her daughter, Norma Small-Warren, left Panama City and immigrated to Washington, D.C. in 1964 so that Norma could matriculate at Howard University. Olga became an organizer of the Latino Festival early in its inception, and in 1976, Norma founded GRUFOLPAWA. As Norma stated in a 2021 oral history interview, "We were interested in showing the rest of the Latinos, and especially the American community here, what we were all about." From its origins in the annual Latino Festival parade, GRUFOLPAWA expanded their scope, performing in regional festivals and parades and then traveling across the country. Like any folkloric dance group, GRUFOLPAWA aims to show its audiences the customs, music, dances, and traditions of their native country. (Small-Warren 2021).

Spanish-language dramatic theater also blossomed in D.C. in the 1970s, exemplified (in part) by the creation of Teatro Nuestro, an outgrowth of El Centro de Arte, in 1978.[321] In an article, Tomás Ybarra-Frausto included Washington, D.C.'s **GALA HISPANIC THEATRE (1976)** in a nation-wide list of significant Latino arts and cultural organizations founded in the 1970s, which also included San Francisco's Galería de la Raza (1970), New York City's Ballet Hispanico (1970), and San Antonio's Guadalupe Cultural Arts Center (1973).[322] The dramatic theater was founded by **HUGO MEDRANO**, an Argentine émigré who had

Figure 4.6: Colombian folk dancers on Mount Pleasant Street during the 1986 Latino Festival parade. Courtesy of Carolyn Long.

settled in D.C. in 1971 after having worked as a stage actor in Spain, and **REBECCA MEDRANO** (née Read), who had lived in Spain, Mexico, and Bolivia in her formative years and had moved to D.C. from New York, where she had studied dance in the Martha Graham School. The couple married soon after meeting at Teatro Doble, which was a bilingual children's theater held in the Back Alley Theater space at 14th and Kennedy streets NW. Teatro Doble, started circa 1974 and operated by Sonia Castel, was D.C.'s only Spanish-language dramatic theater at that time. In 1976, the Medranos formed the Grupo de Artistas Latino Americanos (GALA) and ran an informal, cabaret-style theater out of a townhouse they bought in Adams Morgan, at 2319 18th Street NW. Rebecca Medrano described the cabaret as "very bohemian and crowded," while Otero recalled that you took your own folding chair if you wanted to see a play.[323]

The first play that GALA performed was at the Georgetown Visitation School as part of the programming for the 1976 Latino Festival. La Fiaca, by an Argentine playwright, was received so warmly and extensively in a review in the *Washington Post* that the Medranos were shocked by the press coverage, which reflected the hunger for and interest in Spanish-language theater in D.C. All subsequent plays performed at the townhouse were bilingual, typically presented in English and in Spanish on alternating days but sometimes presented one directly after the other. GALA, however, was not just a dramatic theater but was a consortium of artists who worked in various media, and the townhouse functioned more like a cultural center. A wall in the theater was dedicated to rotating exhibitions of the visual arts, and GALA worked with the nearby El Centro Grafico, a collective of Latino visual artists, on 18th Street NW. The GALA group also published a newspaper, *Blanco y Negro*. Often, GALA's cabaret would have local musicians perform. Despite the venue's teeming popularity, the couple moved out of their rowhouse and shuttered the cabaret space in 1979.[324]

Although GALA began as a multidisciplinary group of artists, the focus narrowed to theatrical

productions and the group rebranded itself the GALA Hispanic Theatre. At the core were the Medranos with the addition of Castel and Abel López in the 1980s. While the theater troupe continued to receive accolades and awards through its first three decades of operation, it had a tough time finding a permanent home. From 1979 to 1983, GALA operated from a black-box theater in the Lansburgh Project at 7th and E streets NW; but issues with the quality of the space led the Medranos to consider alternative venues. In 1984, they performed at All Souls Church, the Mexican Cultural Center, and the Takoma Park Theatre, functioning almost like an itinerant band of players. From 1985 to 2000, GALA was housed at the Sacred Heart School on Park Road, and then from 2000 to 2003, in a large warehouse building on 7th Street NW. But GALA had such a following that no matter where the theater went, its core audience followed. Finally, in 2005, GALA acquired a permanent home in the then-recently renovated **TIVOLI THEATER** on 14th Street NW (Figure 4.7).[325]

Figure 4.7: Tivoli Theatre, 3301 14th Street NW, 2010. Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, photograph by Carol M. Highsmith.[326]

Spanish-language print media also multiplied in the 1970s. Latino media typically supported political activism, voiced social and civic issues, presented opinions in op-ed letters, and/or provided entertainment. Like GALA's *Blanco y Negro* and El Centro de Arte's *El Barrio*, small print publications—like newsletters—were commonly produced by organizations as an outlet for "community social news."[327] From 1970 to 1971, Andromeda Transcultural Center, a mental health agency for Latinos, published a Spanish-language newsletter.[328] But two major Spanish-language newspapers were started in D.C. in 1977 by the same Peruvian émigré, **LUIS SANCHEZ ESPINAR**. *El Pregonero* maintained offices in the Kenesaw Apartment House and was associated with the Spanish Catholic Center. ***EL LATINO*** was a monthly publication that maintained an office on Pennsylvania Avenue NW. After working as the director of the LAYC, **JOSÉ SUEIRO** worked at *El Latino* with Espinar from 1979 to 1980, then assumed a leadership role with Fernando Leonzo and built the paper into a weekly publication that operated until 1991.[329]

Through the 1970s, WFAN continued to provide Spanish-language radio programing on its 100.3 FM frequency, until it switched to 1340 AM before closing in 1978. Although Spanish-language television did not exist for the D.C. market at this time, the Washington Community Video Center (WCVC) did produce "Spanish language news programs" on recorded (magnetic) tapes. The WCVC was an experimental video collective based at 2414 18th Street NW, in the heart of Adams Morgan (Figure 4.8). The nonprofit was both a training center in video production as well as a means for local community groups to educate and organize their bases. Because public-access cable was slow to arrive in D.C., the WCVC showed their films to live audiences in its 18th Street storefront or in partner organizations' headquarters—the WCVC even developed educational videos that were shown to patients on television monitors in the waiting rooms of health clinics. Their topics addressed issues facing the local community, including urban conditions, poverty and welfare, housing, employment and wages, and nationwide social issues. In regard to the local Latino community, the WCVC produced educational and promotional films for community organization such as the LAYC and Ayuda Legal Services. In one segment, the collective interviewed several Latinos/as in Mount Pleasant who discussed Latino social organizations and their experiences D.C. in the 1970s.[330]

Figure 4.8: WCVC Ad in the 12 October 1973 issue of the "Daily Rag."[331]

In terms of leisure, the Chicano Lounge at 3171 Mount Pleasant Street was a popular music venue in the 1970s, supplanting the Oasis.[332] Parks—including Kalorama, Meridian Hill/Malcolm X, Rabaut, and Unity—continued to be popular outdoor spaces for active and passive recreation. D.C.'s Latinos/as would also convene in the triangular plaza known as LAMONT PARK, located at the north end of Mount Pleasant Street in the heart of the neighborhood's commercial area (Figure 4.9).[333]

A less formalized space was the vacant lot on Adams Mill Road between Calvert Street and a service road (Blue Road NW) within the bounds of the Washington National Zoo. Teenagers Walter and Robert Pierce appropriated the open space in 1964 to use as a makeshift playground.[334] Through the 1970s, community kids—African American and Latino—played baseball, basketball, and football in The Ontario Lakers League against other city sports clubs (Figure 4.10). The WCVC created a

Figure 4.9: Lamont Park, Dia de los Muertos, 2 November 2019.[335]

Figure 4.10: The Ontario Lakers Stadium, Adams Morgan, 1976. Courtesy of the D.C. Public Library, People's Archive.[336]

five-minute video promoting the community park in 1971, in which footage of small kids—white, African American, Latino—play together on homemade swing sets and jungle gyms. Sueiro was the first interviewee on the film, attesting that the park was good for the whole community, a place for "la communidad negra, la communidad blanco, los Latinos, todo el mundo."[337]

Another interviewee described how the vacant lot had been

> *a very barren, very rocky, very desolate sort of area; it was a dumping ground for trash and refuse…[before] the kids took this over they cleaned it all up [and] right now it's a very wholesome, very peaceful sort of retreat for kids, for adults, for people from all walks in the community.*[338]

Subsequent interviewees stressed that the creation of the park had been a cooperative, voluntary, community action—that the people of Adams Morgan built the park for themselves, borrowing shovels and rakes from the zoo and pitching in together to clean the brown site and transform it into a popular leisure area and a safe place for children to play. For over a decade, the Pierces and their allies first lobbied Congress and then the D.C. City Council to purchase the lot and turn it into a municipal parkland. The Community Park West was created in 1978 and later renamed after Walter Pierce.[339]

Health and Social Services

The true cohesion of a self-identified Latino polity in D.C. occurred around the growth of social services for Latinos/as established by Latino community leaders in the 1970s. As **ROLAND ROEBUCK**—who came from Puerto Rico in 1974—asserted, "There was an atmosphere of collaboration…since all of us spoke Spanish that created a sense of solidarity."[340]

The most formidable of these social welfare organizations was the **WILSON CENTER**, established in 1971.[341] After assuming leadership of the Good Shepherd United Presbyterian Church, which had met in the Central Presbyterian Church's educational annex since the late 1960s, Reverend Welty negotiated with the Central Presbyterian Church to lease the annex at 1470 Irving Street NW to different organizations and agencies serving the needs of the Latino community for one dollar per year, thereby creating a community center that lasted over three decades.[342] Organizations such as PEILA, CADOLANCA, the SED Center, and the Columbia Road Children's Center moved their offices into the building on Irving Street. Throughout the 1970s, other organizations, including the LAYC, the Middle East Research and Information Project (MERIP), El Centro de Arte, the Adelante Advocacy Center, EPICA, and the Rumba School expanded beyond the former educational building into the church sanctuary as well as the former church parsonage at 3045 15th Street NW. As Scallen wrote, "The Wilson Center soon became known as the "lighthouse" of community organizing for Washington's Latinos, acting as an early incubator for nonprofit agencies that would form the bedrock of the Latino social service sector in coming years."[343]

Several current residents of D.C. who were interviewed for this report emphasized the importance of the Wilson Center as "a hub of community organizing"[344] as well as the general importance of the intersection of 15th and Irving streets, where the Wilson Center, the LAYC, and the MCIP were all concentrated. Otero asserted that the Wilson Center "was the place where people gathered" and the cradle of small organizations that grew to be very important—not just to the Latino community but to all residents of D.C.—including El Centro de Arte, which Otero maintained "was really a critical organization that really was the artist community among Latinos, whether they were musicians or muralists," as well as PEILA, which became the first adult public charter school in the nation (Carlos Rosario International Public Charter School).[345] Cadaval mentioned the importance the Wilson Center had for recent immigrants. In her own scholarship, for which she conducted numerous interviews with Latino/a community members over

successive decades, she repeatedly heard personal narratives in which newly-arrived Spanish speakers would find compatriots at the Wilson Center who would help them find health services or other support networks. The Wilson Center was where transplants could find friends and common interests.[346]

The **ADELANTE ADVOCACY CENTER** was founded by **RICHARD GUTIERREZ** in 1976 and was housed in the Wilson Center in its initial years of operation. It was an outgrowth of the Spanish Catholic Center, and it offered bilingual housing services until it closed in 1995.[347] **AYUDA LEGAL SERVICES** was a legal aid center incorporated in 1973, although it stemmed from the 1960s George Washington (GW) University Law School clinic—Ayuda Para El Consumidor—that provided legal assistance to Spanish-speaking immigrants who had been targeted and victimized by consumer fraud. **RICHARD MORENO**, a Chicano law student at GW, rebranded Ayuda as an independent 501(c)(3) that provided civil legal services to Latino immigrants. Ayuda, which developed largely into an immigration law practice, was staffed by only Moreno and volunteers in its formative years. Rumbaut also worked at Ayuda, and by 1982, Yvonne Vega succeeded Moreno as the director of the organization. Today, the organization has a staff of over 60 across multiple offices in the metropolitan Washington area.[348]

Low-cost and bilingual healthcare clinics opened in the 1970s to serve Latinos/as, such as the Cardozo Clinic, opened by the Cardozo Heights Association for Neighborhood Growth and Enrichment (CHANGE, Inc.) in 1974.[349] The most significant from this era—Andromeda Hispano Mental Health center, now **ANDROMEDA TRANSCULTURAL HEALTH**—was founded by Dr. **RICARDO GALBIS** in 1970.[350] Galbis was a psychiatrist from Cuba who recognized that the growing Latino community in D.C., many of whom were political asylees, required mental health services to ease their adjustment to life in America as well as deal with trauma and behavioral issues. The clinic operated out of the basement of Galbis' house and was staffed by volunteers for the first two years. Within a few years, Andromeda established a Spanish-language telephone hotline, and by 1978, the clinic had received funding to start a program to treat alcoholism, which grew into a program to treat drug addiction in the early 1980s.[351] What made Andromeda unique among clinics was Galbis' understanding of and emphasis on "the "importance of language, culture and a personal approach to health care."[352]

In a 1982 interview, Kaplan emphasized the incredible role Latinas have played in the D.C. Latino community, a number of whom came to D.C. in the previous decade as single women or single mothers, who were making autonomous decisions for themselves and their dependents, and who had made strides despite gender biases and discrimination.[353] Among the serious and pressing issues facing Latinas in this era—including immigration status, housing, language acquisition, and family life—was a growing trend in domestic violence. The **HOUSE OF RUTH** was founded in 1976 by Georgetown University professor of sociology, Dr. Veronica Maz, to provide shelter to abused and at-risk women in D.C. The organization grew quickly and exponentially over the next several years, ultimately opening five locations across the District. Although the House of Ruth started as a housing-focused organization, it developed programs to address homelessness and transitional living issues, provide counseling, and offer early childhood development resources for children.[354]

In 1972, the Educational Organization for United Latin Americans (EOFULA)—which had been founded and incorporated in 1967 and 1969, respectively—opened the **SPANISH SENIOR CITIZENS CENTER**.[355] Located on Calvert Street, the organization worked closely with the Barney Neighborhood House through the 1970s and early 1980s, which had opened its own senior citizens center on Columbia Road by 1982. In an interview given that year, Barney Neighborhood House staff Ann Houston and Harry Struthers stated that the Spanish Senior Citizens Center was popular with Latinos/as but struggled to attract geriatric white and African American residents in the neighborhood,

THE WOODROW WILSON CENTER: A TIMELINE

Named for the former president who attended services at Central Presbyterian Church in the first quarter of the twentieth century, the Woodrow Wilson Center was established in the church's former educational annex by Reverend Welty with the permission of the Central Presbyterian Church, which owned the property. The property is comprised of three adjacent buildings: the 1913 sanctuary (3047 15th Street NW); a 1930 educational annex (1470 Irving Street NW); and a 1915 dwelling that originally served as a manse for the church's pastor (3045 15th Street NW).

- **1970:** Latino community leaders meet at the Central Presbyterian Church to plan a parade that would demonstrate the community's numbers, an event that would become the annual **Latino Festival**
- **1971-1978:** The Wilson Center opens; local community organizations, most serving the Latino community, are asked to rent space in the educational annex. A few of the first organizations include **CADOLANCA** and **PEILA**.
- **1971:** the **Columbia Road Children's Center** (now the Barbara Chambers Children's Center) occupies part of the annex (today, the early childhood development center occupies the entire annex building); the **SED Center** opens an office the former manse and is there for the next two years
- **1974:** the **LAYC** leases space in the former manse; MERIP operates from the Wilson Center
- **1976: El Centro de Arte** occupies the basement space in the Wilson Center
- **1978: EPICA** opens an office in the Wilson Center; the **Adelante Advocacy Center** is located in the manse through the early 1980s
- **1981:** The Central American Resource Center **(CARECEN)** opens in the Wilson Center
- **1983:** CARECEN opens a free health clinic, **La Clínica del Pueblo**, on the top (third) floor of the annex
- **1979-1984:** the National Capital Presbytery (NCP), which owned the property since 1973, announces to the tenants that they wish to sell their property on 15th and Irving streets; the various lessees form the **Tenants Association to Save the Wilson Center**, and NCP agrees not to sell. The NCP continues to explore redevelopment ideas for the property, however, including converting the buildings into Section 8 or elderly housing
- **1987:** local musicians Ian MacKaye, Joe Lally, and Brendan Canty perform for the first time as **Fugazi** in the Wilson Center basement
- **1988:** LAYC opens the **Drop-In Center** in the Wilson Center basement
- **1996: The Next Step** originates as a teen parenting program through the LAYC, and operated on the second floor of the LAYC's new location on Columbia Road
- **2001:** The Wilson Center is closed when the NCP divests its property, selling the sanctuary to the Capital City Charter School. Before its closure, El Centro de Arte occupied the former sanctuary and basement hall and the Barbara Chambers Children's Center, La Clínica del Pueblo, and EPICA occupied the annex. These four organizations composed the Unity Community Center, a 501(c)(3) organization that leased the property from the NCP
- **2024:** The sanctuary is owned and occupied (since 2012) by The Next Step Public Charter School; the annex is owned and occupied by the Barbara Chambers Children's Center; and the manse is owned and occupied by the LAYC

(Cadaval 1998: 221. Cherkasky and Levey 2006. Silverman 2001. The Next Step Public Charter School.)

further pointing to the self-segregation and isolation rampant amongst D.C. Latinos/as in this period.[356] The organization continues today as the Vida Senior Center.

By 1976, the Latino/a leaders of these social service organizations realized that they could have more collective power if they banded together. In a 1982 interview, Sonia Gutierrez recounted the birth of the Council of Hispanic Community and Agencies, for which she served as the council's first president (from January 1977 to December 1978):

> *One day we were in my office, and I said to Pedro Luján, "Why don't we have a meeting of all the directors, and we include you and Marina Felix, because we always work together and we can see what we can do?" We had a meeting in…November of 1976 (this was in my house), and all the directors of the agencies went. And Pedro Luján and Marina Felix. And we decided that we all needed an organization that was a coalition of agencies, in which all the agencies would work together, in which we would help each other, in which we would share resources, etc. And we said, "We are going to form an agency called the Spanish Agency Coalition." And at that time, Richard Gutierrez was the director of aid, and Richard Gutierrez had just received money for a program that he was going to call Adelante. And Richard said, "We are going to form this coalition, and I have in mind, under that board, to have almost all of you, the directors of the agencies. So what we do is, I put that money at the disposal of this agency council." Then Richard Gutierrez called for a meeting and he called all of us, all the directors of the agencies, etc. So we thought of forming a coalition, using this money, and from there the Spanish Agency Council was born. And I had the great privilege and pleasure of being elected first president. I was the founding president of the Spanish Agency Council.*[357]

In the late 1970s, the **COUNCIL OF HISPANIC COMMUNITY AND AGENCIES** kept an office at 1736 Columbia Road—the same building which housed Ayuda, one of the founding members of the coalition. Council letterhead from 1978 lists the agencies comprising the coalition: Andromeda Mental Health; Ayuda Legal Services; the Bilingual Program; Change, Inc. Social Services; Community Group Health Foundation; Community Representatives; Dupont Circle Counseling Center; Eofula, Inc., Elderly; Gala Hispanic Theatre; Latin American Youth Center; Program for English Instruction for Latin Americans [PEILA]; Rosemount Daycare Center; Sacred Heart Community Center; Spanish American Police Association; Spanish Catholic Center Community Services; Spanish Education Development [SED] Center; United Planning Organization [UPO] Spanish Office; and the Woodrow Wilson Center Social Services.[358] As Otero explained, "the Consejo of Agencies was meant to kind of harness the power of the community in one voice. And that, for a long time, was the voice of the community, of the more established community, which had now developed these organizations."[359] Kaplan named the Council with the labor unions and the Latino Festival as vehicles for community organizing, "a key spot where issues could be worked out and conversations could be had and…strategies [formed]."[360] It was through the work of the Council and all of the aforementioned Latino agencies that a real polity was formed in D.C. And it was the Council that,

> …first suggested renaming Adams Morgan the "Latin Quarter" with the stated intention of increasing the economic base of the neighborhood, stimulating jobs, supporting small businesses, and protecting low-income Hispanics being displaced by rising housing costs by attracting some of the shopping and entertainment dollars that the District's 12 million tourists brought every year. In 1979, Mayor Barry threw his weight behind the proposal at least in part as an expression of gratitude to Hispanics for overwhelmingly supporting his successful mayoral bid. Barry eventually withdrew his support for the proposal due to broad opposition from Adams Morgan residents, who objected to the idea

> of their neighborhood serving as a tourist attraction and took offense at what they interpreted as undue emphasis on the area's Latin heritage in a multicultural community.[361]

Through the 1970s, the District government's attention shifted away from targeted economic development in Adams Morgan and Mount Pleasant following the 1968 riots to issues of housing affordability.

Housing

In a 2017 article, photographer and longtime D.C. resident Reinhard wrote,

> Through the 1970s, I witnessed the dramatic growth of D.C.'s Latino community. Driven into exile by U.S. anti-Communist policies in Latin America, new immigrants, first from Chile and then from Nicaragua, Guatemala, and El Salvador, began to concentrate in the Adams Morgan neighborhood centered at the intersection of 18th Street and Columbia Road NW.[362]

Indeed, Latinos/as continued to concentrate in Dupont Circle, Adams Morgan, Mount Pleasant, and Columbia Heights as far east as 14th Street NW throughout the 1970s.[363]

After the 1968 riots, white flight from the District into the suburbs decimated the population of northwest D.C. Several businesses were closed (either temporarily or permanently), the local economy suffered, and a considerable portion of the building stock was damaged or shuttered.[364] While in the beginning this recession may have benefitted immigrants and young activists looking for affordable spaces in which to live and work, the phenomenon was short-lived.[365] The white flight pattern reversed after the 1973 oil crisis and subsequent economic depression made commuting from the suburbs much less appealing.[366] Furthermore, the continual expansion of the federal government and complementary industries "attracted young, well-educated professionals to the city… [who] were typically (but never exclusively) young, White, and childless. Although solidly middle class, they generally were not wealthy, and for economic, and often aesthetic and social reasons, they sought relatively cheaper housing in economically marginalized neighborhoods."[367]

Starting in the 1970s, young professionals purchased large, early twentieth-century residences in Mount Pleasant that had been converted to rooming houses in previous decades and restored them to single-family use. Property owners of large residential or commercial buildings held abandoned properties for years, allowing the buildings to deteriorate while they waited for market trends to shift. Wealthy developers and real-estate speculators with capital purchased buildings in northwest D.C. after the riots, when the prices were at their nadir, then renovated the buildings and sold them for sizable profit, thereby raising not only the value of the building but the real-estate tax assessments of neighboring properties. These property owners would sell renovated residences at prices people in the neighborhood could not afford, or lease dwelling units at monthly rates too expensive for the working-class African Americans and Latinos/as already living in Adams Morgan, thereby pricing them out. District planning and zoning policies and practices exacerbated the displacement by rezoning areas as industrial or commercial, allowing new development to come in that would consequently attract new residents who could afford the higher-priced housing market. This, in turn, would attract more developers whose redevelopments were tailored for more affluent, new residents, thereby creating a perpetuating cycle of ratcheted gentrification.[368]

This phenomenon was not isolated to Adams Morgan and Mount Pleasant, however, although these particular neighborhoods were impacted greatly. In their contributing essay to the 2015 book, *Capital Dilemma: Growth and Inequality in Washington, D.C.*, authors Chris Myers Asch and George Derek Musgrove assert that,

> In the 1970s and early 1980s, a third wave of gentrification swept across Washington, D.C.

> Enticed by rock-bottom housing prices and revitalizers' success in the first- and second-wave neighborhoods, developers, speculators, and amateur flippers snapped up houses and apartment buildings in Logan Circle, Adams Morgan, Mount Pleasant, Columbia Heights, Capitol Hill, Hill East, Dupont Circle, and LeDroit Park. Young professionals followed fast on their heels, propelled by a nationwide "back to the city" trend rooted in a countercultural critique of the suburbs.[369]

As early as 1972, the topic of gentrification and displacement in Adams Morgan was public discourse. The WCVC made an 11-minute video recording of the *Adams-Morgan Gentrification and Displacement Walking Tour*, in which a narrator—Marie S. Nahikian, a former director of the Adams Morgan Organization (AMO) and community organizer—and her camera crew combed through residential streets in the neighborhood, outlining the various reasons current residents were being priced out of the area. These reasons included speculation and redevelopment, limitations imposed on renters by landlords, and the sale of residential building stock to middle-class, white couples who, as the narrator said, moved to Adams Morgan for the racial diversity that their growing numbers were eroding.[370] A 20-minute video created by WCVC was aired on local Channel 4 news in the same period, bringing the issue of land speculation, exponentially rising rents, evictions, and tenants' rights in Adams Morgan to the wider District's attention.[371]

The AMO was founded in 1972 by Nahikian, Walter Pierce, Josephine Butler, and others to address speculation and displacement issues and to advocate for the creation of tenants' associations via participatory democracy.[372] Instances of eviction were high: in 1973 alone, tenants in 11 apartment buildings across Adams Morgan received eviction notices. Through community advocacy efforts, the D.C. government passed the Rental Accommodations Act in 1975, the Residential Real Property Transfer Excise Tax in 1978, and the Rental Housing Conversion and Sale Act in 1980, all efforts to preserve diminishing affordable housing stock in D.C.[373] Young activists in the barrio got involved in the struggle; Griffiths recalled in a 2023 panel that the LAYC was active in advocating for rent control in the city by going door-to-door and speaking to residents, raising awareness and involvement in housing issues.[374]

Despite these successes and strides, real-estate prices in Adams Morgan more than doubled between 1978 and 1983, at which point an average rowhouse cost as much as $187,768.[375] Asch and Musgrove point to 1978 as a watershed year for the gentrification of Adams Morgan and Mount Pleasant. In the first ten months of that year, the lessees of 2,542 rental units across the neighborhood received eviction notices, and "*The Washington Post* dubbed 1978 'the year of the renter's revolt'."[376] The following year (1979), a study concluded that home prices in Adams Morgan and Mount Pleasant had increased more than 100% from just four years previously, and that 25,000 apartments—accounting for 12% of the entire District's rental units—were being converted into condominiums. Community protests had become common, and tenants' associations proliferated in the late 1970s. Even the Advisory Neighborhood Committees (ANCs) became involved when, in March 1979, the Adams Morgan ANC "hired three tenants' rights groups to organize renters in 150 of the neighborhood's 280 apartment buildings."[377]

One of the most publicized housing battles in Mount Pleasant was over the **KENESAW APARTMENT HOUSE**, which had been a significant institution and gathering place for the Latino community since the Spanish Catholic Center opened there in 1967 (Figure 4.11).[378] One resident said of the Kenesaw that, if Mount Pleasant were thought of as an island, then "I think of this building as a ship. Sort of the flagship of Mount Pleasant."[379] By the 1970s, the occupants of the Kenesaw were racially and ethnically mixed. In 1978, when the owner of the aging building decided to sell it, a group of "low-income and immigrant tenants fought the move and, aided by community groups, organized to buy the building."[380] Ultimately, the D.C. government stepped in and renovated the building as a condominium, helping the group of residents form

Figure 4.11: Kenesaw Apartment House (1909), 3060 16th Street NW. Photograph by Shae Corey, September 2021. Courtesy of the D.C. Preservation League.[381]

a cooperative within the condominium to gain independent ownership of the units they lived in. The complexities of the Kenesaw situation led David Clarke, a D.C. Councilman, to sponsor the 1980 Rental Housing Conversion and Sale Act. This landmark act, which safeguarded tenants' first refusal rights, fostered the establishment of a number of cooperatives in northwest D.C. in successive years.[382]

Latinos/as in the 1970s lived in different residential housing types—rowhouses, duplexes, rooming houses—throughout Adams Morgan and Mount Pleasant, but particularly in apartments. The **PARKFAIR APARTMENTS** on Park Road were home to lower-income African Americans and immigrants, including Latino and Vietnamese occupants, in the last quarter of the twentieth century.[383] After arriving in D.C. in 1979, Abel Nuñez lived in a low-income apartment building called **EL BARCO**, which he described as "an incredible place" because of the tenants' diverse nationalities, from Jamaicans to Nicaraguans.[384] Charlene Howard said of an apartment building in Adams Morgan in the 1970s—**HARVARD HALL**—that "if you were single, that was the place to be… It was a party building, it was a political building, it was an arts building… it was international and cultural."[385] Otero recalled that, in the mid-1970s, some Latinos/as coalesced on Park Road between 14th and 16th streets as well as on Calvert Street. But by the early 1980s, neighborhood residents interviewed as part of the Latino Youth Community History Project asserted that the increasing costs of housing were pushing Latinos/as out of Mount Pleasant and Adams Morgan into suburbs in Virginia and Maryland, especially Silver Spring and Takoma Park.[386]

Politics, Governance, and Economic Development

In 1970, the U.S. census introduced the concept of Latino (then called Hispanic) ethnicity by making particular note of people who primarily used the

Spanish language, had origins in a Latin American country, or had a Spanish-derived surname. In Washington, D.C., the census enumerated 17,561 Hispanics residing within the District. Because public funds and services were allocated by population, this count became an important measure to the D.C. Latino community, which contested the calculation as much too low.[387] A few of D.C.'s Latino community leaders—including Rosario, Luna, and Fernández-Zayas—convened at the Wilson Center after the 1970 census results were published to discuss the unsatisfactory findings, as the lower numbers would consequently underfund Latino service programs. Washington Latinos/as (such as Fernández-Zayas) had taken part in the Civil Rights Movement and had absorbed lessons on the importance of organizing. In response to what they believed to be undercounting of Latinos/as in D.C., this "group of individuals, mostly from Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Panama, Peru, and Puerto Rico, organized a festival that would demonstrate their presence to the District government."[388] What was originally called the Día Hispanoamericano—conceived as a one-day festival event and a parade intended to gain visibility and recognition by both D.C. residents at-large and the local and federal governments—started out as a political pressure group and organizing effort that would become the annual **LATINO FESTIVAL**.[389]

There had been a small festival that predated this large organization effort, which had been organized by Gloria Murguelza, a Mexican immigrant, on the grounds of Woodrow Wilson (now Jackson-Reed) High School in Tenleytown. But the Latino Festival organizers had grander ambitions. In order to help finance the first festival, Luna and others held a dance and charged a one-dollar admission. The first Latino Festival was held in Kalorama Park in the summer of 1971, where approximately 21 kiosks were set up to sell a range of foods and goods (Figure 4.12). As many as 10,000 people attended the first festival, which was presided over by Mayor Washington (he delivered the convocation speech). The crux of the festival was the street parade in which about 15 decorative floats meandered up Columbia Road, manned by Latinos/as from various Latin American countries, some of whom wore traditional, heritage dress. The festival organizers understood that "taking to the streets" in the form of a marching parade would not only demonstrate numbers but would attract media attention. This paid off when the *Washington Post* published an article in 1972 announcing "Latinos Hold Heritage Day" and describing a community of diverse Spanish speakers coming together to express solidarity. By 1972, the Latino Festival had grown into a two-day event in Kalorama Park when members of the LAYC hosted activities for kids on the second day. With each passing year, the festival expanded through the increasing participation of special-interest groups and organizations, so that eventually there was a women's day and a senior citizens' day in addition to the youth day. Within five years, it had become a week-long fiesta.[390]

Although the Latino Festival's original mission was to raise awareness of the Latino community's numbers in the District, there was always a geospatial element to it. As Cadaval and Reinhard maintained, the festival

> ...was the strategy first used to claim both a voice in the city and an identifiable space in the neighborhood. Although now considered a Latino neighborhood, the Mt. Pleasant and Adams Morgan areas have been the subject of competition among Latinos and other residents, white and black. From the outset, the festival was instrumental in claiming the barrio and assuring its Latino identity.[391]

The festival only stayed in Kalorama Park for a few years. Residents of the area complained that the festival killed the park's grass each year, and they lobbied to have the festival held elsewhere. In response, the festival organizers moved the event to Columbia Road, closing down three blocks between Kalorama Park and 18th Street NW. In this period, too, the parade route was extended to begin at Park Road and Mount Pleasant Street. By the mid-1980s, the three-block area on Columbia Road had become too small to contain the crowds, and so the festival appropriated Columbia Road all the way to 16th Street NW.[392]

Figure 4.12: Children in the Latino Festival Parade, 1971. Courtesy of the D.C. Public Library, People's Archive.[393]

Besides bringing the District's attention to the presence of the growing and formidable Latino community, the creation of the Latino Festival had other beneficial results among members of the D.C. Latino community. Firstly, the Latino Festival became an exercise in participatory democracy, as community elections were held each year to nominate a board president. Sonia Gutierrez, who became involved with the festival in 1972 when Rosario was president, was elected president in 1975. In her 1982 interview, she expressed gratitude that she had been a festival leader in a time when there was little dissent among the organizers; for as the festival grew, so did its electoral politics, which came to encompass factions, discord, and conflict.[394] Secondly, the vast challenges inherent in organizing such a large public event made "good citizens" out of the organizers, who learned how to attain permits from the municipal government, how to arrange for trash collection, how to fundraise on a grand scale, and ultimately how to work within the system and use government channels to achieve a goal. Many of the participants had never worked in government or held leadership positions, and so the annual event provided an education in community leadership and civic duty as well as civil rights advocacy.[395] And lastly, "it was largely during the annual process of organizing the festival that Washington's Latino community learned how to negotiate its extremely multinational, multiracial, and changing identity" and "to confront the flexible meaning of the term 'Latino.'"[396] The Latino Festival is, at its fundamental core, a manifestation of solidarity, but it also provides a means for political action within the Latino community as well as within the District. As Cadaval and Reinhard surmised, "Front stage, the festival is presented as a cultural affirmation

of a unified social identity. Back stage, the festival brings forth social, economic, and political issues that move different elements of the community."[397]

Members of D.C.'s Latino community were politically active in local government outside of the festival framework as well. After D.C. was granted Home Rule in 1973 and elections were held for governmental offices in 1974, Griffiths' father—Arturo Griffiths, Sr.—campaigned for the mayoral office while Rosario ran for City Council, both unsuccessfully. ANCs were established in the Home Rule Act, as were Neighborhood Planning Councils. While Latino/as had little success attaining positions in the higher levels of local government in the 1970s, they did serve on these community-wide committees, such as Zodiac-owner Daniel Bueno, who became president of the Mount Pleasant Neighborhood Planning Council in this era. Griffiths' sister, Yasmin Griffiths (who had helped form and operate the LAYC in the 1970s) also ran for office and was elected vice-president of the Mount Pleasant Neighborhood Planning Council.[398]

The largest stride Latinos/as made in local government in this period was the establishment of the **OFFICE OF LATINO AFFAIRS** inside the Mayor's Office.[399] The Spanish Community Advisory Committee, which had been formed in 1969 within the D.C. Office of Human Relations and was spearheaded by Rosario, was under threat of reorganization in 1975. Rosario mobilized Sonia and **JOSE GUTIERREZ**, a community worker and a talented politician, who gathered forces—including Fernández-Zayas, Dávila, and Marina Felix—from the Latino community and went to the Mayor's office in protest of the reorganization one afternoon. As Sonia Gutierrez recounted in a 1982 interview, the group was not given access to the Mayor, and so they sat on the floor in an act of passive resistance. Police were called in, but they continued their sit-in, singing "We Shall Overcome" and voicing their demands to see the Mayor. Unfortunately, Mayor Washington left the building without meeting the protestors, who decided they needed to better organize themselves. Councilman Marion Barry advised Jose Gutierrez that the pressure group would need to lobby for an act of local legislation which would create an advisory committee within the Mayor's own office rather than in administrative agencies. The Latino activists formed the Latino-Political Corpus, naming Jose president and Sonia vice-president. With **HECTOR RODRIGUEZ**, they wrote the legislative act advised by Barry and presented it to both City Council and the U.S. Congress as well as lobbying it to the White House. Through their efforts, the Office of Latino Affairs was established within the Mayoral office in 1976 with Rosario at its head.[400]

On the national level, Washington, D.C., became the home of the NCLR (now UnidosUS) in 1972. This national advocacy institution is an alliance of Latino community-based organizations across the country, but with its home base in D.C., it grew to support D.C. Latino community agencies closely. The NCLR "provided capacity building to ensure that local Latino organizations could grow and expand service provision at the local level" and also "sought to amalgamate the needs and issues identified by these member organizations into a regional and, ultimately, national Latino agenda that would serve as the foundation for Latino advocacy at the state and national levels" by lobbying state legislatures and Congress as well as federal-level, executive-branch agencies.[401]

With the increasing number of Spanish-speaking immigrants settling in D.C., policing became an issue. In the 1960s and 1970s, it was generally observed that members of the D.C. police force—who were typically white males who lived in the suburbs—were prejudiced against minority residents.[402] When **DANIEL FLORES** joined the Metropolitan Police Department (MPD) in 1968, he was the only Spanish-speaker and Latino working in the District's 18th precinct, which counted approximately 30,000 Latinos/as (nearly twice the number that the U.S. census would count across the entire District two years later). Many of these immigrants had little or no English skills, which made for fraught encounters with police officers who were not bilingual. As a mitigation effort, the

MPD established the **FOURTH DISTRICT POLICE CENTER** in a commercial storefront on Mount Pleasant Street in October 1971.[403] For the next 12 years, the station was staffed by three bilingual officers supervised by Larry J. Moss, an ordained Baptist minister who had worked in Latin America. The Fourth District Police Center was intended as a liaison office in which a few Spanish-speaking "community services" officers could provide counseling and referral services and strengthen relations between the police force and Latinos/ as residing in Mount Pleasant, Columbia Heights, and Upper Cardozo. During the 1970s, Flores was tapped to serve as the coordinator of relations between the Latino community and the MPD, and presumably worked closely with Moss and officers Juan Pedroza and **ARTURO SILVESTER**, who were also stationed in the Fourth District Police Center through the decade.[404]

Born in Panama, Silvester immigrated to New York City in 1964 to join his mother, who had arrived in 1957. He enlisted in the U.S. Army and served from 1965 to 1971, spending three years in Germany and three in Alabama. In 1970, President Nixon increased police presence in D.C., instigating a hiring boom; and so when his second Army tour was completed, Silvester moved to D.C. to join the MPD. He worked in Georgetown for the first seven years of his service, then moved to the Fourth District Police Center in 1976 to utilize his bilingual skills. As a junior policeman, Silvester patrolled the area to maintain order and issue tickets. When he was interviewed in 1982, however, he saw his role better defined as "to provide more services and better public relations for the department" that was still having frequent conflict with members of the Latino community.[405] In describing his liaison role in the neighborhood, Silvester said,

> *Well, after a while, I got to know the people who were in the corners, those who were bad, good, drunk, drug addicts, thieves, everyone. But in the afternoon, they came and talked to me about any problem. If you were sick, drunk, or something like that, we were there to help you. We called the ambulance, sent you to detox, and after a while, the relationship improved between us, the police, and the immediate community in Mount Pleasant.*[406]

By 1978, when Moss was asked to testify in front of Congress about police practices and the rising instances of domestic abuse in the District, he described the programs at the Fourth District Police Center as primarily counseling and referral services. The officers worked with community members who had been victims of crime and victims of domestic abuse, providing counseling to both walk-in and call-in citizens. In addition, they educated the community on a breadth of issues, from housing and employment to immigration law and consumer assistance, by keeping a library of referral guides that directed people to both governmental and non-governmental service agencies. By the late 1970s, the staff included two bilingual officers who worked closely with schools, community and civic organizations, and neighborhood associations, providing audio-visual and bilingual presentations on topics ranging from theft and assault to confidence games and narcotics. In Moss' estimation, over the seven years that the Fourth District Police Center had been open, it had "earned…a high regard among the residents, community organizations and social welfare agencies in Mount Pleasant, Columbia Heights and Adams Morgan" and had "become an invaluable resource to the Latino community of Washington, D.C. as a dispute settlement center and linkage with other governmental services."[407] Moss believed that the work they did at the Fourth District Police Center in dispute settlement, using the tactics of conciliation, mediation, and arbitration, had been learned on the job and was above and beyond the normal training the MPD or any police academy provided its recruits.[408]

Despite its successes and good works, the Fourth District Police Center ceased to exist around 1983. This was contemporaneous with Silvester's estimation in April 1982 that the number of Latinos/as had "doubled, three or four times" and was no longer concentrated in Mount Pleasant and on 18th Street and Columbia Road.[409] The decision to close down

an office that fostered good relations between the Latino community and the MPD at the very moment when waves of new Spanish-speaking immigrants were arriving in masses would have devastating consequences in the next decade.

