OMB Control No. 1024-0018
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National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form

This form is used for documenting property groups relating to one or several historic contexts. See instructions in National Register Bulletin *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (formerly 16B). Complete each item by entering the requested information.

_____ New Submission __X__ Amended Submission

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

Historic Latinx Resource in Utah, 1776-1978

B. Associated Historic Contexts

(Name each associated historic context, identifying theme, geographical area, and chronological period for each.)

Historic Latinx Resources in Utah, 1776 to 1942
Historic Latinx Resources in Utah, 1943 to 1978

C. Form Prepared by:

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D. Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements for the listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation.

_____ _____ _____
Signature of certifying official Title Date

_____
State or Federal Agency or Tribal government

I hereby certify that this multiple property documentation form has been approved by the National Register as a basis for evaluating related properties for listing in the National Register.

_____ _____
Signature of the Keeper Date of Action

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

National Park Service

Historic Latinx Resources in Utah, 1776 to 1978 — Name of Multiple Property Listing

Utah — State

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Provide narrative explanations for each of these sections on continuation sheets. In the header of each section, cite the letter, page number, and name of the multiple property listing. Refer to *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* for additional guidance.

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United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Name of Property Statewide; Utah
County and State Historic Latinx Resources in Utah, 1776 to 1978
Name of multiple listing (if applicable)

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E. STATEMENT OF HISTORIC CONTEXTS

E.1 Introduction

The history of Utah's demography is closely associated with Spanish-speaking people, along with immigration from Mexico, Central and South America, from as early as mid-eighteenth century. Over time the demography changed based on different political and economic situations. Today the Latinx community is the largest minority group in Utah, consisting of 15.1 percent of the total population of the state, according to the July 1, 2023, census (U.S. Census Bureau 2023). The Latinx community in Utah has cultivated a unique identity which is reflected in the material culture of the state. Yet Latinx culture is significantly underrepresented within the historic record of the state. Recognition, documentation, and preservation of cultural properties associated with Latinx history in Utah will help to mend the gap in the history of the state and support federal initiatives seeking greater diversity and inclusion across the United States.

In response to a lack of properties associated with Latinx history in Utah, nominated to the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP), the Utah State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO), in association with the National Park Service (NPS), commissioned the creation of a Multiple Property Documentation Form (MPDF) to provide a basis for future NRHP nominations of Latinx cultural resources in the state, both architectural and archeological.

The intent of this MPDF is to serve as the basis for future scholarship and to facilitate future historic preservation efforts, such as the nomination of properties to the NRHP. This MPDF is a study of Latinx history in Utah between 1943 and 1978 and supplements a related context spanning from 1776 to 1942. Together, the contexts provide a historic overview of events and patterns in that history throughout the state, with a particular emphasis on the relationship of those events to the physical environment (e.g., where Latinx communities were located, where important social and religious organizations met, where individuals lived and worked). The contexts are not comprehensive histories but instead seek to chart the broad patterns of history in relation to Utah's Latinx population. Both MPDFs conclude with a discussion of property types associated with these periods and how to evaluate them for the NRHP.

World War II was a watershed date in Latinx history, both in Utah and on a national level. The Bracero Program brought unprecedented numbers of Mexican guest agricultural workers to the United States to replace Americans taken out of the labor force due to the war. The evolving civil rights movement following the conclusion of the war also brought significant Chicano rights organizing on the national level; Utah was no exception to this pattern, with a variety of organizations centered around Chicano rights founded during the post–World War II period.

While many Latinx workers still came to the state for employment in agriculture or mining, many found jobs in war-related manufacturing facilities in and around Salt Lake City. After World War II, the Latinx community in Utah sought civil rights through the existing social structure in a manner unique to the state. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (the Church of Jesus Christ), Catholic, and Episcopal congregations acted together to demand equal treatment for their Latinx members, as well as the Latinx community at large, in education, employment, housing, and programs for the elderly.

E.1.1 Project Background

To diversify nominations for the NRHP, the NPS established the Underrepresented Communities Grant Program (the Program). The Program provides NPS-administered grants from the Historic Preservation Fund for projects, including surveys and inventories of historic properties associated with communities underrepresented in the National Register and the development of NRHP nominations for specific properties.

In 2022, the Utah SHPO received a federal grant through the Program to develop a historic context for Latinx-related resource types and to generate an NRHP nomination for one newly identified resource. The Utah SHPO contracted SWCA Environmental Consultants (SWCA) to complete an MPDF and nomination of that newly identified resource. Under that contract, SWCA completed Part I of the MPDF, *Historic Latinx Resources in Utah, 1776 to 1942*, in March 2021. Part I provides a historic overview of events and patterns of Latinx communities throughout the state between 1776 to 1942, with a particular emphasis on the relationship of those events to the built environment.

As a continuation of the previous document, SWCA has completed Part II of the MPDF for Latinx heritage resources between 1943 and 1978. Both parts were developed under the same grant funding source.

E.1.2 Terminology Used in This Report

In writing about the history of race and ethnicity in America, it is important to consider terminology. This is particularly the case for Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking individuals and communities in the United States. General definitions from *Is it Hispanic, Chicano/Chicana, Latino/Latina, or Latinx?* by Generating Engagement and New Initiatives for All Latinos (GENIAL) are as follows (GENIAL 2017):

- Hispanic - Someone who is a native of, or descends from, a Spanish-speaking country.
- Chicano/Chicana - Someone who is a native of, or descends from, Mexico and who lives in the United States.
- Latino/Latina - Someone who is a native of, or descends from, a Latin American country (including Portuguese-speaking countries, such as Brazil).
- Latinx - A gender-neutral term to refer to a Latino/Latina person (including Portuguese-speaking countries, such as Brazil).

There is not a broad consensus or one correct answer regarding this terminology. For the purposes of this report, the term *Latinx* will be employed as a general term. When specific subsets of that population are discussed, more specific language (such as *Chicano/Chicana*) will be used. When other written documents are quoted, the terminology they use will be retained; this terminology may include the following:

- Mexican - someone from Mexico or someone of Mexican descent
- Mexican American - a citizen or resident of the United States of Mexican birth or descent (Chicano/Chicana)

Because racial and ethnic categories are often ill-defined in relation to Latinx identity in the United States, when differentiating between Latinx and non-Latinx Whites, terminology is also important (see next section). A number of

people who fall within this document's definition of *Latinx* were born in Europe; as a result, use of the term *Euro-American* to represent non-Spanish- or Portuguese-speaking Whites is not accurate. In consequence, when referring to those individuals, this MPDF will use the terms *Anglo* or *Anglo-American*.

E.2 Summary of Latinx History in Utah prior to World War II

The following is a summary of Latinx history in Utah prior to World War II. Part I of the MPDF (Historic Latinx Resources in Utah, 1776 to 1942) covers Latinx history in the state in more detail for the period spanning from 1776 to 1942.

During the early twentieth century, the number of Latinx residents living in Utah increased rapidly, especially after 1920, through both in-migration and immigration.[i] In the 1930s, during the Great Depression, these trends were reversed due to the forceable deportation of Mexicans, individuals of Mexican ancestry, and other Latinx residents relocating to other states to take advantage of economic opportunities. However, by 1940, a large population of Latinx residents was still present in the state (Hovanes and Oliver 2021:E-10).

Between 1910 and 1920, during the Mexican Revolution, many Mexicans sought safety and political and economic stability by immigrating to the United States (Hovanes and Oliver 2021:E-16). Typically young, single men, these immigrants came to Utah and found work in agriculture, mining, and with the railroads, with the intention of earning money and returning to their families in Mexico. As these individuals became integrated into Utah, many relocated their families to the state (Kelen and Stone 2000:437; Solórzano 2014:44). *Traqueros*, Hispanic track workers, were one of the largest ethnic groups working on the railroads in Utah in the early twentieth century (Solórzano 2014:71). Some Latter-day Saints who had colonized in Mexico during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to escape anti-polygamy legislation in the United States relocated to Utah during this time as well, adding additional stress to infrastructure and services used by Latinx communities in southeastern Utah (Solórzano 2006:284, 2014:26).

The Zimmerman Telegram, which pushed United States into World War I in 1917, also fueled anti-Mexican sentiment and negative stereotypes across the country. Despite the unwarranted discrimination and distrust, Latinx Utahns served honorably in all branches of the U.S. military during the war (Hovanes and Oliver 2021:E-17). To mitigate the loss of labor from European immigration cut off by the war, employers in the Southwest drew Hispanics from rural areas in the United States and Mexican nationals to fill the labor shortage (Deutsch 1987:107). In Utah, the agriculture and mining industries did the same (Solórzano 2014:43, 95). Although rail transportation experienced a slump after World War I, by the late 1920s, the industry had rebounded, with Chicanos making up a significant number of traqueros for many railroads (Iber 1998:160, 162).

In the 1920s, an inflated stock market, the unstable economy (especially in the agriculture and mining sectors), and rampant consumer debt set the stage for the 1929 stock market crash and the onset of the Great Depression. Prior to the Great Depression, many Latinx Utahns were already economically marginalized; the economic downturn of the 1930s significantly affected the industries in which most were employed, including agriculture, mining, and transportation (Iber 2000:14). The Great Depression decimated railroad employment opportunities for many traqueros (Hovanes and Oliver

[i] *In-migration* here refers to patterns of movement to the state by individuals living in other areas of the United States, such as Hispanic communities in northern New Mexico. *Immigration* refers to patterns of movement by individuals from foreign countries to Utah, such as Mexican citizens who moved to the state during the Mexican Revolution (Hovanes and Oliver 2021:E-10).

2021:E-29). Additionally, persistent and systemic racism against Latinx workers, combined with Anglo-Americans competing for the decreasing number of available jobs, led to the enactment of immigration and deportation laws to restrict emigration and force the departure of Mexicans already in the United States; nearly a million Mexicans and Americans of Mexican decent were forcibly repatriated to Mexico from the United States (Balderrama and Rodriguez 2006:1; Mayer 1976:460). The effects of this legislation, coupled with the out-migration of Latinx Utahns seeking better employment opportunities, decreased the Latinx population in Utah by nearly half between 1930 and 1940 (Mayer 1976:461). Latinx Utahns who stayed in the state found support in mutual aid and cultural organizations as well as religious institutions (Iber 1998:169–170). By 1942, the downward trend had largely reversed, and Latinx workers again made up the largest ethnic group employed by the railroads (Iber 1998:163; Solórzano 2014:73).

The United States' entry into World War II in December 1941 triggered a labor shortage as many workers in industries such as agriculture and manufacturing enlisted in the military. In response to the need for agricultural labor, the United States entered into a series of bilateral agreements with Mexico, resulting in the creation of the Mexican Farm Labor Program, known colloquially as the Bracero Program, in 1942. The Bracero Program was signed into law in 1951 as Public Law (PL) 78 and continued to operate until its formal end in 1964. Millions of Mexican men came to the United States to work as temporary contracted agricultural labor under the program; between 1942 and 1964, nearly 5 million contracts were executed, with many workers returning several times (Fonce-Olivas 2005; LOC 2023). While the support provided by the Bracero Program was significant on a national level, it had a moderate impact in Utah, with only 600 to 700 braceros coming to the state for work between 1942 and 1964 (Iber 2008a:799).

From 1900 to 1942, Latinx people in Utah were primarily employed in agricultural work. Despite that, few historic examples exist of large-scale in-state agricultural enterprises with Latinx owners or directors, particularly in northern Utah (Gonzalez and Padilla 1984). After the first inland migration in 1900 from New Mexico, a continuous increase of Spanish-speaking individuals are found in the counties near Monticello, Utah (Gonzalez and Padilla 1984:10–11). Two areas are particularly notable for having large Latinx populations engaged in agriculture during this period: sheepherders in San Juan County and sugar beet workers (also known as *betabeleros*) in northern Utah, particularly in Box Elder County (Hovanes and Oliver 2021:E-25).

With the onset of World War II, some San Juan County Latinx residents began moving to northern Utah to take advantage of higher paying jobs in wartime industries. People moved to Carbon County for jobs in coal mines, to the copper mines in Bingham and military industry plants in the Salt Lake Valley, and to railroad shops in Ogden (Gonzalez and Padilla 1984:11). While the Latinx population in San Juan County decreased during World War II, the descendants of the early settlers were still living there in the late 1940s, and Latinx herders and ranch workers were present in the county until the 1960s (Hovanes and Oliver 2021:E-26; McConkie 2001).

Traditionally, the family was the fundamental focus of Latinx culture. Latinx settlers in Utah observed the birth of a child, the child's baptism, the relating of *cuentos* (folktales), the singing of sacred ballads, marriage customs, and the observance of seasonal religious holidays and funeral rites as communities (Gonzalez and Padilla 1984:12). The root of their cultural practice was deeply embedded in Mexican Spanish Catholicism and spread to their new homes in Utah. Since members of the Latinx community were primarily employed as farmers, a culture based on the harvest grew within this community. However, as employment became diversified and farming became a less common occupation after World War II, many rituals based on farming were gradually abandoned within the community.

E.3 Summary of Latinx History at the National and State Level (1943–1978)

National- and state-level events significant to Latinx history that occurred between 1943 and 1978 are summarized in Table 1; those pertinent to Latinx history in Utah are discussed in more detail in the next sections.

E.3.1 National-level Events

Over 500,000 Latinx in the United States, including 350,000 Mexicans and 53,000 Puerto Ricans, served in World War II and returned home with a feeling of newfound unity (National World War II Museum 2020). These Latinx veterans sought equal rights in the country they defended in the face of ongoing and mounting discrimination, which led to the formation of Latinx social, advocacy, and civic rights organizations. In 1944, Sen. Dennis Chavez of New Mexico introduced the first employment practices bill that prohibited discrimination against race, creed, or national origin (Learning for Justice 2024). Although the bill failed, it was a key influence on the later Chicano involvement in advocating for the Civil Rights Act of 1964. In 1948, Latinx veterans established the first organization for soldiers in Corpus Christi, Texas, the American G.I. Forum (AGIF). Eventually this organization was active in 23 states, including Utah. The AGIF in Utah independently tried to work towards social equality and creating opportunity for Latinx people, eventually merging with the Spanish-speaking Organization for Community, Integrity, and Opportunity (SOCIO) to work toward these goals on a unified platform.

In 1952 Cesar Chavez, a farmworker in Corcoran, California, began organizing anti-discrimination campaigns and directing voter registration drives. Ten years later, Chavez, along with experienced union worker Dolores Huerta, formed the National Farm Workers Association (NFWA), which later became the United Farm Workers of America (more commonly, the United Farm Workers [UFW]). The movement that emerged from these organizations was known as the Chicano Movement or El Movimiento. The Chicano Movement led to several public demonstrations, such as the East Los Angeles school walkouts in 1968 to remonstrate racial disparities in schools and the Chicano Moratorium in 1970 that protested the Vietnam War. El Movimiento was both a cultural and political movement that coincided with the Black Power movement; along with Chaves and Huerta, other prominent Chicanos in the movement included Reies Tijerina and Rodolfo Gonzales. These social organizations aimed to build a common Latinx solidarity and were most active among workers and students (Library of Congress [LOC] 2023).

In June 1963, prompted by massive resistance to desegregation and the murder of civil rights activist Medgar Evers in Mississippi, President John Kennedy asked Congress for a comprehensive civil rights bill. After Kennedy's assassination that November, President Lyndon Johnson pressed hard, with the support of Roy Wilkins and Clarence Mitchell, to secure the bill's passage the following year. In 1964, Congress passed PL 88-352 (78 Stat. 241). The Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibited discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin in hiring, promoting, and firing as well as in public accommodations and federally funded programs. It also strengthened the enforcement of voting rights and the desegregation of schools. While passage of the law did not result in immediate improvement of conditions for Latinx and other minorities—for example, racial discrimination remained prevalent in farming communities across the United States—it did provide traction to civil rights groups.

In the 1960s, the NFWA (later the UFW) attracted national headlines through a series of marches, national consumer boycotts, and fasts and gained labor contracts with higher wages and improved working conditions, galvanizing the Chicano Movement as Chavez worked toward a combined platform for people of all races. The United Farm Workers

Organizing Committee (UFWOC) was formed in 1966 as a collaboration between the Filipino Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC) and the NFWA. The union built partnerships with religious organizations, student and civil rights activists, and politicians, including Martin Luther King Jr. and Robert Kennedy. From 1966 to 1970, the UFWOC carried out a successful international consumer boycott on grapes by picketing outside grocery stores across the United States and Canada and spreading awareness about the movement in Europe. Subsequent boycotts and strikes against lettuce and strawberry growers followed. Strikes often led to law enforcement intervention, where farmworkers were beaten, jailed, or replaced by non-citizen laborers. Huerta is credited with negotiating thousands of labor contracts providing farmworkers with improved wages and working conditions (Michals 2015).