Conclusion

The 1970s was truly the pinnacle for D.C.'s Latino community and the crux of its formation as a self-identified, umbrella community in which diverse Spanish speakers shared political, social, cultural, and economic interests. Unlike in earlier decades, most new arrivals in the 1970s were immigrants unassociated with the embassies and international organizations that had attracted previous generations. A substantial number came from South and Central America, fleeing repressive regimes and violence, but they were not refugees in the legal sense of the word. Some of the South Americans that settled in D.C. came from educated, middle-class backgrounds, and these Latinos/as inspired the political arts movement as manifested in El Centro de Arte, the GALA Hispanic Theatre, and the murals movement that thrived into the 1980s.

Because of the diversity—ethnic, national, socioeconomic—of the Latin American immigrants arriving in the 1970s, the political, social, cultural, and economic lives of members of D.C.'s Latino community blossomed and flourished in this period. Small, commercial businesses owned and operated by Latinos/as and serving a Latino clientele expanded exponentially in this period and were no longer confined to just bodegas and restaurants, but included tailors, barbershops, and even niche retail stores, such as a bicycle shop and a popular record store. Latinas were employed as domestics not just in privileged households but in the larger hotel industry in the District. Latinos worked in construction and food service industries in addition to the private employ of embassy staff. Latinos/as owned, operated, wrote for, and published newspapers. The D.C. Latino economic base widened and diversified in the 1970s.

Similarly, bilingual education—both private and public—expanded in the 1970s, with the establishment of the Bilingual Program in D.C. public schools, the founding of the Rosemount Center, the Oyster Bilingual Elementary School, the SED Center, MCIP, and PEILA, which would become the Gordon Center and then the Carlos Rosario International Public Charter School, the first adult public charter school in the nation. Religion and activism continued to go hand-in-hand in the 1970s, as well, and organizations outside of the Catholic Archdiocese of Washington's aegis were created, such as EPICA and La Casa. The Spanish Catholic Center, however, continued to play a significant role providing services to members of D.C.'s Latino community in this decade.

Activism and social services were the hallmark of this era and the core of the D.C. Latino community's formation. The year 1971 marked the beginning of the two most seminal agencies/events for D.C's Latino community in this era: the opening of the Wilson Center in the Central Presbyterian Church property on 15th and Irving streets and the first annual Latino Festival. Other social service organizations were created through the decade to meet the needs of the growing Latino community, including Adelante, Andromeda, and Ayuda. This social welfare period culminated with the establishment of the Council of Hispanic Community and Agencies, which was an umbrella organization bringing together these diverse agencies and organizations to maximize visibility, voice, and power.

Activist Latinos/as during the 1970s worked to better their community by building parks, organizing, educating, and fighting to maintain affordable housing and ensure tenants' rights in a period marred by increasing gentrification and displacement. In this era, too, Latinos/as campaigned for local government offices and were successful in creating a permanent liaison office—the Office of Latino Affairs, which exists today—inside the Mayor's own office. These 1970s activists and community leaders—including (among others) Rosario, Fernández-Zayas, Luna, Sonia Gutierrez, Dávila, Reverend Welty, Father

del Riego, and Luján—founded the very social service and political organizations that not only greatly assisted the D.C. Latino community in their time but continue to serve residents of the greater Washington area today.[410] These organizations are also nationally recognized for their groundbreaking work. Several of the aforementioned Latinos/as were Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and Dominicans who had arrived in D.C. in the 1950s and 1960s. Puerto Ricans had the advantages of citizenship and residency, and (compared to later arrivals) they had English language skills that enabled them to attain leadership positions in the District's governmental structure. These various individuals became what was called, by 1982, the Old Guard among members of D.C.'s Latino community. The Old Guard would be replaced by a New Guard in the late 1980s and 1990s, but their undeniable achievements set the stage for the strides and accomplishments that are continuing to be made, today, by the community as a whole.[411]

In this period of activism and community formation, **retail storefronts**, **schools**, **parks**, **apartment buildings**, and the **offices** of social service organizations and relevant governmental agencies were the most important building typologies. Converted rowhouses built in the late nineteenth or early twentieth centuries housed agencies and organizations, such as the GALA Hispanic Theatre in its first years. But public art projects—specifically murals—in the built environment also characterize this era and were a new typological addition to the expanding, tangible Latino presence in D.C. As the majority (if not all) of these buildings predated the formation of a Latino polity in D.C., the architectural styles of the examples listed in this chapter cover a wide variety of styles, ages, and original functions. As in previous decades, Latino spaces were inserted into an already-existing urban fabric.

Chapter 5: A New Guard, 1980-1991

The 1980s were a turning point for the D.C. Latino community. Political strife and violent civil wars in Central America resulted in huge numbers of largely undocumented immigrants—Nicaraguans, Guatemalans, and Salvadorans—coming to the United States via Mexico. While these individuals were threatened by oppressive and/or violent regimes in their home countries and were seeking refuge, many did not meet the definition of refugee according to the American Immigration and Nationality Act (Hart-Celler Act) of 1965 and thus did not (and still do not) qualify for asylum. The hundreds of thousands of Central Americans entering the United States throughout the decade constituted an unprecedented wave of undocumented immigration. By 1990, the nation-wide Latino population had reached 22.354 million (or 9% of the total U.S. population), 6% (1.324 million) of whom were Central Americans. Many of these migrants were fleeing wars that were largely induced by U.S. Cold War policies and direct military intervention.[412] Those who settled in Washington, D.C. during this decade and later were the drivers of the shift in the demographics of the Latino community within the District and created a new guard of community leaders. With the arrival of these Central Americans, the Latino community in D.C. became much larger than it ever had been before.

Another subset of the D.C. Latino community—the LGBTQ Latino community—found its voice in the 1980s, as well. In 1975, "feeling alienated as Latinos from the white LGBTQ communities, politics, and organizations and alienated as gay men from their Latino communities…Rodrigo Reyes, Manuel Hernandez Valadez, and Jesus Barragan cofounded the Gay Latino/a Alliance (GALA)" in San Jose, California.[413] This was the first of several Latino LGBTQ advocacy groups to emerge in major U.S. cities in the following years. In D.C., most of the Latino community's LGBTQ members migrated to the capital city in the 1980s, either from foreign nations or other U.S. cities. The few LGBTQ Latinos and Latinas in D.C. before that—from the 1940s through the 1970s—had maintained low profiles, afraid that being openly gay would endanger their jobs and their immigration status. But by the 1980s, D.C.'s LGBTQ Latinos/as began to organize openly, and 1987 was a watershed year for Washington's gay Latino community. It marked the Second National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights in D.C. as well as the founding of three important organizations: Salud, Inc., a health clinic; ENLACE, the first D.C. Latino LGBTQ advocacy group; and National LLEGO, a national advocacy and rights organization.[414]

This chapter lays out the background context and explores the ways in which these new voices shaped the formation (or reformation) of a Latino identity or community in Washington, D.C., at the end of the twentieth century.

WASHINGTON'S LGBTQ LATINOS/AS PRIOR TO 1980

Between 1997 and 2004, Jose Gutierrez conducted interviews with several elders in D.C.'s Latino LGBTQ community. Individuals like Reynaldo Aguirre, a Chicano from Texas who moved to Washington in 1962, attested that "in the 1960s and 1970s [it] was so difficult to be Latino and gay and be out of the closet," because of "barriers that we face with our family and society." Aguirre worked at the Library of Congress while his partner was serving in the U.S. Army. Their relationship was kept a secret for fear that being openly gay would negatively impact their job security. The couple socialized with friends at private parties, which included other "gay Latinos [who] moved to Washington, D.C., to work in universities, embassies, the government, and in the World Bank [or who] came to study at George Washington University or at [Georgetown] University."

Nilda Aponte, who came to D.C. from Puerto Rico in 1979 to work in the federal government, also related that her "first years in D.C. were very isolated and [that she] attended private parties until the late 1980s." To meet other Latina lesbians, Aponte would place an ad in the Washington Blade, a gay newspaper. In the late 1980s, Aponte attended a dance sponsored by ENLACE, at which she met other LGBTQ Latinos. Aponte's interview emphasizes how public venues—such as bars—became important gathering places for the Latino LGBTQ community ready to be in the open in the late 1980s and 1990s. (Jose Gutierrez, email communication to Heather McMahon, 20 July 2024.)

Politics at Home and Abroad

In her 2006 book, *Seeking Refuge: Central American Migration to Mexico*, the United States, and Canada, María Christina García succinctly summarized the wars in Central America and their global effects:

> The revolutions in Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Guatemala were each the product of decades of struggles over land, resources, and power. However, what began as localized conflicts became international crises that affected dozens of nations, including neighboring Costa Rica, Honduras, and Mexico; hemispheric allies such as the United States and Canada; and even Cuba, the Soviet Union, and the European Community. Thousands of Central Americans died, and millions more were uprooted as a consequence of the domestic and foreign policy decisions of these various actors.[415]

United States foreign policy throughout the twentieth century has generally supported governments that protected American political and economic interests in the region. The Sandinistas' rise to power in 1979 ended over four decades of the Somoza family's rule in Nicaragua, whom U.S. presidents from Truman to Ford considered as allies in the Cold War struggle against communism. Through the 1970s, the Sandinistas waged guerilla warfare against the dictatorship, employing tactics from the kidnapping and ransoming of officials to armed attacks on military installations and governmental buildings. In 1979, the FSLN took over the country, shifting America's Cold War counter-insurgency policies from South America to Central America.

Contemporaneously, Archbishop Oscar Romero was assassinated by a right-wing death squad in 1980, marking an escalation in El Salvador's civil war. Salvadoran citizens had been protesting the questionable election and policies of Fidel Sánchez Hernández since 1972 through organized strikes, acts of civil disobedience, and popular demonstrations. In 1978, General Carlos Humberto Romero was elected, and in October 1979, a

military junta replaced senior officials in the state military. Under the Romero regime, death squads, active through the 1970s, continued to unleash terror among the citizenry. In 1980 alone, an estimated 8,000 civilians were assassinated in a state-sponsored campaign of terror. In response, the FMLN, a leftist guerrilla group, launched an offensive against the Salvadoran army in February 1981. Meanwhile, political unrest continued in neighboring Guatemala, which was experiencing a civil war. The Guatemalan government suffered consecutive coups d'état in 1982 and 1983.[416]

By 1981, U.S. military interventionism in Central America heightened. In response to the FMLN offensive in El Salvador, the U.S. Department of State issued a white paper accusing the Marxist Nicaraguan Sandinistas of exporting terror (and arms) into El Salvador. This policy paper shaped international policy vis-à-vis Nicaragua, culminating in the Contra War (1982-1990). Furthermore, President Reagan's administration imposed an economic embargo against El Salvador while establishing staging grounds in neighboring Honduras for the CIA and U.S. military personnel to train counterrevolutionaries, or "contras." At the start, these "contras" were comprised mostly of former Nicaraguan National Guard members in exile. Within a few years, the contras had recruited thousands of peasant soldiers. The goal of the Reagan administration was to destabilize Nicaragua and thereby erode Sandinista control.[417]

In the same period, a third wave of Cuban immigration to the United States occurred, starting with the Mariel Boatlift between April 15 and October 31, 1980. By the end of that seven-month period, as many as 120,000 Cubans had fled to America by air and sea, primarily by vessels departing from the port of Mariel. The Marielitos, as these Cuban refugees were called, came from all socioeconomic backgrounds, but Castro painted them as undesirables—convicts, homosexuals, and mental health patients; only a very small percentage (2%) were determined to have been dangerous criminals by the U.S. State Department and thereby denied U.S. citizenship. The vast majority received permanent legal status by 1984 under the Cuban Adjustment Act of 1966. Three years later, another 3,000 former political prisoners in Cuba were allowed to emigrate to the U.S. thanks to the United States-Cuba Migration Agreement of 1987.[418]

The Marielitos were provided residency status and pathways to citizenship; they became a talking point in President Reagan's campaign against Castro's Cuba. As a counterpoint, certain Central American refugees were systematically denied asylum because, as **CHARLES KAMASAKI** of UnidosUS explains,

> *...the Reagan administration applied a heavily political test in its determinations of asylum. Because if you granted someone asylum, you were essentially saying they faced political persecution in their home country. And the U.S. was supporting the regimes in El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras. So for us to grant their nationals asylum was in effect saying we were supporting an oppressive regime, which we would not do. On the other hand, Nicaraguans received asylum at quite high rates because they were fleeing a regime that we were trying to overthrow. Similarly, the policy for Cubans had long been if you made it to the U.S., you were allowed in. Again, some would argue a kind of Cold War politics dominated. So in addition to the traditional challenges of migration, you had people, many of whom were fleeing trauma, fleeing persecution, fleeing for their lives...and yet they didn't have legal status and very little hope of getting legal status once they got to the U.S.*[419]

This political paradigm, which favored certain nationalities in terms of granting asylum due to geopolitics seen through a Cold War lens, created two classes of Latin American immigrants. As people, they were all equal in wanting a better, safer life in a new homeland, to escape the turmoil, violence, and brutality that had upended their lives in their places of origin. But once in America, either the gift or the lack of U.S. government support signaled these immigrants as either haves or have

nots, "causing resentment and friction within the Latino community."[420]

Peace initiatives began in earnest in the latter half of the decade, leading to the 1987 Central American Peace Agreement signed by the presidents of Guatemala, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Honduras, and Costa Rica in Esquipulas, Guatemala. With the Sapoá and Tela accords of 1988 and 1989, respectively, the FLSN and Contra armies in Nicaragua demobilized, and an election in 1990 removed the FLSN from power thereby marking the end of the Contra War.[421] The civil war in El Salvador lasted through 1991 and was put to rest by the Chapultepec Peace Accords in 1992.

The conflagrations in Central America had direct effects on Washington, D.C. (Figure 5.1). The 1980 U.S. census—the first to use the term "Hispanic"—enumerated 638,333 residents in the District, of which 2.8% were labeled Hispanic.[422] But the wars in Central American through the 1980s drove many Guatemalans, Hondurans, Nicaraguans, and Salvadorans (in particular) to D.C., where previous Central American migrant laborers had settled. These Latinos/as provided a path to and an anchor in North America to new arrivals. For example, the Intipuqueño network that had been established in D.C. in the late 1960s and 1970s assisted some 10,000 Intipuqueños to immigrate in the 1980s,

Figure 5.1: Eduardo Ramirez Villamizar [LAYC], "No mas Vietnams en Centro America y El Caribe," Poster, 1983. Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division.[423]

when civil war spread to the eastern part of El Salvador, endangering the villagers. A smuggling system that brought people overland and then by airplane brought these Salvadorans directly to D.C., where they "squeezed into crumbling Dupont Circle row houses and into overflowing apartments on Mt. Pleasant Street, relying upon social networks and communities formed in their native land to rebuild their lives in a foreign and often overwhelming milieu."[424] A mere 5,000 residents remained in Intipucá, El Salvador, in 1990, while as many as 15,000 had migrated to Washington, D.C. by the last decade of the twentieth century.[425]

During Marion Barry's first three consecutive terms as Mayor of Washington, D.C. (1979-1991), he witnessed the ethnic composition of the city change with this influx of Central American refugees.[426] The D.C. Office of Latino Affairs estimated in 1990 that Salvadorans comprised 34% of the District's Latino community, a larger number than any other nationality.[427] In the 2012 book, *Hispanic Migration and Urban Development: Studies from Washington, D.C.*, Enrique S. Pumar posits that the "push" factor of Central American exodus is easily explained by violent civil wars, economic austerity plans, and political turmoil throughout Latin America from the late 1970s through the early 1980s; but the "pull" factor to Washington, D.C., in particular was "generated first by the booming real estate market of the 1980s and later, in the 1990s, by the internet revolution," coupled with the fact that other large urban centers (such as New York City) were only barely recovering from the economic decline of the 1970s.[428] As Scallen summarized from several interviews with D.C. Salvadorans for his 2019 dissertation:

> ...[they were] drawn by a combination of the presence of family or friends and the potential for economic opportunity. Many had heard that jobs in the Washington area were plentiful and paid better than comparable positions elsewhere in the US; most discovered that there was more than a grain of truth to that statement, at least until the latter years of the 1980s.[429]

Although economic prospects may have been brighter in D.C. in the first half of the 1980s, most Salvadoran,[430] Honduran, and Guatemalan immigrants who applied for refugee status were denied asylum by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). Many had entered the United States without documentation, making their lives in America precarious. They were denied any social services or financial assistance through District or federal channels, and they took whatever jobs became available to them—typically in food and domestic services—struggling to make ends meet and often being exploited by their employers (or landlords) with no recourse. On top of this, "the federal Immigration and Naturalization Service [INS] routinely raided places of employment to find undocumented workers."[431] Fearful of any government entity discovering their undocumented status, many Central American immigrants avoided seeking medical attention at clinics and hospitals, would not ask for or were denied city-funded services without valid identification cards, could not receive drivers' licenses in D.C. and Maryland, would not report being the victims of crimes and scams to the police, and would or could not open bank accounts in established banking institutions, all in the fear of arrest and deportation.[432]

In November 1986, Congress passed the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA), commonly referred to as the Simpson-Mazzoli Bill. At a fundamental level, this act "imposed civil and criminal sanctions against employers who hired undocumented immigrants and intensified fear and frustration in a community where jobs were already at a premium."[433] Those who could not return to their homelands were stuck in limbo, surviving on meager wages, often underemployed and sometimes homeless. However, IRCA combined carrots with sticks: the sticks took the forms of making it illegal for employers to hire undocumented workers and strengthening border and INS enforcement; the carrot was offering amnesty to undocumented immigrants who had entered the United States before January 1, 1982, had no prior felony convictions, and had lived in

the U.S. continuously since arrival. IRCA provided a one-year amnesty window (from May 1987 to May 1988) in which these undocumented immigrants could apply for asylum or residency permits without fear of repercussion by United States immigration authorities. Between 1989 and 1992, as many as 2.6 million undocumented immigrants across the nation gained permanent resident status and family unification rights through IRCA. But the cut-off date left many Central American refugees out of the equation, as the greater influx occurred in 1982-1984.[434]

A justified hysteria spread through the undocumented sector of D.C.'s Latino community with the passage of IRCA. Undocumented Latinos/as lost their employment and had to subsist on whatever they could pull together from multiple, odd jobs. Applications for food and housing assistance increased significantly. Children were taken out of school. Undocumented immigrants fell further through the cracks, trying to remain in the shadows for fear of deportation, a relentless anxiety that negatively impacted their mental health and made them more vulnerable to further exploitation and abuses of their civil and legal rights. In January 1987, 6,000 Salvadorans migrated to Canada, resulting in Canada tightening its own immigration controls.[435]

Some respite for Latinos came when Congress passed the Immigration Act of 1990 in October that year. The bill had been introduced by Senator Edward (Ted) Kennedy the previous year to update the Immigration and Nationality Act (Hart-Celler) of 1965. It increased immigration quotas, among several other provisions. Significantly for the Latino community in D.C., it provided Salvadorans who had lived in the United States since September 19, 1990, Temporary Protected Status (TPS). TPS registration was open for only ten months (January 2, 1991-October 31, 1991), but during that window, the deportation of undocumented foreigners could be waived by the United States Attorney General. It also granted people with TPS work authorization, colloquially called "permiso;" this and other benefits of TPS would last only through June 30, 1992, at which point deportation proceedings would resume, per the new standards and criteria established in the Immigration Act of 1990. For many undocumented Latinos/as, TPS provided a brief reprieve from the anxiety of deportation as well as a path to legal residency in the United States.[436]

In D.C., the Spanish Catholic Center became a hub of activity for TPS registration. By the final day to register—Halloween 1991—more than 35,000 Salvadorans (roughly 70% of the presumed numbers of undocumented Salvadorans in the greater Washington area) had registered.[437] This was followed by the 1991 court case *American Baptist Churches (ABC) v. Thornburgh*, in which a coalition of 80 religious institutions and advocacy groups filed a lawsuit against the U.S Attorney General under the Reagan administration, bringing attention to the INS's imbalanced and politically-motivated asylum and deportation practices. The result of the ruling was that the INS allowed 300,000 Salvadorans and Guatemalans who had been denied political asylum before 1990 to reapply as well as receive work authorization and temporary relief from deportation. Between the results of the ABC ruling and the TPS provision in the Immigration Act of 1990, as many as 800,000 Central Americans in the United States found a legal path to residency and lawful employment.[438] With the passage of the El Salvador Peace Accords in 1992 came a second surge of Salvadoran immigration to D.C. in this period.[439]

Navigating a Racialized Landscape

In 1980, Latinos comprised 33% of the population in the District of Columbia's Ward 1—which encompasses Mount Pleasant, Adams Morgan, and Columbia Heights—per decennial census data. The perception of D.C.'s Latino community circa 1980, when a perceivable Central American immigration wave began, was that it was a "sort of vibrant community, very small, very compact" with Salvadorans, Cubans, and Puerto Ricans, but otherwise "unknown outside of ourselves."[440]

When **ABEL NUÑEZ** arrived in 1979, he perceived the Latino community as still insular and largely comprised of diplomatic and international aid workers. In his recollections, D.C. in the early 1980s was an African American city, and 14th Street was the racial dividing line, east of which African Americans dwelled and there was a stigma of danger. Connecticut Avenue posed a second dividing line, west of which the neighborhoods were primarily white and affluent; the only time Latinos/as ventured west of Connecticut Avenue "was when we're taking family trips or your mother or father were cutting the grass or cleaning people's homes in that side of town."[441] Mark Poletunow, when he came to D.C. in 1980 as a Capuchin Franciscan friar to study theology, also recognized a spatial overlay across the city, calling 14th Street "the great racial divide" and Connecticut Avenue a second border, the extents of the Latino community stretching between these two poles from Meridian Hill/Malcolm X Park on the south to Spring Road NW on the north.[442] Fears of leaving your safety zone and venturing into hostile territory were evident in how González described Ward 1 in the 1970s and 1980s:

> *Columbia Heights was a little different because there were predominantly Blacks from 16th Street to the other side—that was no man's land. And when the big gang fights, like in the hundreds, took place, it took place on both sides of 16th Street. ...So, a lot of Latinos did not go past 14th Street because they would get robbed and beat up.*[443]

After **MIRNA (LUPI) QUINTEROS-GRADY** immigrated (at seven years of age) in 1980 to escape the violence in her hometown of Chirilagua, El Salvador, she and her family settled in an apartment on Brown Street NW in Mount Pleasant. In a 2024 interview, she recalled that her first impressions of the Latino community in D.C. was that it was still small, comparatively, and that (as a small child) she did not understand the racial dynamics of the country she had been brought to. Assimilation in elementary school with her peers was difficult for her, although the struggles were not based on language acquisition, at which she and her sister were adept.[444] Rather, she felt a difference or otherness from not having been born in the United States (or D.C.) and from racial divisions based on skin color. She had to win credibility in elementary school through playground fights, earning a reputation that she would not back down from a fight by the time she went to junior high school.[445] When **JOSÉ "CHICO" DIAZ** arrived in November 1983 from El Salvador by way of Los Angeles, he was 15 years old. His family lived in an apartment on Spring Road and 16th Street NW, in a predominantly African American neighborhood. In a 2017 interview, Diaz recalled that fights with African American kids would just erupt while he was walking to a store on 14th Street.[446]

VIOLENCE AGAINST LGBTQ LATINOS/AS

Some of the first transgender Latinos/as in D.C. arrived in the 1980s. They included Fiorela Bandorfino from El Salvador; Sophia Carrero from Nicaragua; Bella Evengelista from Guatemala; Cheruiram Crawford, a Chicana; La Frenchie from Peru; Xavier Bloomingdale from D.C.; and others. In 1993, Bella Evangelista was killed in a drive-by shooting on 18th Street NW outside of El Faro, a popular Latino gay bar. This was one of the earliest hate crimes against a member of the D.C. Latino LGBTQ community and the case was never solved. (D.C. History Center 2022).

Violence, race, prejudice, and discrimination left their scars on almost every D.C. Latino/a who provided an oral history between 1982 and 2024 that is cited in this work. When **CHRISTINA ESPINEL** settled in D.C. in 1980, she said that discrimination in the United States was greater and more palpable than in her hometown of Bogotá, Colombia.[447] But the discrimination and prejudice ran both ways

and was also internalized. When Central American refugees began arriving in great numbers, their mere magnitude upset a fragile ecosystem created by previous generations of Latino émigrés, causing friction within the Latino community, especially in regard to the Caribbeans who were in positions of leadership.[448] In a 2021 panel discussion, Nuñez admitted that,

> *I do remember, around '83, when I was still in middle school, when the big first wave of Salvadorans came. And it really created a rift for the Salvadorans that were there before, because for a lot of us, by that time we knew English, we had African-American friends, and we saw this mass migration primarily…a lot of them came from the rural areas…And so when we saw all these people coming in that were negotiating their own path…We necessarily, as young people, didn't say, "Hey let's help, our brothers and sisters." It was like, "Oh my God, they're gonna ruin what we have been able to create."*[449]

By the mid-1980s, Mount Pleasant was known not only as the center of the Latino barrio, but for its Salvadoran community. While immigration from Central America had accelerated after 1978, it reached a crescendo in D.C. in 1986-1987.[450] Their numbers had grown so extensively inside of a few years that Flores, a MPD officer, estimated that the Latino population had grown to 100,000-150,000 people, and that while Latino/a children had comprised perhaps 5% of the student body at Bancroft Elementary School (at 18th Street and Lamont Street NW, in Mount Pleasant) in 1980, by 1985, that percentage had exponentially risen to 55%.[451] Several Central American refugees were unaccompanied minors. Kaplan recalled that in the early years of the migration, "kids would show up at the [Latin American] Youth Center with a scribbled piece of paper that said in Spanish, 'go to 18th and Columbia, you'll find someone to help you'."[452] In 1982, Kaplan reported that you could see the shock in the faces of the refugees landing in D.C., their disorientation and isolation. Very presciently, she knew then that the 1980s were a watershed moment, and that although the D.C. Latino community had no dominant nationality at the time, in ten to 15 years it would have a majority of Central Americans.[453]

These refugees, while large in number within the context of the D.C. Latino community, were still small in number compared to D.C.'s total population in "an overwhelmingly black city."[454] Settling into the established Latino neighborhoods of Adams Morgan and Mount Pleasant and expanding farther into Columbia Heights, these new arrivals interacted with whites, African Americans, and other Latinos/as from all socioeconomic backgrounds. As their numbers grew and they acculturated, the new arrivals sought more of a voice in local affairs but found themselves constrained by an established system that was unwilling to relinquish any hard-won control.[455] As Scallen summarized,

> Relations between Hispanics and blacks in D.C. had never been smooth, and the influx of Salvadorans to the Washington area in the 1980s introduced a highly vulnerable population of war refugees whose needs strained the District's already meager resources and whose presence in traditionally black spaces upset many African Americans residents. Yet deep budget cuts, dwindling federal subsidies, and an overall scarcity of resources more often than not pitted the two disadvantaged minorities against each other, resulting in racial tensions that played out on the streets, in the schools, and at city hall over the course of the 1980s.[456]

By the late 1980s, D.C. was like a tinderbox. The crack-cocaine epidemic and accompanying crime and homicide wave had taken a toll on residents. The influx of immigrants had stressed the public school system as well as the limited affordable housing stock. Immigrants were too often crammed into substandard dwellings maintained by unscrupulous or absentee landlords. A *Washington Post* article from January 1986 brought readers' attention to the overcrowded living conditions of refugees in the District when it reported on a fire in the basement of the rowhouse at 1629 Irving Street NW in Mount

Pleasant. Nine people—seven of whom were called Salvadoran itinerant laborers—were killed in the blaze and seven (four of whom were children) were injured trying to escape the house. At least ten Salvadoran men were living together in the basement apartment. Six more people rented the upper floors of the three-story brick house.[457]

In addition to these conditions, racial tensions mounted as longtime residents and newcomers, white and Black, increasingly voiced their concerns over issues of loitering, public drunkenness, and noise on Mount Pleasant Street.[458] Answering the complaints of Mount Pleasant residents, the MPD began to patrol the area more vigorously, leading to increased confrontations between Latino residents and police officers. The MPD, overwhelmed by a violent crime wave across the District during the crack-cocaine epidemic, too often used intimidation, verbal abuse, and physical violence to control residents. With the Latino population, language barriers proved an issue that could lead to escalation of police abuse. As González recalled in the 2021 film, *La Manplesa: An Uprising Remembered*,

> *They were bringing in cops that were no longer the cops that had been in the neighborhood for a while, that we knew each other by name. A new set of cops [were] coming in. There was a little more aggression between the cops and the Hispanics and the Blacks. And then you could see how the cops started imposing their will on…they called them vagrants.*[459]

Prejudice was rife among the police force, and violence was not unheard of: in the 1980s, Avilés was caught in an altercation with the police while leaving a party in the basement of the Sacred Heart Church. He witnessed a scuffle outside and attempted to de-escalate it; arriving police officers assumed he was part of the trouble and proceeded to beat and arrest him with the others.[460] Relationships between the MPD and members of the Latino community continued to devolve until, in 1991,

> *…there was a transition in government and, in order to save money, the city decided to really retire a lot of experienced officers and hired new officers. … at the beginning of the year…there was a lot of clashes between young people and police until there was an incident that exploded, and it led to three days of rioting.*[461]

The city was already on tenterhooks following the Los Angeles Police Department's brutal beating of an African American man, Rodney King, on March 3, 1991.[462] Anger and frustration were palpable. Fed up with police abuse of power, in the first week of May 1991, young Latinos took to the streets in protest of an act of police brutality in an event that would later be varyingly called riots, a rebellion, an uprising, or *los disturbios*.[463]

The Mount Pleasant Uprising

Around 7:30 pm on Sunday, May 5, 1991, MPD officers Angela Jewell and Grisel Del Valle arrested Daniel Enrique Gomez, a Salvadoran immigrant, for public inebriation and disorderly conduct. The arrest took place in front of Don Juan's Restaurant at 1660 Lamont Street NW, at the north end of Mount Pleasant Street. What happened next is still debated: police testimony is that Gomez pulled a knife from his boot and threatened Jewell. Multiple witness gave conflicting accounts of what had occurred: some said that Gomez was handcuffed, on his knees, had no knife, and posed no threat while others said he only had one handcuff on and that he did brandish a knife. What is certain is that Jewell used her firearm and shot Gomez, seriously wounding him.[464]

According to González, the sounds of gunshots were common in Mount Pleasant in the mid-1980s through the 1990s—consequences of the crack-cocaine epidemic, which made the streets (especially on weekends) sound as if they were constantly in a state of war.[465] But this gunshot was singular in its effect. Word quickly spread through the Latino community that Gomez had been shot by police officers while handcuffed, angering a community that already had a toxic relationship with the MPD. Latino youths in the vicinity began to gather at the scene and hurl rocks, glass bottles, and bricks at the police officers responding to Jewell's call for assistance. The altercations escalated into destruction of property. Diaz, 23 years old at the

WASHINGTON'S METROPOLITAN POLICE DEPARTMENT IN 1982

Arturo Silvester, an MPD officer, was interviewed in 1982 as part of LAYC's *Latino Youth Community History Project*, at which time he believed the MPD had a good relationship with the local Latino community. He accounted for this by saying that the MPD had "more women in the police force, more minorities, Latinos, Blacks," and he thought this "has helped a lot to make the relationship between the community and the police force better." Silvester worked in the MPD's public relations office as one of the few bilingual police officers on the force. He recognized the need for more bilingual officers and switchboard operators to serve the growing Latino population, and alluded to the MPD's inability to retain Spanish-speaking recruits. He recounted that, circa 1979, there had been several Latino officers on the force because a previous Chief of Police had undertaken a recruitment campaign. The recruits largely came to D.C. from Puerto Rico, New York, and California. But internal disputes had driven (within a few years) at least ten of these recruited Latino police officers to work in other localities or other agencies in D.C.

Silvester's opinion was that the D.C. Latino community in the early 1980s suffered primarily from street muggings, robberies, and acts of fraud. Drug abuse, domestic violence, homicide, and suicide were on the rise, however, leading to more serious criminality. He attributed this to the depressed economy and difficulty many had in attaining employment. But he also alluded to a larger issue confronted by undocumented immigrants. Silvester mentioned that he issued more violations to vehicular drivers without licenses or permits, acknowledging that undocumented immigrants were prohibited from attaining drivers' licenses in Maryland and D.C. during the Reagan years. Silvester concluded that the MPD did not have problems with Latinos/as fighting with police or demonstrating against police authority—an assertion that would be proven otherwise by 1991. (Silvester 1982. Scallen 2019: 196).

time, rode his bike to Park Road and 16th Street, where he witnessed a burning police car and youths slinging rocks at officers. The rocks were being mined from **LA POLVOSA**, or the "Dust Bowl," an undeveloped lot adjacent to and south of the Shrine of the Sacred Heart that had been a playing field for Latinos/as for years.[466] Youths were building pyramids of rocks to use as ammunition. They were also setting fire to plastic garbage cans along Mount Pleasant Street, filling the area with black smoke and a noxious stench. Poletunow counted as many as 11 police cars torched and saw others rocked by youths clashing with officers. The Church's Fried Chicken restaurant at 3124 Mount Pleasant Street was set afire and its storefront windows were broken. The night ended after police chased youths through the streets for six hours.[467]

The rebellious behavior of the Latino youths caught the MPD and the Mayor's Office completely by surprise; local government agencies were unprepared for such a reaction. Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly's initial response was to angrily denounce the uprising as a group of subversives, on whom she would call the INS. The following morning (Monday, May 6), leaders of the Latino community met in the basement of the Shrine of the Sacred Heart to discuss the night's events and to confer with government officials. In an attempt to soothe tempers and redirect protest to non-violent, civil disobedience, they scheduled a march for that evening, to be led by community and church members including Poletunow, Father Sean O'Malley, Roebuck, and Avilés, among others. To prevent a repeat of Sunday's events, Mayor Kelly "declared a state of emergency and

set a 7:00 p.m. curfew in Mount Pleasant, Adams Morgan, and Columbia Heights."[468] A police command center was stationed in an office trailer placed in Meridian Hill/Malcolm X Park, while the Shrine of the Sacred Heart was used as a police staging ground as well as a refuge for members of the community frightened by the violence.[469]

Monday progressed without incident, and González noted that it was calm enough that his brothers opened their bike shop on Mount Pleasant Street. The community's anger was still evident, however, and the day was filled with people discussing the previous night's events, what had prompted them, and what solutions there were. González noted that there were "two contingents, [those who wanted] to do damage to everything and anything, and then those that rightfully had grievances and wanted to talk about them," but in the heat of an escalated moment, all rationality flees, and situations become violent and destructive.[470]

Neighborhood residents were not the only ones speaking about the events of Sunday, May 5. The riots, as the press called them, made national news in print and on television. The press focused on the fact that the shooting that precipitated the rioting occurred on Cinco de Mayo, suggesting that Gomez, who (by most accounts) was heavily intoxicated at the time of the arrest, had overindulged while celebrating Mexico's independence. The press coverage downplayed the core reason for the uprising, the accumulated anger and distrust between the community and the police. **MARCO DEL FUEGO**, who had come to D.C. from El Salvador as a teenager in the mid-1980s, believed that negative and stereotypical portrayals of Salvadorans in the press inflamed the anger felt by Latinos/as.[471] Media attention also had the effect of advertising the uprising outside of the neighborhood. The first night had been homegrown and spontaneous, confined to a couple of blocks on Mount Pleasant Street and 16th Street. The second night—Monday, May 6—was organized. Interlopers entered Mount Pleasant and Adams Morgan to loot and cause mayhem.[472] What started as an uprising turned into riots, where the political point was lost amid the destruction for destruction's sake, focused on 14th Street and Columbia Road.[473]

Youths took control of the street despite the increased police deployment. Chief Ike Fullwood informed his officers not to use force but mobilized the Special Operations Division to shut down 16th Street.[474] On the same street, a police van was pelted with rocks, forcing the officers in the cab to escape through the passenger side door. Once they were out, a kid put a lit flare in

Figure 5.2: Vehicle on fire on the 3100 block of Mount Pleasant Street NW. Mount Pleasant uprising, May 7, 1991. Courtesy of Richard Reinhard, photographer.

the gas tank, exploding the vehicle. The youth blocked traffic and attacked city buses, with one driver simply abandoning his bus on the street. More police cars and vehicles were torched (Figure 5.2). More than two dozen stores on Columbia Road were looted.[475] Mayor Kelly deployed about one thousand police officers in riot gear to the area "where residents had long experienced increasing racial tension, discrimination, police harassment, crime, and violence."[476] Helicopters were deployed to surveil the neighborhood. Some residents believed that the heightened police presence in militaristic gear only incited more violence, which culminated with the police lobbing tear gas canisters into the crowd.[477]

The riots continued for three days, with the worst damage that Monday evening. Sporadic events were reported on Tuesday and into Wednesday on Columbia Road between 14th and 15th streets, but the rioting subsided with the curfew. The González brothers closed and sealed up their bike shop on both days, as tear gas wafted through the streets, unbearable to the neighborhood residents hunkering down in their homes. From Monday night, the LAYC kept its Drop-in Center in the basement of the Wilson Center open for people to escape the tear gas and chaos. By the end of the violence, 230 people were arrested, 50 were injured, but no one was killed. Some Salvadoran youths were deported.[478]

In the aftermath of the uprising and riots, the Latino community and the entire city were shaken. During the violence, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights and the NCLR (now UnidosUS) came to the Shrine of the Sacred Heart to confer with Latino community leaders and assist in diffusing the situation. With the input of these national organizations, city officials established a multicultural task force to understand the precipitating causes of the uprising. With the assistance of the NCLR and its chief, **RAUL YZAGUIRRE**, who was active in local affairs, Latino community leaders established their own council—the **LATINO CIVIL RIGHTS TASK FORCE**, headed by Avilés—and spent the next six months exploring the several social, economic, and political issues at the root of the uprising (Figure 5.3). Their report, "The Latino Blueprint for Action," laid out the inequalities and systemic discrimination that the Latino community faced in eight areas: police/community relations, Latino

Figure 5.3: Latino Civil Rights Task Force report released, Washington, D.C., September 1, 1991.
Courtesy of Richard Reinhard, photographer.

housing needs, human rights, economic development, employment services, education, recreation, and human services. The report also proposed solutions to be administered by local government. Both the blueprint and the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights' "Mount Pleasant Report" found that Latinos did experience disproportionate mistreatment and pervasive racism from the MPD and neglect by local government in terms of funding, social services and programs, and bilingual access. The "Mount Pleasant Report" stressed how underrepresented Latinos/as were in city government as elected officials and agency staff despite comprising a tenth of the city's population.[479]The work of the Latino Civil Rights Task Force brought positive change. The MPD created a sensitivity training program and recruited bilingual police officers, many of whom were Puerto Ricans from New York who came in a hiring wave between 1991 and 1993.[480] Over time, the city government funded more social service organizations, and the Office of Latino Affairs (founded in 1976) became more robust as well. The city also worked to enhance the Latino small-business sector, and the **LATINO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT CENTER (LEDC)** was established in July 1991 as a community-based, nonprofit by a coalition of business and financial professionals with civil rights activists. Funded by D.C.'s Office of Business and Economic Development (OBED), its mission was to assist "low-income Latinos build assets through small business development, homeownership counseling, and tenant organizing."[481]

Perhaps most significantly, the uprising and its aftermath brought the Latino community from the margins of public attention to District-wide visibility, a "defining moment in the life of the city."[482] According to Sueiro,

> *The riots in '91 [were] very negative. In many ways it was violent. It was destructive. But in terms of development of this community that was already largely here at that point, that had grown incredibly, it was a bump that generated greater opportunity. It generated greater awareness of this community. As I said, historically it's the most famous incident that ever happened to the Latino community in Washington. It was the only time the Latino community in Washington, D.C. made national news. Good or bad. And it created a much more sophisticated community, much more lively community. A community that wasn't so inhibited about expressing... about demonstrating its power and being more up front, or more in-your-face kind of thing.*[483]

As González opined, the uprising and riots were the first time that the youth—African American, Central American, Caribbeans—"came together as one."[484] Del Fuego remarked that the uprising and its resolution helped young Latinos/as organize themselves and fight an unjust system without resorting to violence and rioting. Otero—who became the Chair of the Latino Civil Rights Task Force after Avilés—assessed the impact of the Mount Pleasant uprising and its responses within the Latino community in her 2024 interview, saying the event led to a change within the leadership and politics of Latino community itself, from an "Old Guard" to a "New Guard," in which a younger generation of Central Americans took center stage.[485] Kaplan saw the uprising and its resolutions as "the seeds that were planted... [in] advocacy around bilingual education, the advocacy around higher numbers of Latinos working for government, the advocacy around... accessible language...inside government."[486]

On the first anniversary of the Mount Pleasant uprising, the Latino Civil Rights Task Force organized a peaceful march and demonstration to highlight the demands of the Latino community as expressed in "The Latino Blueprint for Action."[487] There have been periodic remembrances on subsequent anniversaries. In 2011, to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the event, a panel discussion was held at the National Museum of American History. Participants and audience members expressed their opinions that there was still a long way to go to reach genuine equity and dignity for D.C.'s Latino community,

addressing racism, police relations, inequity in the government's distribution of resources, and affordable housing. **RONALD CHACON** spoke from the audience, reminding everyone present what it was like to be a Latino youth on the street in those days:

> *I was at the Mount Pleasant Riots, day one, two, and three, and I just want to clarify something… we were a bunch of scared kids, a bunch of scared 16, 17, 18 years olds afraid for our lives, we were afraid that the police were going to shoot us, we were afraid that we were going to get beat up, we were gonna get jailed. Those tactics that were used weren't guerilla tactics, those were survival tactics. At that moment I felt, as a young person, that I was defending myself… because this is my neighborhood and I belonged there.*[488]

Scholars within the last five years have underscored the complex racial dynamics of the Mount Pleasant uprising. Scallen has written that "The Mount Pleasant protests and subsequent riots, triggered by the shooting of a Latino man by a Black policewoman, revealed how a White-dominated economic power structure had pitted an underserved minority population against another, both in the streets and in struggles for scarce resources, city services, and jobs."[489] In his 2019 book, *Immigration Reform: the Corpse that Will Not Die*, and in subsequent interviews, Kamasaki has pointed out that an undercurrent of the uprising was, for the first time in D.C. history, it "wasn't black people rebelling against the oppressive white government, it was Latinos protesting against what they were arguing was an oppressive black-led government."[490] In an unpublished excerpt from his book's manuscript, Kamasaki recounted how Milton Morris, who was a member of the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, an African American-focused think tank, was quoted as saying that it was a "fascinating development that the Hispanic community views itself as outsiders whose opportunities are being constricted by a black power structure."[491] While the discrimination may not have been intentional or conscious, there were systems and structures in place which neglected or ignored a disengaged, disenfranchised, and marginalized population like immigrant and refugee Latinos.

Employment and Commerce

As scholar Zaragosa Vargas has written, "Latino migration to the U.S. is linked to the demand for labor during periods of economic growth."[492] An economic depression in the United States in the 1980s, coinciding with the offshoring of manufacturing jobs, affected Latino workers across the Northeast. But after the passage of IRCA in 1986, "the number of Latinos in the work force increased by 48 percent and began replacing Anglos as the mainstay of the U.S. labor force. About 2.3 million Latinos entered the work force, representing one fifth of the total increase in the nation's jobs."[493]

In Washington, many Latinos/as found work in the construction, restaurant, and hotel industries during this period. Although Latinas had comprised the majority of labor migrants to D.C. in the early postwar decades, by the 1980s, expanding opportunities in the hospitality and service sectors—as well as the booming construction industry—created more employment opportunities for Latinos in D.C. As in previous generations, new arrivals filled the entry-level jobs that had historically been held by African Americans or immigrants, including cleaning, cooking, and groundskeeping. Within the construction sector, most Latinos worked in the unskilled trades, becoming (day) laborers, painters, and landscapers.[494] However, several Latinos created successful businesses in the construction industry. One example was **EDUARDO PERDOMO**, who founded Perdomo and Associates by 1981. Perdomo emigrated from Colombia in 1967 with degrees in economics and finance from Jorge Tadeo Lozano University in Bogotá. After settling in Washington, "he later founded Edupo Decorating, a painting business, and then formed a construction company that did renovation work"

before joining Prisma Construction & Management Corporation in 1988 as a general manager.[495]

Labor unions played a critical role in the lives of Latino workers, especially Local 25 (now called Unite Here), which unionized hotel employees. Another robust D.C. union for Latino workers in this period was Justice for Janitors (now 32 BJ), organized in 1987. This union collectivized the many Latinos/as who cleaned office buildings each night.[496] According to Vargas, however, Latino participation in unions across the country was low (about 5.3%), and "Latinos took low-wage manufacturing jobs, performed construction, domestic, hotel, restaurant, and other service sector work without union protection and worker benefits," resulting in Latino workers being subject to racial discrimination and maltreatment.[497]

Domestic service has proven to be a stable form of employment, even during an economic recession, as well as an entry point into the U.S. labor market. Repak interviewed several Latinas who arrived in the 1980s "when relatives living in Washington arranged positions for them as live-in housekeepers with professional Washington families."[498] So, the labor migrant pattern particular to D.C. in which Latinas were recruited to work in private, privileged homes was still a viable network for economic migration. However, there were significant differences between the generations. Whereas the majority of previous Latina immigrants were recruited and had jobs (and documentation) in place before they arrived, only about one quarter of the post-1980 Latinas whom Repak interviewed had jobs in place upon arrival. And whereas those who had come prior to 1980 did so because they heard wages were better in the greater Washington area, those who settled in D.C. after 1980 came regardless of such rumors (which still abounded), and chose D.C. primarily because of kinship networks.[499] Repak described this paradigm shift as one from "an employer-induced to a family-based migration" pattern.[500]

In his 1982 interview, Gonzales provided a bleaker view of the economic outlook for D.C. Latinos/as. He opined that D.C. lacked major industries, and for this reason, it was more difficult for immigrants to find employment. Gonzales stated that when Latinas did not work in households, they found jobs in beauty salons and in restaurants. He further posited that because there was no industrial base to support a large number of immigrants, the D.C. Latino community was smaller than in larger urban centers like New York and Los Angeles. He continued,

> *The previous situation was better. There were more job opportunities, above all. There was work. But of course, all of this is due to the large [number] of refugees, people who have come from their countries, former dictatorships, by certain ideologies, and so the situation has gotten worse. And more than anything, now most of the people who come here do not have their papers in order, and so the law prohibits them from working. That is why there is more need now than before. So, what has gotten worse is the situation of employment. Yes, the situation of employment. There is less work. But there is less work, of course, because the number of people is enormous. There are thousands and thousands who come here every month. And above all, in the illegal aspect, it is quite difficult for the individual to get a job.*[501]

Employment proved a core issue in almost every interview conducted in 1982 as part of the Latino Youth Community History Project. Barney Neighborhood House employees Houston and Struthers considered finding employment the second-most challenging aspect for newly arrived Latino/as because of language barriers (housing being the most challenging).[502] Kaplan spoke about how the LAYC trained young adults for jobs because young Latinos/as were relied upon by the family unit for income. She pointed to the general economic downturn as well as immigrants' language barriers and lack of education as reasons why Latinos/as were stuck in menial positions with little to no chance of upward mobility. She reported that many men in the D.C. Latino community were chronically under-employed, which led to a slate of social issues and concerns.[503]

Although newer arrivals in the 1980s may have found it difficult to obtain gainful employment in D.C., established members of the Latino community flourished by opening small and independent commercial businesses. Latino/a entrepreneurs launched a diverse array of retail shops and services in this period, including Córdova Jewelers, La Botánica San Lázaro,[504] and the Guatemala House at 1785 Columbia Road NW, which sold consumer goods made in Guatemala. Hispania Books, at 2116 18th Street NW, was a Spanish-language bookstore owned by Berta Concha (a Chilean exile), Jorge Pol (a Bolivian), and Lois Athey (an American) that operated from 1984 to 1992. In 1984, Margarita Diloné—the daughter of the founders of Casa Diloné—opened the **CRYSTAL INSURANCE GROUP, INC.** offices, representing a second-generation of D.C. Latino entrepreneurs establishing businesses to serve the bilingual community. Latino upward mobility was reflected in the transfer of ownership of Wilson's Auto Repair shop at 3054 Mount Pleasant Street; after Ken Goldstein retired circa 1988, the business was assumed by a former employee, a Salvadoran émigré. The **PAN AMERICAN LAUNDRY** served the Latino community in Mount Pleasant from the 1980s through the twenty-first century.[505] As Otero recalled, "the large majority of the stores on the south side of Columbia Road (all the little shops) were all Latino, whether [it was] a jewelry shop or whether it was the Guatemalan [shop], basically you could get everything and anything, including your airfare or sending money home."[506]

The opening of ethnic restaurants was always a sign of community formation or growth. With the surge of Salvadorans in D.C. came Salvadoran restaurants, such as **EL TAZUMAL**, one of the earliest (1981) Salvadoran-owned eating establishments in the city (Figure 5.4).[507] **EL TAMARINDO**, opened by Jose Reyes, is considered the longest operating, Salvadoran-owned restaurant in the District.[508] According to a 2018 newspaper article, Reyes came from La Unión, in the eastern part of El Salvador, in 1978 and found work at a Mexican restaurant in D.C. He started as a dishwasher, then progressed to a busser and a line cook, where he learned Mexican cuisine that he would also feature in his own restaurant, opened by 1982.[509] **FREDDY'S CARRY OUT** at 3209 Mount Pleasant Street had started in the late 1970s as a Bolivian restaurant but was replaced by Arcos del Espino, a Salvadoran restaurant, by 1983.[510] The Don Juan Restaurant, at 1660 Lamont Street NW, was purchased by a Salvadoran in 1993.

Figure 5.4: El Tazumal Restaurant, 2467 18th Street NW, ca. 1985. Courtesy of the Anacostia Community Museum, Smithsonian Institution.[511]

Also reflecting the influx of Central Americans to D.C. is **CORADO'S GUATEMALAN RESTAURANT**, which has been in operation in Mount Pleasant since 1983 (Figure 5.5).[512] In 1990, Nimia Haydee Vanegas, an émigré from El Salvador, and her husband Mario Alas purchased Trolley's Restaurant at 3203 Mount Pleasant Street. The Alas' closed Trolley's and opened Haydee's Restaurant at 3102

Figure 5.5: Corado's Restaurant, 3217 Mount Pleasant Street NW, 2010.[513]

Mount Pleasant Street in 1997.[514] The preponderance of Central American (and particularly Salvadoran) eateries in the barrio is a testament to the shifting demographics of D.C.'s Latino community in the 1980s. This is also reflected in the foods sold in bodegas and restaurants in the barrio: "When the Adams Morgan neighborhood of Washington, D.C., became home to Central American migrants in the 1980s, restaurants began selling pupusas and gallo pinto ("spotted rooster," a Nicaraguan and Costa Rican version of rice and beans)."[515]But Caribbean, Mexican, and Spanish cuisines could still be found in D.C. Other restaurants popular among members of D.C.'s Latino community in the 1980s included Lorenzo's, a Cuban-owned fast-food establishment at 1763 Columbia Road, and **EL TROPICAL**, which advertised itself as a Mexican-Spanish restaurant.[516] El Tropical's location on 17th Street NW was in close proximity to two other Spanish and Mexican restaurants founded decades earlier, El Bodegón and La Fonda. The owners of these two popular restaurants—Adelina Pena Callahan and Bob Callahan—opened a third restaurant in the 1980s at 1637 17th Street NW called the Dupont Italian Kitchen.[517] Her 2023 obituary commented that Adelina Pena Callahan "was widely respected and admired in the D.C. restaurant industry and was the recipient of Restauranteur of the year in 1988 and President of the D.C. Restaurant Association."[518]

Another successful entrepreneur in the D.C. Latino community was **PEDRO A. "PEPE" LUJÁN (1931-2019)**. Born in Peru, Luján emigrated by 1972 and worked with Rosario on PEILA in its inception, becoming an active member of D.C.'s Latino community through the 1970s. In Luján's obituary, Sueiro recalled that Luján had started working as a car attendant, parking cars in a parking lot. By the late 1980s and 1990s, he was a successful entrepreneur and owner of several businesses, including the historic Avignon Freres confectionary and café, Scoop ice cream parlor,

Heller's Bakery in Mount Pleasant, and **HABANA VILLAGE**, a nightclub that was popular with dancers from its opening in 1992.[519]

For the Latino LGBTQ community in the 1980s and 1990s, "bars and other sites of leisure…foster[ed] LGBTQ sociality and [played a] key role [as] communication networks in the history of LGBTQ community formation."[520] Historically, Dupont Circle and Lafayette Square were gay-identified neighborhoods in D.C.; the latter's popularity as an open-air space in which queer people interacted was in effect as early as the 1890s.[521] In the 1960s, diverse members of D.C.'s LGBTQ community met at a bar in Adams Morgan called "1832," which was "one of the few racially mixed bars west of 16th Street, NW."[522] As one member of D.C.'s LGBTQ community reminisced about 1832,

> It was also the first mostly racially mixed bar, because of where it was and as we now know wasn't far from Nob Hill. It became part of the uptown circuit: with the Nob Hill and ultimately later the Third World. So there were black folks in the clientele and were welcome. There were Latinos in the clientele. They were welcome. There were a few Asians in the clientele, who were welcome.[523]

By the 1970s, D.C.'s LGBTQ community socialized and worked in activism and advocacy in other commercial and community spaces, including Lambda Rising, an LGBTQ bookstore, and the Community Building, which opened at 1724 20th Street NW in 1974. The Community Building was known for its antiwar and civil rights advocacy, and as the place where D.C.'s first Gay Pride parade was organized in 1975. The center also housed the Gay Switchboard and the publication, *Blade*.[524]

By the late 1980s, however, Latino/a LGBTQ persons were increasingly interested in congregating and meeting in their own safe spaces. **LETITIA GOMEZ** recalled going to a gay nightclub and asking the disc jockey to play salsa music for the Latinos in attendance, and the disc jockey refused. That prompted her and other members of **ENLACE**, a local support organization for Latino LGBTQ individuals, to host its first dance—La Fiesta Tropical—at Cities, a straight nightclub in Mount Pleasant (Figure 5.6). La Fiesta Tropical was so well attended that it became an annual event. Initially, ENLACE held events and LGBTQ Latinos/as met in gay-friendly bars in D.C.'s Ward 6, such as Agua Ardiente and Banana Café in the Eastern Market neighborhood or at Hill Haven, a lesbian bar in Capitol Hill. But by 1990, the first Latino queer bar opened in Adams Morgan on 18th Street NW: **EL FARO**, meaning the Lighthouse. The intimate bar offered drag shows featuring Fiorella Bandorfina, Norma Duval, La Bomba, and Sophia Carrero. It also offered patrons chiveadas, or after-hours parties.[525]

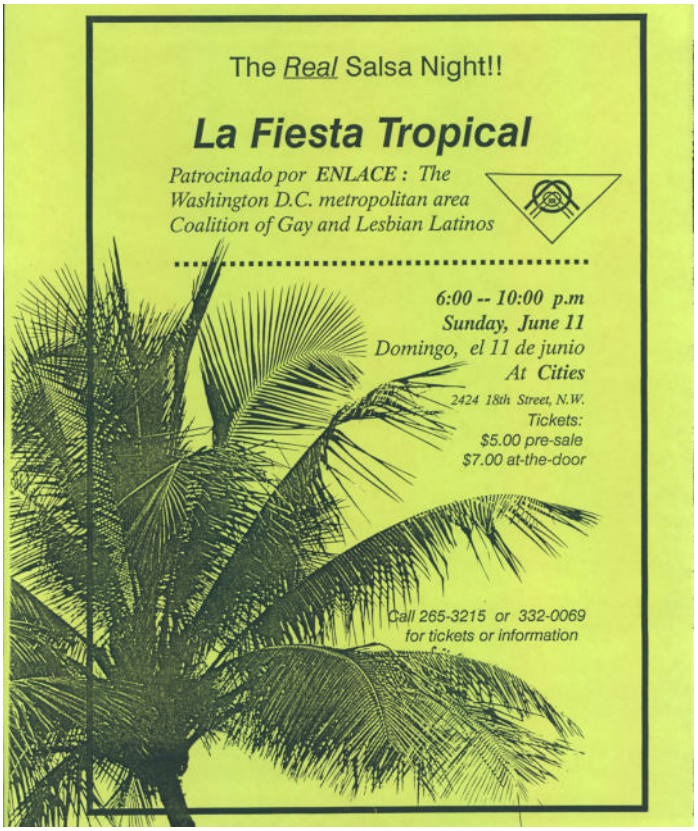


Figure 5.6: ENLACE poster for La Fiesta Tropical, 1989. Courtesy of Jose Gutierrez Archives.

The popularity of El Faro fostered the opening of Escandalo, the second bar to cater to D.C.'s Latino LGBTQ community, in 1994. Located at 2122 P Street NW, in Dupont Circle, Escandalo only operated for three years, closing in 1997 when owner Roberto Hermosillo moved to Miami. But during its short tenure, it was a safe space for

Latino queers in the District to meet, organize, hold poetry readings, and fundraise for local advocacy and social service organizations. The yard behind the building was used by members of the Latino LGBTQ community to build floats for the annual Latino Festival. Other Latino queer bars quickly followed through the end of the 1990s, including CHAOS (1996-2004) in Dupont Circle and El Noa (1998) in Adams Morgan. Other commercial spaces that would have occasional special events and drag contests included Perry's Restaurant, Churrería Madrid, and Club Fuego.[526]

Religion and Education

As they had in the 1960s and 1970s, progressive Washington-area religious organizations were active in civil and human rights throughout the 1980s. By 1972, Washington, D.C., had its own chapter of **DIGNITYUSA**, which was founded in California in 1969 to minister to gay and lesbian Catholics. DignityUSA is an international, nonprofit umbrella organization of LGBTQ Catholics and allies, in which members advocate to change the Catholic Church's negative doctrine on homosexuality and to provide LGBTQ individuals dignity and acceptance in the religious sphere. Based in Georgetown's Holy Trinity Catholic Church, the D.C. chapter of DignityUSA formed the Grupo Latino to conduct outreach to the city's Latino LGBTQ community. One member of the Latino LGBTQ community, a Puerto Rican who came to D.C. in 1983 to work for the federal government, recalled,

> *One of the organizations that helped me was Dignity Church on Connecticut Avenue. Dignity Church organized a service on Sunday evenings, and many LGBTQ [people] attended the religious service. After the service, they organized a social with refreshments, and this was an important moment to meet other LGBTQ people. I remember that the space of Dignity Church helped me to feel safe [when meeting] other LGBTQ people. Dignity Church organized many events, including garage sales, religious meetings, and walking in the D.C. [Pride] parade.*[527]

In the early 1980s, the local chapter was headed by Herman Chavez, who encouraged the organization to sponsor two gay Cuban prisoners who had immigrated with the Mariel Boat Lift. By 1987, the local chapter was associated with St. Margaret's Episcopal Church in Dupont Circle, after the Vatican issued an edict prohibiting all LGBTQ-related activities from operating on Catholic Church property. By 1990, the D.C. chapter had grown to include 350 members and was the largest in the country, and in 1991, Dignity Washington had passed a resolution to offer Spanish-language liturgies and to provide a welcoming, inclusive environment open to all. The Metropolitan Community Church at 474 Ridge Street NW was opened in 1992 as a partner church to Dignity Washington and maintains an outreach program to D.C.'s LGBTQ Latino community.[528]

For the new Spanish-speaking arrivals in D.C., churches continued to play a seminal role in their support, acculturation, and education. The Shrine of the Sacred Heart maintained its central importance for Latino Catholics, while the Spanish Catholic Center expanded into youth services. Poletunow, who was teaching ESL at the Capilla Latina in the early 1980s, spoke about how the Spanish Catholic Center,

> *...would arrange trips and activities and weekly gatherings. We would also be available for just counseling and encouragement and listening. There were a lot of issues that...any young person would be dealing with in any culture, but it was in a layer of complexity because of... trying to deal with two different cultures at the same time.*[529]

Gonzales opined that churches and religious organizations provided the most assistance to Central American refugees settling in the District circa 1982.[530] **JORGE GRANADOS**, who arrived from El Salvador in December 1982, recalled that the **LUTHER PLACE MEMORIAL CHURCH** near Thomas Circle provided support to Salvadoran refugees and activists, even providing care and hydration to activists undertaking a multi-day hunger strike to protest the United States' assistance and perpetuation of the civil war in El Salvador in the mid-1980s.[531]

The Luther Place Memorial Church's Reverend John Steinbruck was one of the founding members of the **SANCTUARY MOVEMENT** in D.C., a national religious and political umbrella organization with hundreds of church and secular affiliates across the country (Figure 5.7). The Sanctuary Movement, predicated on the ancient concept of churches being a place of sanctuary and refuge, emerged in 1980 as a response to the civil wars in Central America and the refugee crisis in North America. Its mission was to provide aid and "a safe physical space for participants, initially in religious buildings and then in housing located in the broader community. The movement also made a powerful visual public statement against U.S. policy in Central America."[532] Institutional members of the Sanctuary Movement advocated for immigration reform and materially supported activists and protestors. By October of 1982, Reverend Steinbruck and Philip Wheaton (the founder of EPICA) formed the D.C. Metro Sanctuary Committee with other progressive and activist congregations in the area. By 1987, D.C. had 11 participating congregations in the city and its suburbs, including All Souls Unitarian Church, the National Capital Union Presbytery, and the Calvary United Methodist Church (among others) in D.C.[533]

The **CALVARY UNITED METHODIST CHURCH** was an important location for Central Americans arriving in the 1980s. English and Spanish language classes for adult learners were offered through La Casa del Pueblo program, established at the church circa 1984. Granados described La Casa del Pueblo as an interchange in which Spanish speakers taught their native tongue to North Americans, who would teach English language to Spanish-speaking immigrants in turn. The program offered night classes, in which as many as 150 people would attend on a given night. The Comité de Refugiados Salvadoreños "Óscar Arnulfo Romero" convened at the Calvary United Methodist Church on Sundays to share news and to listen to underground radio broadcasts from El Salvador. Members of the Comité would sell tamales and pupusas to fundraise for displaced Salvadorans.[534]

Figure 5.7: Demonstration as part of the Sanctuary Movement's national convention, Washington, D.C., March 24, 1983. Courtesy of Richard Reinhard, photographer.

But the Calvary United Methodist Church is perhaps more important to the D.C. Latino community for founding, with Beatriz "BB" Otero, the Calvary Bilingual Multicultural Learning Center, now known as **CENTRONIA**. In her 2024 interview, Otero recalled opening the childcare center in the church basement as early as 1983, although the Calvary Bilingual Multicultural Learning Center incorporated as an independent, 501(c)(3) in 1986. From its inception, the early childhood development center was intended to serve all low-income families (at least 80% of the participating families qualified for childcare subsidies) in the District, inclusive of white, African American, and Latino children. Although the operation began with just 15 children, within the first ten years of operation, the Calvary Bilingual Multicultural Learning Center opened a satellite location in the basement of an apartment building on Meridian Place NW to better reach the African American community living in that vicinity. In the 1990s, their programing had expanded

to include before- and after-school activities as well as educational programming for adults that addressed community needs.[535] CentroNia is still a vital resource for the Latino community.

The influx of Central American children and teenagers in the 1980s were taxing D.C. public schools, including Bancroft Elementary, Alice Deal Middle School, and Woodrow Wilson (now Jackson-Reed) High School. In 1982, D.C. Superintendent Floretta D. McKenzie "became aware of the Salvadoran influx for the first time," and Fernández-Zayas, who then was head of the D.C. Office of Bilingual Education, expressed concern over the number of refugee schoolchildren.[536] In her 1982 interview, the director of the Gordon Center, Sonia Gutierrez, attested to the pressures placed on the educational system across the city:

> *Well, [we have] a lot of problems. Especially now, in the new group of refugees who have come. Through the years...according to the groups, they come with needs, many times similar, but also different. In previous years, when we were receiving, let's say, the Nicaraguan group...the Nicaraguans...needed housing, they needed education, etc. But most of them were a group that, in terms of education, had a slightly higher level of education than those who are coming now. ...Those who are coming now are groups, I would say, almost totally from rural areas. Many, many of them are illiterate. Those who do have some education, they don't have more than third or fourth grade. So there are groups that are coming now with much greater needs than before. ...In the past, the groups that were emigrating were emigrating because they were poor in their country, but they wanted to progress. The groups that are coming now are coming because they have to, because the situation in their country, the war, etc., is so terrible that they are forced to leave. Even in that, it's different.*[537]

Working with at-risk teenagers and young adults was the core mission of the LAYC. In 1985, "in response to the influx of Salvadorans to the D.C. area, LAYC created a counseling and mental health center...for youth who had been traumatized by war and related incidents" under the direction of Suann Hecht.[538] As D.C. became further embroiled in gang violence associated with the crack-cocaine epidemic, Hecht recognized the need to open a safe space for young Latinos/as to get them off of the streets. In the basement of the adjacent Wilson Center's sanctuary, the LAYC opened the Drop-In Center, affectionately called La Peña by those who used it, in 1988. La Peña was a recreational space, meeting hall, and cultural venue that hosted occasional rock concerts. The basement space included a juice bar, a pool table, and a ping-pong table.[539]

The LAYC continued to build a robust arts program with El Centro de Arte and a vocational/jobs training program through the 1980s. Quinteros-Grady, currently the director of the LAYC, first became familiar with the organization when she was 14 or 15 years old through the D.C. Summer Youth Employment Program (SYEP), which was founded by Mayor Marion Barry in 1979 to provide opportunities for D.C. youth to gain work experience and develop practical skills. Through the LAYC SYEP program, Quinteros-Grady acted as a peer educator, learning to hold workshops and fundraise for causes. Diaz also remembered working for the LAYC one summer with funding provided by the SYEP; he posted flyers around the neighborhood that advertised activities and programs at the LAYC, including camping excursions to the Shenandoah Mountains.[540]

Arts, Media, and Leisure

As in the previous decade, Latino arts thrived in D.C. in the 1980s through the early 1990s, particularly in the forms of mural painting, dramatic (often street) theater, dance, and music.[541] Two embassies from the Spanish-speaking world opened cultural centers in D.C. in the early 1990s, strengthening and promoting diplomatic ties through culture and fine arts. The Mexican Cultural Institute was opened in 1990 in the former Mexican Embassy on 16th Street. In 1994, the Spanish Embassy converted its 1921 mansion next door into the **CENTER FOR SPANISH-AMERICAN RELATIONS** (Figure 5.8).[542]

Figure 5.8: Center for Spanish-American Relations, 2801 16th Street NW, 2010. Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, photograph by Carol M. Highsmith.[543]

As the home of El Centro de Arte and the LAYC, the Wilson Center took center stage in providing arts classes and events to the community. For instance, the Wilson Center hosted the Rumba School for several years while El Centro de Arte offered a revolving calendar of musical performances as well as guitar workshops. Soon after Edward Gonzalez immigrated in 1981, he attended an Andean music concert at the Wilson Center and was introduced to El Centro de Arte's programming, taking their New Song Workshop, where he made friends among D.C.'s Latino musicians.[544] Furthermore, the Wilson Center's basement hall was considered by some as an important music venue. Gonzalez commented that the Wilson Center "has been the launching pad for a number of prominent local artists, performers, and musicians, in a number of genres, Nueva Canción, go-go, rock en español, punk, salsa and others."[545] As early as 1981, when Bad Brains first played there, the church basement became a punk rock venue (Figure 5.9). Throughout the decade, the Wilson Center basement hosted other punk rock shows by such bands as Government Issue, Minor Threat, and Fugazi, which played its very first performance in the church basement on September 3, 1987. Scholars of punk rock have likened the Wilson Center to the 9:30 Club in its importance for being "the birthplace of hardcore."[546] After the Drop-In Center (also known as La Peña) opened in 1988, it became a late-night venue for punk rock bands as well.[547]

The LAYC also fostered dramatic theater during this era, particularly through the formation of the **LATINEGRO THEATER YOUTH PROJECT**. In 1985, four students at the Duke Ellington School of Arts

Figure 5.9: Flyer for Punk Rock Concert at the Wilson Center, July 9, 1987.[548]

founded a theatrical troupe that tackled the problem of African American-Latino friction and conflict in schools. Salvadorans **ENRIQUE (QUIQUE) AVILÉS** and Mario Gonzalez partnered with native-born Michelle Banks and Valerie Peake to create a political collaborative that used theater as a means to explore issues of identity and race as well as acculturation. The troupe developed skits from oral interviews, providing a realistic portrayal of the lives of D.C. youth. The project was funded by local government grants, which paid the founders' salaries for three years, boosting the range and scope of LatiNegro through the remainder of the decade. Quique Avilés, a poet, actor, and activist, used his experience directing and producing in LatiNegro to found several other artist collectives, including Sol & Soul, Para Eso de la Palabra, and Paso Nuevo (a youth program run through GALA Hispanic Theatre).[549] Other Latino theatrical groups in this period include Teatro Nuestro (1978-1988), a Spanish-language theater that grew out of El Centro= de Arte and performed primarily from the basement of the Shrine of the Sacred Heart, and Teatro de la Luna, which was founded in 1991 by the Argentine artistic director Mario Marcel and his wife, Nucky Walder, who was born in Paraguay.[550]

Several murals were painted through the aegis of El Centro de Arte and the LAYC during this period, as well. In 1982, the ***UNITY MURAL*** was painted on the side elevation of the Potomac Electric Power Company (PEPCO) substation building on Champlain Street in Adams Morgan by nearly one dozen youth attending an LAYC summer program funded by the D.C. SYEP. Norris Vassel (from Jamaica) and Quique Avilés were among the students working on the mural designed by local artists Allen "Big Al" Carter and Ligia Williams (originally from Colombia). The mural is a

pastiche of Latin American cultural symbols, from the Caribbean origins of the woman carrying a fruit basket atop her head to the Aztec serpent in the center of the panel.[551] Over the course of three consecutive summers between 1988 and 1990, three murals were painted on an elongated, graffiti-ridden concrete retaining wall fronting Klingle Road NW: "A Tribute to Life," "Youth of the World," and "A Chant for Hope." The three murals, commonly referred to together as ***CANTO A LA ESPERANZA***, was painted by LAYC youth under the direction of artist Jorge Somarriba. The mural "windows" range from abstract geometric shapes to figural scenes depicting ancient and folk cultures on several continents (Figure 5.10).[552]

Unfortunately, several murals painted in this period have been lost to redevelopment or a change in ownership. Lost murals include Somarriba's *After the Comet* (1985) in the rear of 2413 18th Street NW; *Wall of Dignity* (1987) on the northwest corner of Georgia Avenue with Gresham Place NW; and *Amazonia* (1990) in the parking lot of the Smithsonian National Zoological Park. Carlos Arrien also created murals in this period that are now lost, including *Travesía/The Crossing* (1990) and *America Discovers Itself* (1991), both at the Wilson Center.[553] Cadaval recalled other lost murals in a 2024 interview, including one inside an Ecuadorian restaurant called La Sopita.[554]

Figure 5.10: Canto a la Esperanza, mural on Klingle Road NW, 1988-1990. Photograph by Shae Corey, September 2021. Courtesy of the D.C. Preservation League.[555]

Also in terms of the visual arts, the late 1980s birthed important works for the LGBTQ artistic community, including the Name Project AIDS Memorial Quilt, which was displayed on the National Mall in October 1987. But artworks from queer artists were often received with controversy in D.C. in this period. In 1989, noted homosexual photographer Robert Mapplethorpe's latest works were barred from the Corcoran Gallery of Art in D.C. after having been exhibited at the Institute of Contemporary Art in Philadelphia, causing much debate over the freedom of artistic expression. Similar debates surrounded the artwork of gay artist David Wojnarowicz when it was first displayed in Washington's National Portrait Gallery in 1989.[556]

The period also saw important additions to D.C.'s Spanish-language media. Radio Mundo began broadcasting on WMDO in December 1981, offering news, public service announcements, and Latin American music at the 1540 AM frequency. It filled the Spanish-language radio gap that had been left by WFAN (or "Radio Latina") when it closed in 1978. On local television, Channel 53 broadcasted Spanish-language programming by 1982.[557] In January 1990, *Línea Directa* was formed to provide public service announcements and news in Spanish, and is considered the first local television series founded to assist the Latino immigrant community in D.C.[558] In 1991, the Spanish-language print newspaper, *El Tiempo Latino*, was founded by Carlos Cabán, who served as its editor-in-chief until 1997. He was succeeded in the position by Paola Andaló, who had worked as a reporter for the largest newspaper in Argentina before emigrating. The paper was acquired by the *Washington Post* in 2004.[559]

Both leisure and political activities occurred in public spaces throughout the city in the 1980s, and open-air spaces hold their own significance for D.C.'s Latino population. Granados recalled being a participant in political marches relating to the United States' government's involvement in Central America that would start or end in Rabaut (or Pigeon) Park on Harvard Street and at Lamont Park on Mount Pleasant Street.[560] But undeveloped spaces were also appropriated for leisure and recreation, such as La Polvosa, a vacant lot and field south of the Shrine of the Sacred Heart that was a popular spot for soccer matches. Informal outdoor spaces emerged as impromptu gathering places, such as **LA ESQUINA**, or the northwest corner of the intersection of Mount Pleasant Street and Kenyon Street NW. No more than a large stretch of sidewalk, starting in the late 1970s, the street corner became a place for "esquineros"—a term that generally refers to middle-aged Salvadoran men—to socialize and play chess or checkers. This spot and a similar corner across Mount Pleasant Street continue to serve as an improvised gathering places for members of D.C.'s Latino community.[561]

The streets themselves became social spaces and promenades for D.C. Latinos/as, particularly the **MOUNT PLEASANT STREET CORRIDOR** and the **COLUMBIA ROAD CORRIDOR**.[562] The streets were the centers of Latino business and commerce and served as the parade route for the annual Latino Festival from its inception in 1971 through the 1980s. Granados asserted that these streets as well as 18th Street were "another place where [Latinos/as would] meet and chat."[563] Quinteros-Grady also stressed the significance of these two corridors in her memories of growing up in the barrio, which she associated with the Latino Festival as well as the 1991 Mount Pleasant uprising (Figure 5.11).[564] But Diaz summed it up best when recalling the scene in the 1980s,

> *Mount Pleasant was the place to go on the weekends if you worked... Mount Pleasant and Columbia Road were the corridor to walk. A lot of folks would come out. We used to think it was la plaza. In our countries, you used to go, especially on Sundays because there is a Mass... And that's what I remember happening, also. It used to be kind of the same feeling because on Sundays, Sacred Heart Church, it would get packed. After Sacred Heart Church, people would walk through Mount Pleasant, through Columbia Road. That's how I remember it: that feeling of you are among folks from your countries. Because you could buy, I don't know, your pupusas, atole, and only at those locations, mainly.*[565]

Figure 5.11: Latino Festival parade on Mount Pleasant Street, 27 July 1986. Courtesy Carolyn Long.