In 1965, a group of farmworkers primarily organized by AWOC and the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) organized a strike against table grape growers in Delano, California, to fight against the exploitation of farmworkers. The strike began on September 8, 1965, and 1 week later, the NFWA joined the cause. Chavez, then general director of the NFWA, led Latino and Filipino farmworkers on a historic 340-mile march from Delano to the state capitol in Sacramento. Spurred by the work of the AWOC, AFL-CIO, and NFWA, several state and national-level Latinx civil rights organizations were formed, including El Teatro Campesino (The Farmworker's Theater), founded in Delano by Luis Valdez and Agustin Lira during the Delano Grape Strikes as the cultural arm of the UFW (El Teatro Campesino 2024; Library of Congress 2023); and the multiethnic and inclusive Young Lords Organization/Party (YLO) based in Chicago in 1968 which later opened chapters in 30 cities across the United States (Fernandez 2023).

In 1972, the UFWOC renamed itself the UFW. By then, communities of farmworkers had been established across the country. In California, the UFW's newspaper *El Malcriado* (The Unruly One) informed the community and provided job openings and El Teatro Campesino offered short comedic skits performed by farmworkers. The UFW also established a federal credit union and union centers with medical care, pension, and voter registration services to its members. Chavez and the UFW combated the established agricultural labor system by developing a series of tactics and strategies similar to today's standard operating procedures for union movements and progressive groups in the United States. Community organizing, corporate campaigns, consumer boycotts, and a high level of political engagement were hallmarks of the UFW at the height of its creativity and power. Chavez and the UFW pioneered what is at the very least a commonplace aspiration for contemporary unionists: the idea of a union as a social movement. Not only did that small union organize the largest and most effective boycott since the colonists threw tea into Boston Harbor, it drove the enactment of a truly progressive labor law in an industry that bitterly resisted such a legislative innovation—California's Agricultural Labor Relations Act of 1975 (Lichtenstein 2013).

The inequality of education was a major focus for both the Chicano Movement and for Latinx individuals and groups collectively during the period between 1943 to 1978. The court cases and civil demonstrations aimed to cease the practices of segregation and bridge the gap between low-income Spanish-speaking communities and the more affluent Anglo-American ones around them. The federal court case *Mendez v. Westminster* (1947) found that segregation based on race in California schools was unconstitutional. *Mendez v. Westminster* later influenced the ruling on *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954. Further educational discrepancies, such as higher dropout rates and limited secondary schooling options for Latinx individuals in the 1960s, led over 15,000 students in East Los Angeles to walk out of classes in 1968. Other court cases drew attention to unequal school funding via local taxes where schools received significantly lower budgets in historically low-income Latinx communities. These court cases laid the foundational work for access to better and more equal education for the Latinx communities nationwide (LOC 2023).

Some Chicano/a and other civil Latinx groups sought not only better working and social conditions but restitution of land. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848) assured residents of land acquired from Mexico that they would become full and equal American citizens. However, U.S. government agencies often seized lands from Latinx owners. Later acts, such as

the Reclamation Act of 1902, exacerbated the issue by allowing more westward expansion by Anglo-American individuals and groups. In protest during the 1960s, Reies Tijerina and other Chicanos raided the courthouse in Tierra Amarilla, New Mexico, in 1967 to free detained members of La Alianza Federal de Mercedes and raise awareness of inequities related to New Mexico land grants. Puerto Ricans and Cubans were also very active in the U.S. East and North during this period (Learning for Justice 2023).

Immigration reform was another key advancement for Latinx people in the 1960s. Populations soared from 79,000 to 439,000 between 1960 and 1970, which led to the spread of Cuban culture in places like Florida (LOC 2023). The Cuban Adjustment Act, passed in 1966, allowed Cuban individuals to immigrate to the United States and earn residency after 1 year (Encyclopedia Britannica 2023). The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, known as the Hart-Celler Act, abolished quotas, opening the doors to "those who can contribute most to this country—to its growth, to its strength, to its spirit" (LBJ Presidential Library 2024). To support this new wave of immigrants, organizations such as the YLO sought to develop Latinx and especially Puerto Rican communities first in Chicago and then in cities like New York. The new law created a preference system that focused on immigrants' skills and family relations with citizens or U.S. residents. The act also helped a significant number of Latinx individuals to gain legal status as citizens in the United States. The large increase in the Latinx population is visible in U.S. censuses after 1960. According to the national statistics published in September 2002 by the U.S. Census Bureau, the total number of individuals of Hispanic origin in 1940 was 1,858,024, which increased to 14,608,673 by 1980 (Gibson and Jung 2002:19). The Latinx population increased eight times in 40 years from 1940 to 1980, and in 2020, 17.8 percent of the U.S. population was of Latinx ancestry (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics 2023).

E.3.2 State-level Events

Prior to 1943, the Latinx population in Utah was relatively small compared to other states. As was discussed in Part I of the MPDF (Historic Latinx Resources in Utah, 1776 to 1942), a small Latinx population was present in Utah in 1900, but the first significant patterns of migration did not begin until after 1910. Some significant events include that in 1912, mining company officials brought large numbers of Latinx strikebreakers (both from surrounding states and Mexico) to Utah in response to a labor strike at the Bingham Canyon copper mine west of Salt Lake City. The onset of the Mexican Revolution in 1910 further encouraged Mexican immigration to the United States and Utah during the 1910s and into the 1920s (Deutsch 1987:108). The increasing numbers of Latinx individuals in the state, particularly Mexicans, resulted in the creation of a Mexican consulate in Salt Lake City in 1912 (*Salt Lake Tribune* 1994).

It was not until after 1943 that Utah's Latinx population significantly increased again (Chavez and Partida 2020). As was discussed above, the U.S.'s Bracero Program, which allowed individuals from Latinx countries, particularly Mexico, to work and live in the United States to provide larger workforces for the U.S. war effort, increased Latinx populations around the nation, and Utah was no exception. In 1944, between 600 and 700 Mexicans were employed in agriculture in Utah; many Mexicans were also employed by the railroad, although in fewer numbers. Laborers from Puerto Rico and Jamaica also came to Utah during this period. The establishment of a Puerto Rican community is a direct result of Utah's wartime labor shortage. A number of Puerto Ricans recruited to work at the copper mine in Bingham Canyon settled there, including individuals identified as Mexican, Mexican American, and those from South and Central America (Mayer 1976:462). Immigrant Latinx workers in Utah usually had limited rights and only temporary resident status (Dantona 2023:5).

Although this and other national trends affected Utah Latinx populations, these individuals faced unique experiences within the state. In Utah, it was defense work—not agricultural work—that attracted the most attention of the Bracero

Program's participants; they accepted agricultural employment only while waiting for defense industry jobs to develop. Fewer Mexican laborers found employment in Utah through federal government initiatives than those in Texas, Colorado, or California. Frequently, Utah Bracero Program participants found a lack of adequate housing, with standards below those found in Idaho or California (Mayer 1976:462). (

During the 1940s and 1950s, several organizations were developed in Utah that reflect the unique voices of Latinx people in the state. The Centro Civico Mexicano (CCM) was organized in Salt Lake City in 1944, preserving the heritage of those Mexicans who came to Utah. La Sociedad Protección Mutua de Trabajadores Unidos (Mutual Protection Society of United Workers) was established in 1946 in Ogden by Demetrio Trujillo. This organization was a chapter of a larger fraternal society established in Colorado in 1900 and focused on the needs of Mexican American citizens, including some form of financial security. Another significant organization that developed within the state after World War II was the AGIF[ii], which began in Texas in 1947 to help Spanish-speaking veterans, with the first chapter in Utah organized in 1954. Soon after, this organization became one of the pioneer platforms to speak for the civil and political rights of the Latinx-American population within the state. La Sociedad Mexicana Cuauhtémoc was established in Helper in 1949 and La Sociedad Fraternal Benito Juarez was established in Ogden 1952. These organizations worked closely with the Mexican Consul in Salt Lake City and were oriented toward social and cultural activities, primarily for Mexican immigrants. Mutual aid and fraternal organizations such as the Cruz Azul and Comisión Honorifica Mexicana aided the Latinx population to adjust to a new and often hostile social environment.

Utah's Chicano civil rights movement developed under unique circumstances in comparison to the Chicano civil rights movement in other western states. While Chicanos outside Utah chose to march, boycott, and have sit-ins, those in Utah worked alongside government officials to accomplish their goals. The reformist nature of the movement in Utah had a distinct and tame tone in comparison to the revolutionary attitude that classified all other Chicano movements in the Southwest. The reason has been identified by scholars as the influence of the unique conservative nature of the State of Utah. To achieve recognition as a state in the 1896, the U.S. government required Utah to abandon its theocratic territorial government, formed by the Church of Jesus Christ, and adhere to federal laws and regulations. However, the theocratic nature of the state was preserved among its majority inhabitants and strongly influenced state policy and laws. By the 1960s, many Latinx families in Utah had converted to the Church of Jesus Christ, yet remained ostracized and deprived of minimum civil and social rights. To unite the Utah Latinx population, SOCIO[iii] deliberately chose a peaceful and collaborative stance instead of the more radical and aggressive approach common in other states (González 2013).

Latinx individuals came together in 1967 to discuss the inequality and other social issues faced by many in Spanish-speaking communities, and SOCIO was formed the following year (March 21, 1968) (Cunningham 1968:41). The first chapter of SOCIO was formally organized in 1968 with offices located on the University of Utah campus. Through this office, SOCIO developed programs directed at Utah's Hispanic community (González 2013:4) and became a catalyst to promote workplace equality and administer civil rights. SOCIO became a statewide organization by 1970. Through this organization, Utah's Latinx population worked alongside one another and government officials to improve their quality of life by creating opportunities that had previously not existed. The federal government's affirmative action initiative along with the Civil Rights Act of 1964 created the venues through which they could voice their frustrations and create the social change they needed. At the same time, other social, labor, and political organizations formed in Salt Lake City and around Utah that focused on specific aspects of the Latinx experience (Demas 2008). SOCIO accomplished much throughout the organization's two decades of existence and successfully implemented many of its original goals by 1986:

[ii] American G.I. Forum (AGIF)
[iii] Spanish-speaking Organization for Community, Integrity, and Opportunity (SOCIO)

an increased number of Hispanics worked in law enforcement and other governmental jobs; a dramatic expansion in the number of minority students at the University of Utah and the rest of the state's colleges and universities; and improved levels and effectiveness of social services for Utah's Spanish-speakers (González 2013:7). SOCIO was incorporated into the Utah state government as a means of broadening its social equality goals in order to encompass all minorities as part of its mission, which made it distinctly different from the ongoing Chicano civil rights movement elsewhere. At the same time, the incorporation weakened SOCIO's effectiveness as an independent organization that spoke for the Latinx community of Utah. The Catholic parish and mission of Guadalupe were at the center of SOCIO and the Latinx community in Salt Lake City (Meza 2022a).

E.4 Post–World War II Latinx Communities in Utah (1943–1978)

Prior to World War II, Latinx families in urban areas such as Ogden and Salt Lake City, as well as in rural areas around cities, were somewhat isolated from non-Latinx influences. Spanish was spoken at home and in church, with friends, and during celebrations. However, by the end of World War II, Latinx communities in Utah began to change (Mayer 1976).

With the onset of World War II, husbands and brothers were drafted, leaving some Latinas to move from agricultural and mining areas into Salt Lake City to work in war-related industries (Solórzano 2020). Approximately 30 percent of Latinx men in Utah signed up for military service, in addition to a large contingency of Hispanics from Carbon County (Solórzano 2014). At the same time, the shortage of working-age men in Utah led the state government to recruit hundreds of Puerto Ricans from New York, increasing the Spanish-speaking population in the state (Solórzano 2020).

> Like the Mexicans of the 1910s, Puerto Ricans in the 1940s were mainly single males who left their families behind. Not accustomed to mine labor or to intra ethnic [*sic*] conflicts with Mexicans, Mexican Americans, and Spanish Americans, most Puerto Ricans left the state and returned either to New York or to their homeland. Only ten Puerto Rican families settled down and remained in Utah. These families became very successful and were able to buy houses. A few of them became leaders in the civil rights movement of the 1960s and 1970s in Utah. (Solórzano 2020)

In the 1960s, the children of Latino miners, railroad workers, and migrant workers began attending colleges and universities in Utah. Although the first Latina had graduated from the University of Utah with a nursing degree in 1942, only 10 Latinx students were at the university in 1967. Financial support was a significant concern for Latino students, many of whom worked as "busboys in sorority houses, as janitors, as ditch-diggers for the county, or in similar jobs" (Solórzano 2020). Despite the hardships, education remained important, especially for Latinas, for whom education would be an asset for financial independence and who were traditionally the educators in their families and communities (Solórzano 2020).

The Chicano civil rights movement (Chicano Movement) in Utah solicited varying opinions from Latinx people in the state, depending on which group they identified with. While "Mexican nationals and Mexican Americans felt they had been subjected to high rates of discrimination in the workplace, schools, and political process . . . Spanish Americans in general denied that discrimination was prevalent in the state" (Solórzano 2020). An important advocate for Utah Latinos and their families was Father Jerald Merrill, who wished to "eliminate the divisions between Roman Catholics and Later-day Saints, Mexican Americans and Spanish Americans, and Latinos and Anglos" (Solórzano 2020).

The post–World War II society was comparatively active in all kinds of social, cultural, and civic activities. Hispanic society was typically patriarchal, but mothers were the mainstay of the family; in the post-war era, Hispanic women

started emerging as leaders in Honorific Societies, Centro Civico Mexicano, the LDS and Catholic Church. Children showed deep respect for their parents. Families were close-knit with a high sense of loyalty to one another and included not only parents and children but also grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins, godparents, and in-laws. One of the main responsibilities of the family was the chaperoning of unmarried daughters. Any hint of improper behavior on the part of girls reflected disgrace on their families and compromised their hope for good marriages (Vicente and Mayer 1976:445). Marriages and baptisms were celebrated with an abundance of food, drink, music, and dancing. Parties often began spontaneously in the back of Mexican shops or in houses. Sundays were for visiting. Summer days were largely spent under the shade of trees with lemonade to drink or, for the men, homemade wine or beer, if they had the money to buy it. The oral tradition was strong among Spanish speakers, and familiar stories were told whenever people gathered. By the mid-1970s, many Latinx parents feared that their children "were being Americanized and losing their roots and traditions" (Solórzano 2020). Older Latinx people were less bothered with their children and lacked willingness to push back against discrimination towards Latinx individuals and the Latinx community (Solórzano 2020).

E.4.1 In-Migration, Immigration, and Demographic Shifts (1940–1980)

Census data closely reflects patterns of in-migration and immigration as well as the changing conceptions of race and ethnicity at the national level. For example, the U.S. Census Bureau and other governmental agencies had long struggled with how to define the Latinx population. Generally speaking, in census data prior to 1930, the race listed for Latinx Utahns depended heavily on the census taker. In these censuses it is common for Latinx Utahns to be described as White, but designations as Black, Native American, or Mestizo are also common, with little indication available about how that designation was made (Hovanes and Oliver 2021:E-11). In 1930, the growing Latinx population on the national level, along with Anglo anxieties and the increasing cultural othering of Spanish speakers from Anglo conceptions of whiteness, resulted in the inclusion, for the first time, of "Mexican" as a racial category. This was intended to allow the U.S. Census Bureau to enumerate and gather information about the Latinx population specifically (Hovanes and Oliver 2021:E-11; Population Reference Bureau 2010).

The use of "Mexican" resulted in the social and political othering of Spanish speakers to an unprecedented degree: because Anglo-Americans identified all Spanish speakers as "Mexican" and because Mexicans by definition were not American, Anglo-Americans felt that Spanish speakers could not truly be citizens in the way that Anglos were (Deutsch 1987:126). During the 1940s, racial tension grew in Bingham Canyon between Hispanic citizens from New Mexico and Colorado and Mexican miners (Solórzano and Iber 2000:13). The "Mexican" category was dropped prior to the 1940 census due to politics (particularly pressure from New Mexico and Texas arising from fears about the civil rights implications of its inclusion), and no similar categories were included until 1970, when Hispanic heritage was included as a question on the census questionnaire.