FÚTBOL AS A SEMINAL LEISURE ACTIVITY

The importance of soccer, or fútbol, to D.C.'s Latino community should not be neglected. As Kaplan notes, "the role of sports, specifically soccer, in social gatherings…the soccer clubs and the fields where they played were promine in sharing information, resources, support, and community gathering." (Lori Kaplan, email communication to Heather McMahon, 24 June 2024). Others have written that "Perhaps no other sport can better reflect Latino culture than soccer," which is popular in the D.C. metropolitan area today due, in part, to generations of Latino immigrants. By 1998, there were 450 Latino soccer teams in the D.C. region (Sprehn-Malagón et al. 2014: 85, 96).

Health and Social Services

Through the 1980s and 1990s, free or low-cost healthcare clinics continued to support the growing Latino community in D.C. Andromeda Transcultural Health, founded in 1970, was an important resource for Latinos/as in the District. When a third wave of Cubans came to D.C. in 1980, Andromeda created an orientation program for the Marielitos. By 1984, the estimated number of Marielitos who had settled in D.C. was 400, a quarter of whom were incarcerated in correctional facilities or mental health institutions. By 1987, the number of Mariel Cubans in D.C. had reached 600, and Andromeda had treated over 525 Marielitos for psychological problems, severe depression, alcoholism, violent and aggressive behavior, and past traumas associated with incarceration.[566]

By 1982, Andromeda had a staff of 22 people, which included both paid positions and volunteers, and had created a program to treat victims of domestic abuse. **MARIA ELENA OREGO** gave an interview that year as part of the Latino Youth Community History Project in which she talked mostly about Andromeda. The problems that the D.C. Latino community faced at the time included the pressures and difficulties many new immigrants felt to acculturate or assimilate to the American way of life, or the inevitable culture clashes inherent in expatriation. If a new immigrant spoke little or no English, the language barrier created a sense of isolation for him or her that impacted his or her mental health and general wellbeing. While the Latino community was growing, it was also self-segregating from the larger D.C. population, which hindered some Latinos/as from acquiring English language skills that would have eased their acculturation or assimilation. Also, many of these immigrants had come without family members and had therefore no kinship or familial support networks in D.C. to rely upon.[567]

All of these issues, in addition to any trauma experienced before arrival (such as fleeing war in an origin country), led to a public health crisis in the community that manifested in myriad ways, such as insomnia, loss of appetite, a lack of motivation, and emotional distress. Many immigrants had to work two or three jobs to afford living in D.C. and to send money to the families they left behind, while Latinas were often saddled with a skewed division of labor in the home. Several of Andromeda's female patients suffered from overwork and burnout. Alcohol abuse was prevalent among Latinos, while domestic abuse was on the rise. Many Latinas, Orego reported, had low self-esteem, felt trapped in the home, and turned a blind eye to infidelity, while the children became the "shock absorbers" of their parents' unhappiness.[568]

The housing crisis and rampant unemployment in the early 1980s only exacerbated these stresses and ills, and the rate of alcoholism and drug abuse rose proportionately in the Latino community. In the 1980s, Orego saw Latinos/as come to Andromeda addicted to or recreationally taking PCP (street name Angel Dust) and heroin—addictive and dangerous narcotics. Latino youth were being exposed to alcohol and marijuana at early ages, and school drop-out rates were rising. Andromeda's substance abuse programs were founded in the early 1980s to address these issues. However, Andromeda did not only treat the illnesses but tried to cure the core reasons for the substance abuse. For Orego, the trauma that the refugees from Central America and Cuba faced on their journeys to North America required unpacking, while the acculturation barriers they faced once in the United States required support. So, in addition to mental health treatment, Andromeda provided basic—Orego called it "survival"—English language lessons through their Cuban program, which also informed Marielitos of the federal benefits they could receive. The plight of the Marielitos, in particular, was described by Orego:

> *They were given checks, and in Cuba they were given their monthly food, and the majority paid a minimum wage. …They come here and find another story. First, they find that they are discriminated against, that they are people of the second or third category. Second, there is a system of dependency that is nefarious, but it is the only system of dependency that prevents many people from starving. If there is no job, you have to give people something to eat. A series of reactions are produced, and the Cuban person starts to back down, he doesn't want to go forward, because he is in a deep conflict with the fact that he has left his homeland, and that he cannot return to it, and that he has embraced another nationality that does not accept him as his native nationality accepted him. Coming here to be a third-class citizen… makes them very pessimistic, the depressions are very deep, and there is a kind of discontent that prevents them from feeling that they are going to look for something and learn English.*[569]

The same discrimination and its subsequent ills plagued Central American refugees in this period, who were additionally impacted negatively by not being federally recognized as asylees or asylum-seekers. "Washington and its surrounding suburbs also drew a large number of Salvadorans, though they were rarely granted political asylum," and so "Church-affiliated refugee centers, solidarity networks, and service providers soon opened offices in Adams Morgan, Mount Pleasant, and Columbia Heights, locations accessible to the newly arrived immigrants."[570] The most significant of these was the **CENTRAL AMERICAN RESOURCE CENTER**, or **CARECEN**, established in July 1981 as a nonprofit, legal-aid organization (Figure 5.12).[571] Its founders were **JOAQUÍN DOMINGUEZ PARADA**, a Salvadoran lawyer who emigrated in 1980, with **PATRICE PERILLIE**, a local lawyer who focused on political asylum applications and immigration law.

With a tight operating budget provided by the D.C. Office of Latino Affairs, Parada and Perillie opened a small office in the Wilson Center that was staffed largely by volunteers. The role of CARECEN was to defend the legal and civil rights of Central American immigrants settling in the greater Washington area through education, litigation, and activism. Through the end of the twentieth century and into the early twenty-first century, CARECEN "emerged as a pillar of Washington's Latino immigrant community" that advocated for the end of U.S. intervention in El Salvador as well as immigration reform.[572] Granados, who served on the board of CARECEN for several years, commented that the organization has "been very helpful to a lot of people, to myself included; they helped me to process my documents."[573] CARECEN also fostered two health clinics of great significance to the city's Latino population: **LA CLÍNICA DEL PUEBLO and SALUD, INC**.[574]

Figure 5.12: Joaquin Dominguez Parada and Patrice Perillie, co-founders of CARECEN, at their 18th Street and Columbia Road NW office, March 1982. Courtesy of Richard Reinhard, photographer.

La Clínica del Pueblo was established as a community-based health clinic in 1982 by CARECEN's founders and Plenty International (a commune on 16th Street), who saw a need for free, bilingual health services geared towards undocumented immigrants displaced by civil war. With used medical equipment donated by the Spanish Catholic Center, funding provided by the Mayor's Office of Latino Affairs, and a staff comprised entirely of volunteers, La Clínica del Pueblo offered a weekly, free clinic to the expanding Latino community in D.C. on the third (top) floor of the Wilson Center by 1983.[575] La Clínica del Pueblo was also a significant institution for D.C.'s Latino LGBTQ community, providing healthcare and education during the mounting HIV/AIDS epidemic. In 1994, La Clínica del Pueblo became its own entity (separate from CARECEN) and in 2007, it became a Federally Qualified Health Center (FQHC).[576]

Salud, Inc. was established in July 1987 in the basement of the Wilson Center, associated with La Clínica del Pueblo and, by extension, CARECEN. It was founded as a response to the HIV/AIDS crisis in the 1980s and 1990s as a means of educating homosexual Latino men on the deadly disease.[577] By 1993, it was housed in the second story of the 1905 rowhouse known as The Baltimore and was incorporated as a 501(c)(3) health center that worked on HIV/AIDS education and prevention, case management, substance abuse, and other issues pertinent to the Latino LGBTQ community. In 1991, as a fundraising effort, Salud, Inc. created the Miss Gay Hispanic contest, which was held two doors down at Perry's Restaurant (1811 Columbia Road). D.C.'s Whitman-Walker Clinic was also important to the Latino LGBTQ community, as it had dealt primarily with sexually transmitted diseases since opening in the late 1970s. The D.C. Latino LGBTQ support organization, ENLACE, worked closely with the Whitman-Walker Clinic and other health organizations to identify and treat the healthcare needs of queer Latinos/as.[578] By the late 1980s, the Whitman-Walker Clinic created a bilingual, Latino-oriented healthcare component led by Frank Jurita that educated and supported Latinos/as living with HIV/AIDS.[579]

Several other free and low-cost health clinics in the District were important to the D.C. Latino community, including the Adams Morgan Family Clinic, which offered health services in Spanish, and the **WASHINGTON FREE CLINIC AT ST. STEPHEN AND THE INCARNATION EPISCOPAL CHURCH**. Founded in 1968, the Washington Free Clinic was the oldest of its kind on the eastern seaboard. It was originally located in a church in Georgetown before moving to the third floor of St. Stephen's Church in 1980.[580] The Washington Free Clinic was founded to serve runaway and at-risk gay and straight youth by providing pre-natal care and basic medical care. By the 1980s, it had added HIV testing and counseling to its programming. The clinic closed in 2007 when it merged with the Whitman-Walker Clinic, which had its roots in the Washington Free Clinic.[581] In 1988, **MARIA S. GOMEZ**, a nurse and a Colombian immigrant, opened **MARY'S CENTER**, a community-based health clinic for pregnant, immigrant women who largely had fled war in Central America (Figure 5.13).[582] Too often, these women had become impregnated through sexual assault while en route to North America. Mary's Center provided medical, prenatal, and behavioral health care as well as social services. Although it has grown over the decades to serve children and families, it is one of the few institutions that started and stayed in Adams Morgan (it also has multiple, satellite offices across the District and in Maryland.).[583]

Figure 5.13: Mary's Center sign, ca. 1990s. Courtesy of the National Museum of American History.[584]

In thinking about the sea change that occurred within D.C.'s Latino community in the 1980s, Kaplan summed it up by saying that, with the influx of Central American (and particularly Salvadoran) refugees,

> *The D.C. public schools were not equipped to meet the needs of the Latino community, even the ones that were [documented] immigrants... Then when the Salvadorans started coming in, there was just issues that we had to deal with, such as unaccompanied minors, youth homelessness, the trauma of what had been experienced, the definition of what a refugee brings, not coming hopeful, but fleeing fear and fleeing death and murder. So that taxed a lot of the organizations. It also pushed the Salvadoran community to get better organized.*[585]

Members of the Latino community took on leadership positions in the 1980s to address the many and dire needs of the growing Latino community in the District and its suburbs. Pumar has credited the social services agencies and educational institutions that these individuals built in the 1980s with "creat[ing] civic engagement... [and] outreach programs [thereby becoming] leading advocates for Hispanics in Washington, D.C."[586] From 1987, several social service agencies cycled through the **JOSEPHINE BUTLER HOUSE**, a Beaux Arts mansion-cum-community center serving near northwest neighborhoods.[587]

Housing

By 1980, 16th Street NW formed a spine from which Latino residency radiated. The top ten census tracts with the highest percentages of Latino residents corresponded to neighborhoods that flanked 16th Street, although most lay to its immediate west: Mount Pleasant, Lanier Heights, Downton/K Street/Franklin Park, Columbia Heights, Dupont Circle (divided into two tracts), Adams Morgan, Reed-Cooke, West End, and Woodley Park. By 1990, Latino residency had shifted slightly to the east and north. Personal observations recount that, in the mid-1980s through the early 1990s, more Latinos/as settled deeper into Columbia Heights, between 16th and 14th streets. This is supported by 1990 census data, as the five census tracts that comprised Mount Pleasant and Columbia Heights were also the top five for Latino residency, followed by Logan Circle, Dupont Circle, Lanier Heights, Reed-Cooke, and Petworth. U.S. Census records indicate that the greatest increase in Latino population in D.C. occurred in Ward 4, which includes the neighborhoods of Brightwood and Petworth.[588]

Adams Morgan, which had been in the top ten neighborhoods for its percentage of Latino residents from 1960 through 1980, was conspicuously absent from the list in 1990. Columbia Road and 18th Street NW continued to serve as a gateway for Spanish-speaking immigrants on their first arrival to the city, as it was where the majority of Latino-owned businesses and social services established in previous decades were located. Additionally, the Columbia Road corridor fed into other concentrations of Latino businesses and services on Mount Pleasant, 14th, 15th, and 16th streets. Yet Adams Morgan's Latino residential population dispersed during the decade, largely due to redevelopment and gentrification. In his 1982 work, *Gentrification in Adams Morgan: Political and Commercial Consequences of Neighborhood Change*, author Jeffrey Henig recognized the effects of redevelopment on that neighborhood's residents. Commercial development, in particular, took its toll. Reinhard provided an explanation for the residential displacement in Adams Morgan, stating that,

> In the 1980s gradually expanding commercial bar and restaurant development in Adams Morgan reduced the resident Latino population there, and the center of the city's Latino community migrated north and east into Mount Pleasant and then farther east into Columbia Heights. Over time the Latino population spread throughout D.C. as well as the metropolitan areas as a whole, but Adams Morgan, Mount Pleasant, and Columbia Heights continued to provide many of the commercial and social supports for the Latino community.[589]

GENTRIFICATION OF THE BARRIO FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF A LATINO IN 1982

In 1982 the LAYC funded the Latino Youth Community History Project, which asked young Latinos/ as to record interviews and collect oral histories from older members of the Latino community in D.C. Martha Sarmiento interviewed Arturo Silvester in April that year. These are his thoughts on the topic of gentrification in the D.C. Latino barrio.

> *Yes, the Latinos and the Black Americans who live in this community, I think that in the future it is going to be difficult for many of these people to continue living here, because the housing here is very expensive. Many of the houses, the apartments, the large building that had many apartments are becoming condominiums. And many of these people who work as waiters, who work as housekeepers, and work like that, do not earn that money. I, for example, as a policeman, who earns a little more than 21,000 dollars, I can't even buy a house around here, because it is outside my salary. ...Well, what is happening is that we would have had a faster change, I think, if the economy had not been in a state of depression. What we are seeing is that in this sector, for example, of the community, the rents are increasing more and more. You can take a walk around here and you can see that many condominiums are for sale, many apartments, but the middle class or poor people, they can't pay that money. So what is going to happen is that in the future, this community, as we know it now, in five, six, seven, ten years from now, will be only for the rich. Here we have a problem with a big building that the residents of that building are trying to buy, the Imperial. And that's the only way people will be able to buy it, if they try to join together, those who live in that building, and they try to get the government to help them buy the building. ... So what's happening, because of that situation, we have a lot of Hispanics who are living in different parts of Maryland, everywhere, in every sector...Prince George's County; Rockville, Maryland; Arlington, Virginia—where they can pay, more or less, the rent. Because this community, as I repeat, the cost of living is very high.*

(Silvester 1982).

GENTRIFICATION OF THE BARRIO FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF A LATINA IN 1982

In 1982 the LAYC funded the Latino Youth Community History Project, which asked young Latinos/as to record interviews and collect oral histories from older members of the Latino community in D.C. Quique Avilés took part in the program and interviewed Christina Espinel in late November that year. On the same audio tape is a second interview with an unknown Latina; all that can be gleaned from the beginning of the second interview is that the speaker was from Ecuador and came to D.C. in 1970. The name of this woman is not given in the audio recording or in the associated documentation. But her perspective on the issues of housing shortages, the influx of refugees from El Salvador, and gentrification in Adams Morgan and Mount Pleasant in 1982 is worth reading today. Words or phrases inserted in brackets [ ] are author's comments.

> *Here [i.e., Mount Pleasant/Adams Morgan], there was a certain Latino character. For those years [the 1960s and after the 1968 riots], they [white residents] had left. And maybe that was one of the factors that caused the Latinos to move here. The whites went to the suburbs because they were scared, because they were afraid of Black people. They were afraid of refugees. And then, well, the time I arrived here, which was in the '70s, this neighborhood was still a neighborhood where the majority of middle-class people, Latin American people, were very afraid of coming. Even because they thought it was still like a ghetto. They thought they were going to rob them. It was still cheap to live here. You could buy big houses for 30,000 [$]. Houses that now cost 140,000 [$]. We could say that the most serious change that has happened is the change in economic terms, in prices, in being able to live here. In addition, the rise in prices, which was motivated…by the lack of housing in the United States in general. But in particular, by the return of those same whites to the city. They had much more economic capacity, so they could pay more. They started buying, and prices started rising. The Latinos were then forced to leave the city, to move to the suburbs. That's another change that has happened. They were forced to move. We could infer that the number of Latinos has decreased, and I think it had decreased to a certain extent until 1979, more or less. But since 1980, 1981, maybe since the end of 1979, we have seen a strong influx of people from El Salvador. A lot. It seems that the conditions in which people live here now…many people are forced to live in the same room. If they are thrown out of their homes, they have nowhere to go. They are forced to live with friends or family. Those who have just arrived are also forced to go to their friends' houses. They have to live here in a very tight space. The situation started very badly, in terms of having a high crime rate. And there was more intense drug trafficking in the city, because of the police. Later, it changed slightly, in terms of it becoming a middle-class neighborhood, a high-middle-class neighborhood, which is what it is now, for whites. But we still feel it, more than anything, because we are living in a tight space, and paying a lot more than before. Then, the condominiums have changed a lot too. The houses have been renovated. The apartment that you could get for $150, now you have to pay $600.*

(Espinel 1982).

Economic and government policies in the early 1980s encouraged housing redevelopment across the District, bringing new and wealthier residents into the city. In 1982, Houston and Struthers remarked that the affordable housing shortage was the most critical problem for D.C.'s Latino community at that time. Simply, as property owners and developers improved their residential properties, they raised rents, which in turn reduced the available stock of affordable housing in the neighborhood. Those buildings that remained affordable were also those that were not renovated, or were even neglected. Living conditions in the latter were less than acceptable.[590]

By the mid-1980s, the crack-cocaine epidemic and its associated crime wave had stymied gentrification, at least in the heavily African American and Latino neighborhoods of Capitol Hill, Logan Circle, Adams Morgan, Columbia Heights, and LeDroit Park, where gang violence scared wealthier young professionals away. Property owners saw both the value and sales of homes decrease while landlords lowered rents to either entice or keep lessees. This "stalled gentrification…created a unique mix of poverty and affluence, Black and White, blight and opulence."[591] The crime wave also influenced settlement patterns and the dispersion of the barrio. For example, Granados, who had purchased his home in Columbia Heights in 1986, moved to a safer neighborhood—Takoma Park, Maryland—as soon as he started a family.

Otero has suggested that one could map D.C. Latino migration northward, within the District, through children's enrollment in the public school system. While Bancroft Elementary and Oyster Bilingual School (both in Mount Pleasant) had a high percentage of Latino children in the 1970s through the 1990s, by the end of the twentieth century, schools in Petworth (such as Raymond Elementary) and Sixteenth Street Heights (John Lewis Elementary) had growing Latino student bodies. Otero commented that a large Dominican community resided in the vicinity of 11th Street, 13th Street, and Missouri Avenue NW, and this enclave is perhaps reflected in the establishment of the **LATIN AMERICAN MONTESSORI BILINGUAL PUBLIC CHARTER SCHOOL (LAMB)** on the 1300 block of Missouri Avenue NW in 2001.[592]

As Latinos/as moved into other neighborhoods across the District, Latino-based amenities—such as schools (as noted above), childcare and healthcare facilities, retail and other services—followed. Kaplan points out that in the late twentieth century, 18th Street and Columbia Road were a nexus and an "entry point" for arriving immigrants, where they were sent because they would find other Spanish-speaking immigrants, shops, and social services to help orient them. By the early twenty-first century, however, this singular entry point had multiplied to several other enclaves throughout the greater Washington area.[593] Despite this dispersal of Latino-related activity, Columbia Road and Mount Pleasant Street remain important Latino-based commercial corridors today.

But dispersion had always been the trajectory.[594] In his 1986 interview, Flores commented that "Adams Morgan is constantly changing…new immigrants coming in and…soon after…they get themselves established and then move out," primarily to Prince George's and Montgomery counties in Maryland.[595] Four years earlier, Silvester had commented, "the Hispanics are not concentrated here on Columbia Street, they are everywhere [in] Washington: Southeast, Northeast, Fairfax, Arlington, Alexandria, Takoma Park, everywhere. And that's why we can't, when we talk, it's difficult to identify the Latino community right now, because they are everywhere." Similarly, in their 1992 article Cadaval and Reinhard wrote,

> An already diverse community thus became even more diversified, not just in occupational or social standing, but in political beliefs and place of residence. Although Mt. Pleasant/Adams Morgan barrio, or Latino neighborhood, continues to be considered the heart of the Latino presence in Washington, many of their number—especially the earlier arrivals—have moved to the Virginia

and Maryland suburbs. The largest number still living in the barrio are Central Americans, particularly Guatemalans and Salvadorans who tend to be more recently arrived.[596]

Politics, Governance, and Economic Development

In their 1982 interview, Houston and Struthers named several problematic issues facing D.C.'s Latino community: affordable housing, employment, barriers to assimilation and in language, and entering politics. On this last topic, the interviewees state that the representation of Latinos in the District government was nearly non-existent. Houston elaborated on the issue of political representation with a comparison of the plight of D.C. Latinos/as in 1982 with the African American community's struggle for better housing, schooling, and political representation twenty years earlier. She stated that African Americans had to penetrate a white hegemonic society and fight for their civil rights in order to achieve perceivable improvements in their status as American citizens. Houston concluded that Latinos/as needed to penetrate D.C.'s African American-dominated local government in the same way, but the methods and tactics used in the Civil Rights movement did not seem appropriate or resonant in the 1980s.[597]

Throughout the twentieth century's postwar period, Latino communities across the nation "mobilized to demand civic and political inclusion" and "organized around a consistent set of demands…for equal protection of the law and the ability to participate equally in American society regardless of race or ethnicity."[598] In D.C., the most visible means of demanding Latino inclusion and representation was through the annual Latino Festival, which was conceived "in 1970 to bring together disparate communities with a common goal: literally to show the city and its government that they existed."[599] The Latino Festival was a mainstay of D.C. Latino community life through the 1980s (and continues today as Fiesta D.C.). Quinteros-Grady fondly recalled the festival when she was a teenager:

> *I came up when the Latino festival started at Mount Pleasant, and it went all the way through and ended up in Adams Morgan. Those were just fun days. That was so much fun. And then we ended up where they had all of the different stages, and all of the artists, and I thought that was just so cool, because…you can have mariachi bands…like our music was on display, like to the entire community, that we were kind of new in the area. So like that area—I always associate with that time, like the parade that used to take place from Mount Pleasant, all [down] Columbia Road, Adams Morgan—all of that was good times.*[600]

The Latino Festival was popular and effective because it straddled both worlds of political activism and entertainment/leisure. When Rumbaut—an activist and lawyer who worked in immigration law—was interviewed in 1982, he believed that the D.C. Latino community had achieved political recognition and that the Latino polity's power was concentrated in the social service agencies and organizations that had arisen since the 1970s. Rumbaut also commented that some of the issues facing the Latino community at that time—in particular, immigration control and the Reagan administration's policies on granting asylum to Central Americans—could not be solved at the local level.[601]

During the 1980s, the D.C. Latino community's activism largely centered on the United States' involvement in ongoing conflicts in Central America coupled with draconian immigration policies. The Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF) and the National Council of La Raza, which had been organized in the 1960s and had an established presence in D.C. by the mid-1980s, litigated immigration authorities for discriminatory practices in granting asylum status. Individuals participated in demonstrations, marches, vigils, and protests while several national solidarity organizations opened offices in Washington, D.C., such as the **COMMITTEE IN SOLIDARITY WITH THE PEOPLE OF EL SALVADOR (CISPES).**[602] CISPES was a political activism organization founded in 1980 to raise awareness of the federal-level foreign policies

that were stoking civil war in El Salvador. Growing to 22 chapters across the U.S. and staffed mostly by young university students, CISPES organized protests and marches in D.C. as well as provided financial and material assistance to people in El Salvador. Salvadoran refugees and North American activists in D.C. also established Casa de Maryland, an advocacy organization, in 1985.[603]

Several advocacy organizations arose to fill the needs and demand the civil rights of D.C.'s Latino LGBTQ community in the 1980s through the 1990s, such as ENLACE (meaning "link," as in a chain), a local organization founded in the spring of 1987. ENLACE had no permanent office space; its members would meet in private homes or bars and cafés. One of the things the organization was known for was holding fundraising events in rented hotel ballrooms—such as at the Omni Shoreham or the Dupont Circle Hotel—or in restaurants and bars, mostly in the Eastern Market neighborhood in the beginning. ENLACE considered itself a political organization, and the parties and dances they threw were political activities, a means of showing the Latino LGBTQ community's strength in numbers—in the same way that the first Latino Festival exhibited pan-Latino solidarity in 1971. In fact, ENLACE was the first Latino LGBTQ group to host a float in the 1992 Latino Festival parade, bringing the larger Latino community's awareness to their subgroup. As Letitia Gomez commented, the act of being visible in parades, marches, and fundraisers changed the ways in which Latinos/as viewed queer members of their community and proudly showed D.C.'s mainstream gay community the Latinidad of queer Latinos/as. Before 1987, queer Latinos/as in D.C. were unaware of or did not think there was a distinct Latino LGBTQ community; they were individual members of both the queer community and the Latino community in D.C. However, a self-identified Latino LGBTQ community came into being in tandem with political organization and activism in the late 1980s. Although ENLACE participated in the Second National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights in October 1987, they really introduced themselves to the Latino community at large in April 1988 with a reception at the Mayor's Office of Latino Affairs. Until it disbanded in 1995, ENLACE was seminal in building coalitions with other organizations that served African American and white gay communities (Figure 5.14). ENLACE also supported the Latino LGBTQ subgroup through such acts as creating a Spanish-language hotline called HOLA GAY and raising awareness and education on HIV/AIDS. ENLACE also supported the D.C. Latino community in general, advocating for civil rights for all marginalized groups as well as holding a fundraiser for the Latino Civil Rights Task Force and making their own recommendations and analyses following the 1991 Mount Pleasant uprising. After ENLACE folded, the Gente Latina de Ambiente, or GELAAM—organized in 1994 and headquartered in Dupont Circle—became the primary, local advocacy group representing D.C.'s Latino LGBTQ community in the annual Latino Festival parade.[604]

The **NATIONAL LATINA/O LESBIAN AND GAY ORGANIZATION (LLEGO)** was a civil rights organization fighting for Latino LGBTQ civil liberties across the country. Founded in 1987 in Washington, D.C., the members of National LLEGO met in the basement of **ARCADIO TORRES'** house before setting up an office on the second floor of a rowhouse in the Eastern Market neighborhood (Figure 5.15).[605] The grassroots organization organized Latino queers in D.C. and spearheaded efforts—both in the United States and abroad—to educate people on how to prevent the spread of HIV. National LLEGO closed its doors in 2004. Platiquemos (1995-1999) was a social services and advocacy group for Latino LGBTQ persons living in D.C., with an office at 1513 17th Street NW, in Dupont Circle.[606]

Although the individual participants and the social causes may have evolved or shifted over the decades, from the 1960s through the 1980s, D.C.'s Latino community remained politically and socially active, organizing people to participate in the democratic process, advocating for civil rights, and protesting various and major issues that affected people locally, domestically, and internationally. The shift in demographics in the 1980s that gave rise to a Salvadoran plurality in D.C.'s highly diverse Latino community also revolutionized the community from within.

Figure 5.14: Members of ENLACE at Meridian Hill Park, ca. 1989. Photographer unknown. Courtesy Jose Gutierrez Archives.

Figure 5.15: One of the first meetings of National LLEGO in Washington, D.C., ca. 1988. Photographer unknown. Courtesy Jose Gutierrez Archives.

The old guard—largely comprised of Caribbeans and South Americans—made way for a new guard of Latino leaders that largely came from Central America in this period. Sonia Gutierrez alluded to the growing pains within the D.C. Latino community in her 1982 interview, when she said,

> *Well, look, I think that we in the Hispanic community are going through a painful process, which is the process of growth. And all communities have to go through that process. Currently, I think that…there are different factions that are fighting for a so-called power, which for me does not exist. Power, for me, is in unity. …But as I told you, I think it is a process. …we are in the stage of painful growth…we are from different countries, and although that makes us richer in many things, also, sometimes, it separates us, in a certain way, because not all of us think in the same way. I, who come from Puerto Rico, I am raised in a system that is very different, let's say, from another person who has been raised in Bolivia. I mean, politically we grow with different ideas in terms of what should be political. But…I think we have advanced a lot. In the last ten years, we have progressed a lot in this community.*[607]

Conclusion

The 1980s posed several challenges for Latinos/as living in Washington, D.C., from issues of drugs and crime to affordable housing. In the United States, economic recessions flanked the decade with a moment of economic prosperity in the early 1980s. The construction industry boomed in the 1980s, thereby providing more higher-wage jobs for Latinos, although Latinas saw their wages stagnate and fall behind those of their male counterparts. A crack-cocaine epidemic swept the nation and pummeled D.C., leading to years of heightened violent crime and other social problems affecting the Latino community. Meanwhile, the civil wars in Central America resulted in a mass terrestrial exodus and immigration across the United States' southern border. Many Salvadorans and Guatemalans came to the U.S. without documents and little chance of being granted asylum. On the other hand, Cuban refugees from the Port of Mariel and Nicaraguans were shown partiality by immigration authorities. Thousands of new immigrants settled in Washington, D.C., putting additional pressures on D.C.'s over-burdened education, housing, and economic systems, stretching the resources of a city undergoing an economic depression. Racial tensions simmered below the surface, exploding into the Mount Pleasant uprising of May 5, 1991.

Despite these challenges and impediments, D.C.'s Latino community coalesced under common causes. As in the previous decade, Latino/a individuals rose into positions of leadership within their communities by establishing social service and political advocacy organizations to help and support their peers. Although the riots following the Mount Pleasant uprising had a devastating effect on the community, it did usher in a series of reforms and a new generation of Latino/a leaders. Organizations like CentroNia, Mary's Center, CARECEN, and La Clínica del Pueblo filled the gaps left by local and federal government agencies in meeting Latino needs in education, healthcare, and legal aid. Many of the institutions named in this chapter were founded by newly arrived Salvadorans to assist their compatriots who had little-to-no resources or social networks to rely on.

In addition to the expansion of Latino social service agencies, small, independent, Latino businesses proliferated in the barrio in this period. Most notably, several Central American restaurants opened whose ownership and menus reflected the Latino community's changing demographics. The arts also continued to flourish in this period, especially in the medium of mural painting through the aegis of the LAYC and El Centro de Arte. Street and community theater also defined D.C. Latino arts in this era, characterized by the works of Teatro Nuestro and LatiNegro. And religious institutions continued to provide valuable support structures, spiritual

solace, education, and social gathering places for Latinos/as of all faiths and creeds.

In the late 1980s, a subgroup of the D.C. Latino community found its voice through political organization and civil rights advocacy: the Latino LGBTQ community. Several organizations important to this community—Salud, Inc., National LLEGO, and ENLACE—were formed in 1987, a year which also marked the Second National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights. For generations, Latino/a homosexuals had met privately in homes or at gay bars. Through most of the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s, queer Latinos/as were loath to make their sexual orientation known for fear of reprisals in regard to their documentation or employment status. With the rise of identity politics in the late 1960s and 1970s, however, D.C.'s LGBTQ community began to find its own voice. Latina lesbians and Latino gays were simultaneously members of the Latino community based on their ethnic heritages and the LGBTQ community based on their sexual orientations, but there was no distinct Latino LGBTQ community until the late 1980s. Often, they met socially in bars and hotel ballrooms that had been rented for dances and fundraisers. They participated in the annual Latino Festival and created several drag contests in businesses throughout the barrio. As individuals and in organizations, they worked hard to educate the local community about the threat of HIV during the AIDs epidemic of the 1980s and 1990s.

Although the Latino presence remained strong in Adams Morgan, Mount Pleasant, and Columbia Heights neighborhoods and even expanded in the 1980s, the geographic center of the D.C. Latino community had already begun to shift as early as 1982. As earlier waves of Latino immigrants had established themselves economically, many moved out of the barrio to the Virginia and Maryland suburbs. As property values and rents in the barrio rose, those Latinos who had stayed began to migrate farther north within the District along 16th Street and Georgia Avenue—to neighborhoods such as Petworth, Brightwood, and Takoma—or farther east into Columbia Heights and deeper into predominantly African American areas south of Florida Avenue. By the 1990s and 2000s, the dispersal of Latinos throughout the Washington metropolitan area raised the question of whether a geographic center for the D.C. Latino community still existed.[608]

In this period of evolution and dispersion, however, Latinos held onto and returned to their established community spaces such as **churches**, **offices**, **restaurants**, **parks**, and the **streets**. As in previous decades, these buildings and spaces had not been constructed with a Latino population in mind, nor had Latinos/as comprised a significant presence in D.C. at the time of their construction. Yet these buildings and spaces were inhabited and appropriated by Latinos/as as their numbers in D.C. grew through the late twentieth century. Today, many of the places listed in this chapter are still imbued with Latino identity.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

For one-and-a-half centuries after its founding in 1790, the District of Columbia and its federal city of Washington—the seat of the United States government—was a thoroughly southern city occupied by native-born Americans, white and Black. Through the middle of the twentieth century, the total number of foreign-born Spanish- and Portuguese speakers from Europe and Latin America only amounted to less than one percent of the city's population. The majority of those few Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking émigrés were living in the nation's capital because they were associated with embassies, international organizations, and universities or they were serving the privileged diplomatic families associated with these institutions. Even as late as 1970, only 4% of the greater Washington metropolitan area was foreign-born.

Global upheavals wrought by the Cold War coupled with the rise of service and financial economies changed that. Wars and political unrest as well as a population boom (correlated with the introduction of new medicines that cut rates of child and adult mortality) in Latin America starting in the 1960s and perpetuating through the 1980s fostered mass migration to North America (i.e., the push factor in immigration theory). Meanwhile Washington, D.C. "became a significant destination due to burgeoning job markets, particularly in the construction, services, and technology sectors" (i.e., the pull factor).[609] By 1990, the Washington metropolitan area's residents included foreign nationals who accounted for 12% of the total population, and by 2010 that number had grown to nearly one-quarter. By the second decade of the twenty-first century, the Washington metropolitan area was the seventh largest metro region in the country in terms of immigrant residents.[610] Washington, D.C. had finally arrived in terms of being the cosmopolitan, international seat of a global powerhouse envisioned by its founders over two centuries prior. Latin American immigration plays a significant role in the internationalization of the nation's capital and its surrounding areas. In the third decade of the twenty-first century, Latinos/as account for nearly 12% of the District of Columbia's resident population.[611]

Latin American settlement patterns in the United States, and particularly in Washington, D.C., cannot be understood divorced from the context of global affairs and international policy. After World War II, the United States entered a long Cold War with the Soviet Union and its satellite states, engaging in overt and covert actions in other nations as part of a proxy war. U.S. interventionism in and foreign policies towards several Latin American nations contributed to a half-century of political turmoil and strife that fostered mass exodus from Latin America to North America. In the 1950s and 1960s, this turmoil was centered largely in Cuba and the Dominican Republic, accounting for that early immigration wave. By the 1970s, political coups d'état in South America fostered emigration, while in the 1980s and 1990s, civil wars in Central America prompted mass exodus. Salvadorans, in particular, have played a significant role in developing the Latino community and its presence in the District for the last half-century. As Ana Patricia Rodríguez asserts,

> Throughout the D.C. metropolitan area, Salvadoran culture manifested itself in neighborhoods, businesses, churches, schools, community centers, public clinics, service providers, and cultural activities. Salvadorans participated in local Latino festivals and art scenes, and they popularized their cuisine, including the pupusa (cornmeal tortilla stuffed with cheese, beans, pork, and other items).[612]

But even the Salvadoran plurality is in a state of constant flux. As Mariana Barros-Titus wrote in 2021, "While a large portion of Latino community members stem from El Salvador, increasingly, there are Latino migrants from other nationalities moving into the area."[613]

Defining a Latino identity among D.C.'s diverse immigrant Spanish- and Portuguese-speakers has its pitfalls. Cadaval succinctly formulated an approach when she wrote,

> Therefore, the different nationalities organized themselves around a shared language and common issues, and in the process shaped a unifying Latino identity unique to Washington. As new immigrants arrived, this Latino cultural and social support structure incorporated them without supplanting their other identities, whether associated with a country, region, or town.[614]

Cadaval's statement identifies language as a common denominator unifying Latinos/as, yet underscores the importance of *shared challenges* that were answered by *cultural and support structures*—such as the social service agencies D.C.'s Latino and Latina leaders established in the 1960s through the 1990s to assist their peers—as the crux of a pan-ethnic identity that is participatory and additive to other aspects of identity.

Furthermore, defining exactly what constitutes the Latino barrio in D.C. is a challenge. Firstly, Latinos/as lived throughout the District of Columbia in the twentieth century and were never confined to just Wards 1 and 2, although the neighborhoods of Adams Morgan, Mount Pleasant, and Columbia Heights are universally alluded to as the heart of D.C.'s Latino barrio in the second half of the century.[615] Afro-Latinos/as, for example, moved directly into African American neighborhoods outside of these wards and in all four of the district's quadrants. Particularly in the 1940s and 1950s, when segregation was in effect, race played a larger role in where one settled than nationality did. Additionally, as Latinos/as arrived in increasing numbers in the 1960s and 1970s, those with limited means settled in African American neighborhoods because housing was more affordable. Yet a person's nationality could play a role in settlement choices, too. Interviewees have spoken about enclaves of Dominicans or Panamanians on certain roads (such as Park Road or Calvert Street NW) or in areas (like Brightwood).

Secondly, the Latino barrio shifted across neighborhoods over the decades, so that the barrio's boundaries were fluid. For example, while many pioneering (i.e., from the 1940s and 1950s) businesses and residences named in this report were located in Dupont Circle, Adams Morgan—particularly at the intersection of 18th Street and Columbia Road NW—became the indisputable commercial heart of the Latino community by the 1970s. By 1970, Adams Morgan and adjacent neighborhoods—including Kalorama Triangle, Reed-Cooke, Lanier Heights, Woodley Park—had supplanted Dupont Circle, Georgetown, and Petworth for the highest percentages of Latino residents across the District.[616] Mount Pleasant hosted Latino businesses and residences from the 1950s and 1960s, but its association with any notion of a barrio dates largely to the mid-1970s through the 1990s. By 1980, the southeastern half of Mount Pleasant (i.e., that part of the neighborhood adjacent to Adams Morgan) had the highest percentage of Latino residents in the city. The influx of Central Americans in the 1980s and 1990s pushed the boundaries of a Latino residential concentration into Columbia Heights east of 14th street. Ultimately, gentrification in the 1990s and twenty-first century pushed most Latino businesses, agencies, and residents north and northeast, into Wards 4 and 5.

Thirdly, these older, first-ring suburbs—Dupont Circle, Mount Pleasant, Adams Morgan, and Columbia Heights—were always a way-station, a transitional ground. From the beginning of Latino settlement in these northwest neighborhoods, Latinos/as who first landed in the District would move to the suburbs in Virginia and Maryland or to other parts of D.C. once they were economically established. Furthermore, many Latinos/as never came to or settled into the District's neighborhoods at all, but instead went directly to Virginian and Maryland communities. For instance in Cadaval's 2024 interview she noted that, "Bolivianos never come and settled here. They go directly to Virginia or Maryland. Peruanos are the same."[617]

Although the idea that Adams Morgan, Mount Pleasant, and Columbia Heights could be considered the geospatial center of D.C.'s Latino community is fallible, these Ward 1 neighborhoods were at least a center for Latinos/as living in the District, and probably an important reference point for other Latinos/as living in the Maryland and Virginia suburbs.[618] This HCS has attempted to emphasize the area's centrality and importance to a community—obviously, not all—of Latinos/as living in the District in the time period 1943 to 1991. What stands out is the barrio's plethora of commercial businesses owned by and serving Latinos/as. Cadaval hints at the primary importance of independent, small businesses as a mainstay of an ethnic neighborhood or enclave when she wrote, in 1996,

> Thirty years ago a handful of Latin American embassy domestic workers discovered an Italian grocery store in Adams Morgan that offered familiar tropical fruits and vegetables. Today mom-and-pop stores, ethnic specialty shops, and street-vending stalls, established by earlier immigrants and now run by more recent arrivals, provide a range of goods and services. A Cuban-owned store butchers specialty meats and offers regional products for its Latin American, African, and West Indian clientele. Additionally, social-service centers established to meet newcomers' needs reflect the new communities' vitality and organization.[619]

Cadaval's quote, now nearly 30 years removed, lays out the two typologies that an ethnographer and folklorist who had undertaken extensive research on the local Latino community thought were most important to the formation of D.C.'s Latino community: **commercial businesses** and **social service organizations**. Of the 90 sites, objects, and buildings the author selected to include in the companion architectural survey documentation—chosen because they were repeatedly encountered in secondary and primary source research—30 (or exactly one-third) of the sites are commercial businesses, the vast majority being grocery stores (bodegas) and restaurants. The growth of Latino-owned commercial businesses mirrored the growth and prosperity of the Latino community in D.C. as a whole, and independently owned small businesses provide insight into the social and economic health (if not wealth) of a given community. Commercial businesses—especially restaurants—figured repeatedly in the nostalgic memories of interviewees. For example, Quinteros-Grady, interviewed in preparation of this HCS, was asked which spaces she thought were significant; her answer included two restaurants, El Tamarindo and El Tazumal, as well as the movie theater on Ontario Road that played Cantinflas.[620]

The second most prolific type in the architectural survey are social service organizations, which number 20 out of 90 (or nearly one-quarter). This HCS has argued that the formation of social service agencies created by Latinos and Latinas to meet the unaddressed needs of a marginalized, minority population was the bedrock of a Latino community formation in D.C. in the 1970s. But as Otero asserted, the importance of the social services organization that were founded to help D.C. Latinos/as have since expanded to serve the entire population of the greater Washington area, making them important resources for all walks of people across the capital region:

> *I think we created these organizations that are now institutions, and they are not institutions*

> *in the Latino community, they're institutions in Washington, D.C., and the suburbs (because all of them have grown to the suburbs, including CentroNia). And they are, I think, an incredible example of how a community [is formed]—because it was a community of Latinos of various economic levels…that allowed, I think, for a very different development of this community.*[621]

In terms of the built environment, the commercial businesses and social services organizations both tended to utilize converted dwellings—primarily rowhouses—built at the turn of the twentieth century. Only six of the 90 businesses occupied purpose-built, one-part commercial blocks. Thus, the vast array of these buildings are vernacular in style, have varying degrees of integrity, and most probably do not rise to the level of significance worthy of individual nominations on state and federal registers. However, 35 of the 50 sites or buildings that house historic Latino commercial businesses and social service organization headquarters are contributing properties to locally-designated historic districts and/or are listed in the D.C. Inventory.

Sites, objects, and buildings relating to Latino **arts, media, and leisure** in D.C. account for 16 of the 90 documented sites of the HCS's companion architectural survey, showing the importance of the arts as a medium of expression for D.C.'s Latino community from the 1970s through the 1990s. Al fresco mural paintings, in particular, are a cultural tradition and form prevalent in Latin America that also gained popularity in D.C. As Kaplan has asserted, murals are an affirmation of community.[622] Unfortunately, many of the murals associated with the D.C. Latino community from the 1970s through the early 1990s are already gone. Preserving and conserving mural paintings may be one of the more difficult challenges facing the historic preservation profession today. Furthermore, arts are often an intangible cultural heritage with *no associated* space, challenging the framework of historic preservation that is predicated on the built environment. How, for instance, would the community recognize the significance of the annual Latino Festival in the built environment? How do we preserve public, outdoor spaces that have meaning to the D.C. Latino community, such as streets, sidewalk corners, and parks? What if those spaces had historic significance but no longer carry the same meaning? Do we merely recognize them, or is there a means of preservation, if preservation is desired? Per Cadaval's recommendation in her 2024 interview,

> *…you have to think of symbolic space a little differently because of the non-possibility of really having a space. I mean, it's easy, it's just different. But because, like in the African American community, important spaces in the journey from the South to here, we should also think in that way a little bit when we're doing the Latino journey. It's basically very temporary.*[623]

Streetscapes figured predominantly in the memories of interviewees as significant to the D.C. Latino community, possibly for having a mélange of housing, schools, churches, business, and institutions that were patronized by Latinos/as. Kaplan mentioned Columbia Road, Mount Pleasant Street, and the section of Park Road NW between 14th Street and Mount Pleasant Street as significant public spaces in the barrio. One corner that Kaplan and other interviewees recalled as a vital space was the intersection of 15th Street, 16th Street, and Irving Street NW, where the Multicultural Career Intern Program (now the Columbia Heights Education Campus, or CHEC), the Wilson Center, the Kenesaw Apartment House, and the original location of the LAYC were all concentrated.[624] However, the Irving Street NW block between 14th and 15th streets was heavily developed in 2006-2008 with large, institutional buildings, eradicating the historic streetscape appearance and demolishing at least one building—the old Bell Multicultural High School—associated with the historic D.C. Latino community.

Churches and **schools** accounted for five and seven, respectively, of the 90 sites listed in the companion architectural survey documentation. Several interviewees for this study named the

Shrine of the Sacred Heart as one of the most significant places for the Latino community in D.C.[625] Otero commented that the Shrine of the Sacred Heart and the Central Presbyterian Church "were two very critical places where folks gathered" and they "played a very significant role in providing a space for the community."[626] Appended to the Central Presbyterian Church sanctuary is the 1930 educational annex on Irving Street that became the Wilson Center—a community center housing several organizations that provided services to the city's Latino community—in 1971. Kaplan and others alluded to the importance of this group of buildings, but especially La Peña in the basement of the Wilson Center, as foundational to the formation of a *sense of community* among young Latino youths—many of whom were recent arrivals—in the 1980s and 1990s.

Five buildings associated with **governance, politics, and economic development** are listed on the companion architectural survey documentation. Three are embassies (two of which are now cultural centers) and two are institutions that represent the only monumental, high-style, Beaux-Arts architecture in this sample. The Cuban Embassy and the Organization of the American States (OAS) headquarters are also among the very few buildings in this survey that were purpose-built. Although embassies were essential places of employment for the first few generations of Latino immigrants coming to D.C. in the 1940s through the 1960s, no D.C. Latino or Latina who participated in an oral history interview in the 1980s or in the twenty-first century cited in this report mentioned an embassy or an institutional building as being personally significant to them. People remember housing, restaurants, bars, parks, shops, and cinemas with fondness and nostalgia. These are the vernacular and quotidian spaces in which they pass their lives and which form the core of their associations to the public, built realm.

Seven apartment buildings associated with **housing** are on the companion architectural survey. Many of these apartment buildings were converted into the city's earliest co-operatives. The choice to prioritize apartment buildings over detached, single-family dwellings or rowhouses was intentional, as several interviewees emphasized the outsized role apartment buildings played in the residential lives of D.C. Latinos/as. As Otero summarized in regard to housing in the barrio, "Mount Pleasant has always been kind of two communities. It's always had…large homes as you go towards the park and towards the zoo. And those were never really Latino families, very few of them—maybe some rentals… It's the apartment buildings that were predominantly Latino."[627]

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Endnotes

Chapter 1

[1]The D.C. Inventory, maintained by the District of Columbia Historic Preservation Office (D.C. HPO), is a comprehensive list of historically and/or architecturally significant buildings, sites, structures, and objects in the District of Columbia. The nine sites associated with Latin American heritage include the Cuban Friendship Urn at Ohio Drive and 14th Street SW; the Embassy of Venezuela at 2443-2445 Massachusetts Avenue NW; the Peruvian Chancery at 1700 Massachusetts Avenue NW; the Old Mexican Embassy (MacVeagh House) at 2829 16th Street NW; the Brazilian Embassy at 3000 Massachusetts Avenue NW; the General Jose de San Martin Memorial at Virginia Avenue and 20th Street NW; the Pan American Union (OAS) Headquarters at Constitution Avenue and 17th Street NW; the Pan American Health Organization Headquarters at 525 23rd Street NW; and the Washington Heights Historic District. The D.C. Inventory contains at least three additional entries that are associated with D.C.'s Latino community but have not been landmarked for that aspect of their significance: the Mount Pleasant Historic District; the Tivoli Theater at 3301 14th Street NW; and the Potomac Electric Power Company's Reed-Cooke substation (No. 25) at 2119 Champlain Street NW.

[2]Mariana C. Barros-Titus, "A Guide to Selected Research Materials Relating to the D.C. Latino/a/x Communities in Washington, D.C." (Washington, D.C.: D.C. History Center, 2021) 4.

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[5]Carmen Robles, "Washington, D.C. Women Speak," *Black Mosaic* collection, *Smithsonian Anacostia Community Museum* [website]; accessed 4/28/24: https://anacostia.si.edu/DCwomenspeak/carmen-robles.

[6]Jeffrey C. Stewart, "Reviewed Work: *Black Mosaic: Community, Race, and Ethnicity among Black Immigrants to Washington, D.C.* by Sharon Reinckens, Portia James," Washington History, Vol. 7, No. 1 (Spring/Summer, 1995): 73-74.

[7]Another language caveat: This HCS refers to groups of U.S. citizens in terms that are racialized. By "white" or "European-American," the author refers not only to skin color but to ancestry that lies primarily in Europe. At least one interviewee used the term "Anglo-American," which very specifically points to ethnic heritage. Similarly, "Black" and "African American" have been used by interviewees and this author interchangeably. What should be construed by all of these terms is a hierarchical power structure that has defined American society in terms of politics and power as well as class and social status for centuries. In addition, the author has attempted to be sensitive to the U.S. solipsism of calling itself "America" and its citizens "Americans" when Latin Americans are "Americans" too (i.e., inhabitants of the New World, which includes the continents of North, Central, and South America as well as island nations). When the author describes people from the United States, she has used the term "North American," although this problematically includes (technically, not necessarily culturally) people from Mexico and Canada, as these nations also comprise part of the North American continent. If the author has slipped and used "American" as an adjective, she means people from the United States of America.

[8]Frances Negrón Muntaner and Virginia Sánchez-Korrol, "American Latinos and the Making of the United States: An Introduction," in American Latino Heritage [Theme Study] (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 2013).

[9]Olivia Cadaval, interview with Maria Sanchez-Carlo (Washington, D.C.: 26 February 2024).

[10]Jorge Granados, interview with Heather McMahon (Washington, D.C.: 19 February 2024).

[11]Cristina Beltran, The Trouble with Unity: Latino Politics and the Creation of Identity (London: Oxford University Press, 2010) 4.

[12]Beltran 2010: 5, 7.

[13]Lori Kaplan interview, 8 March 1982. In "Latino Youth Community History Project" (Washington, D.C.: 1981-1982). Repository: Washington, D.C.: D.C. Public Library, The People's Archive; accessed: https://digdc.dclibrary.org/islandora/object/dcplislandora%3A72202.

[14]Christina Espinel interview, 30 November 1982. In "Latino Youth Community History Project" (Washington, D.C.: 1981-1982). Repository: Washington, D.C.: D.C. Public Library, The People's Archive; accessed: https://digdc.dclibrary.org/islandora/object/dcplislandora%3A86722.

Chapter 2

[15] Audrey Singer, "Metropolitan Washington: A New Immigrant Gateway," in Hispanic Migration and Urban Development: Studies from Washington, D.C. *Research in Race and Ethnic Relations*, Vol. 17, ed. Enrique S. Pumar (Bingley, UK: Emerald Group Publishing Limited, 2012) 4-5.

[16]Enrique S. Pumar, "Reflections on Migration and Urban Development," in Hispanic Migration and Urban Development: Studies from Washington, D.C. *Research in Race and Ethnic Relations*, Vol. 17, ed. Enrique S. Pumar (Bingley, UK: Emerald Group Publishing Limited, 2012) 231-232.

[17]U.S. Census Bureau, *Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930* (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, 1930). T626, 2,667 rolls; accessed via Ancestry.com, *1930 United States Federal Census* [database on-line] (Provo, UT: Ancestry.com Operations Inc., 2002).

[18]Washington, D.C.'s role as the primary seat for foreign legations was never a foregone conclusion despite the city's status as the capital of the United States of America. Through World War I, New York City vied with Washington for consulates. For example, between 1900 and 1915, the governments of Chile, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, and El Salvador established chanceries in Manhattan rather than in D.C. But Washington, D.C.'s size and importance grew after World War I: although only 11 Latin American countries had established an official presence in Washington by 1900, every Spanish- or Portuguese-speaking nation in South and Central America in addition to Mexico, Cuba, and the Dominican Republic had a legation or an embassy in the nation's capital by 1930.

[19]Maria Sprehn-Malagón, Jorge Hernandez-Fujigaki, and Linda Robinson, Latinos in the Washington Metro Area (Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia Publishing, 2014) 9.

[20]Tracking embassies through historic city directories shows that most Latin American legations changed addresses every few years. For example, the Brazilian Embassy was located at 1710 H Street NW in 1907; by 1909, it was located at 1758 K Street NW; in 1910, it was at 20 Jackson Place NW; and it occupied 1780 Massachusetts Avenue NW by 1915. Out of 19 Latin American legations/embassies present in D.C. in 1920-1921, ten had addresses on 16th Street NW; three were located between 14th and 15th streets south of Massachusetts Avenue; five were on or near Connecticut Avenue stretching from Dupont Circle to Woodley Park; and one was on Logan Circle.

[21]Kim Williams [D.C. Office of Planning, Historic Preservation Office], "Embassy of Mexico/MacVeagh House," Washington, D.C. National Register of Historic Places Registration Form (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Interior, National Park Service, 2012) 11.

[22]The Mexican Embassy (1911) (now the Mexican Cultural Institute) at 2829 16th Street NW is a contributing property to the Meridian Hill Historic District and is a Historic Landmark listed in the D.C. Inventory (see the 2013 Landmarks Update).

[23]Williams 2012: 13-16.

[24]D.C. Office of Planning, *Ward 2 Heritage Guide* (Washington, D.C.: D.C. Office of Planning, 2021) 76-77, 79; accessed 3/21/24: https://app.box.com/s/bq0ov3cwfe84o673u4zh0500i1zd4qvm. D.C. Office of Planning, *District of Columbia Inventory of Historic Sites* (Washington, D.C.: D.C. Office of Planning, 2009) 95.

[25]The Embassy of Cuba building (1919) at 2630 16th Street NW is a contributing property to the Meridian Hill Historic District.

[26]"Cuban Legation Home," *Washington Post*, 16 November 1916.

[27]"Spanish Embassy Building is Opened," *The Evening Star* (Washington, D.C.) 8 October 1927: 20.

[28]"Mexican Embassy, Washington, D.C." [Photograph] ca. 1925 (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, National Photo Company Collection, LOT 12359-2B); accessed 7/20/24: https://www.loc.gov/item/2006686122/.

[29]"Cuban Embassy" [Photograph] 1922 or 1923 (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, National Photo Company Collection, LC-F81-21889); accessed 3/21/24: https://www.loc.gov/item/2016826967/.

[30]The Pan American Union, now OAS, building (1908-1910) at 200 17th Street NW is a Historic Landmark listed in the D.C. Inventory; it is also a contributing property to the 17th Street Historic District, listed in the NRHP. See D.C. Office of Planning 2021: 81.

[31]Ana Patricia Rodríguez, "Becoming 'Wachintonians': Salvadorans in the Washington, D.C., Metropolitan Area," *Washington History*, Vol. 28, No. 2 (Fall 2016): 4. Sprehn-Malagón et al. 2014: 17.

[32]Pumar 2012: 232.

[33]Sprehn-Malagón et al. 2014: 17.

[34]Carol M. Highsmith, "OAS Building, 17th St. and Constitution Ave., NW, Washington, D.C." [Photograph] 2010. Carol M. Highsmith Archive, LC-DIG-highsm-09770. (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division); accessed 3/21/24: https://www.loc.gov/item/2010641583/.

[35]Olivia Cadaval "The Latino Community: Creating an Identity in the Nation's Capital," in Urban Odyssey: A Multicultural History of Washington, D.C. ed., Francine Curro Cary (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1996) 234. Elaine A. Peña, "The Latino D.C. History Project: 2009-2010 Synopsis" (Washington, D.C.: Latino Center, Smithsonian Institution, December 2010) 5. Repository: Washington, D.C: D.C. History Center, P 5030: https://dchistory.catalogaccess.com/library/100669. Rodríguez 2016: 4.

[36]Puerto Ricans began moving to the mainland U.S. en masse following World War I as a result of the 1917 Jones Act that bestowed U.S. citizenship upon the inhabitants of the island territory, which (along with Cuba) the United States took from Spain in 1898 as war prizes. The largest concentration of Puerto Ricans in the mainland U.S. is in New York City, but Puerto Ricans had a large presence in D.C. in proportion to the overall prewar Latino population. See Beltran 2010: 27-28 and Aviva Chomsky, Central America's Forgotten History: Revolution, Violence, and the Roots of Migration (Boston: Beacon Press, 2021) 46.

[37]Patrick Scallen, *"The Bombs that Drop in El Salvador Explode in Mount Pleasant:" From Cold War Conflagration to Immigrant Struggles in Washington, D.C., 1970-1995*. Dissertation, Georgetown University, in partial fulfillment of a Doctor of Philosophy in History (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University, 2019) 125-126.

[38]David G. Gutiérrez, "Immigration: An Historic Overview of Latino Immigration and the Demographic Transformation of the United

States," in American Latino Heritage [Theme Study] (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 2013). Zaragosa Vargas, "Labor: Latino Workers," in American Latino Heritage [Theme Study] (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 2013).

[39]D.C.'s change in population between 1940 and 1950 was 21%, which is sizeable and corresponds to the actual war years, but the greater number in 1940 suggests that the big population boom occurred during the Great Depression, as a response to the Roosevelt administration's New Deal programs as well as early war mobilization efforts.

[40]Tanya Edwards Beauchamp, T*he Mount Pleasant Historic District* [Brochure] (Washington, D.C.: The Historical Society of Washington, D.C. and Historic Mount Pleasant Inc., 2000).

[41]Mara Cherkasky, Mount Pleasant (Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia Publishing, 2007) 69.

[42]The Pan American Union, Secretariat (1948) at 1801 Constitution Avenue NW is considered Eligible for listing in the NRHP. It does not lie within a locally-designated historic district. See D.C. Office of Planning 2021: 81.

[43]Scallen 2019: 121-122.

[44]Ginetta E.B. Candelario, "'Black Behind the Ears' – And Up Front Too? Dominicans in the Black Mosaic." Northampton, MA: Smith College, Faculty Publications, Sociology, 2001) 55.

[45]Candelario 2001: 67.

[46]Candelario 2001: 67.

[47]Marjory Collins, "Washington D.C. People's drugstore on G Street N.W. at noon," [Photograph] July 1942 (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LC-USF34-100703-D); accessed 2/11/25: https://www.loc.gov/resource/fsa.8c28521/.

[48]Candelario 2001: 60.

[49]Pepe González, interview with Maria Sanchez-Carlo (Washington, D.C.: 11 January 2024).

[50]Beatriz Otero, interview with Heather McMahon (Washington, D.C.: 21 February 2024).

[51]Cadaval 1996: 234. Peña 2010: 5. Scallen 2019: 125-126. Sprehn-Malagón et al. 2014: 7-8.

[52]Olivia Cadaval, Creating a Latino Identity in the Nation's Capital: The Latino Festival (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc. 1998) 58. *Washington, D.C. - White Pages - Washington Metropolitan – December 1949* [Image], Retrieved from the Library of Congress, www.loc.gov/item/usteledirec04664/.

[53]Marcela Dávila interview, 23 February 1982. In "Latino Youth Community History Project" (Washington, D.C.: 1981-1982). Repository: Washington, D.C.: D.C. Public Library, The People's Archive; accessed: https://digdc.dclibrary.org/islandora/object/dcplislandora%3A86729. Scallen 2019: 113-114.

[54]Ginetta E.B. Candelario Black Behind the Ears: Dominican Racial Identity from Museums to Beauty Shops (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2007) 151.

[55]"The Rite of Christian Burial for: Juana Amparo Campos (May 28, 1905 – January 15, 2004), Wednesday, January 21, 2004, 6:45 p.m., Sacred Heart Roman Catholic Church." Unpublished program, courtesy of Carmen Torruella-Quander.

[56]The geographic dispersion of Latinos/as in 1940 is supported by random samples taken from the 1940 decennial census. For example, Maria Fernandez was enumerated as a white, Puerto Rican woman living at 4203 9th Street NE, in the University Heights area; Carlos Meija was enumerated as a white man from Colombia renting an apartment at 120 3rd Street SE; and Oscar Martinez was enumerated as a Black man from Cuba who owned his house at 1828 13th Street NW, just south of U Street. The census data also shows that, while enumerated Latinos/as lived in different neighborhoods throughout the District, they consistently lived in predominantly white or predominantly African American neighborhoods depending on how they were similarly classified.

[57]Cadaval 1996: 233-234. Candelario 2001: 66. Peña 2010: 5.

[58]D.C. Office of Planning 2021: 76-77, 79. *Washington, D.C. - White Pages and Yellow Pages - Washington Metropolitan – September 1946* (Washington, D.C, 1946) 219 [Image], Retrieved from the Library of Congress, U.S. Telephone Directory Collection; accessed: https://www.loc.gov/item/usteledirec04675/.

[59]Candelario 2001: 66.

[60]Rohulamin Quander and Carmen Torruella-Quander, interview with Heather McMahon (Washington, D.C.: 12 July 2024).

[61] Geraldo L. Cadava, "Entrepreneurs from the Beginning: Latino Businesses & Commerce since the 16th Century," in American Latino Heritage [Theme Study] (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 2013); accessed: https://www.nps.gov/articles/latinothemebuisness.htm. Cadaval 1996: 235.

[62]Pena's Spanish Store was listed in the 1946 city directory at 1636 17th Street NW, which is a rowhouse with a commercial first floor. The property is a contributing resource to the Dupont Circle Historic District, listed in the NRHP. See Library of Congress, U.S. Telephone Directory Collection, *Washington, D.C. - White Pages - Washington Metropolitan – September 1946*; accessed: https://www.loc.gov/item/usteledirec04674/.

[63]Alberto Avedaño, "This Spanish guitarist is part of Washington's Hispanic history," *Washington Post*, 4 January 2016.

[64]Avedaño 2016. Stephen A. Hansen, "The History of the Admiral Dupont, 1700 17th Street, NW, and the Site on Which It Stands" (Washington, D.C.: Preservation Matters, LLC, November 2015) 16. Lois Vitt, interview with Heather McMahon (Nellysford, VA: 22 January 2024).

[65]Jack D. Brewer, "Commercial buildings on the west side of the 1600 block of 17th Street NW," [Photograph] 1991. Repository: Washington, D.C.: D.C. History Center, Kiplinger Library, Jack Dowling Brewer Photographic Collection, Photo Print Box 67, Call Number CHS 08482.

[66]*Washington, D.C. - White Pages and Yellow Pages - Washington Metropolitan – September 1946.*

[67]John DeFerrari, *Streets of Washington: Historic Restaurants of Washington, D.C.* [Website]; accessed 3/15/24: https://www.facebook.com/HistoricRestaurantsOfWashingtonDC/about.

[68]DeFerrari.

[69]Scallen 2019: 122.

[70]Quander and Torruella-Quander 2024.

[71]Timothy Matovina, "Endurance and Transformation: Horizons of Latino Faith," in American Latino Heritage. [Theme Study] (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service 2013).

[72]"Nazarine Church Plans Service in Spanish" [Advertisement], The Evening Star (Washington, D.C.), 28 November 1942, A-13; accessed: https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1942-11-28/ed-1/seq-15/.

[73]The First Church of the Nazarene occupied a sanctuary—the Epworth M.E. Church South—designed by Edward Woltz and built in 1895 at 700 A Street NW. This property is contributing to the Capitol Hill Historic District, listed in the NRHP. No church currently occupies any of the four corners at 5th and F Streets NW; the northwest and southwest corners were redeveloped in the late twentieth century, suggesting that an earlier church was demolished in that period. "Church will Hold Services in Spanish" [Advertisement], *The Evening Star* (Washington, D.C.), 9 May 1957, A-17; accessed: https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1957-05-09/ed-1/seq-17/

[74]Built in 1930 and designed by architect Albert R. Harris, the Adams School at 2020 19th Street NW is a contributing property to the Washington Heights Historic District.

[75]Samir Meghelli, Paul Perry, Kathy Tucker Carroll, and Greyson Harris, "A Right to the City: Adams Morgan, the Power of Unity and Diversity," *Smithsonian Anacostia Community Museum* [Digital Exhibition and StoryMap] 2018-2020;

accessed 8/9/24: https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/724d1a6c62184eb1a2122262365a2314. See also D.C. Commission on the Arts and Humanities, "What's In a Name: Profiles of the Trailblazers: History and Heritage of District of Columbia Public and Public Charter Schools" (2011); accessed 8/9/24: https://dmv.dc.gov/sites/default/files/dc/sites/op/publication/attachments/Whats%2520in%2520a%2520Name%25202011.pdf.

[76]Jerry Maronek [D.C. Preservation League], "Daniel Webster School," Historic Preservation Review Board Application for Historic Landmark Status (Washington, D.C.: Government of the District of Columbia, 1998) 6-8.

[77]"Songs Swelled by Foreign Voices in Program for Kalorama," *The Evening Star* (Washington, D.C.) 13 May 1952: A-19. Library of Congress, Chronicling America; accessed 8/10/24: https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1952-05-13/ed-1/seq-19/.

[78]See the text box at the beginning of the chapter, "Calculating Latinidad in the 1940 Census," for an explanation of methodology on similarly-derived data from the 1950 decennial census. Within the Latino community, Puerto Ricans remained the largest subset (one quarter of the population), but no one heritage composed a majority.

[79]The Artigas Memorial, located on Reservation 110 (18th Street and Constitution Avenue NW), is considered notable while the Reservation is a contributing resource. The Bolivar Memorial at 18th Street and Virginia Avenue NW, is on Reservation 383, which is also a contributing resource. The earliest erected in the Statues of Liberators set is the General Jose de San Martin Memorial (1925; new base 1976) at 20th Street and Virginia Avenue NW. Reservation 106, on which the statue is placed, is a contributing resource, while the memorial itself (a gift from the citizens of Argentina) is a Historic Landmark listed in the D.C. Inventory and is listed in the NRHP. Another early memorial object is the Cuban Friendship Urn (1928) on Ohio Drive at the 14th Street Bridge SW. The urn is a contributing resource to the West Potomac Parks Historic District, listed in the NRHP, and is a Historic Landmark listed in the D.C. Inventory. See D.C. Office of Planning 2021: 59, 64.

[80]Chomsky 2021: 47.

[81]María Christina García, Seeking Refuge: Central American Migration to Mexico, the United States, and Canada (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006) 26.

[82]Vargas 2013.

[83]Cadaval 1996: 234. Scallen 2019: 125-126. Sprehn-Malagón et al. 2014: 7-8, 17, 47, 87. Vargas 2013.

[84]History.com, "Civil Rights Movement Timeline," *History.com* [Website]; accessed 3/21/24:https://www.history.com/topics/black-history/civil-rights-movement-timeline.

[85]Beauchamp 2000. Cherkasky 2007: 69. Mara Cherkasky and Jane Freundel Levey, *Village in the City: Mount Pleasant Heritage Trail* [Brochure] (Washington, D.C.: Cultural Tourism DC, 2006). Prologue DC, "The Legacy of Racial Covenants, 1940-2010," *Mapping Segregation in Washington, D.C.* [Website] (Washington, D.C.: 2023); accessed 3/16/24: https://www.arcgis.com/apps/MapSeries/index.html?appid=54fecadcf61a45619534d7a88e1e3225. Vitt 2024.

[86]D.C. History Center, "Movements + Moments: Latinx Youth Organizing" [Video Recording]. Panel Discussion with Latino/a/x Advisory Group and staff at the LAYC (Washington, D.C.: 16 February 2023).

[87]Cadaval 1996: 236.

[88]This became the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in 1953 and is known today as the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services.

[89]Linda Low and Mara Cherkasky, "Mount Pleasant: An Urban Village," in Washington At Home: An Illustrated History of the Neighborhoods in the Nation's Capital, ed. Kathryn Schneider Smith (Baltimore: the Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010) 226.

[90]Amber N. Wiley, "Carlos Manuel Rosario," *Washington History*, Vol. 30, No. 1 (Spring 2018): 48.

[91]In 1953, the Embassy of Belize was constructed at 2535 Massachusetts Avenue NW, which is a contributing property to the Massachusetts Avenue Historic District and the Sheridan-Kalorama Historic District, both listed in the NRHP. In 1957, the Dominican Republic (1957) acquired the B.F. Leighton House (1904) at 1715 22nd Street NW, which is a contributing property to the Sheridan-Kalorama Historic District, listed in the NRHP. The Honduran Embassy moved into 4715 16th Street NW by 1950; the 1922 mansion was originally built for Paul Himmelfarb and was designed by George Oakley Totten, Jr. The Inter-American Development Bank (f. 1959; 1985) is housed at 1300 New York Avenue NW in what is considered a Notable building. See D.C. Office of Planning 2021: 77, 81. Sprehn-Malagón et al. 2014: 17.

[92]Candelario 2001: 66.

[93]Otero 2024.

[94]Terry A. Repak, Waiting on Washington: Central American Workers in the Nation's Capital (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995) 73-74. Scallen 2019: 122.

[95]Repak 1995: 86.

[96]Luis Gonzales interview, 10 March 1982. In "Latino Youth Community History Project" (Washington, D.C.: 1981-1982). Repository: Washington, D.C.: D.C. Public Library, The People's Archive; accessed: https://digdc.dclibrary.org/islandora/object/dcplislandora%3A72684.

[97]Quander and Torruella-Quander 2024. D.C. History Center "See Our Latinidad, See Our Blackness" [Video Recording]. Panel Discussion with Laura Brauer Hagood, Carmen Torruella-Quander, Ana Ndumu, Angeley Crawford Gibb, and Rosalyn Lake-Montero (Washington, D.C.: 21 October 2021).

[98]Cadava 2013. Sprehn-Malagón et al. 2014: 8.