Between 1950 and 1960, the Latinx population in Utah increased from 11,632 to 16,300 (Table 2) but dropped to 5,600 by 1970 (Gregory 2022). This decrease in population may be explained by the expansion of the Bingham Canyon mine that started using improved techniques and many camps have been swallowed by the expanded mine, which displaced many Latinx miners, or by the poor housing and labor conditions faced by Latinx migrant agricultural workers in Utah. By 1980, however, Utah's Latinx population had expanded to 59,900, a dramatic increase that may in part be explained by the introduction of "Hispanic" and "non-Hispanic" designations to the census in 1977 (Gratton and Merchant 2016:538; Gregory 2022; Population Reference Bureau 2010).

The majority of the Chicano population in Utah arrived from throughout the southwestern states, but primarily from southern Colorado and northern New Mexico. Chicanos moved from areas with little to no industry to northern Utah to

work in military installations and war-related manufacturing and mining. Chicano migration to Utah between the mid-1940s and the late 1970s was also associated with migrant agricultural labor. As urbanization and farm mechanization decreased agricultural employment throughout Utah, many Chicano migrant workers took up residence along the Wasatch Front (Ulibarri 1972).

E.4.1.1 1950 Census

The 1950 census identified the total population of the state of Utah as 688,862, of which 65.3 percent (449,855 persons) lived in urban areas, while 34.7 percent (239,007 persons) lived in rural areas. The urban population of the state increased by 107,025 between 1940 and 1950, the largest numerical increase in urban population in the history of the state. The population in rural areas also grew between 1940 and 1950 by 31,527 people (U.S. Census Bureau 1953a:XII).

Race, as defined in the 1950 U.S. census, was identified based on commonly accepted use of terminology as "reflected in the action of legislative and judicial bodies of the country" (U.S. Census Bureau 1953a:XVI). As such, Utah's population was categorized at the county level as "White" and "non-White," with non-White including "Negro," "Indian," Japanese, Chinese and "other races"; persons of Mexican (as identified by Census Bureau records) birth or ancestry who were not identified as Indian or as another non-White race, were categorized as White (U.S. Census Bureau 1953a:XVI).

Of the total statewide population, Latinx residents represented 1.9 percent (Gregory 2022) (see Table 2). Census records listed countries of birth for foreign-born White populations by county (Table 3). Of foreign-born residents in the state, individuals born in Mexico or Central or South America comprised less than 1 percent of the state's total population. Of the Latinx population of the state, individuals born in Mexico comprised 10.6 percent, while individuals born in Central or South America comprised 1.4 percent (Gregory 2022; U.S. Census Bureau 1953a:XII, 44-54). These foreign-born residents were primarily living in the urban areas of Salt Lake, Utah, and Weber Counties and counties with strong ties to mining, such as Carbon County, indicating that these individuals were working in postwar industrial jobs rather than agriculture (U.S. Census Bureau 1953a:44-54).

A special report was compiled of persons with Spanish surnames enumerated during the 1950 census for Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas. The report tabulates population and housing statistics for the White Spanish-American and Mexican American populations in selected areas of the southwestern United States (U.S. Census Bureau 1953b:3C-3); although Utah is not included in the selection, data associated with bordering states may be useful in contextualizing Latinx resources within Utah during the same period. Many Mexican Americans came to Utah during and after World War II from southern Colorado and northern New Mexico, finding employment in military-related industries such as manufacturing and mining (Ulibarri 1972). Analysis of the report may add to the understanding of the migration of these populations; the report has not been contextualized here due to time constraints. The 1950 census records did not identify employment by ethnicity and does not shed much light on the employment of Latinx residents in Utah at this time.

E.4.1.2 1960 Census

The 1960 census identified the total Utah population as 890,672, of which 74.9 percent (667,158 persons) lived in urban areas, while 25.1 percent (223,469 persons) lived in rural areas (U.S. Census Bureau 1961:46-9). Of the total population of the state, Latinx residents represented 1.8 percent (see Table 2) (Gregory 2022). Census records list 10 counties with 1,000 or more persons with foreign or mixed parentage and/or foreign-born persons (Table 4). Of the total Latinx population of the state, the Latinx population in these 10 counties represents 3.5 percent (Gregory 2022; U.S. Census Bureau 1961:46-135). Again, based on the 10 counties identified in the census, these foreign-born residents were

primarily living in urban areas of northern Utah; Spanish speakers identified in the census also followed this geographical pattern (U.S. Census Bureau 1961:46-135).

E.4.1.3 1970 Census

The 1970 census identified the total population of the state of Utah as 1,059,273, of which 80.4 percent (851,473 persons) lived in urban areas, while 19.6 percent (207,801 persons) lived in rural areas (U.S. Census Bureau 1973:46-3). The continued shift in population from rural to urban areas followed the continuing national trend. Of the overall population of the state in 1970, Latinx residents represented 0.5 percent (Gregory 2022; U.S. Census Bureau 1973:46-3). This drop in population may be explained by the expansion of the Bingham Canyon mine, which displaced many Latinx miners, or by the poor housing and labor conditions faced by Latinx migrant agricultural workers in Utah.

The White House instructed the Secretary of Commerce to add a Hispanic self-identification question to the 1970 census form. The question read, "Is this person's origin or descendent of — ?" The response categories used were "Mexican," "Puerto Rican," "Cuban," "Central or South American," "Other Spanish," and "No, none of these." As the largest estimated Hispanic populations in the United States at the time, Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Cuban origins were separately identified (U.S. Census Bureau 2015).

Although the Latinx identity was identified in the 1970 census, statistics on race or ethnicity at the county level are not available for Utah at this time beyond White, Negro, Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, or other (U.S. Census Bureau 1973:Chapter B). Other studies of ethnicity do capture a glimpse of minorities at a more localized level within Utah during the 1970s and later. Statewide, at least 3.5 percent of Utah's population in 1970 was Chicano. By 1972, most of Utah's ethnic minorities, with the exception of Native Americans, were concentrated along the Wasatch Front, within the urban areas of Salt Lake City and Ogden. Chicanos, along with African Americans, also tended to live in these areas, close to military installations where they were likely to find employment (Ulibarri 1972). At least 10 percent of Carbon County's residents have been categorized as Spanish speakers since 1970 (Solorzano, Ralph, and England 2010).

E.4.1.4 1980 Census

The 1980 census identified the total population of the state of Utah as 1,461,037, of which 84.4 percent (1,233,060 persons) lived in urban areas, while 15.6 percent (227,977 persons) lived in rural areas (U.S. Census Bureau 1983:46-3). While population movement from rural to urban areas slowed slightly, the trend was still typical of the country as a whole. Of the overall population of the state in 1980, Latinx residents represented 4.1 percent (Gregory 2022; U.S. Census Bureau 1973:46-3).

In 1977, the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) issued its Directive 15 policy on racial and ethnic classification for federal data, defining the basic racial and ethnic categories for federal statistics and program administrative reporting. The 1977 OMB race and ethnic standards maintain that ethnicity (e.g., "Hispanic" or "not Hispanic") is a separate and distinct concept from race (e.g., "White," "Black," "American Indian or Alaskan Native," or "Asian or Pacific Islander"). Therefore, individuals who are Hispanic may be of any race. In the 1980 census, the "Mexican" category was expanded to include Mexican, Mexican American., Chicano (U.S. Census Bureau 2015).

Statistical data on race and ethnicity at the county level for Utah are currently unavailable for the 1980 census.

E.4.2 Agriculture

Although Latinx agricultural workers in Utah likely comprised both state residents and migrants, the existing research focuses primarily on migrant agricultural workers. Consequently, this section focuses primarily on Latinx migrant agricultural workers—specifically, Hispanic, Mexican, Mexican American, and Puerto Rican workers.

The number of migrant farmworkers in the United States grew steadily after World War I, peaking in 1941 before declining significantly during World War II as a result of fuel rationing and a general labor shortage that opened up more stable employment options for workers (Fonce-Olivas 2005; LOC 2023). Additionally, when the United States joined World War II, many Mexican and Mexican American migrant workers were recruited by defense industries (Solórzano 2014). The Mexican Farm Labor Program (colloquially known as the Bracero Program) grew out of a series of bilateral agreements between the United States and Mexico. Formally established by executive order in 1942, the Bracero Program was signed into law in 1951 as PL 78 and continued to operate until its formal end in 1964 (Fonce-Olivas 2005; LOC 2023). Although the Bracero Program played a significant role in providing agricultural labor during World War II until the end of the program, the number of domestic migrant farmworkers grew again at the end of the war and remained significant into the 1970s (Nelson 1973:63–64).

By 1949, there were roughly 2,000 migrant farmworkers in Utah, 65 percent of whom were Spanish speakers. Their primary employers were sugar beet growers, who received a federal subsidy (paid by the U.S. government) of $50.00 for each worker they brought to Utah, but in 1949, federal agencies stopped subsidizing farm labor from Mexico (Nelson 1973:69; Solórzano 2014). Utah growers, faced with the increased cost of employing Mexican nationals, turned their attention toward domestic migrant workers who were already traveling through Utah to work in other states. Although "recruitment arrangements with the states of Texas and California were formalized and accounted for fifty percent of Utah's migrant work force," Utah growers worked aggressively to attract domestic workers; as a result, no Mexican farmworkers were brought to Utah in 1949 (Nelson 1973:69). However, Utah was competing with other southwestern states for agricultural workers, and living conditions in the migrant camps in Utah did not entice workers (Solórzano 2014).

Inadequate housing discouraged many migrant agricultural workers from seeking full-time employment in Utah in the 1950s and remained an issue well into the 1970s (Nelson 1973). In June 1965, Ester Petersen, assistant secretary of labor, visited migrant farmworker camps in Box Elder County, accompanied by local representatives of the Box Elder Migrant Worker Council, the Community Action Program committee, and the League of Women Voters. Petersen, having toured camps in other states, found living conditions in the camps shocking. Petersen communicated President Lydon Johnson's concern over the migrant worker population and the lack of inclusion in assistance programs, indicating that the responsibility for inclusion lay at the federal level. Additionally, Petersen indicated that "such federal programs required local initiative and commended the Migrant Worker Council for its firm beginning in Box Elder County in sponsoring educational and health programs" (*Box Elder News* 1965).

Migrant workers in Utah consisted typically of Mexican Americans from Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona; however, Navajo and Hopi workers also played a large role in Utah agriculture, with recruitment of Navajo workers increasing in the 1950s (Nelson 1973:63–64). In 1949, 700 Spanish-speaking Americans from the Rio Grande Valley in Texas were recruited to Utah farms by the Utah State Employment Service and independently by Utah sugar beet growers and processors (Nelson 1973:68–70).

In 1950, roughly 800 domestic workers were brought to Utah from Arizona and Texas through the USES, most of whom were Navajo (Nelson 1973:68–70); no Mexican farmworkers came to Utah in 1950 (Solórzano 2014). Hispanic communities established in areas adjacent to sugar beet production, such as around Garland in northern Utah, also continued to be a source of agricultural labor, although crop harvest was increasingly done by machine (Nelson 1973:68–70).

> In 1951, 4,500 transient and migratory workers consisting largely of Mexican Americans from Texas came to Utah and contacted the United States Employment Service. Of these, 2,400 had pre-determined destinations in other states and sought only short-term employment or accepted none at all. Of the remaining 2,100, the majority contacted United States Employment Service offices (in order of volume) located in Salt Lake City, Ogden, Brigham City and Cedar City. (Nelson 1973:71)

Farm worker migration patterns remained consistent from the 1950s well into the 1970s (Nelson 1973:68). Generally speaking,

> these migrants entered in the east central part of the state from Colorado, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, New Mexico and (primarily from) Texas. Another smaller group arrived in the northeastern part of Utah from Wyoming, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, and Colorado. The primary migratory flow out of Utah was over Highways 91, 191 and 30 in north Utah for points in Idaho, Oregon and Washington, the majority of workers destined for Idaho. U.S. Route 40 was the route for migrants traveling to points in Nevada and central California, and Utah State Route 11 in southwestern Utah for points in Southern California. (Nelson 1973:68)

During and after World War II, many of these workers came to Utah seeking employment in the defense industries along the Wasatch Front and "accepted agricultural employment only while waiting for such jobs to develop and in almost all cases they found a lack of adequate housing; with standards evidently below those they would find in Idaho or California" (Nelson 1973:71). Housing provided by sugar beet companies in Sevier and Sanpete Counties was especially inadequate, lacking basics such as indoor plumbing. Additional deterrents for migrant workers in Utah included a "lack of safe transportation, healthcare services, and educational opportunities for their children" (Solórzano 2014).

In response to multiple complaints, the Mexican Consulate spearheaded an investigation into the living conditions of migrant farmworkers and discovered blatant violations of housing codes, unfair wage practices, and labor abuses. In 1957, Utah state government, through the USES instituted the Annual Worker Plan to monitor living and working conditions for migrant agricultural workers. The plan turned attention from growers to crew leaders; showing their disapproval of state policies, Utah growers began arranging labor contracts and transporting migrant workers independently of the state. The federal Migration Act of 1958 "prohibited unlawful employment, assured fair conditions, and demanded that growers and farm organizations maintain a record of wages paid to domestic and foreign agricultural laborers" (Solórzano 2014). The effects of the law were clear. In 1957, around 2,000 migrant farmworkers were reported in Utah; in 1958, the number jumped to over 9,000 (Solórzano 2014).

Unlike neighboring states, Utah did not regulate transportation or housing for migrant workers until 1960, when the Utah Highway Patrol, the Utah Department of Employment Security, and the Utah Department of Health began monitoring these conditions, finding that labor standards had been violated in 50 percent of the 826 cases that had been investigated (Solórzano 2014). Although the minimum wage for agricultural workers in Utah was above $1.00 an hour in 1961 and $1.12 an hour in 1962, and the minimum wage in Arizona, Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, and Texas was less than

$1.00 an hour, agricultural workers in Utah were sometimes paid less than the minimum wage (Nelson 1973:73–98; Solórzano 2014).

As the Bracero Program came to an end in 1964, Congress passed the Farm Labor Contractor Registration Act, aimed at protecting domestic migrant workers from exploitation, improving contractual arrangements between workers and employers, and providing better job continuity for workers through on-the-job training. Additionally, the legislation required background checks for workers and crew leaders to carry insurance compliant with interstate commerce regulations and offered a mechanism to connect workers with Federal Housing Administration grants for housing (Nelson 1973:102–104). This legislation appears to have played out in Utah through state agencies, which provided oversight for healthcare services and improved housing conditions; additionally, the Chicano Movement provided advocacy to improve conditions for migrant workers in the state (Solórzano 2014).

Despite legislation and advocacy, the 1971 Utah annual farm labor report indicated that 98 percent of housing for migrant agricultural workers in Utah was substandard. Growing out of programs created by SOCIO[iv], the Institute for Human Resource Development (IHRD) was significant in advocating and working to improve conditions for migrant workers in the 1970s and into the 1980s. IHRD received funding through the Utah State Office of Rehabilitation to assist migrant workers who were injured on the job; the Utah Migrant Council and the Migrant Head Start program both emerged from IHRD. Other Utah organizations working to improve conditions for migrant farmworkers in the state included the Governor's Advisory Committee on Migrant Labor and the Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA) program (an AmeriCorps program) (Solórzano 2014).

A 1973 interview with Silviano Gonzales, director of the Utah County office of the Utah Migrant Council in Payson, identified difficulties faced by Chicano, Kickapoo, and Navajo migrant farmworkers in Utah, decent housing and fair wages being of the most concern. Farmworkers would come each year as early as February to assist with sugar beet planting and stay as late as December to chop field corn, with the peak season in July and August coinciding with cherry and peach harvests. While some farmers provided adequate accommodations, most farmworkers lived in "shacks and chicken coops," laboring 14 to 16 hours a day (Stout 1973).

In 1971 approximately 3,800 migrant laborers accepted seasonal employment through the USES in Utah (American West Center 1973). Although there was a shortage of farmworkers in the early 1970s, migrant workers' wages averaged an astonishingly low rate of 2 to 6 cents per pound of fruit harvested. While fruit prices increased, the additional profits were typically reinvested in mechanization, reducing the need for farmworkers. Adding to the pressure of low wages, undocumented foreign nationals would often do farm labor for less money, diminishing the bargaining power of migrant farmworkers. Noting that many area farmers did not have a favorable opinion of the Utah Migrant Council, as many viewed the council as trying to unionize migrant farmworkers and typically not amenable to discussions around substandard housing, Gonzales indicated that the council was working to assist both the farmers and farmworkers. In resolving housing issues, Gonzales indicated support from the council for a plan that would establish migrant housing camps in the area using federal funds, substantially increasing the collective bargaining power of farmworkers (Stout 1973).

[iv] Spanish-speaking Organization for Community, Integrity, and Opportunity (SOCIO)

E.4.3 Commerce

The Latinx community in Utah was largely invested in agriculture and mining until the mid-twentieth century. The available historic record indicates that the most common businesses after World War II within the Latinx community were related to the service industry. As evident in census data and newspaper advertisements, Mexican restaurants were common in the Salt Lake City area after World War II. The Tampico, identified in newspaper ads as a Mexican American restaurant, was operating at 167 Regent Street in Salt Lake City in 1946 (*Salt Lake Telegram* 1946), and El Charro Café opened in downtown Salt Lake City at 148 E. 200 South in 1948 (*Deseret News* 1948). Rafael Alverez Torres migrated from Mexico at the age of 17 and worked different jobs before opening El Charro Café, which he operated for 20 years in the downtown location (Torres 1984). His son Rey later moved the restaurant to the west side of the Salt Lake Valley before closing it. Rafael Torres opened another restaurant in 1967 on State Street near 7200 South in Midvale named El Farol (The Lantern) that became instantly popular. El Farol was operated by Torres's son Elias and his wife; the location was changed in 1992 to 115 W. 7200 South. The restaurant had a running policy to serve free meals to Latter-day Saint missionaries. In 2006, Elias turned over El Farol to his daughter, Dolores Medina, and her husband, Roberto. Another child of Rafael Torres, Regina, and her husband, Jose Chavez, opened Rafael's restaurant in 1979 at Union Station in Sandy, which is still operating but in a new location at Quarry Bend shopping center in Sandy (Walsh 2008). The Torres family also owned an import store named El Americado, adjacent to their restaurant on the corner of 800 South and West Temple (Lobato 1984).

Maria Cardenas with her husband bought the Casa Grande in the late 1960s and later Red Iguana restaurant in 1985 (Governor's office of Economic Opportunity, Utah 2022) in Salt Lake City. Cardenas, born in Chihuahua, Mexico, immigrated to the United States in 1953 at the age of 29. In 1957, she married Ramon Cardenas in San Francisco, and the couple became partners in the restaurant business, moving to Salt Lake City in 1965 (*Salt Lake Tribune* 2002). Another restaurant, La Morena Café, opened as part of the Guadalupe Center in 1969, operating until 1986 (Meza 2022b). La Morena Café became the cradle for Utah's Latino civil rights movement in the 1960s through the 1980s.

El Rancho Cordova Mexican Restaurant was another Latinx-owned business in Salt Lake City. Established by Alfred R. and Ellen (Nellie) Musgrave Cordova in the 1940s, this restaurant was in business for a long time. Alfred worked as a recruiter in an employment agency in Salt Lake City named Pino Agencies and bought the agency from its owner Mrs. Pino in 1929 after the death of her husband, the original owner. Alfred converted part of the office into a grocery store at 462 W. 200 South, opening the restaurant about a decade later. After the death of Alfred and Ellen, their son Carl Cordova and his wife, Mary Edgar, ran the restaurant (Cordova 1985).

The mention of renowned Salt Lake City barber Samuel Garcia is found in the interview of Mr. Silas Lobato in the Hispanic Oral Histories Collection 1984-1987, J. Willard Marriott Digital Library, University of Utah. Garcia was of Mexican origin and owned a four-chair barber shop at 200 E. 100 South in the late 1940s. He learned and practiced the trade in the Bingham Canyon mining community before opening his successful business in Salt Lake City. Samuel Garcia also led Sammy G's Band. His apprentice and musician, Silas Lobato (of Mexican heritage), opened his own barber shop in 1954 as well as a shoe-shining stand. He opened a second barbershop at 162 W. South Temple. Lobato remained in business until about the late 1980s (Lobato 1984).

In an oral history, Roberto Nieves, a significant figure in Utah civil rights, discussed his business activities in the state. Born in Puerto Rico, he emigrated to New York during the Great Depression in 1936. That same year, he came to Blanding, in southeastern Utah, under the voluntary government work relief program of the Civilian Conservation Corps

(CCC) and stayed there for 3 1/2 years. After returning from the U.S. Navy, he opened his first business—a restaurant—in Monticello in 1947. Over time, he invested in a hotel, several restaurants, and bars in different parts of Utah. One of his profitable businesses was a summer resort near Monument Valley, which he operated for 11 years. The resort was a combination bar, restaurant, and 26-room motel. In his oral history, Nieves recalled that the motel was the only place where people could stay near Monument Valley during the busy season when many western and action movies were produced in the area. Nieves operated various businesses for about 21 years until he fell physically ill; he invested his later years in organizing Latinx communities under SOCIO[v] (Nieves 1985).

Variety in Latinx businesses is not seen in the historical sources. Even though the Latinx population was greatly involved in farming and mining, no associated businesses operated or owned by Latinx individuals were found during research. However, the known businesses that grew and flourished between the 1940s and the 1970s have a deep connection to the ongoing civil rights movements of the time. Many business owners were directly involved with the ongoing peaceful civil rights activities in Utah and raised their voices in favor of Latinx rights. The use of Latinx-owned business spaces for different community activities was very common. The famous La Morena Café, owned by Mr. and Mrs. Cruz Garcia and integrated in the Guadalupe Center, was one of the best examples of such a place. Although this cafe was eventually demolished, its role as an organizing and meeting space for the workers of SOCIO and a place of enlightenment about Latinx culture is worth mentioning (McDonald 2015).

E.4.4 Education

The Latinx people of Utah have traditionally viewed education as a means to elevate themselves from poverty, isolation, and marginalization. In the state, the issues surrounding education have been entwined with a variety of other concerns, including religious affiliation and racial segregation (Solórzano 2006:283). For example, in the 1930s, looking for alternatives to public schools, where Latinx children were often marginalized based on their religion and ethnicity, Latinx parents began sending their children to Catholic schools, such as the Notre Dame school in Carbon County (Solórzano 2006:291–292). Although large numbers of Latinx children began attending the school in 1942, discrimination was still prevalent. To combat racism and stereotypes, school officials and teachers developed a curriculum that taught students the history of their native countries, which in turn "helped prepare Hispanic children to combat the misunderstandings and stereotypes carried by their non-Hispanic classmates" (Solorzano et al. 2010). Parents of children enrolled at the Notre Dame school were expected to volunteer regularly at the school. Latinx, particularly Latina mothers, interacted with people of other ethnicities, making the school a place for the preservation of Latinx traditions, while also allowing Latino/as entrance into the larger diverse community (Solorzano et al. 2010).

Even with the rise in attendance of Latinx children in religious schools, some parents still sent their children to public schools, and in 1940, more than 30 percent of students in Carbon County, both in public and religious schools, were Latinx (Solórzano 2006:291–292). Public schools, however, often placed overwhelming emphasis on Church of Jesus Christ history, and prejudice against Latinx students was just as widespread (Solórzano 2006:291–292; Solorzano et al. 2010).

> During the 1940s, more Latino students were registered in Utah's public schools and issues of racism and stereotyping became more prevalent the marginalization. The denial of Latino students' identity, and the

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> use of racial identifiers foreign to their experience had a strong impact on their school performance. (Solórzano 2006:292)

Unlike other areas in the western United States and across the country, Utah's Latinx students were not segregated from their Anglo-American peers due to a lack of resources for the construction of separate facilities as well as pressure from the Department of Education at the federal level to develop a non-discriminatory educational system (Solórzano 2006:294). However, Spanish-speaking students were not treated or expected to perform as equals to their Anglo-American classmates (Iber 2000:70). In states like California, Mexican students were educated in their own schools, funded by citrus and other agricultural growers. In Utah, mining and railroad companies had no interest in educating the children of their Mexican workers. However, Mexicans created their own schools with their own resources, as was the case in rural mining areas such as Bingham and in Salt Lake City. The common cause of Mexican schools was to cement cultural identity among Mexicans in Utah and "to combat the stereotypes of local communities who identified Mexicans as revolutionaries, troublemakers, and outlaws" (Solórzano 2006:293–294). As exemplary as these schools may have been, they could not survive without support from the state educational system. Latinx students still faced religious and ethnic bias in the public school system. At the end of the 1950s, Salt Lake School District officials estimated that 67 percent of Latinx students dropped out before finishing high school (Solórzano 2006:294–295).

In the 1950s, the Catholic Diocese of Salt Lake built an elementary school on the city's west side in honor of Bishop Glass (Iber 2000:82); however, lack of educational infrastructure to facilitate public education was a concern throughout Utah. In 1957, to alleviate extreme overcrowding at Clearfield Elementary School (Clearfield Elementary), the principal of the school proposed using three rooms in the administration building of the Anchorage federal housing development, located on Antelope Drive in Clearfield (Gatherum 1987). Roughly 69 percent of the families living in the development were Mexican (Smith 1969:113), and many of the students at Clearfield Elementary were residents of the development (Gatherum 1987). In a meeting with parents of the Anchorage school students, it was decided that the Clearfield Elementary principal would select the students to attend the Anchorage school. Students for three split-grade classes (first and second, third and fourth, and fifth and sixth) were selected, and by all accounts, the system worked well. Students walked to and from school and went home for lunch as there were no cafeteria facilities available. Furnishings, supplies, and textbooks were the same at both schools; at the Anchorage school, playground facilities consisted of a grassy area as well as a hard surface area with four-square and a basketball court. Classes were held at the Anchorage school for 3 years, until Doxey Elementary School opened, alleviating overcrowding and the need for the Anchorage school (Gatherum 1987).

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, the lack of educational opportunities for their children was also a significant concern for migrant workers (Nelson 1973:71). In the late 1960s, efforts were made to improve education for migrant children. In 1969, the Utah Migrant Council received $24,466 in grant funding from the Office of Economic Opportunity to develop summer Head Start programs. The program would facilitate Head Start opportunities in Box Elder, Cache, Davis, and Salt Lake Counties (*Salt Lake Times* 1969).

The educational disparity between Latinx students in Utah and their classmates continued throughout the 1960s, with nearly half of all Spanish-speaking students dropping out of school in 1969. Founded in the late 1960s, SOCIO's[vi] initial activities focused on improving conditions for Spanish-speaking students in Utah schools (Meza 2022c):

> SOCIO helped increase the number of children attending school through proposals to implement bilingual programs, hire bilingual teachers, and address the specific needs of minority children. This raised the ratio

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> of minority teachers by 263 percent in a span of just 5 years. They also succeeded in creating leadership opportunities for Hispanics and increased the number of Spanish-speaking persons on the Salt Lake School District Board of Education. (Meza 2022c)

SOCIO continued its efforts well into the 1970s, using its significant grassroots lobbying power to address the consistently high rate of Latinx student dropping out. Noting the lack of minorities at the University of Utah, where Chicano students made up only .02 percent of the student body, SOCIO lobbied for the use of leftover state funds as scholarships for underrepresented populations. Within a week, a bill was passed by the Utah Senate mandating funding for the scholarship program (Meza 2022c).

Developing congruently with SOCIO in the late 1960s and early 1970s was the recognition of Chicano studies and the place of Latinx history within the history of the American West. Through specialization in Chicano studies, historians sought to dispel historically negative stereotypes of Mexican Americans. Early works in the field tended to focus on the "significance and activities of organizations such as unions, mutual aid societies, church groups and other entities as vehicles of resistance to Anglo oppression in the workplace and daily life" (Iber 2008b).

E.4.5 Industry

The Latinx population of Utah was largely engaged in farming and the mining industry prior to World War II. During the war, however, war-related manufacturing jobs increased dramatically and many Latinx people, both men and women, moved to Utah for work.

E.4.5.1 Manufacturing

Utah had the highest concentration of wartime workers in the United States, employing many marginalized workers to meet production demands. Between 1940 and 1945, Latinx people were drawn to Salt Lake, Weber, Davis, Tooele, and Carbon Counties by employment opportunities in military depots, manufacturing, transportation, and mining. With the establishment and expansion of military installations in the state during World War II, along with production increases for war-related industries, nearly 50,000 new jobs were created. For example, operation demands at Hill Air Force Base in Davis County required 15,000 civilian workers and the Remington Small Arms Plant in Salt Lake City employed 10,000 civilian workers; the manufacturing output in Utah increased by nearly 200 percent between 1939 and 1945 (Iber 2000:57; Murphy 2005:207–208). Additionally, workers were in demand at canning factories to meet the increased need for processed food created by the war. Many of the workers recruited to fill these positions were women, including Hispanic women (Murphy 2005:207–208). Northern Utah manufacturing companies and other businesses that employed Spanish-speaking women included Purity Biscuit, Utah Poultry, Sweet Candy, Hotel Utah, American Laundry, and Star Laundry; some Hispanic women transitioned into higher paying jobs traditionally held by men in industry, transportation, and military facilities (Iber 2000:58–59).

After World War II, local manufacturing and public sector work expanded in northern Utah. Additionally, defense industries, spurred by the Cold War, maintained their production pace, and by 1963, more than 17,000 Utah residents were employed in defense-related industries. These economic opportunities, however, did not necessarily extend to Utah's Spanish-speaking population. Although Latinx individuals had played a significant role in the wartime economy and national defense, many Anglo-Americans in Utah expected employment patterns to return to prewar normalcy (Iber 2000:67).

> After 1945 many Spanish speaking people expected their nation to expand opportunities as a reward for their wartime efforts and sacrifices . . . returning veterans (and other elements within the Hispanic communities of the United States) refused to settle for less than full citizenship. Many Salt Lake City and Ogden clusters hoped to build upon wartime gains and achieve equal treatment in employment, education, and housing. (Iber 2000:67)

A 1947 study of Spanish-surnamed individuals in Salt Lake City, representing nearly 40 percent of the estimated Latinx population in the city, reflected the significant inflow of Mexicans, Mexican Americans, and *manitos* (Hispanics from New Mexico and Colorado) into the city during World War II. In 1944, the Tooele Ordnance Depot, facing an acute labor shortage, recruited personnel in New Mexico. Both Native Americans and Chicanos were brought to Tooele, and many still resided there into the 1970s (Ulibarri 1972:231–232). Manitos identified themselves as distinct from Mexicans and Mexican Americans. Within the study group, the typical employment was as a common laborer, although many workers identified as such were engaged in semi-skilled and skilled labor. Hispanic individuals born in the United States were generally employed as common laborers. Other common work included domestic workers and retail clerks. While some Hispanics had moved into higher paying jobs, the majority continued to work in lower level and lower paying positions (Iber 2000:68–69).

Utah's postwar expansion in manufacturing allowed limited advancement for Hispanic workers, and while Hispanics in northern Utah did make economic gains in the 1950s and 1960s, as a group the average median income was still well below countywide averages for Salt Lake, Weber, Tooele, Davis, and Utah Counties (Iber 2000:72–73).

E.3.4.2 Mining

Shortly after members the Church of Jesus Christ settled in Utah in the late 1840s, they started salt mining. Soon coal was discovered in Summit, Sanpete, and Iron Counties. Coal production reached its peak shortly after 1882, when the Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad laid its tracks into Carbon County, attracting many inland migrants and immigrants to Utah until the Great Depression. Copper mining began in Utah in the nineteenth century, and during World War II the uranium deposits in the state began to be exploited.

With the start of World War II, metal prices rose in response to war demands. In 1943, the Utah copper industry—specifically, the Utah Kennecott Copper mine—produced over 323 million tons of copper at a value of over $84 million. Utah's copper production grew to the point that one-third of all the copper used by allied countries was produced in the state. Although postwar mine production dropped slightly, by 1950, Salt Lake City had the "greatest concentration of nonferrous mining, smelting and refining industries in the nation" (Lemmons 2008:22). Out of this growth, new mineral processing plants were developed by Utah Copper Company, Kennecott Copper, and American Smelting and Refining, representing nearly $15 million in expansion (Iber 2000:57; Solórzano 2014). In response to increased mine production associated with the war, Spanish-speaking miners who had left Utah in the 1930s returned to the state. These *trabajadores*, rather than immigrating from Mexico as had been the case in the 1910s, came from rural farming villages in northern New Mexico and southeastern Colorado (Iber 2000:55–56; Solórzano 2014). Also, unlike earlier Hispanic mine workers, these workers were married, presumably had families, and were more resolute to staying in Utah. A significant number of Hispanics and Mexicans were drawn to northern Utah refineries, mines, and smelters; many also worked in the coal mines in Carbon County, although this work was not preferred due to the comparatively low salaries. Latinx miners during the 1940s were somewhat more successful in achieving a better economic status by working different sectors than their predecessors in the 1910s and 1920s (Solórzano 2014).