[99]La Sevillana was housed in a mixed-use rowhouse (1902) at 2469 18th Street NW, which is considered a contributing property to the Washington Heights Historic District, listed in the NRHP.

[100]The Pan American Barber Shop was located in a mixed-use building (1925) at 1650 Columbia Road NW. See Cadaval 1998: 217. Sprehn-Malagón et al. 2014: 8.

[101]La Fonda was located in the 1896 dwelling at 1639 R Street NW, which is a contributing property to the Dupont Circle Historic District, listed in the NRHP. In 1999, the Callahans reinvented La Fonda as Sol, but sold the business (not the building) before 2015. See Hansen 2015: 16-17. Vitt 2024.

[102]*Washington, D.C. - Yellow Pages - Washington, D.C. – February 1959, A through MATS* (Washington, D.C., 1959). Image. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, U.S. Telephone Directory Collection; accessed: https://www.loc.gov/item/usteledirec04695x/.

[103]Jack D. Brewer, "The La Fonda Restaurant on the northeast corner of 17th and R Streets NW," [Photograph] 1991. Repository: Washington, D.C.: D.C. History Center, Jack Dowling Brewer Photographic Collection, Photo Print Box 67, Call Number CHS 08479.

[104]*Washington, D.C. - White Pages and Yellow Pages - Washington Metropolitan – December 1952 thru December 1953* (Washington, D.C., 1953). Image. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, U.S. Telephone Directory Collection; accessed: https://www.loc.gov/item/usteledirec04659/.

[105]Located at 3211 Sacred Heart Way (formerly Pine Street NW) Sacred Heart is a Historic Landmark listed in the D.C. Inventory. The parish originally served a predominantly Irish congregation and had its sanctuary on 14th Street NW. From 1921 to 1923, the parish built a new sanctuary at 16th Street and Park Road NW. The building was designed by Murphy and Olmsted, architects, in a Byzantine/Romanesque style that contrasted with the Gothic Revival style which was a preferred style for Protestant denominations. See Beauchamp 2000.

[106]Candelario 2001: 66.

[107]Built in 1886 on the northeast corner of 15th and V streets NW, the sanctuary was demolished in 1957 to create a parking lot on the north side of the St. Augustine Church, located at 1419 V Street NW. See Daniel F. Curtain, "Forming the Hearts of Young People: Saint Paul's Academy/ Mackin High School, Washington, D.C. 1887-1989" (Washington, D.C.: Holy Cross History Conference, June 15-19, 2002).

[108]Cadaval 1998: 217. "The Rite of Christian Burial for: Juana Amparo Campos." Stephanie A.T. Jacobe, "The Secretariats for Spanish Speaking and Black Catholics," Catholic Standard, 1 April 2021; accessed 8/13/24: https://www.cathstan.org/the-secretariats-for-spanish-speaking-and-black-catholics.

[109]Candelario 2007: 151. Quander and Torruella-Quander 2024. "The Rite of Christian Burial for: Juana Amparo Campos." D.C. History Center 2021.

[110]Cadaval 1996: 235. See also Otero 2024.

[111]Carol M. Highsmith, "Shrine of the Sacred Heart Catholic Church, 16th St. near intersection with Park Road, NW, Washington, D.C." [Photograph] 2010. Carol M. Highsmith Archive, LC-DIG-highsm-09613. (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division); accessed 3/21/24: https://www.loc.gov/item/2010641426/

[112]St. Paul's Academy was renamed Mackin High School in 1953. See Curtain 2002: 6.

[113]Sacred Heart Academy was founded in 1905 by the Sinsinawa Dominican Sisters of Wisconsin as an all-girls school in two attached dwellings built in 1883 and 1897 at 1621 Park Road NW. The Sacred Heart Parish built a new school building (designed by Murphy & Olmsted) at 1625 Park Road NW, which opened in 1931 as the Sacred Heart School. The building at 1625 Park Road NW is listed in the D.C. Inventory. It is also a contributing property to the Mount Pleasant Historic District, listed in the NRHP. See Cherkasky and Levey 2006.

[114]Cherkasky and Levey 2006. D.C. History Center 2021. Francis J. Collins Funeral Home, Inc., "Adeline Pena Callahan, January 12, 1935 – November 11, 2023" [Obituary] 2023; accessed: https://www.collinsfuneralhome.com/obituaries/Adelina-Pena-Callahan?obId=29922299. Otero 2024. Vitt 2024. Quander and Torruella-Quander 2024.

[115]Otero 2024.

Chapter 3

[116]The Hispanic Democrats for Home Rule was a political activism group advocating for D.C.'s self-governance in the 1960s and early 1970s. Sonia Gutierrez interview, 17 April 1982. In "Latino Youth Community History Project" (Washington, D.C.: 1981-1982). Repository: Washington, D.C.: D.C. Public Library, The People's Archive; accessed: https://digdc.dclibrary.org/islandora/object/dcplislandora%3A86732. Otero 2024.

[117]1960 was also the year that the Guatemalan Embassy occupied the Jeffrey Parson House (1930) at 2220 R Street NW, which is a contributing property to the Sheridan-Kalorama Historic District, listed in the NRHP. See D.C. Office of Planning 2021: 77.

[118]By 1965, the Embassy of Ecuador occupied the mansion at 2535 15th Street NW which had been designed by George Oakley Totten, Jr. in 1922. The property is contributing to the Meridian Hill Historic District, listed in the NRHP.

[119]Oliver Dodd, "Uncovering the Sources of Revolutionary Violence: The Case of Colombia's National Front (1958-1964)," *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, Vol. 35, Issue 5 (2024): 865; accessed 8/9/24: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/09592318.2024.2336635#d1e185. García 2006: 15. Brian E. Loveman, "Military Government in Latin America, 1959-1990," *Oxford Bibliographies* [Website] 29 May 2019; accessed 8/9/24: https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/display/document/obo-9780199766581/obo-9780199766581-0015.xml. Ryan Oster, "Guatemalan Civil War

1960-96," *Study of Internal Conflict (SOIC) Case Studies*, Study Sequence No. 36, 2024. U.S. Department of Defense [Website]; accessed 8/9/24: https://media.defense.gov/2024/Mar/20/2003416572/-1/-1/0/20240306_GUATEMALANCIVILWAR_1960-96.PDF. U.S. Department of State Office of the Historian, "Central America, 1977-1980." *Milestones: 1969-1977* [website]; accessed 8/9/24: https://history.state.gov/milestones/1977-1980/central-america-carter. U.S. Department of State Office of the Historian, "The Panama Canal and the Torrijos-Carter Treaties," *Milestones: 1977-1980* [Website]; accessed 4/3/24: https://history.state.gov/milestones/1977-1980/panama-canal.

[120]U.S. Army, "Vietnam War Campaigns," *U.S. Army Center of Military History* [website]; accessed 3/26/24: https://history.army.mil/html/reference/army_flag/vn.html#ceasefire.

[121]Eric Jackson, "The October 11, 1968 coup" *The Panama News*, 11 October 2019; accessed 3/28/24: https://www.thepanamanews.com/2019/10/the-october-11-1968-coup/. "531. Memorandum From Viron P. Vaky of the National Security Council Staff to the President's Assistant for National Security Affairs (Kissinger)," (Washington, D.C.: 19 February 1970). Repository: College Park, MD: National Archives and Records Administration, Nixon Presidential Materials, NSC Files, Box 790, Country Files, Latin America, Panama, Vol. 1 (January 1969-28 February 1970), via U.S. Department of State Office of the Historian, "Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969-1976, Volume E-10, Documents on American Republics, 1969-1972" [Website]; accessed 3/28/24: https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1969-76ve10/ch16.

[122]Gutiérrez 2013. Cherkasky and Levey 2006.

[123]Lilian Guerra, "New Latinos: Late-20th Century Immigration and U.S. Foreign Policy: Forging Latino Identity," in American Latino Heritage [Theme Study] (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 2013). Gutiérrez 2013. Sprehn-Malagón et al. 2014: 7-8, 17.

[124]Joan Fragaszy Troyano, "Immigration and the Hart-Celler Act, 50 years later," *Smithsonian National Museum of American History* [Website] 24 September 2015; accessed 8/8/24: https://americanhistory.si.edu/explore/stories/immigration-and-hart-celler-act-50-years-later. See also History.com, "Civil Rights Movement Timeline." Pumar 2012: 232-233.

[125]Gutiérrez 2013.

[126]Vargas 2013.

[127]Beltran 2010: 21.

[128]Beltran 2010: 15, 21, 24-25, 44. Charles Kamasaki, interview with Maria Sanchez-Carlo (Washington, D.C.: 6 February 2024). Library of Congress Research Guides, "1962: United Farm Workers Union," *A Latinx Resource Guide: Civil Rights Cases and Events in the United States* [website]; accessed 3/27/24: https://guides.loc.gov/latinx-civil-rights/united-farm-workers-union. UnidosUS, "Fifty years of an American institution," *History of UnidosUS* [website]; accessed 3/27/24: https://unidosus.org/about/history/#:~:text=UnidosUS%2C%20previously%20known%20as%20NCLR,civil%20rights%20and%20advocacy%20organization.

[129]Beltran 2010: 27-28.

[130]Library of Congress Research Guides, "1968: The Young Lord's Organization/Party," *A Latinx Resource Guide: Civil Rights Cases and Events in the United States* [website]; accessed 3/27/24: https://guides.loc.gov/latinx-civil-rights/young-lords-organization. Beltran 2010: 27-28.

[131]Beltran 2010: 34.

[132]"Young Lords Party: Health, Food, Housing, Education." [Poster] (New York, ca. 1971). Repository: Washington, D.C.: National Museum of African American History and Culture, Object No. 2018.35.3. In the public domain; accessed 8/17/24: https://www.si.edu/object/young-lords-party-health-food-housing-education:nmaahc_2018.35.3.

[133]Beltran 2010: 13, 44.

[134]History.com, "Civil Rights Movement Timeline."

[135]Candelario 2001: 67.

[136]Diverse, but still segregated in areas. In a 1967 article, Washington Post staff writers claimed that "Adams-Morgan is integrated statistically, but not in reality. Few non-whites live west of Columbia Road, the eastern boundary of the Kalorama Triangle. The Triangle is basically a white, upper-middle-class preserve." But the writers also stated that "in recent years, young white families have moved into the side streets off 18th Street, buying large homes relatively inexpensively and renovating them. As a result, Adams-Morgan probably comes closer than most Washington neighborhoods toward achieving a measure of integration, however unstable." See Jim Hoagland and Richard Severo, "Adams-Morgan Revival? Plan Stirs Sharp Clash," Washington Post 9 October 1967: B3.U.S. Census Bureau, "Table 23. District of Columbia – Race and Hispanic Origin: 1800 to 1990" (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Census Bureau, 2002); accessed 3/21/24: https://www2.census.gov/library/working-papers/2002/demo/pop-twps0056/table23.pdf. Prologue DC 2023.

[137]Warren K. Leffler, "D.C. riot. April '68. Aftermath / WKL" [Photograph] 8 April 1968. Repository: Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division. LC-U9-18949-12 [P&P]; accessed 3/28/24: https://www.loc.gov/resource/ppmsca.04301/.

[138]In 1960, Mount Pleasant's residents were 73% white, 24.3% Black, and 2.7% other races; only 0.5% identified as Spanish American. By 1970, Mount Pleasant's resident population was 32.5% white, 65% Black, and 4.7% identified as Spanish American. Open Data DC, "Census Tracts in 1960" [GIS Data Set] (Washington, D.C.: D.C. Office of the Chief Technology Officer, 2018); accessed 11/15/24: https://opendata.dc.gov/datasets/DCGIS::census-tracts-in-1960/about. Open Data DC, "Census Tracts in 1970" [GIS Data Set] (Washington, D.C.: D.C. Office of the Chief Technology Officer, 2018); accessed 11/15/24: https://opendata.dc.gov/datasets/DCGIS::census-tracts-in-1970/about. Prologue DC 2023.

[139]González 2024.

[140] Although Hispanic (Latino) was not a category in the 1960 decennial census, reverse-engineered numbers estimate that approximately 10,000 Spanish-speaking individuals were enumerated in D.C. in 1960, accounting for roughly 1.3% of the total population. This percentage is more than triple the proportion of Spanish- and Portuguese-speakers identified in the 1950 decennial census, which roughly accounted for 0.4% D.C.'s total population. See José Sueiro, interview with Patrick Scallen (Washington, D.C.: 25 November 2017), *Mount Pleasant Riot Oral History Project*. Repository: Washington, D.C.: D.C. Public Library, The People's Archive; accessed: https://digdc.dclibrary.org/islandora/object/dcplislandora%3A42740.

[141]Gutiérrez 2013.

[142]Cadaval 1996: 235-236.

[143]Luis Rumbaut interview, 24 January 1982. In "Latino Youth Community History Project" (Washington, D.C.: 1981-1982). Repository: Washington, D.C.: D.C. Public Library, The People's Archive; accessed: https://digdc.dclibrary.org/islandora/object/dcplislandora%3A86728.

[144]Cadaval 1996: 234.

[145]Cadaval 1996: 235. Cadaval 1998: 58. Olivia Cadaval, "Adams Morgan: Diversity with a Latin Beat," in Washington At Home: An Illustrated History of the Neighborhoods in the Nation's Capital, Second Edition, ed. Kathryn Schneider Smith (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2010) 442. Candelario 2007: 151.

[146]The Barney Neighborhood House was an agency founded in 1901 to work with newly arrived settlers to the United States. Its mission was soon modified to deal with concerns of the neighborhood, labor, and settlement houses. By 1960, urban renewal pushed the organization out from its southwest D.C. location at 4th and N streets, and it settled in Mount Pleasant, first renting space on 18th Street NW. It focused on community organization, developing tenants' councils, and English language lessons for school children. The social welfare organization rented

the 1913 dwelling at 3118 16th Street NW from ca. 1965 until ca. 1982. The property is considered contributing to the Mount Pleasant Historic District, listed in the NRHP.

[147]Cadaval 1998: 217. Cherkasky and Levey 2006. Gonzales 1982. Ann Houston and Harry Struthers interview, 15 March 1982. In "Latino Youth Community History Project" (Washington, D.C.: 1981-1982). Repository: Washington, D.C.: D.C. Public Library, The People's Archive; accessed: https://digdc.dclibrary.org/islandora/object/dcplislandora%3A72207.

[148]Cherkasky and Levey 2006.

[149]Houston and Struthers 1982.

[150]González 2024.

[151]González 2024. D.C. History Center 2023.

[152]Arturo Griffiths, interview with Maria Sanchez-Carlo (Washington, D.C.: 27 February 2024).

[153]D.C. History Center 2023. Griffiths 2024.

[154]Olivia Cadaval and Rick Reinhard, "'Tirarlo a la Calle/Taking it to the Streets': The Latino Festival in the Making of Community," *Washington History*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (Fall/Winter 1992/1993): 43.

[155]Cover of Juventud Latino-Americana, Agosto 1971; newsletter from the Garry Garber Collection, ACM-06-098.1. Repository: Washington, D.C.: Anacostia Community Museum, Smithsonian Institution.

[156]Repak 1995: 76. Rodríguez 2016: 4.

[157]Sprehn-Malagón et al. 2014: 17.

[158]González 2024.

[159]Charlene Howard, interview with Patrick Scallen (Washington, D.C.: 31 October 2017), *Mount Pleasant Riot Oral History Project*. Repository: Washington, D.C.: D.C. Public Library, The People's Archive; accessed: https://digdc.dclibrary.org/islandora/object/dcplislandora%3A42422.

[160]Warren K. Leffler, "African Americans crossing the street near Woolworth and G.C. Murphy store at Park Road and 14th Streets, N.W., Washington, D.C." [Photograph] LC-U9-14643-3A (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, 8 September 1965); accessed 8/10/24: https://www.loc.gov/item/2013651428/.

[161]Howard 2017.

[162]The 1912 building at 3161 Mount Pleasant Street NW is a contributing property to the Mount Pleasant Historic District, listed in the NRHP.

[163]Cadaval 1996: 232.

[164]Cherkasky 2007: 101. Cherkasky and Levey 2006.

[165] Stefan Zweig, "Buildings on the east side of the 3100 block of Mt. Pleasant Street, NW" [Photograph] 1970-1980. Repository: Washington, D.C.: D.C. History Center, Zweig Photo Studio Collection, CHS 12680.2; accessed 3/21/24: https://dchistory.catalogaccess.com/photos/72945.

[166]Located in an 1896 rowhouse at 1637 R Street NW, El Bodegón replaced an earlier restaurant (La Fonda) in the same space from 1953. Before that, the house had served as the Pena family home from ca. 1940. The property is contributing to the Dupont Circle Historic District, which is listed in the NRHP.

[167]Avedaño 2016. Cadaval 1998: 217. González 2024. Hansen 2015: 16-17. Rumbaut 1982.

[168] Sueiro 2017. Gustavo Sulvaga interview, 13 April 1982. In "Latino Youth Community History Project" (Washington, D.C.: 1981-1982). Repository: Washington, D.C.: D.C. Public Library, The People's Archive; accessed: https://digdc.dclibrary.org/islandora/object/dcplislandora%3A86723.

[169]Cadava 2013.

[170]Hoagland and Severo 1967: B3.

[171]Cadaval 1996: 239. *Washington, D.C. - White Pages - Washington Metropolitan - 1969/1970* (Washington, D.C., 1969, 1970) Image. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, U.S. Telephone Directory Collection; accessed: https://www.loc.gov/item/usteledirec04735x/.

[172]Bazaar Nelly was located in a mixed-use rowhouse (constructed in 1906) at 1766

Columbia Road NW. El Caribe's original location was in an 1899 rowhouse at 1828 Columbia Road NW, which is a contributing property to the Washington Heights Historic District, listed in the NRHP. Omega was located at 1858 Columbia Road NW in the historic Covington Building (1937), which is listed in the D.C. Inventory and is a contributing property to the Washington Heights Historic District, listed in the NRHP.

[173]Cadaval 1998: 217. González 2024. Phyllis C. Richman, "Cuban Caribe: Adios, D.C." *Washington Post* (30 July 1992). Celestino Zapata and Josh Gibson, Adams Morgan: Then and Now (Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia Publishing, 2006) 15

[174]The Cathedral Latin High School, which opened in the late 1950s and closed (due to under-enrollment) by 1971, had a diverse student body in the 1960s, including Asian Americans, Latinos, and African Americans as well as white European-Americans. The building located at 2200 California Street NW was constructed in 1908 as the St. Rose's Industrial School, designed by architect Francis E. Toomey. The property is a contributing resource to the Sheridan-Kalorama Historic District, which is listed in the NRHP. Today, the building is occupied by Our Lady Queen of the Americas, a Catholic church, which continues to offer services in Spanish.

[175]Scallen 2019: 127-128.

[176]Otero 2024. Scallen 2019: 128.

[177]The Spanish Catholic Center remained in the Kenesaw Apartment House through 1986. From circa 1987 to 1992, various directories of social service agencies or Catholic charities listed the Spanish Catholic Center's address as 2700 27th Street NW in the Woodley Park neighborhood. From circa 1994 through today, its offices have been located at 1618 Monroe Street NW. This building served as the Shrine of the Sacred Heart Academy—a small, all-girls, preparatory school—from the late 1930s through the mid-1980s, and then as the Archdiocese' headquarters for its Catholic Charities organization from 1987 onward.

[178]D.C. History Center 2023. Jacobe 2021. Scallen 2019: 128.

[179]Located at 1501 Columbia Road NW, the edifice was built in 1908 as the Immanuel Baptist Church, designed by architect G.W. Stone. The Roger Williams Memorial Church, designed by New York City architect B. Swartout, was appended to the southwest elevation in 1922 and the northeast wing, designed by Pierson & Wilson, was added in 1940. The property is contributing to the Meridian Hill Historic District, listed in the NRHP.

[180]Luis Gonzales described the women as evangelical missionaries in a 1982 interview. In the September 15, 1962, edition of The Evening Star, a church in the Brookland neighborhood led by the Reverend John W. Himes advertised a 7 pm Sunday sermon or class led by "International Student Representatives Sheila Hargraves [and] Zulay Carmona." The church, at 16th and Monroe Streets NE, is today a Pentecostal-Holiness congregation: St. Paul Temple Church of God in Christ. See "Brookland," *The Evening Star* (Washington, D.C.) 15 September 1962, and Gonzales 1982.

[181]Cadaval 1998: 221. Cadaval 2010: 444. Gonzales 1982. Scallen 2019: 128-129.

[182]Located at 1658 Columbia Road NW in a 1910 mixed-use building, Potter's House (still in operation) has been designed a Legacy Business by the D.C. Preservation League. See DeFerrari.

[183]Carol M. Highsmith, "National Memorial Baptist Church, on the corner of Columbia Rd. and 15th St., NW, Washington, D.C." [Photograph] LC-DIG-highsm-09630 (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, 2010); accessed 8/7/24: https://www.loc.gov/resource/highsm.09630/.

[184]DeFerrari.

[185]Otero 2024.

[186]Built in 1922 and designed by Coolidge & Shattuck, All Souls Unitarian Church at 1500 Harvard Street NW is a Historic Landmark listed in the D.C. Inventory as well as a contributing resource to the Meridian Hill Historic District, listed in the NRHP.

[187]Suann Hecht, interview with Patrick Scallen (Washington, D.C. 17 November 2017), *Mount Pleasant Riot Oral History Project*.

Repository: Washington, D.C.: D.C. Public Library, The People's Archive; accessed: https://digdc.dclibrary.org/islandora/object/dcplislandora%3A42422. Howard 2017. Otero 2024. Kim Protho Williams and Patsy Fletcher, *Ward 1 Heritage Guide* (Washington, D.C.: D.C. Office of Planning, 2015) 22.

[188]Carol M. Highsmith, "All Souls Church, 16th St. near intersection with Harvard St., NW, Washington, D.C." [Photograph] LC-DIG-highsm-09628 (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, 2010); accessed 3/21/24: https://www.loc.gov/resource/highsm.09628/.

[189]Howard 2017. Houston and Struthers 1982.

[190]Carmen Marrero Doren, interview with Mara Cherkasky (Washington, D.C., n.d.).

[191] Designed by well-known theater architect John Jacob Zink, the Colony Theatre was built in 1925 by cinema mogul Harry M. Crandall. The building at 4921 Georgia Avenue NW also contained shops on the ground level and apartments above. After it closed as a cinema, the theater became the home (from 1972-1976) of the Black Repertory Theater. The theater closed permanently in the 1980s, and today the building is used as a senior living center. See Patsy Fletcher and Kim Elliott, *Ward 4 Heritage Guide* (Washington, D.C.: D.C. Office of Planning, 2015) 52.

[192]"Colony International" [Advertisement], *The Evening Star* (Washington, D.C.) 9 December 1960: B-8. Repository: Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers; accessed 4/1/24: https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1960-12-09/ed-1/seq-28/.

[193]"Spanish Students" [Advertisement], *The Evening Star* (Washington, D.C.) 22 January 1961: E-4. Repository: Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers; accessed 4/1/24: https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1961-01-22/ed-1/seq-48/.

[194]"Pepe" [Advertisement], *The Evening Star* (Washington, D.C.) 7 March 1961: A-12. Repository: Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers; accessed 4/1/24: https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1961-03-07/ed-1/seq-12/.

[195]Located at 2454-2456 18th Street NW, the Ambassador Theatre opened in 1923. The owners closed it as a cinema in 1967, and for one year it became a concert venue in which notable Rock and Roll acts performed. It closed permanently in 1968 and was demolished in 1969. González 2024.

[196]Scallen 2019: 126.

[197]"Colony Theatre," [Advertisement] *The Evening Star* (Washington, D.C.) 17 March 1962: A-10. Library of Congress, Chronicling America; accessed 8/7/24: https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1962-03-17/ed-1/seq-10/.

[198]Located at 1700 Columbia Road, the Ontario Theatre opened to cinema patrons in 1951. It was demolished in 2013.

[199]Cadaval 1996: 234. Cadaval 1998: 217. Cadaval 2024. González 2024. Fletcher and Elliott 2015: 25. Wiley 2018: 48.

[200]Cadaval 1996: 235.

[201]Cadaval 2010: 443. Cadaval 2024.

[202]Cadaval 1996: 235-236, quoted in Scallen 2019: 127.

[203]Cherkasky 2007: 69, 102, 118. González 2024. "Torcuato Zamora," *TorcuArt* [website]; accessed 4/1/24: https://www.torcuart.com/torcuato-zamora.

[204]With an address of 1865 Kalorama Road NW, Kalorama Park is a contributing property to the Kalorama Triangle Historic District, listed in the NRHP.

[205]D.C. History Center 2023. González 2024.

[206] Bounded by Columbia Road, Champlain Street, and Euclid Street NW, Unity Park is a small, triangular space, Reservation 306A, owned by the federal government and maintained by the National Park Service. Rabaut Park is bounded

by Harvard Street, Mount Pleasant Street, and Columbia Road NW; it is Reservation 309, owned by the federal government and maintained by the National Park Service, and is a contributing resource to the Meridian Hill Historic District, listed in the NRHP.

[207]González 2024.

[208]Located at 16th Street and W Street NW, the Beaux-Arts Meridian Hill Park (commonly called Malcolm X Park) is listed in the D.C. Inventory; is designated a National Historical Landmark; and it's a contributing resource to the National Register-listed Meridian Hill Historic District.

[209]Griffiths 2024. Howard 2017.

[210]Félix F. Gutiérrez, "Media: More Than 200 Years of Latino Media in the United States," in American Latino Heritage [Theme Study] (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 2013). https://www.nps.gov/articles/latinothemestudymedia.htm.

[211]Cadaval 1998: 217.

[212]The WFAN radio station and transmission towers were located at 5321 First Place NE, in the Fort Totten neighborhood. Also called "The Lighthouse," the building was constructed in three additive stages between 1959 and 1962; the 1960 façade addition was designed by architect Eugene Delmar. The Lighthouse served as both a radio and a television station owned and operated by the United Broadcasting Company.

[213]"Cuban invasion story still being written," *Broadcasting*, 19 September 1966: 89; accessed 4/1/24: https://www.worldradiohistory.com/Archive-BC/BC-1966/1966-09-19-Spanish-Media-BC.pdf.

[214]"Visitors enjoy a beautiful afternoon in Meridian Hill Park." [Photograph] n.d. National Park Service; accessed 2/11/25: https://www.nps.gov/media/photo/gallery-item.htm?pg=0&id=29d074fb-1dd8-b71c-070b-840b4609bcc2&gid=29ce775e-1dd8-b71c-07054614aa09e776.

[215]"Cuban invasion story still being written" 1966: 85.

[216]Christopher Dickey, "Tangled Case to Silence Voice of Spanish Radio Station," *Washington Post*, 19 April 1978.

[217]Ibid.

[218]The Benito Juarez Memorial, located at 25th Street and Virginia Avenue NW is considered eligible for listing in the NRHP. It sits in Reservation 134, which is a contributing resource to the Foggy Bottom Historic District, listed in the NRHP. See D.C. Office of Planning 2021: 59, 64.

[219]National Park Service, "Benito Juárez Memorial," *National Mall and Memorial Parks* [website.]. Last updated 16 September 2022; accessed 4/1/24: https://www.nps.gov/nama/planyourvisit/juarez.htm.

[220]CHANGE, Inc. was originally housed at 3500 14th Street NW (1968-1969), then in the Tivoli Building (1969-1971). From 1971 until circa 1982, CHANGE, Inc. was housed in the historic Riggs-Tompkins Building (1922) at 3308 14th Street NW. The Riggs-Tompkins building is listed in the D.C. Inventory.

[221]Cadaval 1998: 58.

[222]Cadaval 1998: 217. Houston and Struthers 1982.

[223]Wiley 2018: 48.

[224]"WFAN-FM Radio," [Advertisement] *The Evening Star* (Washington, D.C.) 27 January 1960: D-12. Library of Congress, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers; accessed 8/7/24: https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1960-01-27/ed-1/seq-64/.

[225]Griffiths 2024.

[226]Low and Cherkasky 2010: 226.

[227]The Imperial, located at 1763 Columbia Road NW, is an apartment building constructed in 1905. Today the building is condominiums.

[228]The New Bloomfield, designed by Hunter & Bell and built in 1909, at 3149 Mount Pleasant Street NW, is listed in the D.C. Inventory and is a contributing property to the Mount Pleasant Historic District, listed in the NRHP.

[229]What became known as the Deauville Apartments were originally two similar but detached apartment buildings erected in 1908: the Chesterfield and the Winston. These were two of four large apartment buildings constructed by developer Bates Warren as luxury residences on what later developed as the neighborhood's commercial corridor. In 1958, the Chesterfield and the Winston were joined by the addition of a single-story entrance pavilion and renamed the Deauville. In 2008, a fire destroyed the north half of the building; it was rebuilt in 2014 and the complex is now known as the Monseñor Romero Apartments, which is currently leased as affordable housing units. The property is a contributing resource to the National Register-listed Mount Pleasant Historic District. González 2024.

[230]The number of Spanish speakers in D.C. in 1960 was extremely small: although Dupont Circle had the highest concentration of residents with Spanish surnames, they accounted for only 1.6% of the total population in Census Tract 53. Open Data DC 1960 and 1970.

[231]Latino enclaves also developed along Georgia Avenue as far north as Brightwood in the late 1960s and 1970s. Griffiths maintains that several Panamanians, Dominicans, Puerto Ricans, Jamaicans, and Trinidadians settled along the Georgia Avenue corridor, a settlement pattern that had no relation to embassy locations but reflects a Caribbean diaspora. As Griffiths wrote, "for example, one Panamanian arrived in 1967 and lived at 6200 Georgia Avenue NW—an area where many other Panamanians lived." Griffiths further maintains that, "after the 1968 riots, many people left the District and moved to Maryland, but the Georgia [Ave.] corridor continued to be home to many Afro-Latinos." See Arturo Griffiths, email communication to Heather McMahon, 2 August 2024.

[232]Houston and Struthers 1982.

[233]Norma Small-Warren interview with Javier Griffiths (Silver Spring, MD: 3 August 2021), *History of the First Latin American Festival on the Mall: 1989-1990*. Repository: Washington, D.C.: D.C. Public Library, The People's Archive; accessed: https://digdc.dclibrary.org/islandora/object/dcplislandora%3A297063.

[234]Candelario 2007: 151. Wiley 2018: 48.

[235]Scallen 2019: 130.

[236]Originally operating from the Good Shepherd United Presbyterian Church at 3047 15th Street NW, CADOLANCA moved, in 1970, into the rowhouse at 1614 Hobart Street NW that Carlos Rosario had occupied since 1957; the CADOLANCA offices remained on Hobart Street through the early 1980s. The Hobart Street property is a contributing resource to the Mount Pleasant Historic District, listed in the NRHP.

[237]U.S. Congress, Cabinet Committee on Opportunity for the Spanish Speaking, *Directory of Spanish Speaking Organizations in the United States* (July 1970) 113.

[238]Cadaval 1998: 217. Dávila 1982. Scallen 2019: 128-129.

[239]Cadaval 1996: 240. Scallen 2019: 130. Wiley 2018: 48.

[240]Scallen 2019: 131.

[241]Olivia Cadaval and Brian Finnegan, "Our Voices in the Nation's Capital: Creating the Latino Community Heritage Center." *The Public Historian*. Vol. 23, No. 4 (Fall 2001): 76..

[242]Cadaval 1996: 237.

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[243]U.S. Census Bureau 2002.

[244]González 2024.

[245]In Griffiths' 2024 interview, he states that Dominicans were prevalent among the youth in the late 1960s, but other countries (like El Salvador, Honduras, Ecuador) were represented as well; but as he stressed, no one group was in a majority. In Otero's recollections, when she came to live in Adams Morgan in 1974, she worked

primarily with Dominicans and Colombians. Kaplan, in her recollections of coming to D.C. in 1977, remembers that many of the politically active people in D.C.'s Latino community at the time were Puerto Rican and Chilean. See Griffiths 2024, Otero 2024, and Lori Kaplan, interview with Heather McMahon (Washington, D.C.: 20 February 2024).

[246]Richard Reinhard, "Yes, It Can Be Done: A Photographer's Record of Latino Washington," *Washington History*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (Spring 2017): 6-7.

[247]Otero 2024.

[248]González 2024.

[249]Kaplan 2024.

[250]Kaplan 2024. Peña 2010: 5. Scallen 2019: 130. As Cadaval and Finnegan wrote, "Although Latinos lived in D.C. earlier in the twentieth century – and some testimony in our oral histories addresses the 1940s and 1950s – the early institution-building events took place in the late 1960s atmosphere of social activism and civil rights." Cadaval and Finnegan 2001: 76.

[251]Scallen 2019: 129-130.

[252]In her 2024 interview, Kaplan asserted, "I think you can't really understand the D.C. Latino community without lining it up with political events internationally, primarily in Latin America. You know, '73 was the coup in Chile, and there were a lot of Chileans in D.C. who ended up hanging around and being a part of the life of the community who were in exile. They were responsible for a lot of the early murals. ...So in those years...community work and solidarity work were somewhat blended." In a 2018 interview, Griffiths told Scallen that a lot of political refugees from South America came to D.C. in the 1970s and brought with them important experience in activism. An individual example is Hugo Medrano, co-founder of the Grupo de Artistas Latino Americanos (GALA), who "left his native Argentina during the military junta's "dirty war" against civilians." See Arturo Griffiths, interview with Patrick Scallen (Washington, D.C., 4 January 2018). *Mount Pleasant Riot Oral History Project*. Repository: Washington, D.C.: D.C. Public Library, The People's Archive; accessed: https://digdc.dclibrary.org/islandora/object/dcplislandora%3A42736. Kaplan 2024. Sprehn-Malagón et al. 2014: 98.

[253]David G. Gutiérrez 2013.

[254]Ibid.

[255]Vargas 2013.

[256]Cadaval and Reinhard 1992/3: 43.

[257]Louis DeSipio, "Struggles for Inclusion: Demanding Equal Political Voice...And Accepting Nothing Less," in American Latino Heritage [Theme Study] (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 2013).

[258]Beltran 2010: 103.

[259]Pedro Avilés, interview with Patrick Scallen (Washington, D.C.: 15 November 2017), *Mount Pleasant Riot Oral History Project*. Repository: Washington, D.C.: D.C. Public Library, The People's Archive; accessed: https://digdc.dclibrary.org/islandora/object/dcplislandora%3A42742.

[260]National Museum of American History [NMAH], "Remembering the 1991 Disturbances in Mt. Pleasant" [Video Recording]. Panel discussion with Jose Cerritos (moderator), Pedro Avilés, Olivia Cadaval, Marco del Fuego, Chief Ike Fullwood, and Mayor Sharon Pratt (Washington, D.C.: 5 May 2011).

[261]Scallen 2019: 133-137, 176. Sueiro 2017.

[262]Scallen 2019: 203-204. Note that it was Council of Hispanic Community and Agencies that suggested the idea to rename Adams Morgan the "Latin Quarter" as an economic driver. Mayor Marion Barry's administration initially supported the idea, in an attempt to thank Latino community leaders for their support in his successful 1978 mayoral election. However, Adams Morgan residents did not support the rebranding, which never gained traction. Patrick Scallen, email communication to Heather McMahon, 7 July 2024.

[263]Scallen 2019: 184, 203-204.

[264]Repak 1995: 75-76. Rodríguez 2016: 4.

[265]Cadaval 2024.

[266]Griffiths 2024.

[267]Cadaval 1996: 231.

[268]Otero 2024.

[269]Elinor Hart, interview with Patrick Scallen (Washington, D.C.: 10 November 2017), *Mount Pleasant Riot Oral History Project*. Repository: Washington, D.C.: D.C. Public Library, The People's Archive; accessed https://digdc.dclibrary.org/islandora/object/dcplislandora%3A42738. Rodríguez 2016: 4. Scallen 2019: 132, footnote 56.

[270]Casa Lebrato occupies a 1904 rowhouse at 1733 Columbia Road NW. D.C. History Center, "'Forever Wachintonian Salvadorean': Community, Culture, and Representation." [Video Recording]. Panel Discussion with Laura Brauer-Hagood with Ana Patricia Rodriguez, José Centeno-Melendez and Abel Nuñez (Washington, D.C., 23 Mach 2021). Woody West and Earl Byrd, "This Is the Most Diverse Neighborhood in the City," *Washington Star* 11 February 1974: B1.

[271]El Progreso is located at 3158 Mount Pleasant Street NW in a one-part commercial block built in 1921. The property is a contributing resource to the Mount Pleasant Historic District, listed in the NRHP. La Americana was located in an 1899 rowhouse at 1824 Columbia Road NW. The property is a contributing resource to the Washington Heights Historic District, listed in the NRHP. "Administrative Wives Booklet," *Betty Ford White Papers*, 1973-1977, Box 28, folder "Administrative Wives Booklet," (c. 1975) 3, 6. Repository: Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library, Ann Arbor, MI.

[272]Cadaval 1996: 238.

[273]"Administrative Wives Booklet" 1975: 3, 6.

[274]Pete Copeland, "Ward I Story: Spanish Store along Columbia Road, N.W." [Photograph], 5 August 1974. Repository: Washington, D.C.: D.C. Public Library, People's Archive, *Washington Star Collection*, Subject Photographs, Box 1303.