Although the Bracero Program was important on a national level for the wartime support it provided both agriculture and industry, as well as its role as the largest guest worker program in the country's history, it had only a moderate impact in Utah. Many states in the West brought in significant numbers of braceros, but Utah saw the arrival of only 600 to 700 workers (Iber 2008:799). While this represented a large proportional increase in the Latinx population of the state, it was far smaller numerically than other states, such as California. In Utah,

> the principal attraction for Spanish-surnamed individuals was the proliferation of industrial, mining, and railroad work. Not surprisingly, the majority of new arrivals lived in the state's urban core and toiled for large companies such as Remington (in Salt Lake City); U.S. Steel Geneva Works (in Provo); Utah Copper and Kennecott Copper (in Bingham Canyon, a western suburb of the capital); the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad (in Salt Lake City); and the Union Pacific Railroad (in Ogden). (Iber 2008:799)

Under Operation Bootstrap, a program administered by the War Manpower Commission, in cooperation with the Puerto Rican government, workers from Puerto Rico came to work in Utah's mines. The program had begun under the auspices of Gov. Luis Muñoz Marín as a way for Puerto Rico to support the war effort and to reduce unemployment and modernize Puerto Rico's economy (Fernandez 2010:15; Toro 2023). Bingham Canyon mining companies brought hundreds of workers from Puerto Rico and New York in 1943. *Islanderos*, those workers from Puerto Rico, were typically single, without their families, and transient and worked the most physically demanding and lowest-paying jobs in the mines, much like Mexican and Mexican American trabajadores during the 1910s and 1920s (Iber 2000:60–61; Solórzano 2014). The Kennecott mine recruited Puerto Rican workers in part because they wanted to employ U.S. citizens. The first group of 100 Puerto Ricans to arrive in Bingham Canyon took up residence in the Bingham Hotel as well as in the towns of Highland Boy and Copperton. Appalled by the working conditions and the absence of Puerto Rican or Latinx cultural identity in the landscape, the majority of these workers left within the first week; out of the second group of 100, only 10 stayed (Solórzano 2014).

During World War II, it is estimated that the population of Bingham Canyon was at least 65 percent Latinx. By the 1940s, Latinx miners in Bingham Canyon, those who had worked in the mines for almost 20 years, began purchasing modest homes that were often in substantial disrepair in Dinkeyville, Bingham, Copperton, and Highland Boy. Others purchased apartment buildings and rented units to bachelors. Many Latinx miners enjoyed living in the diverse mining towns, which were also home to Italian, Yugoslavian, Greek, Mexican, Georgian, and Armenian workers (Solórzano 2014). The few Puerto Ricans who stayed in Utah

> seemed to get along with the Japanese, Greeks, Italians, and Native Americans. Initially, they did not notice any differences between Bingham's Hispanos and Mexicans. As far as most were concerned, all Spanish speakers shared the same language and professed the Catholic Faith. (Solórzano 2014)

However, tensions between Puorto Ricans and other Latinx groups did arise:

> Puerto Ricans spoke Spanish differently and had different cultural practices. Fights occurred regularly at dances when Mexican girls refused to dance with the Puerto Ricans, or when a Mexican teenager danced with a Puerto Rican. Even the clothing worn by Puerto Ricans caused controversy. (Solórzano 2014)

Hispanics and Mexicans in Bingham Canyon had distanced themselves from Puerto Ricans by the mid-1940s. In addition to cultural differences, socioeconomic and religious differences played a role:

> Some Spanish speakers who had been in Bingham since the 1920s had acquired small amounts of real estate, moved into higher paying positions, and even started small businesses. Higher-paying jobs such as foreman, brakeman, and driver were primarily awarded according to length of service. Therefore, a clear occupational hierarchy separated veterans and newcomers. (Solórzano 2014)

Most Hispanic workers started as track workers, but even by the 1950s, the highest position reached by most Hispanics in the mines was the monkey slot in the powder gangs, a dangerous position that required scaling down steep banks to place blasting powder for the removal of rock (Iber 2000:74). Between the mid-1940s and mid-1960s, Hispanic and Mexican miners in Carbon County were typically assigned to the most high-risk jobs, resulting in high numbers of casualties (Solorzano et al. 2010). When the dangerous work did not result in promotions to better positions, many Spanish-surnamed employees joined unions. One of those unions in the Bingham Canyon mines was the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers. While the national organization had ties to Marxist groups, local members concerned themselves with pay scales, safety, promotions, and work rules (Iber 2000:74); in Carbon County, many Hispanics joined the United Mine Workers of America (UMW) (Solorzano et al. 2010).

Death and injuries to men working in the mines, as well as other economic pressures, changed the traditional roles of Hispanas (Latinas) in Carbon County (Solorzano et al. 2010):

> When work in the mines slowed down or when their husbands became unemployed, Hispanas provided supplemental income, and in many instances became the main wage earners. As a general rule women did not work in the mines, however, Hispanas worked in the local hospitals, salons, as secretaries, housecleaners, and cooks. Some Hispanic women left Carbon County to support their children who wanted to enroll in institutions of higher education in other parts of the state, while their husbands stayed in Carbon County working in the mines. (Solorzano et al. 2010)

By 1980, Hispanics in Carbon County started moving past social and political boundaries, and some were recognized for their work with the UMW and other political organizations to improve conditions for Hispanic workers and residents in the county (Solorzano et al. 2010).

E.3.4.3 Railroads

Latinx workers were not significantly represented amongst railroad crews in Utah during the nineteenth century, but during the twentieth century, they became one of the largest ethnic groups working on the railroads. Three railroad companies in Utah were the primary employers for Latinx railroad workers: the Union Pacific Railroad (Union Pacific), the Central Pacific Railroad, and the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad (Solórzano 2014:71). The physical spaces associated with the lives of traqueros and their families were frequently in close proximity to railroads, railroad sidings, tracks, and stations (Iber 1998:162–163; Solórzano 2014:74). Often Latinx communities with railroad workers are located along key railroad routes, such as those in Milford or Ogden, or those in Tooele or Box Elder Counties (Solórzano 2014:75). Housing patterns associated with Latinx railway workers often overlap with those of the mining communities. Oral histories recorded by the University of Utah indicate a pattern of small clusters of independent ethnic groups, with schools, grocery stores, and playgrounds being communal meeting places. The tension between Mexicans and Mexican Americans who had settled in these areas earlier and later immigrants from Mexico, tended to be more visible than tensions between different ethnic groups or nationalities. Furthermore, tensions prevailed between Latinx members of the Church of Jesus Christ and Latinx members of the Catholic community, who were not viewed with the same European lens as were Catholics from non-Spanish countries (Norbert 1985).

Starting in the 1910s, Latinx laborers began to work for various railroads in Utah (Solórzano 2014:71). While World War I spurred economic development in many areas, the conclusion of hostilities resulted in a slump in the rail transportation industry that by 1921 caused layoffs and cutbacks. However, railroads rebounded during the late 1920s, and Latinos began to make up a significant and growing proportion of traqueros for many railroads (Iber 1998:160, 162). The number of Latinx railroad workers in Utah during World War II increased significantly. These workers came from Texas, Colorado, and New Mexico, and by 1942, Latinos outnumbered any other ethnic group working for the railroads in Utah. Utah rail lines were carrying soldiers, passengers, freight, and army equipment, with 120 trains arriving daily at the Salt Lake and Ogden terminals (Solórzano 2014). By the 1950s, railroads had become inefficient and expensive to maintain. The few jobs common among the Latinx population in this region were track changer, fire cleaner, supply man, or coal heaver. Once the diesel engine replaced the steam engine in the 1950s, the job of fire cleaner or fire builder became obsolete. As the railroad became a more expensive form of transportation, the layoff of field workers became a persistent problem for Latinx workers, and eventually a large number of these workers switched to other jobs or moved to larger cities such as Salt Lake City; smaller mining and railway towns that had been predominantly Latinx lost their populations (Solórzano 2014).

E.4.6 Neighborhoods

By the 1940s, many of the residents living on the west side of Salt Lake City had Spanish surnames, with many living between 800 South and 200 North, and between West Temple (100 West) and 800 West (Iber 2000:70). By the end of the 1940s, the decline in use of the Spanish language among Hispanic residents was evident, with many Hispanics speaking English at home (Iber 2000:71). The decline in the use of Spanish continued among Hispanics in Utah throughout the 1950s and 1960s (Iber 2000:72). The development of the Rose Park subdivision in the late 1940s further increased the Hispanic population in Salt Lake City's northwest section (Iber 2000:82; Merrill 1972).

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, foreign-born Mexicans and Puerto Ricans were typically living near the railroad and industrial areas of Salt Lake City, South Salt Lake, Murray, Magna, and Midvale. Neighborhood patterns were similar in Weber County. Spanish speakers in Ogden were living near the Union Pacific depot, between the Weber River and Adams Avenue, and 23rd Street south to the city limits. As the Hispanic population increased in these neighborhoods, some families moved to areas that were predominately Anglo-American and were often met subtle resistance or open hostility as well as restrictive covenants and other forms of redlining (Iber 2000:76–77).

In 1968, in response to potential eviction of nearly 400 Mexican Americans from their homes in the Anchorage Housing District south of Clearfield, Utah, Governor Calvin L. Rampton met with J.G. Bustos of Layton and Jorge Arce-Larreta of Salt Lake City. Bustos, head of the Justice of Anchorage Committee and Arce-Larreta, head of the SOCIO[vii] in May of 1968, met with the Governor, representing residents of the Anchorage development who had received evictions notices the preceding month, instructing them to leave their homes by August 1, 1968. The eviction notices had been sent by the City of Clearfield after the city designated the Anchorage development sub-standard housing and sold the 24-acre tract to Edwin Higley, a private developer from Clearfield. The Anchorage development was constructed by the Navy as temporary housing in 1942 and was later sold to the City of Clearfield, with the stipulation that the dwellings be razed by whomever the city sold the development to. As part of the purchase contract with the city, Higley had begun to tear down the Anchorage dwellings as they were vacated (Carrick 1968).

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The residents of the Anchorage development filed suit in the Second District Court at Farmington, seeking an injunction to prevent further actions on the contract between the City of Clearfield and Higley, citing that they were acting "collusively for the purpose of depriving plaintiffs of their rights as residents of Anchorage and Clearfield" (Carrick 1968). Residents of the Anchorage development sought to have the contract declared void and to allow other interested parties to bid on the tract. A march on the Utah state capitol by residents was planned, following the meeting with the Governor Calvin L. Rampton, in support of the Governor exercising "all the powers of his office to provide for full equality in housing for all citizens" of Utah, and "to take immediate action to assist the Anchorage community in their search for justice" (Carrick 1968). When the 300 marchers arrived at the capitol building in May of 1968, no state official met them to accept their petition to stop eviction, although the Governor did issue a statement indicating that it had been a misunderstanding on the State's part (*Daily Herald* 1968).

Many families who left Anchorage soon after the sale of the development relocated to Sunset, Clearfield, Laydon, downtown Ogden, and West Ogden. By September of 1968, plans were in place to relocate 50 dwellings from Verdeland - a World War II housing project in Layton – to locations in Clearfield, Magna, and Ogden. Utah Non-Profit Housing Corporation, headed by Father Jereld Merrill, worked with the Governor's office and the Federal Housing Administration to secure the Verdeland dwellings. The Utah Non-Profit Housing Corporation obtained options on land for relocating the dwellings. The Federal Housing Administration would be responsible for renovation of the dwellings on the new sites and would offer 30-year mortgages with 3.5% interest to relocating Anchorage residents (*Ogden Standard Examiner* 1968).

E.4.7 Religious Groups

Since the arrival of the first pioneers in Utah in 1847, the Church of Jesus Christ has been the dominant religion in the state. Through colonization in the region and continued proselytizing through the years, Latter-day Saints achieved a cultural and religious hegemony that remains strong today; in 2020, Latter-day Saints made up 55 percent of the state's population (Pew Research Center 2021). In contrast, the vast majority of Latinx residents of Utah during the early twentieth century were Catholic. While a small number of Latinx residents began converting to the Church of Jesus Christ before 1943, the number of converts increased steadily around the Salt Lake area after World War II. While there was historically tension between the two belief systems within the state, leaders from both religions came together to establish SOCIO[viii] in the late 1960s, with the hopes of improving conditions in Utah for their Hispanic congregations. Although Latinx Utahns also belonged to other denominations, such as Methodist, Assembly of God, and Pentecostal, the numbers of practitioners were much lower, and resources associated with those denominations are less likely to be significant within the context of Latinx heritage. They therefore will not be given the same weight as Catholicism and the Church of Jesus Christ here (Solórzano 2014).

E.4.7.1 Catholic Church

Although southeastern Utah, during the first half of the twentieth century, was largely populated by Spanish speaking, Catholic herdsmen, miners, and railroad workers, the development or uranium mining in the area after World War II shifted the Catholic population in the area to predominantly Anglo-American (Topping 2003). In Carbon County in the 1940s, the majority of Catholics were Italians and Irish; despite the importance of the Catholic Church in the Hispanic community, discrimination in the church was still prevalent. To combat Hispanic stereotypes within the church, Catholic Hispanas challenged the pervasive idea that different meant deficient, creating a new identity representative of their experience and ethnic background and contrary to stereotypes used to keep Hispanics at a disadvantage. In "convincing

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other members of the Catholic congregations that Hispanas were equal in God's eyes, Hispanic women demanded their involvement and inclusion in church activities", shifting the focus from the established Italian and Irish congregations to the growing Hispanic congregations (Solorzano, Ralph, and England 2010).

In a 1947 study of Spanish-surnamed individuals in Salt Lake City, representing nearly 40 percent of the estimated Hispanic population in the city, 84 percent of individuals within the study identified as Catholic. Most of these individuals attended the Our Lady of Guadalupe church, of which 84 percent of the congregation consisted of Spanish speakers in 1946 (Iber 2000: 70). Salt Lake City's Westside Neighborhood was home to a significant Spanish-speaking and Mexican American community associated with the Guadalupe Mission and Our Lady of Guadalupe church (*Sun-Advocate* 1972). The Guadalupe Mission, at 528 W. 400 South, was established in 1927 under the direction of Reverend Perfecto Arellano, a Mexican priest sent to minister to Spanish speakers in the area. The same year, six nuns of the order of Perpetual Adoration, fleeing from hostilities in Mexico, opened a school at the mission offering kindergarten and summer classes in a residence just to the east of the mission, which eventually became the chapel. Father James Collins came to the mission in 1929 and served until his death in 1957 (*Salt Lake Tribune* 1970).

Our Lady of Guadalupe parish grew out of the mission, first offering services in the chapel on W. 400 South before relocating to 715 W. 300 North in 1947 (Iber 2000:82; *Salt Lake Tribune* 1970). The large number of Spanish speakers that moved to the Salt Lake area seeking wartime employment led Father Collins to petition the Salt Lake Catholic Diocese to raise the mission to parish status. The Spanish-speaking community that the parish served consisted primarily of Mexican Americans from other areas of Utah and southwestern states, residing within the boundaries of West Temple and 500 West, and 100 and 600 South (Iber 2000:59–60).

The original steeple was set into place on Our Lady of Guadalupe Catholic church in February 1948. The building was initially the Catholic chapel at Army Air Base, Kearns (also known as Camp Kearns). Determined surplus after World War II, the building was moved in several sections over 13 miles from Camp Kearns to its current location due to narrow roads. The building would become the main chapel for the parish, measuring 82 × 38 feet with space to accommodate at least 350 practitioners (*Salt Lake Tribune* 1948).

In 1949, the parish purchased a duplex at 736/740 West 300 North, across the street from the parish church, opening the building as the Westside Clinic under the sponsorship of Holy Cross Hospital. In 1953, the Brothers of Social Service was established to train men to assist the priests in their work; the program ran for 5 years. Also in 1953, after plans for a Catholic elementary school on the west side were interrupted by the construction of the Bishop Glass school, an east wing was added to the building at 1715 West 2nd North (Merrill 1972).

After the establishment of Our Lady of Guadalupe church, the Guadalupe Mission continued to operate, serving the needs of the community in various ways (*Salt Lake Tribune* 1948). In 1961, Father Jerald H. Merrill, a native of Salt Lake City, came to the Guadalupe Mission (Iber 2000:82; Wixom 1970). Father Merrill established a chapter of the Guadalupana Society, which focused on finding solutions to neighborhood issues. In 1962, the group established a community center in a rented room in the Rio Grande Hotel in downtown Salt Lake City (Iber 2000:82). In 1966, the group, in cooperation with the Utah Migrant Council, moved the center to larger quarters at 346 West 100 South, with the foresight that the center would continue to grow in importance for the local Hispanic community (Iber 2000:82; Meza 2022b; Wixom 1970). After opening at the new location, the Guadalupe Center continued to focus on "projects for the economic and professional development and well-being of the Hispanic community" (Meza 2022b). Services provided through the center included the Westside Catholic Credit Union, the Voluntary Improvement Program through which individuals could take advantage of adult education, collaboration between the Utah Nonprofit Housing Corporation and multiple churches and associations to rehabilitate inner city housing, and information and coordination regarding these and other

services available for Salt Lake City's Hispanic population. To develop capital funding for these services, center leaders opened La Morena Café. The café produced enough profit to support many of the services provided by the center, in addition to unifying the Hispanic and non-Hispanic communities (Merrill 1972; Meza 2022b).

By 1970, the Guadalupe Center, under the direction of Father Merrill, was working with the council to develop a boys' ranch. Merrill also developed the Westside Family Market at the Guadalupe Center, a family food cooperative for families in need (Iber 2000:82; Wixom 1970). The market supported 25 Catholic and Protestant parishes and several private agencies in the Salt Lake Valley (Merrill 1972). Father Merrill was also one of the initial organizers of SOCIO, but by 1970 SOCIO was phasing out the predominant religious aspect of the group in favor of a more secular organization, although Father Merrill was still acting as an advisor (Wixom 1970).

The Guadalupe Mission closed its doors in 1970, and parishioners were asked to attend services at Our Lady of Guadalupe church under the direction of Father Merrill. Relocation of many individuals served by the mission away from the neighborhood, along with the deteriorated condition of the adobe building, were cited as reasons for the mission closing (*Salt Lake Tribune* 1970).

E.4.7.2 The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints

La Rama Mexicana (Mexican Branch) of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was established in 1923 to serve Spanish-speaking converts in Salt Lake City (Iber 2000:28). By 1942, La Rama Mexicana had over 120 members. During the war, the congregation would send missionaries to Spanish-speaking communities in northern Utah, relying on referrals from members to reduce door-to-door proselytizing (Iber 2000:60). By 1947, La Rama Mexicana had around 150 members who met in the church's chapel at 150 West and 500 South. Services were conducted in Spanish, although the church's Anglo leadership provided English classes for the congregation (Iber 2000:70).

The growth and diversification of northern Utah's Hispanic population can be seen in the increase of La Rama Mexicana congregation, which had reached 467 members by 1966. The same year, La Rama Mexicana was reorganized into the Lucero (Bright Star) Ward, with manitos and Latin Americans comprising the majority of the congregation. Continued missionary work by the ward during the late 1960s, locally and in Central and South America, produced more Spanish-speaking converts. Converts in northern Utah lived primarily in the suburbs of Sandy, Midvale, and West Jordan. In the 1960s, the increase in Spanish-speaking converts facilitated the creation of two new branches: the Cumorah Branch in 1962 at the south end of Salt Lake County (to 3900 South) and later the Helaman Branch, to serve community members living west of Redwood Road (1700 West). Like the Lucero Ward, the Cumorah Branch provided a range of activities for its congregation, including Mexican fiestas, choir, basketball, and folk dancing (Iber 2000:83).

By the late 1960s, social and political conditions had changed significantly since the founding of La Rama Mexicana. Within the Church of Jesus Christ, a call came for greater attention to the unique needs of its Spanish-speaking members. Dr. Orlando Rivera, bishop of the Lucero Ward, took an activist approach toward community issues, in contrast to his predecessor, Robert H. Burton, who encouraged members to learn English and pursue education. Dr. Rivera was a founder and president of SOCIO; in his tenure as president of the organization, he focused on broadening opportunities to uplift future Spanish speakers in Utah (Iber 2000:92–93).

E.4.8 Social/Political Organizations

E.4.8.1 Mutual Aid Societies

Prior to World War II, Mexican communities in urban areas of Utah (primarily Ogden, Salt Lake City, and Provo-Orem) created support systems to maintain Mexican culture and tradition, including El Comite Patriótico Mexicano (Patriotic Mexican Committee, established in 1914) and La Comisión Honorifica Mexicana (Honorary Mexican Commission, established in 1921); and, in 1943, the CCM[ix] (Mayer 1981).

> The principal objectives of these societies were to aid Mexican immigrants and to maintain Mexican culture, tradition, and language. Because many Mexican families planned to return to their native land, they remained Mexican citizens for many years and also retained the celebrations and customs of Mexico. (Mayer 1981)

After World War II, the Latinx population in Utah grew as Spanish speakers moved into the state from Colorado and New Mexico in the 1950s and 1960s and from the growing families of native Utah Latinx families. Conversely, as the second- and third-generation Latinx population increased, Mexican cultural influence began to decrease—most notably, through the loss of Spanish language use (Mayer 1981). In the 1950s, Hispanics throughout Utah and neighboring states created groups focused on achieving equality in employment, education, and housing as well as mutual aid and cultural preservation societies. Through these groups, some Hispanics hoped to preserve their Mexicano and Mexican American customs, in addition to improving conditions in their neighborhoods and calling attention to economic, political, and social issues (Iber 2000:67–68).

> The associations established by these men and women provided aid to the community, but they did not generate much change in the conceptions of the wider society. Most of these clubs had limited funds and minimal clout among Utah's governmental, business, and religious leaders. A lack of access to power brokers, however, was not the only obstacle. Between 1946 and 1967 existing ethnic, cultural, and religious divisions within the colonia [Hispanic community] precluded unification of these varied organizations in to a single effective, well-structured, and concerted lobby for social change. (Iber 2000:68)

In 1949, Mexican Americans formed La Sociedad Mexicana Cuauhtémoc in Helper, which remained active until 1971 (Solorzano et al. 2010). The same year, La Sociedad Mutua Cuauhtémoc was formed in Salt Lake City, and in 1952, La Sociedad Fraternal Benito Juarez was established in Ogden. Extensions of La Comisión Honorifica Mexicana, these organizations served Mexican natives (Iber 2000:77). The CCM was also active in the decades after World War II. Drawing its membership from the neighborhoods of west Salt Lake City, the CCM established several standing committees dedicated to the preservation of Mexican culture and the improvement of community conditions for Mexicans and Mexican Americans (Iber 2000:78–80). The Sociedad Protección Mutua de Trabajadores Unidos (SPMDTU) was initially founded in Antonio, Colorado, in 1900. In 1946, the influx of Spanish-surnamed individuals from New Mexico and Colorado to northern Utah pushed the establishment of SPMDTU councils in Ogden and Salt Lake City. The SPMDTU did not provide the same number of services as the CCM, but both organizations acted as convivial clubs and provided low-cost life and disability insurance for constituents (Iber 2000:79–80).

[ix] Centro Civico Mexicano (CCM)

Neither the CCM nor the SPMDTU had sights set on civil rights, but the experience of Hispanic soldiers in Europe and the Pacific during World War II encouraged these veterans to form the AGIF[x] in 1946, led by Molly Galvan, a secretary at Hill Air Force Base (American West Center 1973:119). AGIF branches were formed in Ogden in 1945 and in Salt Lake City in 1955, representing initial steps toward a civil rights campaign for the Hispanic population in Utah (Iber 2000:81). Abel Medina served as the first chairperson of the AGIF Ogden Chapter. Larry Jaramillo chaired the Salt Lake Chapter (Vicente and Mayer 1976:465). The AGIF was highly active between 1954 and 1957 in Salt Lake City, Ogden, Price, and Helper, with the most active chapters being Price and Helper (American West Center 1973: 119).

For most residents of northern Utah, the civil rights struggles of the 1950s and early 1960s were not a local concern. For Spanish speakers in northern Utah, these decades were marked by the ineffectualness of Hispanic organizations as well as Anglo-American apathy (Iber 2000:68). However, the constraints of racism and indifference fostered collective action and protest within the Hispanic community by the late 1960s, when many Hispanics put aside "differences in education, ethnic background, and religious association and created a unified front to battle discrimination and second-class citizenship" (Iber 2000:68). The Chicano Movement called for the "improvement and social well-being of all Chicanos in a manner that preserves their culture and personal dignity," identifying not only a cultural struggle but a class struggle (Mayer 1981). While the larger Chicano Civil Rights Movement in southwestern states worked through marches, boycotts, and sit-ins, members of Utah's Latinx community worked with government officials to accomplish goals. Through organizations such as the AGIF and CCM, "Latinos in Utah strived to create social equality and opportunity while working independently from each other," but the fight for civil rights failed to gain traction through these separate entities (González 2023:ii).

E.4.8.2 Spanish Speaking Organization for Community, Integrity, and Opportunity (SOCIO)

SOCIO grew out of a community meeting in December 1967, held at the Guadalupe Center. With 150 stakeholders in attendance, a Central Action Committee was chosen to establish an organization to work for civil rights and economic opportunity for the Spanish speaking community in Utah; SOCIO was the result of this committee work. SOCIO represented a unified front for Utah, and a social action group within Weber, Salt Lake, Davis, and Carbon Counties, behind which Spanish-speaking people in Utah could work for equality in the state (Merrill 1972). SOCIO began operation on March 21, 1968, under the cooperative leadership of Father Merrill from the Guadalupe parish, Dr. Rivera from the Lucero Ward, Jorge Arce-Larreta, and others from the Salt Lake City Hispanic community (Arce-Larreta 1968; Iber 2000:84–86).

An editorial in the February 6, 1968, edition of the *Salt Lake Tribune,* written by Jorge Arce-Larreta, head of SOCIO, discussed the newly founded organization. The article described SOCIO as "welcome and needed," as the Spanish-speaking population in Utah was facing discrimination on multiple fronts, including employment, housing, health care, and education (Arce-Larreta 1968). While the Chicano Movement in Utah, influenced by the conservative social and political nature of the state, was more subdued than the movement in surrounding states, the larger movement influenced the attitude of Latinx people in Utah. As a result, they were confident in speaking out against decades-old labor and workplace discrimination, and in speaking for the need for government intervention to assure equality and equity, for which SOCIO was a catalyst (González 2023:13). Within a few years of its inception, SOCIO was an umbrella for the fight for the rights of all minorities in Utah, losing its identity as a Chicano civil rights organization and becoming more entrenched in politics and government (González 2023:15–17).

[x] American G.I. Forum (AGIF)

> Between 1968 and 1972 SOCIO operated as an association of concerned citizens who worked, in their spare time, to better conditions in their neighborhoods. The efforts of more than 1,050 volunteers throughout the state had increased job opportunities and decreased discriminatory hiring and promotional practices in government and private industry. (Iber 2000:98)

Although volunteer efforts had generated substantial gain, the progress was uneven. Community concerns often went unaddressed due to lack of funding and follow-up, limiting program implementation. In the early 1970s, SOCIO's administrators decided that employing a professional paid staff would allow the organization to maximize results for the community. In 1972, funding came from the Campaign for Human Development, supporting the hire of an executive director and three additional employees. In 1974, additional funding came from the IHRD, so that by 1978, SOCIO employed nine full-time and four part-time employees. IHRD funding also allowed SOCIO to generate jobs and give more voice to Spanish surnamed persons from the community in the design, direction, and implementation of services affecting their communities (Iber 2000:98–99). When SOCIO was dissolved in 1986, many of the organization's original goals had become a reality, including: an increased number of Hispanics working in law enforcement and other governmental jobs in the state; expanding the number of minority students at Utah state colleges and universities; and improved delivery and quality of social services available to Hispanics in Utah (Iber 2000:86).

E.4.8.3 Lowrider Clubs

Lowrider culture has roots in southern California with origins associated with Pachucos and the zoot-suit counterculture of the 1930's and 1940's and evolved throughout the 1950s with post-war prosperity and the development of American car culture (Stavans and Augenbraum 2005:51; PBS 2024). Throughout the post-war years lowriders were stereotyped as being associated with criminal gang activity and in 1958 the California enacted legislation prohibiting vehicles lower than the bottom of the wheel rim; other states, including Utah, followed with similar prohibitions (PBS 2024). Despite restrictive legislation, the lowrider culture continued to evolve. After World War II, individuals around Los Angeles began to experiment with aircraft hydraulics obtained from military boneyards, creating prototypes for automobile specific hydraulic systems (PBS 2024). The introduction of automobile-specific hydraulic systems in the 1960s and 1970s corresponded to the Chicano Movement of the same period, reinvigorating interest in lowrider culture with lowrider clubs and gatherings provided a cultural space wherein Latinx communities were able to express identity, values, and community support in the same way that mutual aid societies did earlier in the twentieth century (Stavans and Augenbraum 2005:51; Nocella 2024).

By the mid-1970s, the lowrider culture began to expand in Utah, especially in the Salt Lake City area. Classified ads for lowriders appearing in the *Salt Lake Tribune* between 1978 and 1979 include 1977 and 1978 Harley Davidsons, a 1961 Thunderbird, and a 1950 Ford advertised as a "sure cure for disco fever" (*Salt Lake Tribune* 1978a, 1978b, 1978c, 1979). In 1979, Tommy Archuleta founded the Satire Car Club, which became the elegance Car Club in 1982 (Utah Riders 2023b). In 2024, there were at least thirty lowrider clubs in Salt Lake City, each with their own standards and organized under the Utah Riders Association, with an emphasis on community service (PBS 2024).

The term *low riders* generally refers to the individuals who customize and maintain their vehicles as *lowriders*, and who are members of lowrider clubs (Stavans and Augenbraum 2005:51). While lowriders are typified by vintage model automobiles from the 1930s thought the 1970s, lowrider material culture also includes bicycles and motorcycles that have been customized in the lowrider style. Lowrider automobiles are typified as those that have been customized

> in such a way that the chassis is lowered through the removal or modification of the suspension that anchors the chassis to the wheelbase; a toggle-switch-activated hydraulic lift system, "lifters" of "stems"

> are often installed in lieu of the stock suspension system… The "lowrider" is that low-profile vehicle modified accordingly, and with the artistic and cultural embellishments that attend such custom retrofitting. "Lowriding", in turn, is the act of cruising – "lowly" and "slowly" – along the boulevards and byways of one's community in a low-slung automobile (Stavans and Augenbraum 2005:51).

Cruising, "which constitutes the primary ritualized activity of the lowrider tradition", may refer a single car or to the formation of car club caravans or convoys, that can include from just a few cars to dozens of cars, riding low and slow along an identified route (Stavans and Augenbraum 2005:51). Other features of cruising include undercarriage or cockpit lightshows and music, bouncing or "hopping" on hydraulic systems, "locking up" (pushing up part or all of the hydraulics so that the vehicle rides high) or "laying out" (dropping the hydraulics so that the vehicle rides low) on a magnesium scrape plate attached to the underside of the vehicle to produce a show of sparks (Stavans and Augenbraum 2005:51; Utah Riders 2023a, 2023b, 2023c).

By the 1980s, common cruise routes, or cruises, in Salt Lake City included south West Temple Street between West 700 South and West North Temple Street, South 900 West, State Street, and Liberty Park. State Street tended to be more of a mixed car culture cruise (including car cubs or car types other than those associated with lowrider culture, such as hot rods) and Liberty Park tended to be a more of a Sunday afternoon gathering with families and barbeques, where low rider club members would display their cars (Utah Riders 2023a, 2023b, 2023c). Additionally, in the 1980s, lowrider car shows in Salt Lake City received significant sponsorship from Coors in an attempt to counteract national boycotts of their products supported by Chicano and other Hispanic groups, including the American GI Forum, in response to Coors' racially biased hiring practices and support of grape growers who resisted the labor demands of the United Farm Workers (Utah Riders 2023a; Cole and Brantley 2014); Coors' sponsorship of lowrider shows in the Salt Lake City area resulted in show promoters, who were typically members of local lowrider clubs, starting scholarships for Latinx students (Utah Riders 2023a).

F. ASSOCIATED PROPERTY TYPES

Because of the similarities between property types associated with Part I of the MPDF, *Historic Latinx Resources in Utah, 1776 to 1942*, and property types associated in this amendment, Section F from Part I has been reproduced here. Although the majority of property types are similar, there are differences, most notably the removal of property types associated with shepherding and the addition of those property types associated with lowrider car culture. Sheepherding, although still practiced in those areas identified in Part I of the MPDF, declined after WWII; lowrider car culture gained significance in Utah in the 1970s.