[275]In a 2024 memorandum, Griffiths asserted that "in first years [Los Primos] was owned by Panamanians," although Olivia Cadaval's scholarship suggests Los Primos was opened by Dominicans. Furthermore, an interpretive sign in Mount Pleasant suggest Los Primos was opened by cousins (*primos*) of the Diloné family. Compare Cadaval 1998: 217 to Arturo Griffiths, "Griffiths memo for Maria project.2024" 29 March 2024, and Cultural Tourism DC, "Village in the City: Mount Pleasant Heritage Trail: The first Bodega," [Interpretive Marker] (2006); accessed 2/8/25: https://www.hmdb.org/m.asp?m=130882. Los Primos occupies a one-part commercial block built in 1922 at 3170 Mount Pleasant Street NW. The property is a contributing resource to the Mount Pleasant Historic District, listed in the NRHP. El Gavilán occupied a 1925 mixed-use apartment building at 1646 Columbia Road NW.

[276]Cadaval 1996: 237-238, 246.

[277]Cadaval 1996: 238.

[278]González 2024. Rumbaut 1982.

[279]The Carlos Gardel Restaurant was located at 1759 Columbia Road NW. Cadaval 1998: 217. González 2024.

[280]The Churrería Madrid is located in a 1906 rowhouse at 2505 Champlain Street NW. "Administrative Wives Booklet" (1975) 6. Sprehn-Malagón et al. 2014: 8.

[281]Cadaval 1996: 239. Cherkasky 2007: 115.

[282]The Martinez Barbershop was located at 3163 Mount Pleasant Street NW in a 1912 rowhouse. The property is a contributing resource to the Mount Pleasant Historic District, listed in the NRHP. Viterbo Martinez interview, 7 March 1982. In "Latino Youth Community History Project" (Washington, D.C.: 1981-1982). Repository: Washington, D.C.: D.C. Public Library, The People's Archive; accessed: https://digdc.dclibrary.org/islandora/object/dcplislandora%3A86733. Also see Cadaval 1998: 217 and Griffiths 2024.

[283]Brothers and Bicycles was in a 1912 rowhouse at 3159 Mount Pleasant Street NW. The property is a contributing resource to the Mount Pleasant Historic District, listed in the NRHP. D.C. History Center 2023. See also email communication between Pepe González and Heather McMahon, 26 February 2024.

[284]Zodiac Records was located at 1756 Columbia Road NW in a 1906 rowhouse. Cadaval 1998: 217. Peña 2010. Sueiro 2017.

[285]Susanna F. Schaller, Business Improvement Districts and the Contradictions of Placemaking: BID Urbanism in Washington, D.C. (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2019) 145. Schaller cites Cadaval's 1998 edition of Creating a Latino Identity in the Nation's Capital, page 78, for this comment.

[286]Scallen 2019: 125-126.

[287]Pete Copeland, "Ward I Story: Stores with signs in Spanish along Columbia Rd." [Photograph], 5 August 1974. Repository: Washington, D.C.: D.C. Public Library, People's Archive, *Washington Star* Collection, Subject Photographs, Box 1303.

[288]Cherkasky 2007: 109. Kaplan 2024.

[289]"Sign [Washington, D.C., Adams-Morgan]" [Photograph], 11 February 1974. Repository: Washington, D.C.: D.C. Public Library, People's Archive, *Washington Star Collection*, Subject Photographs, Box 1303.

[290]La Casa was opened in a 1927 one-part commercial block attached to the façade of a 1901 dwelling at 3166 Mount Pleasant Street NW. The property is a contributing resource to the Mount Pleasant Historic District, listed in the NRHP. Cherkasky and Levey 2006.

[291]Cadaval 2024. "Philip Wheaton 1925-2020" [Obituary] *Washington Post*, 17 May 2020; accessed 4/8/24: https://www.legacy.com/us/obituaries/washingtonpost/name/philip-wheaton-obituary?id=2204604.

[292]Cadaval 1998: 221.

[293]Built as the House of Mercy (a maternity home for unwed mothers, composed of a dormitory and an infirmary) in 1910 by the Association of Works of Mercy, the Spanish Colonial-style building designed by Nathan Wyeth at 2000 Rosemount Avenue NW is a contributing property to the Mount Pleasant Historic District, listed in the NRHP. See Ed Hughes [Historic Mount Pleasant, Inc.], "Mount Pleasant Historic District, Washington, D.C." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service 1987) Section 7-16.

[294]Julia Morgan, "Statement of Mrs. Donald Lee Morgan, President, Rosemount Center," in District of Columbia Appropriations for 1974: Hearings Before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives, Ninety-third Congress, First Session (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973) 1663-1664.

[295]Julia Morgan, "Day Care Programs: Witness Mrs. Julia Morgan, President, Rosemount Day Care Center," in District of Columbia Appropriations for 1975: Hearings Before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives, Ninety-third Congress, Second Session (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1974) 1187.

[296]Rosemount Center, "Rosemount Center's History," [Video] 23 November 2022; accessed 11/27/24: https://youtu.be/lWfsWY6zPkI. Morgan 1973: 1663, 1665. Jackie Stone, "Homes' New Programs," *Washington Star-News*, 1 October 1972: F-5. Martha Livdahl Grigg, Mercy! On The Road to Rosemount (Washington, D.C.: independently published, 2015) 33.

[297]Cherkasky and Levey 2006. Otero 2024.

[298]Cadaval 1998: 217. Sprehn-Malagón et al. 2014: 47.

[299]Located at 2020 19th Street NW in the John Quincy Adams Elementary School building (1930), the Adams campus of the Oyster-Adams Bilingual School is a contributing resource to the Washington Heights Historic District, listed in the NRHP. The Oyster campus is housed in a 2002

building at 2801 Calvert Street NW; the original Oyster Bilingual School building on Calvert Street was demolished circa 2000. Lawrence Feinberg, "Bilingual Teaching Questioned: Two Teachers in Every Class Works Well at Oyster School; Teaching Children in Two Languages Proves Successful at Oyster School," *Washington Post*, 22 November 1980.

[300]D.C. Commission on the Arts and Humanities 2011: 49. See also Kaplan 2024 and Otero 2024.

[301]Cadaval 1998: 58.

[302]The Gordon Center was originally located in the old Gordon Junior High School building (1930) at 1819 35th Street NW in Georgetown. This property is listed in the D.C. Inventory and is a contributing resource to the Georgetown Historic District, listed in the NRHP. The building is also a National Historic Landmark. Today (in 2024), the building at 1819 35th Street NW is occupied by the Rose Lees Hardy Middle School. Currently, the Carlos Rosario International Public Charter School has two locations: 1100 Harvard Street NW (in Columbia Heights) and 514 V Street NE (Eckington). The location at 1100 Harvard Street is the old James Ormand Wilson Normal School (1913), listed on the D.C. Inventory. The V Street campus was built in 2013.

[303]Cadaval 1998: 217. Cadaval 2024. D.C. Commission on the Arts and Humanities 2011: 53. Griffiths 2018. Griffiths 2024. Gutierrez 1982. Otero 2024.

[304]The SED Center offices were peripatetic: in 1978, it returned to the Wilson Center, but by 1980, city directories had its address listed as 1840 Kalorama Road NW. Dávila 1982. Griffiths memorandum 2024. Otero 2024. Sulvaga 1982.

[305]MCIP was located in the 1910 Powell Elementary School Building at 3145 Hiatt Place NW, which was demolished circa 2006. Currently, CHEC occupies a school building erected on the same parcel in 2006. Pamela Constable, "Accent on School's Differences: Bell, Lincoln Share a Lot but Have Little in Common," *Washington Post*, June 24, 1996. D.C. Commission on the Arts and Humanities 2011: 6. "Our Journey," *Columbia Heights Education Campus* [website]; accessed 8/20/24: https://checdc.org/apps/pages/index.jsp?uREC_ID=574907&type=d. Otero 2024. Scallen 2019: 215-217.

[306]Scallen 2019: 132-133.

[307]In a 2018 interview with Scallen, Griffiths recalled that El Centro de Arte was largely run by Chileans and Bolivians. See Griffiths 2018.

[308]Tomás Ybarra-Frausto, "Arts: A Panorama of Latino Arts," in American Latino Heritage [Theme Study] (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 2013); accessed: https://www.nps.gov/articles/latinothemearts.htm.

[309]Cadaval 2024. Shae Corey [D.C. Preservation League], "Latinx Heritage Tour: Centro De Arte," *D.C. Historic Sites* [Website]; accessed 4/9/24: https://historicsites.dcpreservation.org/items/show/1091. D.C. History Center 2023. Gonzales 1982. Griffiths 2018. Griffiths 2024. Kaplan 2024. Sprehn-Malagón et al. 2014: 95.

[310]El Centro de Arte was closed in 2001.

[311]Sprehn-Malagón et al. 2014: 95.

[312]Sprehn-Malagón et al. 2014: 95. "Dead Murals Archive," *Hola Cultura Más* [Website], 22 September 2014; accessed 4/9/24: https://holacultura.com/dead-murals-archives/. "DC Latino Street Murals: Mapping the Legacy," Hola Cultura's DC Latino Mural Map [Website]; accessed 4/9/24: https://www.arcgis.com/apps/MapTour/index.html?appid=c3a8b421467c4b47aeec8475d30987d3.

[313]The mural is painted on the side elevation (facing Cincinnati Aly NW) of the 1900 building currently occupied by the Kogibow Bakery, at 1817 Adams Mill Road NW. Kaplan asserts that the name was applied at a later date and that the imagery provides a critique of American capitalist investment in the political regime in Chile at that time (Lori Kaplan, telephone communication to Heather McMahon, 2 July 2024).

[314]Edwin Martinez, "Murals: The People are no longer 'desmuralizada': The historic mural in

Adams Morgan has finally been restored," *Hola Cultura Más* [website], 11 June 2014; accessed 4/9/24: https://holacultura.com/murals-the-people-are-no-longer-dismuralizado/. Griffiths 2024. Williams and Fletcher 2015: 6. Zapata and Gibson 2006: 18.

[315]Stefan Zweig, "Mural on side of building in Adams Morgan" [Photograph] 1970-1980. Repository: Washington, D.C.: D.C. History Center, Zweig Photo Studio Collection, CHS 12679.08; accessed 4/10/24: https://dchistory.catalogaccess.com/photos/72940.

[316]Located in a converted rowhouse (1891) at 2112 R Street NW, Fondo del Sol closed circa 2012. The property is a contributing resource to the Dupont Circle Historic District, listed in the NRHP. "About Us," *Fondo del Sol Visual Arts Center* [Website]; accessed 4/9/24: https://fondodelsol.wordpress.com/about/.

[317]The Art Museum of the Americas is located in a 1910 building at 201 18th Street NW. The building is owned by the OAS and is a contributing resource to the 17th Street Historic District. According to Griffiths, Gómez-Sicre lived on Lanier Place along Columbia Road NW. See Griffiths, email communication to Heather McMahon, 29 July 2024. Sprehn-Malagón et al. 2014: 85. "Cultural Tourism DC/University of Maryland Latino/a Cultural Community Survey: Resource Guide & Research Abstracts," (Unpublished white paper, 17 May 2006) 4.

[318]The Bernardo de Gálvez memorial (1976) is a Notable object that lies on Reservation 720, at 22nd Street and Virginia Avenue NW, which is a contributing resource. See D.C. Office of Planning, *Ward 2 Heritage Guide* (2021) 59, 64. National Park Service, "Bernardo de Gálvez Memorial," *National Mall and Memorial Parks* [Website] last updated 5 April 2024; accessed 4/10/24: https://www.nps.gov/places/000/bernardo-de-galvez-memorial.htm.

[319]Ybarra-Frausto 2013.

[320]J. Farrar, "Brazilian-American Cultural Institute Archives Find Home at UMD," *UMass Dartmouth* [Website] 7 July 2009; accessed 4/9/24: https://archivesblog.lib.umassd.edu/2009/07/07/brazilian-american-cultural-institute-archives-find-home-at-umd/.

[321]Cadaval 1998: 217. Kaplan 2024.

[322]Ybarra-Frausto 2013.

[323]GALA Hispanic Theatre, "GALA's First 29 Years" (ca. 2005); accessed 4/10/24: https://www.galatheatre.org/_files/ugd/c51849_e5f06ecde3b84054a6fb79bba84f91bb.pdf. Rebecca Medrano, interview with Maria Sanchez-Carlo (Washington, D.C.: 27 February 2024). Otero 2024.

[324]According to Jenna Furtado, the Medranos' move was due in part to the fact that Hugo Medrano was badly assaulted during a period of rising violence in the neighborhood. See Furtado, "GALA Hispanic Theatre: Celebrating Latin American Culture in the Arts," *Boundary Stones: WETA's Local History Website* [Website] 12 July 2022; accessed 4/10/24: https://boundarystones.weta.org/2022/07/12/gala-hispanic-theatre-celebrating-latin-american-culture-arts. GALA Hispanic Theatre ca. 2005. Medrano 2024.

[325]Built in 1923-1924 by well-known theater architect Charles Lamb, the Tivoli Theater at 3301-3325 14th Street NW is listed in the D.C. Inventory and individually in the NRHP. GALA Hispanic Theatre ca. 2005. Medrano 2024.

[326]Carol M. Highsmith, "Tivoli Theater, 14th and Monroe St., Columbia Heights, NW, Washington, D.C." [Photograph] LC-DIG-highsm-10147 (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, 2010); accessed 4/10/24: https://www.loc.gov/item/2010641958/.

[327]Félix F. Gutiérrez 2013.

[328]Sprehn-Malagón et al. 2014: 46.

[329]*El Latino* leased Suite 428 of the 1948 apartment house at 2430 Pennsylvania Avenue NW from circa 1977 through 1980. Sprehn-Malagón et al. 2014: 17. Sueiro 2017.

[330]D.C. Public Library, "Washington Community Video Center Collection: Abstract" n.d.;

accessed 4/12/24: https://digdc.dclibrary.org/islandora/object/dcplislandora%3A314779. See also Washington Community Video Center, "Spanish language news program" [Video] n.d. Repository: Washington, D.C.: D.C. Public Library, Washington Community Video Center Collection, dcpl_210_WCVC_012.mp4; accessed 4/12/24: https://digdc.dclibrary.org/islandora/object/dcplislandora%3A314800?solr_nav%5Bid%5D=48322467e51eb9aa04ac&solr_nav%5Bpage%5D=0&solr_nav%5Boffset%5D=4. Washington Community Video Center, "Interview with a Mount Pleasant family in Spanish" [Video] n.d. Repository: Washington, D.C.: D.C. Public Library, Washington Community Video Center Collection, dcpl_210_WCVC_009.mp4; accessed 4/12/24: https://digdc.dclibrary.org/islandora/object/dcplislandora%3A314786?solr_nav%5Bid%5D=48322467e51eb9aa04ac&solr_nav%5Bpage%5D=0&solr_nav%5Boffset%5D=9.

[331]"Washington Community Video Center," [Advertisement] *Daily Rag*, 12 October 1973. Unaltered image courtesy of Rock Creek; accessed 2/15/25: https://www.flickr.com/photos/rock_creek/45784902105/.

[332]Cherkasky 2007: 118.

[333]Bounded by Mount Pleasant Street, 17th Street, and Lamont Street NW, the triangular open space has a long history as an important open-air social nexus for the Mount Pleasant community; today, it is the site of the neighborhood farmers' market. The parcel is a contributing resource to the Mount Pleasant Historic District, listed in the NRHP. Granados 2024. Kamasaki 2024.

[334]Meghelli et al. 2018.

[335]"Dia de Muertos celebration in Lamont Park," [Photograph] 2 November 2019. Unaltered image courtesy of Rock Creek; accessed 2/15/25: https://www.flickr.com/photos/rock_creek/49003755781.

[336]Willard Volz, "Adams Morgan: Park" [Photograph], 5 March 1976. Repository: Washington, D.C.: D.C. Public Library, People's Archive, *Washington Star* Collection, Subject Photographs, Box 1303.

[337]Washington Community Video Center, "It's Our Park" [Video] 1971. Repository: Washington, D.C.: D.C. Public Library, Washington Community Video Center Collection, dcpl_210_WCVC_016.mp4; accessed 4/12/24: https://digdc.dclibrary.org/islandora/object/dcplislandora%3A314792?solr_nav%5Bid%5D=48322467e51eb9aa04ac&solr_nav%5Bpage%5D=0&solr_nav%5Boffset%5D=14.

[338]Ibid.

[339]Meghelli et al. 2018.

[340]Furtado 2022.

[341]Located at 1470 Irving Street NW, the Wilson Center was housed in the three-story, 1930 annex (originally a Sunday School building) to the 1913 Central Presbyterian Church sanctuary (addressed 3047 15th Street NW). The church complex also included a parsonage at 3045 15th Street NW, which became a part of the Wilson Center when it was formed in 1971.

[342]The nominal $1 rent only lasted the first year or for the first few years; other narratives suggest these agencies paid near-to-market rates to lease office spaces, and while the rents may have been lower than market costs for several years, they did not remain so in perpetuity. Cadaval 2024.

[343]Scallen 2019: 128-129.

[344]Cherkasky and Levey 2006.

[345]Otero 2024.

[346]Cadaval 2024.

[347]The Adelante Advocacy Center remained at the former Central Presbyterian Church manse at 3045 15th Street NW through 1981 if not longer. Between 1991 and 1995, Adelante had its offices in the Argyle Apartments at 3220 17th Street NW, which is listed in the D.C. Inventory and is a contributing property to the Mount Pleasant Historic District, listed in the NRHP. Cadaval 1998: 217. Gutierrez 1982. Kaplan 2024. Otero 2024. Sulvaga 1982.

[348]AYUDA was located at 1736 Columbia Road NW in a 1914 apartment building. "About Us,"

Ayuda [Website]; accessed 4/11/24: https://ayuda.com/about-us/. Cadaval 1998: 217. D.C. History Center 2023. Griffiths 2018. Griffiths memorandum 2024. Kamasaki 2024. Kaplan 2024. Otero 2024. Peña 2010.

[349]Cadaval 1998: 217.

[350]The offices of the Andromeda Hispano Mental Health were itinerant through the 1970s and 1980s. In 1972-1973, it was located at 1701 Rhode Island Avenue NW; then, in 1974-1975, on the second floor of the building at 1756 Columbia Road NW. From 1980, it had two locations listed in the city directories: 1823 18th Street NW (from 1980-1988) and 1400 Decatur Street NW (from 1979-present). Fletcher and Elliot 2015: 25.

[351]Maria Elena Orego interview, 13 April 1982. In "Latino Youth Community History Project" (Washington, D.C.: 1981-1982). Repository: Washington, D.C.: D.C. Public Library, The People's Archive; accessed: https://digdc.dclibrary.org/islandora/object/dcplislandora%3A86730. See also Dávila 1982.

[352]Sprehn-Malagón et al. 2014: 46.

[353]Kaplan 1982.

[354]The House of Ruth has multiple locations. The original site, which was rebranded as the Unity Inn in 1978, was located at 459 Massachusetts Avenue NW. In 1977, the organization opened the Annex (rebranded as Herspace in 1985) as 1215 New Jersey Avenue NW. The Madison [emergency] Center was opened in a former elementary school in Capitol Hill in 1978, followed by the Mother House/Herspace II in 1989 and the Kidspace in 1990. The original location at 459 Massachusetts Avenue NW was an 1887 rowhouse that was renovated as The Anne, featuring 16 condominiums, in 2021; it is a contributing property to the Mount Vernon Triangle Historic District, listed in the NRHP. "House of Ruth's Mission & History," *House of Ruth* [Website]; accessed 4/11/24: https://houseofruth.org/our-mission-history/. "Learn About House of Ruth in D.C.," *House of Ruth* [Website]; accessed 4/11/24: https://houseofruth.org/who-we-are/.

[355]EOFULA's Spanish Senior Citizen Center was located in a 1911 dwelling at 2309 Calvert Street NW from 1973 through 1976; by 1979, they had moved a few blocks away and across Rock Creek to a 1900 rowhouse at 1842 Calvert Street NW. The former property is a contributing resource to the Woodley Park Historic District, while the latter property is a contributing resource to the Kalorama Triangle Historic District. Both historic districts are listed in the NRHP.

[356]Houston and Struthers 1982. See also Cadaval 1998: 217. Kaplan 2024. Peña 2010.

[357]Gutierrez 1982.

[358]United States Commission on Civil Rights, Hearing Before the United States Commission on Civil Rights: Immigration Policy and Procedure. Hearing Held in Washington, D.C. November 14-15, 1978. Volume II: Exhibits (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1979) 500.

[359]Otero 2024.

[360]Kaplan 2024.

[361]Scallen 2019: 204, footnote 112.

[362]Reinhard 2017: 6-7.

[363]In 1970, the top ten neighborhoods (predicated on census tracts) in D.C. with residents of Hispanic (Latino) origin were Adams Morgan (Census Tract 40, with 11.4%); Foggy Bottom (Census Tract 57.02, 9.1%); Kalorama Triangle (Census Tract 41, 8.8%); Reed-Cooke (Census Tract 38, 8.3%); Friendship Heights (Census Tract 11, 8.3%); Cleveland Park (Census Tract 6, 8.2%); Lanier Heights (Census Tract 39, 8.1%); the West End (Census Tract 55, 8.1%); Woodley Park (Census Tract 5, 7.3%); and the southeast portion of Dupont Circle (Census Tract 53.01, 7.2%). Through the decade, however, settlement patterns shifted, so that the top ten neighborhoods with residents of Hispanic (Latino) origin in 1980 were the southern half of Mount Pleasant (Census Tract 27.02, 17.4%); Lanier Heights (Census Tract 39, 16.8%; Downtown/K Street/Franklin Park (Census Tract 51, 14.5%); Columbia Heights between 14th and 16th streets, Spring Road and Harvard Street (Census Tract

28, 12.1%); Adams Morgan (Census Tract 40, 11.5%); Reed-Cooke (Census Tract 38, 10.9%); half of the West End (Census Tract 55.02, 10.8%); the northern portion of Dupont Circle (Census Tract 42.01, 9.9%); and the eastern half of Woodley Park (Census Tract 5.02, 8.6%). Open Data DC 1970 and Open Data DC, "Census Tracts in 1980" [GIS Data Set] (Washington, D.C.: D.C. Office of the Chief Technology Officer, 2018); accessed 11/15/24: https://opendata.dc.gov/datasets/DCGIS::census-tracts-in-1980/about.

[364]White residents left D.C. "at a rate of several hundred per month in the early 1970s." See Chris Myers Asch and Derek Musgrove, "'We Are Headed for Some Bad Trouble': Gentrification and Displacement in Washington, D.C., 1920-2014," in Capital Dilemma: Growth and Inequality in Washington, D.C., eds. Derek Hyra and Sabiyha Prince (New York: Routledge Press, 2015) 123.

[365]In the 1960s and early 1970s, Mount Pleasant, Dupont Circle, and Adams Morgan "offered affordable housing that appealed to political activists, artists, and unconventional family groups" such as Blue Skies, which was "a group house devoted to anti-war work and social justice" and which "owned and occupied 1910 Park Road in the early 1970s." See Cherkasky and Levey 2006. In a 2017 interview, Suann Hecht related that she moved to Mount Pleasant from New York City in 1972 and lived in a group home for the next five years, saying, "It was a time of really a lot of political activity, and I lived in a group house. We were one group house amongst many. In fact, Mount Pleasant was known for group homes and political activity during that time." Otero also recalled, "group houses were very much in, in the '70s. So there were lots of group houses around Adams Morgan and Mount Pleasant (Mount Pleasant in particular)." See Hecht 2017 and Otero 2024.

[366]Rumbaut 1982.

[367]Asch and Musgrove 2015: 108-9.

[368]Asch and Musgrove 2015: 108-9. Beauchamp 2000.

[369]Asch and Musgrove 2015: 122-123.

[370]Marie S. Nahikian and the Washington Community Video Center, "Adams-Morgan Gentrification and Displacement Walking Tour" [Video] 1 May 1972. Repository: Washington, D.C.: D.C. Public Library, Washington Community Video Center Collection, dcpl_210_WCVC_021.mp4; accessed 4/12/24: https://digdc.dclibrary.org/islandora/object/dcplislandora%3A314797?solr_nav%5Bid%5D=a6eff335637d885d616e&solr_nav%5Bpage%5D=0&solr_nav%5Boffset%5D=0.

[371]Washington Community Video Center, "Adams Morgan campaign to fight real estate speculation and displacement" [Video] n.d. Repository: Washington, D.C.: D.C. Public Library, Washington Community Video Center Collection, dcpl_210_WCVC_014.mp4; accessed 4/12/24: https://digdc.dclibrary.org/islandora/object/dcplislandora%3A314802?solr_nav%5Bid%5D=48322467e51eb9aa04ac&solr_nav%5Bpage%5D=0&solr_nav%5Boffset%5D=6

[372]Mount Pleasant also had a neighborhood association—Mount Pleasant Neighbors—that "embraced the community's diversity and worked for better housing, education, and improved economic conditions" as well as "presented and sponsored many recreational cultural events." See Beauchamp 2000.

[373]The 1975 Rental Accommodations Act placed a cap on rent increases and required that tenants be offered first right to purchase their unit if it was slated for condominium conversion. The 1976 Condominium Act set difficult-to-reach benchmarks for developers who sought to convert apartments to condominiums. The 1978 Real Property Transfer Excise Tax dis-incentivized flipping houses, while the 1980 Rental Housing Conversion and Sale Act gave tenants first refusal rights and provided District-wide tax breaks, grants, and subsidized loans to low-income tenants. See Asch and Musgrove 2015: 123-124, 126. Meghelli et al. 2018.

[374]D.C. History Center 2023.

[375]Delia Beristain Noriega and Gisell Ramirez, "Changing Times in Adams Morgan," *Hola Cultura Más* [website] 2018; accessed 4/12/24: https://holaculturamas.wordpress.com/d-c-latino-history-project-2018/changing-times-in-adams-morgan/.

[376]Asch and Musgrove 2015: 126.

[377]Ibid.

[378]Built 1905-1909 and designed by architects George W. Stone and Frank Averill, the Kenesaw Apartment House at 3060 16th Street NW (alternative address is 3055-3059 Mount Pleasant Street NW) is listed in the D.C. Inventory and is a contributing resource to the overlapping Mount Pleasant Historic District and Meridian Hill Historic District, both of which are listed in the NRHP. See Hughes 1987.

[379]Shae Corey [D.C. Preservation League], "Kenesaw Apartment House Co.," *D.C. Historic Sites* [Website]; accessed 4/13/24: https://historicsites.dcpreservation.org/items/show/1090.

[380]Low and Cherkasky 2010: 233.

[381]Shae Corey, "Kenesaw Apartment House," [Photograph] 2021. In "Kenesaw Apartment House Co.," *DC Historic Sites* [Website]; accessed 2/12/25: https://historicsites.dcpreservation.org/items/show/1090.

[382]Cherkasky 2007: 101. Cherkasky and Levey 2006. Elinor Hart, interview with Mara Cherkasky (Washington, D.C.: 4 October 2016). Otero 2024.

[383]Designed by D.C. architect William St. Cyr Barrington and completed in 1941, the Parkfair Apartments at 1611 Park Road NW are a contributing resource to the Mount Pleasant Historic District, listed in the NRHP. See Hart 2016 and Low and Cherkasky 2010: 227.

[384]Now a building of condominiums called The Beacon, the 1910 apartment building designed by Joseph Moebs at 1801 Calvert Street NW is listed in the D.C. Inventory and is a contributing resource to the Kalorama Triangle Historic District, listed in the NRHP. D.C. History Center, "Forever Wachintonian Salvadorean," 2021. Griffiths memorandum 2024.

[385]The Harvard Hall apartments (1928) are located at 1650 Harvard Street NW. Howard 2017.

[386]Houston and Struthers 1982. Otero 2024. Rumbaut 1982. Sulvaga 1982.

[387]Cadaval 1996: 240. Raúl Sánchez Molina, "Introduction," in Latinas Crossing Borders and Building Communities in Greater Washington, eds. Raúl Sánchez Molina and Lucy M. Cohen (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2016) 4-5.

[388]Cadaval 1996: 234. Cadaval listed the founding members of the Latino Festival as Rosario, Fernández-Zayas, Dávila, Luna, Sueiro, Griffiths, Luján, Father del Riego, Rev. Welty, and Luis Vidaña. See Cadaval 1998: 57-59.

[389]Cadaval 1996: 236, 240. Kaplan 2024. Wiley 2018: 48.

[390]Cadaval 1996: 240. Cadaval 2010: 445. Cadaval and Reinhard 1992/3: 43-44. D.C. History Center, "Forever Wachintonian Salvadorean," 2021. Griffiths 2024. Kaplan 2024. Sprehn-Malagón et al. 2014: 86. Wiley 2018: 48.

[391]Cadaval and Reinhard 1992/3: 43.

[392]Cadaval and Reinhard 1992/3: 44. Griffiths 2024. Reinhard 2017: 8.

[393]Joseph Silverman, "Spanish Heritage Day," [Photograph] 1 August 1971. Repository: Washington D.C.: D.C. Public Library, People's Archive, *Washington Star* Collection, Subject Photographs, Box 1303.

[394]Griffiths 2024. Gutierrez 1982. Kaplan 2024.

[395]Cadaval, in her 2024 interview, mentioned how "Carlos Rosario organized La Gran Fiesta for the festival [as a] fundraiser. Great music. I mean, he would bring bands from South America sometimes, from Latin America." For such large events, Rosario would rent ballroom space at hotels, such as the Omni Shoreham Hotel at 2500 Calvert Street NW. Cadaval 2024.

[396]Cadaval and Finnegan 2001: 78.

[397]Cadaval and Reinhard 1992/3: 44.

[398]Griffiths 2024. Wiley 2018: 49.

[399]Established in 1976, the Mayor's Office of Latino Affairs was initially located on the second floor of 2901 14th Street NW, which is an 1896 dwelling built by speculator Frank L. Harvey. From 1987 to the present day, the office has been located at 2000 14th Street NW, which is the Reeves Center (1986), a purpose-built municipal office building. The Reeves Center is a contributing resource to the Greater U Street Historic District, listed in the NRHP.

[400]Griffiths, email communication to Heather McMahon, 29 July 2024. Gutierrez 1982. Wiley 2018: 49.

[401]DeSipio 2013.

[402]In a 2011 panel discussion to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the Mount Pleasant uprising in May 1991, Chief Ike Fullwood described the MPD as comprised by people (mostly white) who did not live in the city and who came from the South. When Fullwood joined the MPD force in 1964, there were only seven African Americans in his cohort. See NMAH 2011. Vitt 2024.

[403]From 1971 to circa 1983, the Fourth District Police Center was housed in a commercial storefront (i.e., in a 1921 one-part commercial block) at 3247 Mount Pleasant Street NW. The building is a contributing resource to the Mount Pleasant Historic District, listed in the NRHP.

[404]"Interview with Daniel Flores," 29 July 1986. In Columbia Historical Society Oral History Project Collection, MS 0892 (Washington, D.C.: 1986). Repository: Washington, D.C.: D.C. History Center, OHT 1986.F66, Container 1, Folder 9. https://dchistory.catalogaccess.com/archives/109410. U.S. Department of Defense Overseas Schools, "Testimony of Officer Larry J. Moss, Metropolitan Police Department, Washington, D.C. on Police Practices and Domestic Violence," in Joint Hearing Before the Subcommittee on Labor Standards and the Subcommittee on Elementary, Secondary, and Vocational Education of the Committee on Education and Labor, House of Representatives, Ninety-fifth Congress, Second Session, on H.R. 9892. Hearing Held in Washington, D.C., February 1, 1978 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1978) 427.

[405]Arturo Silvester interview, 6 April 1982. In "Latino Youth Community History Project" (Washington, D.C.: 1981-1982). Repository: Washington, D.C.: D.C. Public Library, The People's Archive; accessed: https://digdc.dclibrary.org/islandora/object/dcplislandora%3A86731.

[406]Ibid.

[407]U.S. Department of Defense Overseas Schools 1978: 427.

[408]Ibid.

[409]Silvester 1982.

[410]Several of these names were specifically listed by Sonia Gutierrez in her 1982 interview as members of the "Old Guard," while others were supplied by Otero in her 2024 interview. See Gutierrez 1982 and Otero 2024.

[411]Gutierrez 1982. Otero 2024.

Chapter 5

[412]David G. Gutiérrez 2013. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, "1990 Census of Population: General Population Characteristics, United States" (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1990) 3.

[413]Megan E. Springate, "LGBTQ Civil Rights in America," in LGBTQ America: A Theme Study of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History [Theme Study], ed. Megan E. Springate (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service 2016) Section 18-37.

[414]D.C. History Center, "Belonging in D.C.: Special Interests and Community Formation" [Video recording], D.C. History Conference, Session E (Washington, D.C., 2 April 2022). Jose Gutierrez, interview with Heather McMahon (Washington, D.C.: 27 January 2024).

[415]García 2006: 13.

[416]García 2006: 18, 21-26.

[417]Rodríguez 2016: 4. U.S. Department of State Office of the Historian, "Central America, 1977-1980," *Milestones: 1969-1977* [Website]; accessed 4/3/24: https://history.state.gov/milestones/1977-1980/central-america-carter. U.S. Department of State Office of the Historian, "Central America, 1981-1993," *Milestones: 1981-1988* [Website]; accessed 4/16/24: https://history.state.gov/milestones/1981-1988/central-america.

[418]Cadaval 1996: 234. David G. Gutiérrez 2013. Cadaval and Reinhard 1992/3: 43.

[419]Approximately one-quarter of Nicaraguans who applied for asylum received it in the 1980s, compared to approximately 5% of Salvadorans and 3% of Guatemalans; yet this comparatively high rate of Nicaraguan asylees was still far below the acceptance rates of asylum-seekers from Communist or leftist regimes in other parts of the world in the 1980s, such as Afghans and Ethiopians. See Patrick Scallen, email communication to Heather McMahon, 8 July 2024. Kamasaki 2024.

[420]Cadaval 1996: 242. See also Guerra 2013.

[421]U.S. Department of State Office of the Historian, "Central America, 1981-1993."

[422]More recent scholarship asserts that 9.3% of D.C.'s residents in 1980 were born in Latin America. According to Elaine A. Peña, Jamaicans and Cubans comprised the largest ethnicities among Latinos, while Salvadorans and Colombians accounted for only 6% each, and Argentines, Chileans, Peruvians, and Ecuadorans each accounted for 5% of the Latino population, attesting to the community's diversity in 1980. Peña 2010: 5.

[423]Eduardo Ramírez Villamizar, "No mas Vietnams en Centro America y El Caribe" [Poster] (Washington, D.C.: D.C. Latin American Youth Center, 1983); accessed 4/17/24: https://www.loc.gov/item/2015646528/.

[424]Scallen 2019: 137.

[425]Cadaval 1996: 234. Peña 2010: 5. Scallen 2019: 136-137. Sprehn-Malagón et al. 2014: 7-8.

[426]"With the growth of a Latino community beginning in the mid-twentieth century and its subsequent population boom in the 1980s as a result of wars in Central America, the District took on characteristics of a multicultural space akin to other large cities in the United States. … Latinos in general and Salvadorans in particular have played consequential roles in shaping daily life and social relations in the nation's capital." Scallen 2019: 7-8.

[427]Cadaval and Finnegan 2001: 78. Peña 2010: 6.

[428]Pumar 2012: 233. See also Repak 1995.

[429]Scallen 2019: 5.

[430]The Reagan Administration considered Salvadorans "economic migrants despite the United Nations recommendation that all Salvadorans who left their country beginning in 1980 be considered refugees." Under President Carter's administration, 12,000 Salvadorans were deported in 1980 despite Carter's own Refugee Act of 1980, which "increased the annual ceiling for refugees, created a refugee resettlement program, and recognized any individual with a "well-rounded fear of persecution" as a refugee." (See Library of Congress Research Guides, "1991: American Baptist Churches (ABC) v. Thornburgh," *A Latinx Resource Guide: Civil Rights Cases and Events in the United States* [website]; accessed 4/17/24: https://guides.loc.gov/latinx-civil-rights/abc-v-thornburgh). In 1981, under Reagan's administration, 10,473 Salvadorans were deported. Through the 1980s, an average of 1%-3% of Salvadoran and Guatemalan applications for political asylum were granted compared to 30% average for other nationalities (and even greater acceptance rates for defectors from the Soviet Union). Scallen 2019: 106-108.

[431]Cadaval 1996: 242.

[432]Scallen 2019: 2-3, 196-197.

[433]Cadaval 1996: 245.

[434]*Washington Post* articles at the time reported that only 10% of the Salvadorans in the greater Washington metropolitan area qualified for amnesty through IRCA, while the vast majority

applied for political asylum or continued to live under the radar. Conversely, in her 2024 interview, Kaplan asserted that 1986 was "a key year in the Latino community because D.C., having so many Salvadorans and so many Latinos, had a high rate of people who were eligible to begin a pathway to citizenship or to legal status as a result of IRCA." Kaplan 2024. See also D.C. History Center, "'Forever Wachintonian Salvadorean'," 2021. Kamasaki 2024. Scallen 2019: 198. Vargas 2013.

[435]Scallen 2019: 187-191.

[436]Scallen 2019: 242-245.

[437]Scallen 2019: 244-245.