Latinx heritage resources in Utah's built environment are the focus of this study. Given the wide range of potentially associated properties, this section will attempt to classify them by general categories of type, from landscape features to individual buildings to districts. And given the geographic dispersion of Utah's Latinx population, they are likely to be found in a wide variety of environmental contexts, ranging from urban areas to undeveloped rural landscapes. Resource ownership may range from privately held properties to federally managed public lands.

Because no surveys for properties significant for their relation to Latinx history in Utah from 1943 to 1978 have been conducted, this initial list of property types is somewhat conjectural. The list was developed by first combining the recorded properties relating to Latinx history identified from a Utah SHPO database search with property types that potentially related to Latinx heritage based on the events and patterns of history outlined in this context (Section E). The property types identified in other contexts and MPDFs were then considered for additional property types to add to the list. Using this information as a foundation, the advisory committee for this project was also consulted regarding possible property types. This allowed the list to be refined to develop a better, albeit still incomplete, understanding of property types.

This approach provided a way to predict the types of resources that make up the historic built environment relating to Latinx history in Utah. But there was little information available on the ways in which those resources had since been preserved and modified through continued use, abandoned due to obsolescence, or adaptively reused to suit changing needs within the study period for this context. The degree to which changing patterns of city planning and growth have affected identified property types also bears investigation. In conclusion, future reconnaissance and intensive surveys are imperative for refining this list of property types and will help to increase the understanding of Latinx history and improve the recognition and preservation of significant property types.

F.1 Property Types

The following section presents a summary of property types that may potentially be associated with Latinx history in Utah from 1943 to 1978. These property types were drawn from a variety of sources, including historic accounts from Utah, secondary sources, and existing NRHP nominations. Additional property types were drawn from contexts and MPDFs from other states; while some of those property types may not have been identified in Utah during research, they are still included here as property types commonly associated with Latinx history and community in other regions that may be present but previously unidentified in Utah.

Because this context did not include a statewide survey of properties associated with Latinx history, the descriptions for many of these property types are limited. It is likely that styles, types, and methods of construction for these property types vary widely throughout the state and will reflect local taste, economic means, property availability or lack thereof,

and the period in which they were constructed. Those seeking to evaluate or nominate properties using this context are therefore urged to carefully consider those factors when assessing properties.

Also, nominations for certain properties whose defined period of significance is outside the 1943 to 1978 context period established in this document may still find the Multiple Property Submission (MPS) context useful and may be submitted under the MPS for purposes of advancing our understanding of the origins and historic patterns that led to events in the post-context period. In such circumstances, the individual nominations will be required to provide clear eligibility justifications as stand-alone nominations, addressing the specific historic and comparative contexts surrounding their particular period of significance. Even though these types of nominations will have to stand alone, select property type descriptions or registration requirements found in the MPS may provide useful guidelines.

F.1.1 Agricultural Resources and Properties

F.1.1.1 Description

Agricultural resources and properties vary widely in terms of type, historic function, and physical location. Because this MPDF is primarily oriented around Latinx history in general rather than the history of agriculture, specific types of agricultural properties will not be described individually. Instead, some examples of agricultural property types that might relate to Latinx history in Utah are listed below. The included list of property types potentially associated with Latinx agricultural occupations should therefore be regarded as only a starting point rather than as exhaustive.

- Arborglyphs, tree carvings, or inscriptions made by sheepherders or other transient Latinx agricultural workers
- Employee housing on ranches or large farms used by Latinx workers and their families
- Factories or factory complexes associated with sugar beet processing
- Ranches or farms that historically were owned or operated by Latinx agriculturalists
- Ranches or farms that historically had significant numbers of Latinx laborers
- Temporary campsites or other archeological sites and resources associated with Latinx sheepherders
- Agricultural buildings or complexes (such as wool warehouses or slaughterhouses) located in towns or within communities of large numbers of Latinx workers
- Field systems or agricultural landscapes in which Latinx workers were the primary labor force

The materials and methods used to construct these properties may vary widely based on construction resource availability; the knowledge, skill, and cultural background of builders; and the intended functions of the buildings or structures (or their new functions, if they were repurposed from other uses). Geographically, agricultural resources associated with Latinx history may be found throughout Utah, although certain regions may have a larger number of resources relating to a specific type of agriculture based on historic patterns.

F.1.1.2 Significance

Agricultural resources associated with Latinx history in Utah may qualify for listing in the NRHP at the local or state level. Agricultural resources will be significant in the areas of Agriculture and Ethnic Heritage. Agricultural work represented one of three key industries in the state in which the majority of Latinx Utahns were employed during the early

twentieth century; although there are examples of Latinx farmers present in census data, the vast majority worked as temporary or long-term agricultural laborers. Although rare, there may be agricultural resources that have statewide significance. In such cases, it will be important to provide context and comparative analysis on a statewide basis to prove significance at this level.

F.1.1.3 Registration Requirements

Agricultural resources will generally be eligible under Criterion A in the areas of Agriculture and Ethnic Heritage for their significant or noteworthy association with historic patterns of agricultural work by Latinx communities in Utah. Because these properties are agricultural by definition, and because their relationship with the lives of Latinx farmers, ranchers, and laborers is a key component of their historic significance, they should, in most cases be evaluated and/or nominated under both areas of significance. The type and density of these resources vary widely throughout the state, and their significance will be mostly local. Cases of potential statewide significance will need to be assessed and supported in the individual nomination. Was the impact of the agricultural operation (e.g., management practices, farming practices, farm produce), either with the Latinx or the broader community, on a larger scale than just locally?

In cases where prominent or notable Latinx ranchers, farmers, or laborers played significant leadership roles in agricultural development, the local or statewide agricultural economy, or within the Latinx community, these properties may possess significance under Criterion B as well. At the statewide level, the broader significance of their impact in the agricultural industry, practices, or community will need to be established through comparative analysis in the individual nomination.

Because of the mostly vernacular nature of built resources used in agriculture, Criterion C will be a less likely option. However, if an agricultural property retains integrity and embodies noteworthy and distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or if it contributes to a historic district, it may be eligible under Criterion C in the area of Architecture. Unique vernacular characteristics of the architecture will need to be established to determine architectural significance. Comparative analysis of building characteristics to reveal a unique or significant type, style, or method of construction will need to be established to prove statewide significance.

Agricultural properties are likely to be significant under Criterion D if they have yielded or have the potential to yield through further physical investigation specific information significant to the history of agriculture or ethnic history. As there have been no existing research programs or even excavations in the state of Utah with regard to any Latinx topics, Criterion D research questions are better served by the site-specific investigations that would stem from an individual nomination. Although research questions are not provided in this MPDF, they will be required to be identified and developed for each individual nomination.

To retain integrity, agricultural resources and properties should possess key features relating to their use in the production of agricultural goods or animal husbandry during their period of significance, which will be manifested in the aspects of location, design, setting, feeling, and association. In particular, they should retain their layout as it existed during the period of significance, especially in terms of how the space was used (such as residential areas vs. areas dedicated to work and agricultural production).

F.1.2 Archeological Sites and Resources

F.1.2.1 Description

Archeological sites vary widely by type, appearance, date, and original use. In the case of Latinx history, some examples of archeological resources are the following:

- Inscriptions
- Arborglyphs/Aspen carvings
- Archeological remains for properties or districts where architectural resources have been demolished or no longer remain but for which buried archeological deposits may remain

The site type, materials, and artifacts present and site design may vary widely based on the intended function of the site. Geographically, archeological resources are likely to be present wherever Latinx individuals or communities were located or where individuals were living and working. Sites associated with the lives of agricultural workers, particularly sheepherders, are most likely to be found in southeast Utah, where a large number of Latinx sheepherders were employed.

F.1.2.2 Significance

Archeological resources associated with Latinx history in Utah may qualify for the NRHP at the local or statewide level. Noteworthy archeological resources may be significant in the areas of Archeology and Ethnic Heritage and may also be significant in relation to other areas (such as Agriculture, Community Planning and Development, or Industry) depending on the specific site type and historic use. Archeological resources may have statewide significance. In such cases, it will be important to provide context and comparative analysis on a statewide basis to prove significance at this level.

F.1.2.3 Registration Requirements

Archeological sites will generally be eligible under Criterion A in the areas of Archeology and Ethnic Heritage for their significant association with the lives and work of Latinx individuals and communities in Utah. Because these properties are archeological by definition, and because their relationship with the lives of Latinx Utahns is a key component of their historic significance, they will in most cases be evaluated and/or nominated under both areas of significance. There may also be at least one additional area of significance (such as Agriculture, Industry, or Social History) depending on the nature of the site. The type and density of these resources vary widely throughout the state. In areas with large Latinx populations present over a long chronological period (such as communities on the west side of Salt Lake City or Wall Avenue in Ogden), archeological deposits may be present. In more remote areas used by Latinx individuals such as sheepherders or railroad workers, short-term or single-use sites (such as inscriptions, arborglyphs, or campsites) may be present.

Unless an archeological site can be concretely identified in relation to a significant individual (such as a well-known Latinx rancher or farmer) through inscriptions or other evidence, these properties are unlikely to possess significance under Criterion B.

If an archeological property retains integrity and embodies significant distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or if it contributes to a historic district, it may be eligible under Criterion C on the basis of its design. A broader comparative analysis of the resource to reveal unique or significant characteristics will need to be established to prove statewide significance.

Archeological properties are likely to be significant under Criterion D if they have yielded or have the potential to yield through further physical investigation specific information significant to ethnic history or other areas of significance (such as Agriculture or Community Planning and Development).

To retain integrity, archeological sites and resources should possess noteworthy key features relating to their creation and use by Latinx individuals during their period of significance, which will be manifest in the aspects of location, design, materials, workmanship, setting, and feeling. In particular, they should retain their design or layout as it existed during the period of significance as well as materials (such as surface or subsurface deposits) and workmanship (if relevant for features such as arborglyphs or inscriptions). As there have been no existing research program or even excavations in the state of Utah with regard to any Latinx topics, Criterion D research questions are better served by the site-specific investigations that would stem from an individual nomination. Although research questions are not provided in this MPDF, they will be required to be identified and developed for each individual nomination.

F.1.3 Commercial Buildings/Businesses

F.1.3.1 Description

Commercial buildings and businesses vary widely in appearance, based on their period of construction, the nature of the business (such as restaurants vs. office buildings), and the availability of building materials and the builders or craftspeople to build them. Because of the social and economic disadvantages and discrimination that Latinx Utahns frequently faced when owning or renting property (e.g., communities tended to be in older areas of cities with significant previous development that was frequently reused or repurposed), businesses may historically have been housed in reused or adapted buildings rather than newly constructed ones. Common examples of business types that may be significant for their relationship with Latinx heritage include restaurants, markets or retail businesses, or bars. Geographically, businesses associated with Latinx history are likely to be in areas that historically had, or continue to have, a significant Latinx population, such as the west side of Salt Lake City and the Wall Avenue area of Ogden.

F.1.3.2 Significance

Commercial buildings and businesses associated with Latinx history in Utah may qualify for the NRHP at the local or statewide level. Businesses will mostly be significant in the areas of Commerce and Ethnic Heritage. If part of larger patterns of the establishment of commercial districts in a community, they may also be significant in the area of Community Planning and Development. Owning or operating a business frequently represented an opportunity for economic subsistence or prosperity for Latinx Utahns who were otherwise excluded from high-paying, skilled labor as a result of ethnic discrimination. Businesses also supplied the needs of Latinx communities, particularly those located within the ethnically diverse neighborhoods in which many Latinx Utahns resided. Successful business owners may also have been leaders in their communities or leant support to social or religious groups by providing physical space for meetings or offering material and financial support. It is possible that there may be commercial resources that have statewide significance. In such cases, it will be important to provide context and comparative analysis on a statewide basis to prove significance at this level.

F.1.3.3 Registration Requirements

Commercial buildings will generally be eligible under Criterion A in the areas of Commerce and Ethnic Heritage for their significant association with historic patterns of trade and commerce in Latinx communities in Utah. If part of larger patterns of the establishment of commercial districts in a community, they may also be eligible in the area of Community Planning and Development. Because these properties are by nature commercial, and because ownership or operation by Latinx Utahns is a key component of their historic significance, they should be evaluated and/or nominated under both areas of significance. The density of businesses historically owned and/or operated by Latinx individuals varies widely throughout the state.

In cases where local business owners or entrepreneurs played significant leadership roles in the Latinx community, businesses may possess significance under Criterion B as well. However, each person's significance will need to be established in the individual nomination. At the statewide level, the broader significance of their impact in industry, business practices, or community will need to be established through comparative analysis in the individual nomination.

If a commercial building retains integrity and embodies significant distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or if it contributes to a historic district, it may be eligible under Criterion C in the area of Architecture. More common or vernacular architectural examples may be significant under Criterion C. However, the unique vernacular characteristics of the architecture will need to be established to determine architectural significance. Comparative analysis of building characteristics to reveal a unique or significant type, style, or method of construction will need to be established to prove statewide significance.

Commercial buildings are unlikely to be significant under Criterion D unless they have yielded, or have the potential to yield through further physical investigation, specific information significant to Latinx commerce or ethnic history or unique construction techniques or materials. Significance in these cases will need to be established through individual comparative analysis to other examples. As there have been no existing research programs in the state of Utah with regard to any Latinx topics, Criterion D research questions are better served by the site-specific investigations that would stem from an individual nomination. Although research questions are not provided in this MPDF, they will be required to be identified and developed for each individual nomination.

To retain integrity, a commercial building should possess noteworthy features relating to its use in conducting trade or commerce during the period of significance, which will be manifested in the aspects of location, design, setting, feeling, and association. In particular, the building should retain the layout as it existed during the period of significance, particularly in terms of how the space was used (such as customer service areas vs. storage areas). Commercial buildings are likely to have been modified over time. This is particularly the case for Latinx-owned or Latinx-operated businesses, given the fact that building stock was typically older and in poorer condition when Latinx individuals began repurposing the buildings and more often required changes or modifications. Additionally, Latinx-owned or Latinx-operated businesses were frequently located in areas that underwent renewal during the mid- to late twentieth century, resulting in a smaller number of these historic resources than for other ethnic groups in Utah. As a result, allowances should be made in terms of integrity (particularly exterior integrity) when evaluating these buildings; existing examples, even if modified, may be significant due to their comparative rarity. However, each building will be required to be evaluated on a case-by-case basis to determine retention of key aspects of integrity.

In addition, the following requirements must be met for buildings to be considered eligible for the NRHP under the Commercial Buildings/Businesses property type:

1. The building was constructed between 1943 and 1978 and used for a commercial purpose during the historic era outlined in this MPDF.
2. The building is significant under Criterion A, B, C, or D.
3. The building retains sufficient integrity to convey its significance, particularly in the aspects of location, design, setting, feeling, and association with the commercial life of the town. Common requirements include the following:
    a. Overall, the building retains its original mass and scale. Minor additions to the building will most likely not affect integrity.
    b. The building retains its original fenestration pattern on the primary façade based on the period of significance, including the original location and continued presence of a storefront. Storefronts were frequently altered to update commercial properties, and the replacement of bulkheads, glazing, doors, and transoms is acceptable if the building retains a similar type of storefront (e.g., open and glazed). The sides of a building should retain much of the original fenestration pattern, while greater modifications to the rear are acceptable.
    c. Alterations and additions that are more than 50 years old and reflect architectural trends of a later historic period may have achieved significance in their own right and will not necessarily affect integrity. However, for each nomination, the impact of alterations will be required to be evaluated to determine their overall effect on the building's historical integrity.

F.1.4 Churches or Meetinghouses

F.1.4.1 Description

Churches and meetinghouses vary widely in appearance based on their period of construction, congregation size, and religious affiliation. Property types associated with churches and meetinghouses for the period spanning 1943 to 1978 are anticipated to be similar to those identified in Part I of the MPDF.

One common church type observed during research was the small Catholic church building, commonly dating from ca. 1925 through the 1970s. Churches of this type generally have rectangular building plans, a gable front with entrances on the gable end, and a steeple. They are one story and have a roof with a moderate pitch. They frequently include a large central worship area (typically with pews) for parishioners. Larger Catholic churches are also a possible resource type, such as Our Lady of Guadalupe Church. These have the same general layout as other Catholic churches and may incorporate both worship space and activity and meeting spaces intended for religious instruction, administration, or community uses. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints' meetinghouses are another type of religious building that may be significant for Latinx history and typically include a meeting hall and secondary spaces for administrative or community use.