[438]Kamasaki 2024. Library of Congress Research Guides, "1991: American Baptist Churches (ABC) v. Thornburgh," A Latinx Resource Guide: Civil Rights Cases and Events in the United States [website]; accessed 4/17/24: https://guides.loc.gov/latinx-civil-rights/abc-v-thornburgh.

[439]Susan Bibler Coutin, Nations of Emigrants: Shifting Boundaries of Citizenship in El Salvador and the United States (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2007) 81. D.C. History Center, "Forever Wachintonian Salvadorean," 2021.

[440]D.C. History Center, "Forever Wachintonian Salvadorean," 2021.

[441]Ibid.

[442]Mark Poletunow, interview with Patrick Scallen (Washington, D.C.: 18 November 2017), *Mount Pleasant Riot Oral History Project. Repository: Washington, D.C.: D.C. Public Library*, The People's Archive; accessed: https://digdc.dclibrary.org/islandora/object/dcplislandora%3A42741.

[443]González 2024.

[444]Lupi Quinteros-Grady credits the Mount Pleasant Library for the quick improvement of her English skills. Built in 1925 and located at 16th and Lamont streets NW, the Mount Pleasant Library is mentioned in the D.C. Inventory and is a contributing resource to the Mount Pleasant Historic District, listed in the NRHP. Lupi Quinteros-Grady, interview with Heather McMahon and Maria Sanchez-Carlo (Washington, D.C.: 15 February 2024)

[445]As Pedro Avilés emphasized, schools were often battlegrounds: In the 1980s, "...when kids begin to arrive in huge numbers from Central America and El Salvador, and then the school system begins to be overwhelmed with the hundreds and thousands of kids that were coming year after year, that's when the conflict began to happen between African Americans and the Latino community. Because the conflict, the racism, the mistreatment, the unequal treatment, the disparity appeared very blatantly in the classroom setting." See Avilés 2017. Quinteros-Grady 2024.

[446]José "Chico" Diaz, interview with Patrick Scallen (Washington, D.C.: 15 December 2017), *Mount Pleasant Riot Oral History Project*. Repository: Washington, D.C.: D.C. Public Library, The People's Archive; accessed: https://digdc.dclibrary.org/islandora/object/dcplislandora%3A42739.

[447]Christina Espinel interview, 30 November 1982. In "Latino Youth Community History Project" (Washington, D.C.: 1981-1982). Repository: Washington, D.C.: D.C. Public Library, The People's Archive; accessed: https://digdc.dclibrary.org/islandora/object/dcplislandora%3A86722.

[448]González 2024.

[449]D.C. History Center, "Forever Wachintonian Salvadorean," 2021.

[450]In 1980, the southern half of Mount Pleasant (Census Tract 27.02) had the highest percentage of Latino residency in D.C.; Latinos comprised 17.4% of the area's population. By 1990, the three census tracts that comprised Columbia Heights (28.1, 28.2, 37) and the two that comprised Mount Pleasant (27.1, 27.2) had the top five highest percentages of Latino residency across D.C., ranging from 21% to 47.3% of total occupants within each tract. Mount Pleasant's population in 1980 was 38% white, 49.4%

Black, and 12.65% Latino while in 1990 it was 42.6% white, 36.5% Black, 26.8% Latino, and 3.5% Asian. Open Data DC 1980 and Open Data DC "Census Tracts in 1990." [GIS Data Set]. Washington, D.C.: D.C. Office of the Chief Technology Officer, 2018. https://opendata.dc.gov/datasets/DCGIS::census-tracts-in-1990/about. See also Low and Cherkasky 2010: 225, 227. Cherkasky and Levey 2006. Sueiro 2017.

[451]"Interview with Daniel Flores" 1986.

[452]Kaplan 2024.

[453]Kaplan 1982.

[454]Scallen 2019: 203.

[455]"As the Salvadoran population boomed, calls for increased representation and resource parity for Latinos grew more pronounced, challenging black political priorities and generating not a small amount of discord between the two groups. …Pitted against each other to compete for dwindling funds, Washington's blacks and Latinos clashed over access to resources and the opportunity for social mobility within boundaries created and enforced by whites." Scallen 2019: 6.

[456]Scallen 2019: 201-202.

[457]Margaret Engel and Stephen J. Lynton, "Mount Pleasant House Fire Kills 9," *Washington Post*, 19 April 1978; accessed 4/18/24: https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1986/01/27/mt-pleasant-house-fire-kills-9/7fd0b28f-f38f-4d23-9e02-4c190afd6a65/. See also Hart 2017, Howard 2017, and Kaplan 2024.

[458] In her 2017 interview with Patrick Scallen, Elinor Hart recalled that Mount Pleasant had "a lot of retail stores, and any retail store—I guess maybe still—can get a license to sell beer and wine. And they all did. And they sold it from, I don't know, the time they opened in the morning until they closed at night. And the children going to school, I remember, were walking over drunks. …You could get inexpensive booze on Mt. Pleasant Street. So it was a place that people came to drink." Hart 2017. See also Howard 2017. Kaplan 2024.

[459]Max Avilés, Quique Avilés, Cindy Centeno, Sonya Robbins Hoffman, Sibyha Prince, et al. *La Manplesa: An Uprising Remembered*, [Film] ed. Magee McIlvaine, directed by Ellie Walton (Washington, D.C.: 2021): minute 14:33. See also Patrick Scallen, "1991: Mount Pleasant," *Washington History*, Vol. 32, No. 1/2, Meeting the Moment: Special Issue (Fall 2020): 35.

[460]Kaplan 2024.

[461]D.C. History Center, "Forever Wachintonian Salvadorean," 2021.

[462]Kaplan 2024. Quinteros-Grady 2024.

[463]As Charles Kamasaki surmised in his 2024 interview, the D.C. Latino community "…was a community really struggling for attention, struggling for resources. The city had its own financial issues at the time, and there was significant poverty, and as you would expect, high levels of unemployment, and real challenges with youth, many of whom were not finishing school [and] subject to a lot of gang pressures." Kamasaki 2024.

[464]Cadaval and Reinhard 1992/3: 41. Cherkasky and Levey 2006. Reinhard 2017: 8-9. Scallen 2019: 223, 227. Scallen 2020: 35-36.

[465]González 2024.

[466]During the 1991 Mount Pleasant uprising, "La Polvosa" (meaning the "Dust Bowl") was a staging ground for Latino youth. It had served as an informal soccer field and an outdoor recreational space for Latino youths for several decades. Today, the open space at 3149 16th Street NW is the Powell Recreation Center. The formerly undeveloped lot was redeveloped with highly-programmed, active recreational amenities (e.g., tennis courts, a baseball diamond) in 2006.

[467]Diaz 2017. Hart 2017. Alice Kelly, interview with Patrick Scallen (Washington, D.C.: 2 February 2018), Mount Pleasant Riot Oral History Project. Repository: Washington, D.C.: D.C. Public Library, The People's Archive; accessed: https://digdc.dclibrary.org/islandora/object/dcplislandora%3A42738. Poletunow 2017. Scallen 2019: 227. Scallen 2020: 35-36. Sueiro 2017.

[468]Rodríguez 2016: 5.

[469]Gabe Bullard, "Listen: The Mt. Pleasant Riots, 30 Years Later." Local News [Audio Recording] on *WAMU 88.5* [Website], 6 May 2021; accessed: https://wamu.org/story/21/05/06/listen-the-mt-pleasant-riots-30-years-later/. González 2024. Poletunow 2017. Otero 2024.

[470]González 2024. See also Scallen 2019: 227.

[471]NMAH 2011.

[472]In a 2017 interview, José Sueiro recalled seeing about six or seven African American youths alight from the number 42 bus, which originated in the southeast quadrant of the city, to get into trouble on Monday night. See Sueiro 2017.

[473]Cherkasky and Levey 2006. Diaz 2017. Howard 2017. Kaplan 2024. Poletunow 2017. Scallen 2020: 36. Sueiro 2017.

[474]NMAH 2011.

[475]Scallen 2020: 36. Sueiro 2017.

[476]Rodríguez 2016: 5.

[477]Poletunow 2017. Quinteros-Grady 2024.

[478]In a 2011 panel discussion at the National Museum of American History, held on the 20th anniversary of the 1991 Mount Pleasant uprising, Chief of Police Ike Fullwood stated that 90% of the arrests were for curfew violations and that most paid their fines and were quickly released. NMAH 2011. See also Cherkasky and Levey 2006. Diaz 2017. González 2024. Kaplan 2024. Poletunow 2017.

[479]D.C. Latino Civil Rights Task Force, "The Latino Blueprint for Action: Final Recommendations to the District of Columbia Government (Washington D.C.: October 1991). Kamasaki 2024. Kaplan 2024. Otero 2024. Poletunow 2017. Reinhard 2017: 8-9. Rodríguez 2016: 5-6. Scallen 2019: 233-234. Sueiro 2017.

[480]The MPD also conducted an internal investigation of the Jewell-Gomez shooting incident and found that Officer Jewell was justified in the use of a service revolver. After his recovery, Daniel Gomez was prosecuted by the city but acquitted by a hung jury. See NMAH 2011. González 2024.

[481]The Latino Economic Development Corporation of Washington, D.C., as it was called from 1991-2012, was originally housed within the D.C. offices of the National Council of La Raza but is now located in a 1988 office building—Union Center Plaza I—at 801 First Street NE. Latino Economic Development Center, "Mission and History," *Latino Economic Development Center* [Website]; accessed 4/19/24: https://www.ledcmetro.org/mission_and_history. See also Bullard 2021. Kamasaki 2024. NMAH 2011. Otero 2024. Rodríguez 2016: 5-6. Sueiro 2017

[482]NMAH 2011.

[483]Sueiro 2017.

[484]González 2024.

[485]NMAH 2011. Otero 2024.

[486]Kaplan 2024.

[487]Cadaval and Reinhard 1992/3: 41.

[488]NMAH 2011.

[489]Scallen 2020: 37.

[490]Kamasaki 2024.

[491]Charles Kamasaki, Immigration Reform: the Corpse that Will Not Die (Simsbury, CT: Mandel Vilar Press, 2019) unpublished excerpt.

[492]Vargas 2013.

[493]Ibid.

[494]Repak 1995: 87, 100.

[495]Louie Estrada, "Entrepreneur Eduardo Perdomo Dies,' [Obituary] *Washington Post*, 25 August 1998; accessed 8/23/24: https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/local/1998/08/26/entrepreneur-eduardo-perdomo-dies/e3d490b6-ffed-43bd-b1b4-8ae9ff42b492/.

[496]D.C. History Center, "Forever Wachintonian Salvadorean," 2021. Griffiths 2024. Rodríguez 2016: 4.

[497]Vargas 2013.

[498]Repak 1995:76. In her research, Repak also interviewed employers, a number of whom "implied that they intentionally recruited Central

(and South) American women when they were seeking housekeepers and child-care providers" and who "voiced the opinion that Central American women were more diligent, reliable, and willing to work hard in low-wage occupations than were North Americans." Salvadorans, in particular, were well regarded in D.C. employment circles for their work ethic. But as Repak notes, the fundamental reason Latinas filled so many childcare and domestic positions was due to a scarcity of alternatives, as North Americans were no longer willing to accept what they viewed as menial jobs. See Repak 1995: 86.

[499]There was also a perception among several of the Latinas who came in the 1980s that Washington, D.C., was—compared to other destinations in the United States—"more tolerant of foreigners and more familiar with other cultures and countries." Repak 1995: 79-83, 103.

[500]The concept of "family" in Repak's family-based migration pattern is multivalent. In Repak's survey sample, Latinas were more prone than Latinos to bring dependents with them or to send for them as soon as possible, leading to a higher rate of permanent settlement in D.C. for Latinas. The gender difference extended to documentation, as well, in which more Latinas were documented upon arrival. Finally, because many Latinas emigrated in order to support dependents, "family encumbrances and demands for assistance from those left behind in countries of origin often consumed whatever income women would otherwise have safeguarded to finance their own education or upward mobility." By the 1980s, these Latina labor migrants found their salaries falling behind Latinos who arrived later. Gender and racial discrimination combined negatively impacted the wealth accumulation of Latinas. See Repak 1995: 88-90, 93.

[501]Gonzales countered his own argument with one positive consequence of the growing numbers of Spanish-speaking immigrants in the 1980s when he recounted an anecdote from his own arrival, illustrating how language made his acculturation difficult in the beginning. He needed to attain a Social Security card and did not know where to go to apply for one, and he could not find a native Spanish speaker to help him; but in 1982, Gonzales thought that, "Now the situation is easier, now it's better. You can go anywhere now that there are people who speak Spanish." Gonzales 1982.

[502]Houston and Struthers 1982.

[503]Kaplan 1982.

[504]A botánica "offer[s] an array of religious goods such as herbs, powders, incense, candles, prepared waters, and images of saints, gods, goddesses, and other spiritual entities. In a number of botánicas the services of a curandera, santera, or other healer or spiritual guide are also available." See Matovina 2013.

[505]The Crystal Insurance Group, Inc. offices are in a 1900 dwelling at 1801 Belmont Road NW, which is a contributing resource to the Washington Heights Historic District, listed in the NRHP. The Pan American Laundry was located in a one-part commercial block (1936) storefront at 3127 Mount Pleasant Street, which is a contributing resource to the Mount Pleasant Historic District, listed in the NRHP. Cadaval 1998:217. Griffiths memorandum 2024. Noriega and Ramirez 2018.

[506]Otero 2024.

[507]El Tazumal was located at 2467 18th Street NW in a 1902 rowhouse that is a contributing resource to the Washington Heights Historic District, listed in the NRHP.

[508]El Tamarindo is located in one-part commercial block (1912) at 1785 Florida Avenue NW that is a contributing resource to the Washington Heights Historic District, listed in the NRHP.

[509]The article makes an interesting argument that a shared racial identity made co-opting Mexican food more palatable for Salvadorans: "There's this idea that if you're brown-skinned, or a mixed-race person from the Mesoamerican region, there are a lot of slippages that people can go through… At that point in time, the rise of Tex-Mex cuisine was promoting this particular image of brown people that a lot of Salvadoreños coming to the D.C. area were able

to slip into." Lautaro Grinspan, "Why Nearly Every Salvadoran Restaurant in D.C. Serves Mexican Food," *Washingtonian*, 18 December 2018; accessed 4/22/24: https://www.washingtonian.com/2018/12/18/why-nearly-every-salvadoran-restaurant-in-dc-serves-mexican-food/.

[510]Freddy's Carry Out was located at 3209 Mount Pleasant Street, in an attached row of two-story mixed-use buildings. Freddy's was in place by 1979; it was replaced by Arcos del Espino, a Salvadoran restaurant, by 1983. The building was purchased by Jaime Carillo, a Bolivian émigré that same year. He opened Don Jaime restaurant there in the late 1990s. The property is a contributing resource to the Mount Pleasant Historic District, listed in the NRHP. Cadaval 1998: 217. Griffiths memorandum 2024. Megan Elizabeth Morrissey, "(Net)roots of Belonging: Contemporary Discourses of (In)valuability and Post-Racial Citizenship in the United States," in *Race(ing) Intercultural Communication: Racial Logics in a Colorblind Era*, eds. Dreama G. Moon and Michelle A. Holling (New York: Routledge Press, 2016) 134.

[511]El Tazumal Restaurant [Photograph], ca. 1985. Featured in the Black Mosaic exhibition, Anacostia Community Museum, ACMA_S000013. Repository: Washington, D.C.: Anacostia Community Museum, Smithsonian Institution.

[512]Corado's Guatemalan Restaurant is housed in the Heller's Bakery building (1907) at 3217 Mount Pleasant Street, which is a contributing resource to the Mount Pleasant Historic District, listed in the NRHP.

[513]"3217 Mount Pleasant Street, NW," [Photograph] 19 November 2010. Unaltered image courtesy of Rock Creek; accessed 2/15/25: https://www.flickr.com/photos/rock_creek/5190017905.

[514]Cherkasky 2007: 119. Cherkasky and Levey 2006. Griffiths memorandum 2024.

[515]Jeffrey M. Pilcher, "Coming Home to Salsa: Latino Roots of American Food," in American Latino Heritage [Theme Study] (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 2013).

[516]El Tropical was located in a 1928 mixed-use building at 1633 17th Street NW. The property is a contributing resource to the Dupont Circle Historic District, listed in the NRHP. "El Tropical" [Advertisement], *The Washington Blade* (Washington, D.C.) 7 October 1988: 48.

[517]González 2024. Griffiths memorandum 2024. Hansen 2015: 17.

[518]Francis J. Collins Funeral Home, Inc., "Adeline Pena Callahan, January 12, 1935 – November 11, 2023" [Obituary] 2023; accessed: https://www.collinsfuneralhome.com/obituaries/Adelina-Pena-Callahan?obId=29922299.

[519]Avignon Frères was first opened on 18th Street NW in 1920; it moved to its Columbia Road location in 1928. Although it was made a "Washington institution" under the proprietorship of Pietro Orcino (1945-1984), after Luján purchased the business circa 1986, it became a center for intellectuals to meet. In her recollections of serving on the Latino Civil Rights Task Force, Otero recalled Avignon Frères (as well as Tazumal) as a "gathering place where folks would meet and strategize." In fact, the preface to the D.C. Latino Civil Rights Task Force's *The Latino Blueprint* for Action (1991) acknowledges several institutions and businesses that assisted in the creation of the report either by donating space or food to the Task Force members. The acknowledgements list included All Souls Church and Sacred Heart Church in addition to several restaurants: Café Atlantico, Avignon Frères, the Watergate Hotel Restaurant, El Tazumal, and Top of the Town Restaurant. See D.C. Latino Civil Rights Task Force 1991; DeFerrari; and Otero 2024. Habana Village was located in an 1899 rowhouse at 1834 Columbia Road NW. The property is a contributing resource to the Washington Heights Historic District, listed in the NRHP. Milagros Meléndez, "Muere pionero del activism latino en D.C.," [Obituary] *El Tiempo Latino* (Washington, D.C.) 14 November 2019; accessed 4/22/24: https://eltiempolatino.com/2019/11/14/noticias-

locales/dc-dmv/muere-pionero-activismo-latino-dc-pepe-lujan/?fbclid=IwAR3u5a9hDF3ZeaBPKt8AHtLioI9JRCsuCNTlqIltbhoO3HMM-J1C8qrN88o. Sprehn-Malagón et al. 2014: 85.

[520]Christina B. Hanhardt, "Making Community: The Places and Spaces of LGBTQ Collective Identity Formation," in LGBTQ America: A Theme Study of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History [Theme Study], ed. Megan E. Springate (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service 2016) Section 15-2.

[521]Hanhardt 2016: Section 15-15.

[522]Kwame A. Holmes, Chocolate to Rainbow City: the Dialectics of Black and Gay Community Formation in Postwar Washington, D.C., 1946-1978. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, History Department, (2011) 165; accessed: https://www.ideals.illinois.edu/items/26586.

[523]Ibid.

[524]Jen Jack, Gieseking, "LGBTQ Spaces and Places," in LGBTQ America: A Theme Study of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History [Theme Study], ed. Megan E. Springate (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service 2016) Section 14-23, footnote 91. Hanhardt 2016: Section 15-26.

[525]El Faro was located on the second floor of a 1905 rowhouse at 2411 18th Street NW. The property is a contributing resource to the Washington Heights Historic District, listed in the NRHP. El Faro operated from 1990 to 1999. See D.C. History Center 2022. "ENLACE: Washington, D.C. Metropolitan Area Latino Lesbian and Gay Coalition Records, 1991-1993, 14." Repository: *Rainbow History Project Digital Collection*; accessed 1/24/24: https://archives.rainbowhistory.org/collections/show/16. Letitia Gomez, "'ENLACE' Panel Discussion," Washington, D.C., 22 October 2022. Repository: *Rainbow History Project Digital Collection*; accessed 1/24/24: https://archives.rainbowhistory.org/items/show/1310. Gutierrez 2024.

[526]At Perry's Restaurant, located at 1811 Columbia Road NW, Sophia Carrero was named the first Miss Gay Hispanic in 1991, and Gigi Couture was named Miss Perry's. See D.C. History Center 2022 and Gutierrez 2024.

[527]Jose Gutierrez interview with Martinez, ca. 1997-2004. Jose Gutierrez, email communication with Heather McMahon, 20 July 2024.

[528]Drew Bourn, "Struggles in Body and Spirit: Religion and LGBTQ People in U.S. History," in LGBTQ America: A Theme Study of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History [Theme Study], ed. Megan E. Springate (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service 2016) Section 21-7, 31. Dignity Washington, "History," *Dignity Washington* [Website]; accessed: https://dignitywashington.org/about/history/.

[529]Poletunow 2017.

[530]Gonzales 1982.

[531]Luther Place Memorial Church at 1226 Vermont Avenue NW was designed by architect Adolf Cluss and built in 1873. It is listed in the D.C. Inventory and is a contributing resource to the Greater 14th Street Historic District, listed in the NRHP. Granados 2024.

[532]Reinhard 2017: 8.

[533]Scallen 2019: 165-168. Sprehn-Malagón et al. 2014: 29.

[534]Built in 1914 and designed by architect C.L. Harding, the Calvary United Methodist Church is located at 1459 Columbia Road NW. Granados 2024. Scallen 2019: 152.

[535]Originally housed in the basement of the Calvary United Methodist Church (circa 1983-1995), CentroNia is now located in the historic C&P Telephone Company switchboard building—designed by architect Leon Chatelain, Jr. and constructed in 1947—at 1420 Columbia Road NW. CentroNia, "About Us: Our History," *CentroNia* [website]; accessed: https://www.centronia.org/about-us/our-history. Otero 2024.

[536]Scallen 2019: 212.

[537]Gutierrez 1982.

[538]Scallen 2019: 218.

[539]Kaplan 2024. Scallen 2019: 217-218.

[540]Diaz 2017. Quinteros-Grady 2024.

[541]As an example of the latter, Coral Cantigas was a Latino choral group in D.C. that performed Spanish and Latin American choral compositions. It was founded by Diana Sáez, from Puerto Rico, in 1991 and performed in the greater Washington area for 25 years before disbanding. Sprehn-Malagón et al. 2014: 101.

[542]The Center for Spanish-American Relations occupied the former Spanish Embassy at 2801 16th Street NW since 1994. The Beaux Arts mansion was designed by George Oakley Totten, Jr. and constructed in 1921. The Spanish government acquired it in 1926. The Center for Spanish-American Relations is now closed and plans for its future are unknown. The property is a contributing resource to the Meridian Hill Historic District, listed in the NRHP.

[543]Carol M. Highsmith, "2801 16th St., NW, Washington, D.C." [Photograph] LC-DIG-highsm-09626 (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, 2010); accessed 8/17/24: https://www.loc.gov/item/2010641439/.

[544]Elissa Silverman, "End Hits: With the impending sale of the Wilson Center, local musicians can look forwards to a steady diet of nothing in Mount Pleasant," Washington City Paper, 6 July 2001; accessed 4/24/24: https://washingtoncitypaper.com/article/262866/end-hits/. Sprehn-Malagón et al. 2014: 85.

[545]Silverman 2001.

[546]Ibid.

[547]Kaplan 2024.

[548]"Soulside/Fire Party/Christ on a Crutch, 7/9/198?" [Flyer] 12 March 2014. Unaltered image courtesy of Rock Creek; accessed 2/15/25: https://www.flickr.com/photos/rock_creek/13111231275.

[549]Cadaval 1996: 247. Cadaval 2024. Kaplan 2024. Rodríguez 2016: 7. Scallen 2019: 220. Sprehn-Malagón et al. 2014: 100.

[550]Avilés 2017. Kaplan 2024. Sprehn-Malagón et al. 2014: 99.

[551]The *Unity Mural* (1982) is painted on the north (side) elevation (fronting Old Morgan School Place) of the PEPCO Reed-Cooke substation #25, which was constructed in 1931 and designed by Arthur B. Heaton, an in-house architect. The substation building, at 2119 Champlain Street NW is listed on the D.C. Inventory (see the 2018 Landmarks Update). The building is under threat of demolition. Delia Beristain Noriega, "The legacy of the Unity Mural," *Hola Cultura Más* [website] 2018; accessed: https://holaculturamas.wordpress.com/d-c-latino-history-project-2018/the-legacy-of-the-unity-mural/?frame-nonce=e432290184b.

[552]The *Canto a la Esperanza* mural (1988-1990) occupies a city-owned retaining wall abutting the sidewalk flanking the north side of Klingle Road NW. The mural starts just below the Rosemount Center property, at the intersection of Rosemount Avenue with Klingle Road NW. According to Griffiths, Jorge Somarriba also pained interior murals at the LAYC and in the Mayor's Office of Latino Affairs in the Reeves Center on 14th Street NW. See Griffiths memorandum 2024. Cherkasky and Levey 2006. Lynn Prowitt, "Latino Youths Cover Graffiti with Portrait of Hope," *Washington Post*, 3 August 1988.

[553]Dead Murals Archive," *Hola Cultura Más* [Website], 22 September 2014; accessed 4/9/24: https://holacultura.com/dead-murals-archives/. "DC Latino Street Murals: Mapping the Legacy," *Hola Cultura's DC Latino Mural Map* [Website]; accessed 4/9/24: https://www.arcgis.com/apps/MapTour/index.html?appid=c3a8b421467c4b47aeec8475d30987d3

[554]Cadaval 2024.

[555]Shae Corey, "Untitled," [Photograph] 2021. In "Latino Heritage Tour: Further Resources," *DC Historic Sites* [Website]; accessed 2/12/25: https://historicsites.dcpreservation.org/files/show/4865.

[556]Gieseking 2016: Section 14-25, 29.

[557]Silvester 1982. Judith Valente, "Spanish-Language Radio Station to Go on the Air Monday," *Washington Post*, 12 December 1981.

[558]Línea Directa: Program History," Latino Impact Media [Website]; accessed 8/22/24: http://www.latinoimpact.org/linea-directa/program-history/.

[559]Meléndez 2019. Sprehn-Malagón et al. 2014: 84.

[560]Granados 2024.

[561]Per an email communication from Mara Cherkasky, 31 January 2025, the southwest corner of the intersection of Mount Pleasant Street and Kenyon Street NW is also an open-air space where people gather to play chess or checkers. Tara Bahrampour, "A street corner that offers D.C. Latinos 'a cure for the heartbreak of being away from home'," *Washington Post*, 12 March 2018; accessed 2/24/24: https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/social-issues/a-street-corner-that-offers-dc-latinos-a-cure-for-the-heartbreak-of-being-away-from-home/2018/03/12/bddd2a78-217a-11e8-94da-ebf9d112159c_story.html.

[562]The Mount Pleasant Street Corridor spans from 16th Street north to Park Road NW. The entirety of the street is located within the Mount Pleasant Historic District, listed in the NRHP. The Columbia Road Corridor through the Latino barrio spans from 14th Street westward to Connecticut Avenue NW. Portions of the roadway are included in the Washington Heights Historic District and the Meridian Hill Historic District, both of which are listed in the NRHP.

[563]Granados 2024.

[564]Quinteros-Grady 2024.

[565]Diaz 2017.

[566]Alma Guillermoprieto, "Cubans of 1980 'Freedom Flotilla' Encountering Hardships in the District," Washington Post, 17 July 1984. Zita Arocha. "Life is Harsh for Mariel Cubans Here," *Washington Post*, 25 November 1987. Orego 1982. Dávila 1982.

[567]Orego 1982.

[568]Ibid.

[569]Ibid.

[570]Rodríguez 2016: 4-5.

[571]From the Wilson Center, CARECEN moved to an office space on 18th Street and Columbia Road NW by 1982. The offices of CARECEN were located in a 1909 rowhouse at 3112 Mount Pleasant Street by 1989. This property is a contributing resource to the Mount Pleasant Historic District, listed in the NRHP. Since 2011, CARECEN has been located at 1460 Columbia Road NW.

[572]Scallen 2019: 142.

[573]Granados 2024.

[574]Shae Corey [D.C. Preservation League], "Latinx Heritage Tour: La Clínica Del Pueblo," *DC Historic Sites*, [Website]; accessed 4/25/24: https://historicsites.dcpreservation.org/items/show/1102. Gutierrez 2024. Kaplan 2024. Otero 2024. Scallen 2019: 143-144. Sprehn-Malagón et al. 2014: 38-39.

[575]La Clínica del Pueblo was originally located on the top floor of the Wilson Center's building at 1470 Irving Street NW. In 2003, it relocated to 2831 15th Street NW, in a building constructed in 1910 as a garage and later converted for offices.

[576]Shae Corey [D.C. Preservation League], "Latinx Heritage Tour: CARECEN (Latino Resource & Justice Center)," *DC Historic Sites*, [Website]; accessed 4/25/24: https://historicsites.dcpreservation.org/items/show/1093. Gutierrez 2024. Kamasaki 2024. Kaplan 2024. La Clínica del Pueblo, "Get to Know La Clínica: About Us," *La Clínica del Pueblo* [website]; accessed 4/25/24: https://www.lcdp.org/about-us/get-to-know-us. Scallen 2019: 156-157. Sprehn-Malagón et al. 2014: 40.

[577]Salud, Inc. was housed in a 1905 rowhouse at 1832 Biltmore Street NW in the early 1990s until it closed by 1994. The property is listed in the D.C. Inventory and is a contributing resource to the Kalorama Triangle Historic District, which is listed in the NRHP.

[578]Felisa Batista, born in Ecuador, moved to

Washington, D.C., in the mid- to late 1980s from New Jersey, where her brother, Manuel Guevara, was living. Guevara, a gay Latino, was an early member of ENLACE and brought Batista to the group. In an interview conducted with Jose Gutierrez, Batista recalled that she "served as a volunteer of ENLACE, providing bilingual information about HIV/AIDS, domestic violence, and referring people to other services and programs" before becoming the group's president from 1992-1993. See Jose Gutierrez, email communication with Heather McMahon, 20 July 2024.

[579]"ENLACE: Washington, D.C. Metropolitan Area Latino Lesbian and Gay Coalition Records, 1991-1993, 14." Repository: *Rainbow History Project Digital Collection*; accessed 1/24/24: https://archives.rainbowhistory.org/collections/show/16. Gomez 2022. Gutierrez 2024.

580 The Washington Free Clinic was located in the St. Stephen and the Incarnation Episcopal Church (1928) at 1525 Newton Street NW. St. Stephen's Church also housed other service organizations, such as the Neighbors Consejo, which succeeded Barney Neighborhood House in 2000. In the 1980s, the Barney Neighborhood House had expanded its programming from afterschool activities and programs for kids to a psychiatric daycare program for mentally-ill persons who had been institutionalized for many years in addition to its senior citizens center. See Houston and Struthers 1982.

[581]Cadaval 1998: 217. Otero 2024. St. Stephen and the Incarnation Episcopal Church, "A Brief History of the Parish," St. Stephen and the Incarnation Episcopal Church [Website]; accessed 4/25/24: https://www.saintstephensdc.org/history. St. Stephen and the Incarnation Episcopal Church, "A Page from the Long and Amazing History of St. Stephen and the Incarnation Episcopal Church: Washington Free Clinic," *St. Stephen and the Incarnation Episcopal Church* [Website]; accessed 4/25/24: https://www.saintstephensdc.org/_files/ugd/590c30_8ce671c82d56445e8c3eabebc6c3cc30.pdf.

[582]Mary's Center opened in the basement of a 1909 apartment building at 1844 Columbia Road NW in 1988. By 1994, it had moved to its present headquarters, an office-and-warehouse built in 1951 at 2333 Ontario Road NW.

[583]Kamasaki 2024. Noriega and Ramirez 2018. Otero 2024. Smithsonian National Museum of American History, "Mary's Center: Object Details," *Smithsonian* [Digital Catalogue]; accessed 4/25/24: https://www.si.edu/object/marys-center:nmah_2012415.

[584]"Mary's Center" [Sign] ca. 1990s. Repository: Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian National Museum of American History, Catalog number 2021.0197.1; accessed 8/30/24: https://www.si.edu/object/marys-center:nmah_2012415.

[585]Kaplan 2024.

[586]Pumar 2012: 235.

[587]The Josephine Butler House is located at 2437 15th Street NW is a D.C. Landmark and is also a contributing resource in the National Register-listed Meridian Hill Historic District.

[588]González 2024. Otero 2024. Open Data DC 1980 and 1990.

[589]Reinhard 2017: 6-7.

[590]Houston and Struthers 1982.

[591]Asch and Musgrove 2015: 128. See also Brett Williams, Upscaling Downtown: Stalled Gentrification in Washington, D.C. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988).

[592]The Latin American Montessori Bilingual (LAMB) Public Charter School at 1375 Missouri Avenue NW is listed in the D.C. Inventory and is individually listed in the NRHP. LAMB is housed in a 2009 rear addition to the Military Road School (1911-1912) designed by architect Snowden Ashford in the D.C. Office of the Municipal Architect. The Military Road School replaced an earlier schoolhouse on the site, built 1864-1865 as one of the first public schools for freed African Americans. Fletcher and Elliott 2015: 41.

[593]Kaplan 2024.

[594]In two separate interviews conducted in 2017, Poletunow listed Silver Spring, Maryland, and Wards 7 and 8 in northeast D.C. as experiencing an influx of Latinos/as at that time, while Sueiro noted that Latinos/as were concentrated along Texas Avenue in Ward 7 and are in greater numbers in Ward 3, followed by Ward 4, and then Ward 1; in Maryland's Langley Park and Hyattsville as well as throughout Montgomery County; and spread across northern Virginia from Arlington to Loudoun counties. Sueiro also emphasized that this dispersal is due not only to the decimation of working-class enclaves in the city through decades of gentrification but owing to the sheer fact that in a 50-year period between 1960 and 2010, the Latino population in the District/greater Washington metropolitan area jumped from 10,000 to one million. With an exponential rise in the Latino population, migration to the suburbs was inevitable. Poletunow 2017 and Sueiro 2017.

[595]"Interview with Daniel Flores" 1986.

[596]Cadaval and Reinhard 1992/3: 43.

[597]Houston and Struthers 1982.

[598]DeSipio 2013.

[599]"Salvadoran Americans in the D.C. Area," D.C. History Center [website]; accessed 4/26/24: https://dchistory.org/learn/contextfortoday/salvadorandmv/.

[600]Quinteros-Grady 2024.

[601]Rumbaut 1982.

[602]CISPES had their office in Suite 720 of the historic Atlantic Building (1887), which was integrated into a 2006 redevelopment by Shalom Baranes Associates into a ten-story office building at 930 F Street NW. The Atlantic Building is listed in the D.C. Inventory; is a contributing resource to the Downtown Historic District, listed in the NRHP; and is a National Historic Landmark as part of the Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site.

[603]Granados 2024. Victoria-María MacDonald, "Demanding Their Rights: The Latino Struggle for Educational Access and Equity," in American Latino Heritage [Theme Study] (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 2013). Reinhard 2017: 8. Sprehn-Malagón et al. 2014: 29.

[604]D.C. History Center 2022. Gomez 2022. Gutierrez 2024.

[605]National LLEGO had its offices in a 1904 rowhouse at 703 G Street SE, which is a contributing property to the Capitol Hill Historic District, listed in the NRHP.

[606]D.C. History Center 2022. Gutierrez 2024. Springate 2016: Section 18-53.

[607]Gutierrez 1982.

[608]Cadaval 2024.

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[609]Singer 2012: 5.

[610]Ibid.

[611]Barros-Titus 2021: 4.

[612]Rodríguez 2016: 6.

[613]Barros-Titus 2021: 4, 6.

[614]Cadaval 2010: 442.

[615]This is illustrated by census tract data from 1960, which shows the disparate neighborhoods (i.e., not contiguous or concentrated together) that had the highest proportion of residents from Puerto Rico or with Spanish surnames at that point in time. They are (in descending order) Dupont Circle, Georgetown, Petworth, Reed-Cooke, Columbia Heights, East End, Fort Lincoln, Takoma, and Adams Morgan. Open Data DC 1960.

[616]Open Data DC 1970.

[617]Cadaval 2024.

[618]In 2018, as part of the Columbia Pike Documentary Project, Maria "Pete" Durgan was interviewed. Durgan was born and raised in Arlington, Virginia; her grandfather emigrated from Mexico in 1925 and settled near Fort Myer. Durgan recalled her father driving her grandparents into D.C. so that they could shop at Manuel Pena's Spanish Store, the "only place around where you could get masa [for]

tortillas or tamales." This quote suggests that the commercial businesses catering to a Latino clientele drew Latinos/as from the suburbs at least occasionally; through commerce, perhaps, the D.C. barrio was a center for suburban Latino communities. See "Maria 'Pete' Durgan," *Columbia Pike Documentary Project* (14 November 2018) https://cpdpcolumbiapike.blogspot.com/2018/11/maria-pete-durgan.html.

[619]Cadaval 1996: 231-232.

[620]Quinteros-Grady 2024.

[621]Otero 2024.

[622]Lori Kaplan, telephone conversation with Heather McMahon, 2 July 2024.

[623]Cadaval 2024.

[624]Kaplan [interview February] 2024.

[625]Kaplan [interview February] 2024. Quinteros-Grady 2024.

[626]Otero 2024.

[627]Ibid.

Cover Image:

Un Pueblo Sin Murales, Adams Mill Road. HMAH July 2024.