In terms of geography, church buildings or meetinghouses associated with Latinx history are likely to be in areas that historically had or continue to have a significant Latinx population, such as the west side of Salt Lake City or Ogden. Buildings or spaces in buildings not specifically built as churches but where people gathered for worship (such as the upstairs or common rooms of businesses or even private residences) should also be considered in relation to this property type.

F.1.4.2 Significance

Church buildings and houses of worship that have a noteworthy association with Latinx history in Utah may qualify for the NRHP at the local or statewide level. Churches will most likely be significant in the areas of Religion, Ethnic Heritage, Social History, and Education. It is important to note that per Criteria Consideration A, a house of worship must be evaluated secularly—it generally must be significant for factors other than its religious associations. In the case of churches or houses of worship in this context, those secular associations would generally be their significant relationship with the history of the state's Latinx population. Church buildings in Utah were frequently used by Latinx Utahns both as places of worship and for community activities, such as cultural festivals, educational programs, or other events outside of religious worship, and may meet the requirements of Criteria Consideration A. It is possible that there may be church buildings or places of worship that have statewide significance. In such cases, it will be important to provide context and comparative analysis on a statewide basis to prove significance at this level.

F.1.4.3 Registration Requirements

Church buildings or houses of worship will generally be eligible under Criterion A in the areas of Religion, Ethnic Heritage, Social History, and Education for their significant association with the social and cultural development of communities. Because Criteria Consideration A precludes most houses of worship from being considered significant for their religious history alone, they should be evaluated under the area of Religion in association with Ethnic Heritage and/or Social History.

In some cases, where church leaders played significant leadership roles in Latinx communities, churches or houses of worship may possess significance under Criterion B. At the statewide level, the broader significance of the person's impact in the religious community will need to be established through comparative analysis in the individual nomination.

If a church building retains integrity and embodies significant distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or if it contributes to a historic district, it may be eligible under Criterion C in the area of Architecture. Note that the vernacular types, styles, or methods of construction that may characterize many of these buildings are equally as important as more high-style examples. However, the unique vernacular characteristics of the architecture will need to be established to determine architectural significance. Comparative analysis of building characteristics to reveal a unique or significant type, style, or method of construction will need to be established to prove statewide significance.

Church buildings or meetinghouses are unlikely to be significant under Criterion D unless they have yielded or have the potential to yield through further physical investigation specific information significant to social or ethnic history or architectural construction or design methods. As there have been no existing research programs in the state of Utah with regard to any Latinx topics, Criterion D research questions are better served by the site-specific investigations that would stem from an individual nomination. Although research questions are not provided in this MPDF, they will be required to be identified and developed for each individual nomination.

As per Criteria Consideration A, churches or houses of worship must be assessed in secular terms; they are generally not eligible based solely on religious associations.

To retain integrity, churches or meetinghouses should possess key noteworthy features relating to their use in conducting religious services and community building during their period of significance. They should retain integrity in the aspects of location, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. In particular, they should retain their layout as it existed during the period of significance, particularly in terms of how the space was used (such as worship services vs.

offices or meeting rooms); if being nominated under Criterion C, they should retain historically significant building features.

In addition, the following requirements must be met for church buildings and meetinghouses be considered eligible for the NRHP:

1. The building was constructed between 1943 and 1978 and used for a religious purpose during the historic period outlined in this MPDF.
2. The building is significant under Criterion A, B, C, or D.
3. The building retains sufficient integrity to convey its significance, particularly in the aspects of location, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association.
    a. Overall, the building retains its original mass and scale. Minor additions to the building, particularly the rear, will not necessarily affect integrity.
    b. The building retains association with its original use, (i.e., a place of worship).
    c. Minor and easily reversible changes (such as the replacement of doors, alterations to paint colors, or other minor changes in the appearance of the building) generally will not have a negative impact on historic integrity.
    d. The addition of modern siding by itself generally will not render the building not eligible. However, if combined with other significant changes, like window replacement or an addition on the façade, the building will most likely not be eligible.
    e. Alterations and additions that are more than 50 years old and reflect architectural trends of a later historic period may have achieved significance in their own right and will not necessarily affect integrity, based on their association with the period of significance. However, as with all evaluations of historical integrity, these will be made on an individual basis.

F.1.5 Company or Worker Housing

F.1.5.1 Description

Company or worker housing may vary widely in appearance, design, scale, and style based on its period of construction, the nature of the industry it is associated with (such as ranching, farming, mining, sugar beet growing and processing), and the availability of building materials and the architects or craftspeople to build them. Company or worker housing will generally be located in close proximity to the industry it is associated with, such as on agricultural (ranching and farming) properties, in proximity to mines or sugar beet factories, or on railroad sidings. Common examples of company and worker housing types that may be significant for their relationship with Latinx history in Utah include housing for railroad section workers, boardinghouses or dormitories used by single mine or agricultural workers, employee housing on ranches or farms, or rented individual residences used by miners and their families.

F.1.5.2 Significance

Company or worker housing with a significant association with Latinx history in Utah may qualify for the NRHP at the local or statewide level. Company or worker housing may be significant in the area of Ethnic Heritage and for the associated industry (such as Industry, Transportation, or Agriculture). If part of larger noteworthy patterns of the establishment of residential, industrial, or commercial districts in a community, it may also be significant in the area of Community Planning and Development. Many Latinx Utahns were forced through economic and ethnic discrimination to take temporary labor positions, for which employee housing was frequently provided by employers. It is possible that there may be company or worker housing resources that have statewide significance. In such cases, it will be important to provide context and comparative analysis on a statewide basis to prove significance at this level.

F.1.5.3 Registration Requirements

Significant examples of company or worker housing will generally be eligible under Criterion A in the area of Ethnic Heritage and the area for the related industry (e.g., such as Agriculture for sugar beet growing and processing, Industry for mining, or Transportation for railroad section workers) for its noteworthy association with historic patterns of employment by Latinx communities in Utah. If part of larger patterns of the establishment of residential, industrial, or commercial districts in a community, it may also be eligible in the area of Community Planning and Development.

In cases where those living in the housing played significant leadership roles in the Latinx community or a company, worker housing may possess significance under Criterion B if the company housing is associated with that individual's noteworthy productive period (such as their community leadership or professional work) and if there is not a property that better represents their work.

If company or worker housing retains integrity and embodies significant and distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or if it contributes to a historic district, it may be eligible under Criterion C in the area of Architecture. Most likely, examples of this property type will fall in the realm of common, vernacular design. Note that the vernacular types, styles, or methods of construction that may characterize many of these buildings are equally as important as more high-style examples. However, the unique vernacular characteristics of the architecture will need to be established to determine architectural significance. Comparative analysis of building characteristics to reveal a unique or significant type, style, or method of construction will need to be established to prove statewide significance.

Company or worker housing is unlikely to be significant under Criterion D unless it has yielded or has the potential to yield through further physical investigation specific information significant to the history of commerce or ethnic history. As there have been no existing research programs in the state of Utah with regard to any Latinx topics, Criterion D research questions are better served by the site-specific investigations that would stem from an individual nomination. Although research questions are not provided in this MPDF, they will be required to be identified and developed for each individual nomination.

To retain integrity, company or worker housing should possess key features relating to its use by Latinx Utahns in participating in a specific industry, which will be manifested in the aspects of location, design, setting, feeling, and association. In particular, it should retain its layout as it existed during the period of significance, particularly in terms of how the space was used (such as public recreation, food preparation and consumption, and social areas vs. areas used for rest or sleep, like dormitories or private rooms). Some company or worker housing was moveable (such as boxcars or unit housing) and may not be in its original location; in those situations, Criteria Consideration B may apply.

The following requirements must be met for company or worker housing examples to be considered eligible for the NRHP:

1. The building was constructed between 1943 and 1978 and used as company or worker housing during the historic period outlined in this MPDF.
2. The building relates to the historic period and is significant under Criterion A, B, C, or D.
3. The building retains sufficient integrity to convey its significance, particularly in the aspects of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, and feeling. Common integrity considerations include the following:
    a. Minor and easily reversible changes (such as the addition of awnings over windows, the replacement of doors, or the replacement of a front porch with one similar in scale and design) generally will not affect eligibility.
    b. The addition of modern siding by itself generally may not render the building not eligible. However, if combined with other significant changes, like window replacement or an addition on the façade, the building will most likely not be eligible. For example, if the building has been covered with newer siding but generally retains its original form, massing, and a few windows or other significant architectural features, it may be considered eligible. Similarly, one of these house types that retains its original siding but has newer windows or a new porch or a significant addition on the side or rear of the house may also be considered eligible. Each case will be evaluated individually for integrity.
    c. The building retains its original fenestration pattern on the primary façade. The non-public-facing elevations of a building should retain much of the original fenestration pattern. However, while greater modifications to the rear are acceptable, all modifications and impacts on historical integrity will be assessed on an individual basis.
    d. Alterations and additions that are more than 50 years old and reflect architectural trends of a later historic period may have achieved significance in their own right and will not necessarily affect integrity, based on their association with the period of significance; any alterations and additions will be evaluated on an individual basis.

F.1.6 Education-related Buildings

F.1.6.1 Description

Several examples of historic education-related properties predominantly associated with Latinx Utahns were identified during research, although both have been demolished (e.g., Guadalupe Center and the Anchorage school). Other unidentified examples of this property type may exist in Utah, particularly on the Wasatch Front in or near historically Latinx neighborhoods such as Salt Lake City's west side. Properties not specifically dedicated to education but where significant education rights activities occurred or that served as important early venues for education may also represent examples of this property type, such as churches, businesses, or private residences.

F.1.6.2 Significance

Education-related buildings associated with Latinx history in Utah may qualify for the NRHP at the local or statewide level and are significant in the areas of Education, Ethnic Heritage, and Social History. The Latinx movement to achieve equality of education is a key theme of the historic period, and it is possible that there may be education-related resources

that have statewide significance. In such cases, it will be important to provide context and comparative analysis on a statewide basis to prove significance at this level.

F.1.6.3 Registration Requirements

Education-related buildings will generally be eligible under Criterion A in the areas of Education, Ethnic Heritage, and Social History; they may be evaluated and/or nominated under all areas of significance.

Properties may possess significance under Criterion B in cases where noteworthy educators or other important figures associated with the education equality movement played leadership roles in the Latinx community.

If the education-related building retains integrity and embodies significant distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or if it contributes to a historic district, it may be eligible under Criterion C in the area of Architecture. Examples of this property type may reflect typical institutional architecture or may be of more vernacular design. Note that the vernacular types, styles, or methods of construction that may characterize many of these buildings are equally as important as more high-style examples. However, the unique vernacular characteristics of the architecture will need to be established to determine architectural significance. Comparative analysis of building characteristics to reveal a unique or significant type, style, or method of construction will need to be established to prove statewide significance.

Education-related buildings are unlikely to be significant under Criterion D unless they have yielded or have the potential to yield through further physical investigation specific information significant to the history of education or social or ethnic history. As there have been no existing research programs in the state of Utah with regard to any Latinx topics, Criterion D research questions are better served by the property-specific investigations that would stem from an individual nomination. Although research questions are not provided in this MPDF, they will be required to be identified and developed for each individual nomination.

To retain integrity, education-related buildings should possess key significant features relating to their use in relation to education or education advocacy during their period of significance. They should retain integrity in the aspects of location, design, setting, feeling, and association. In particular, they should retain their exterior appearance as it existed during the period of significance; if being nominated under Criterion C, they should retain historically significant building features and retain integrity in the aspects of materials and workmanship as well.

In addition, specifically, the following requirements must be met for examples of education-related buildings to be considered eligible for the NRHP:

1. The building was constructed between 1942 and 1978 and used for education during the historic period outlined in this MPDF.
2. The building relates to the historic period in this MPDF and is significant under Criterion A, B, C, or D.
3. The building retains sufficient integrity to convey its significance, particularly in the aspects of location, design setting, feeling, and association with education. Common requirements include the following:
    a. Overall, the building retains its original mass and scale. Minor additions, particularly at the rear of a building, will not necessarily affect integrity.

b. The building retains its original fenestration pattern on the primary façade. The non-public-facing elevations of a building should retain much of the original fenestration pattern. However, while greater modifications to the rear are acceptable, all modifications and impacts on historical integrity will be assessed on an individual basis.

Alterations and additions that are more than 50 years old and reflect architectural trends of a later historic period may have achieved significance in their own right and will not necessarily affect integrity, based on their association with the period of significance. However, as with all evaluations of historical integrity, these will be performed on an individual basis

F.1.7 Headquarters of Social, Cultural, or Political Groups

F.1.7.1 Description

Multiple examples of historic property owned or used for events by Latinx social or cultural groups were identified during research. However, only two properties, the CCM[xi] (now at 155 South 600 West in Salt Lake City) and the Guadalupe Center (at 346 West 100 South, demolished in the late 1980s to build the Triad Center), were identified as the headquarters of a cultural group. Other unidentified examples of this property type may exist in Utah, particularly on the Wasatch Front, where many of these groups operated during the mid-twentieth century. Properties not specifically dedicated to meeting spaces but where significant organizing activities occurred or that served as important venues for cultural events hosted by those organizations may also represent examples of this property type, such as businesses or private residences.

F.1.7.2 Significance

Headquarters of social, cultural, or political groups associated with Latinx history in Utah may qualify for the NRHP at the local or statewide level. Headquarters are significant in the areas of Education, Ethnic Heritage, and Social History. Social and cultural groups such as the CCM and Guadalupe Center formed the backbone of Latinx social and cultural expression in Utah. Headquarters of those groups would have provided a physical meeting location for members and for organizing efforts. It is possible that there may be company housing resources that have statewide significance. In such cases, it will be important to provide context and comparative analysis on a statewide basis to prove significance at this level.

F.1.7.3 Registration Requirements

Headquarters of social, cultural, or political groups will generally be eligible under Criterion A in the areas of Education, Ethnic Heritage, and Social History; they should be evaluated and/or nominated under those areas of significance.

Properties may possess significance under Criterion B in cases where noteworthy leaders or other important figures associated with the group played leadership roles in the Latinx community.

If the headquarters of a political group retains integrity and embodies significant distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or if it contributes to a historic district, it may be eligible under Criterion C in the area of Architecture. Most likely, examples of this property type will be of more common, vernacular design. Note that the

[xi] Centro Civico Mexicano (CCM)

vernacular types, styles, or methods of construction that may characterize many of these buildings are equally as important as more high-style examples. However, the unique vernacular characteristics of the architecture will need to be established to determine architectural significance. Comparative analysis of building characteristics to reveal a unique or significant type, style, or method of construction will need to be established to prove statewide significance.

Headquarters are unlikely to be significant under Criterion D unless they have yielded or have the potential to yield through further physical investigation specific information significant to social or ethnic history. As there have been no existing research programs in the state of Utah with regard to any Latinx topics, Criterion D research questions are better served by the property-specific investigations that would stem from an individual nomination. Although research questions are not provided in this MPDF, they will be required to be identified and developed for each individual nomination.

To retain integrity, headquarters of social, cultural, or political groups should possess key significant features relating to their use in the expression of cultural values and community and social organizing during their period of significance. They should retain integrity in the aspects of location, design, setting, feeling, and association. In particular, they should retain their exterior appearance as it existed during the period of significance; if being nominated under Criterion C, they should retain historically significant building features and retain integrity in the aspects of materials and workmanship as well.

In addition, specifically, the following requirements must be met for examples of headquarters of social, cultural, or political groups to be considered eligible for the NRHP.

1. The building was constructed between 1943 and 1978 and used as a headquarters of a social, cultural, or political group during the historic period outlined in this MPDF.
2. The building relates to the historic period in this MPDF and is significant under Criterion A, B, C, or D.
3. The building retains sufficient integrity to convey its significance, particularly in the aspects of location, design setting, feeling, and association with the commercial life of the town. Common requirements include the following:
    a. Overall, the building retains its original mass and scale. Minor additions, particularly at the rear of a building, will not necessarily affect integrity.
    b. The building retains its original fenestration pattern on the primary façade. The non-public-facing elevations of a building should retain much of the original fenestration pattern. However, while greater modifications to the rear are acceptable, all modifications and impacts on historical integrity will be assessed on an individual basis.
    c. Alterations and additions that are more than 50 years old and reflect architectural trends of a later historic period may have achieved significance in their own right and will not necessarily affect integrity, based on their association with the period of significance; any alterations and additions will be evaluated on an individual basis.

F.1.8 Industrial Resources and Properties

F.1.8.1 Description

Industrial resources and properties vary widely in terms of type, historical function, and physical location. Because this MPDF is primarily oriented around Latinx history in general rather than the history of industry in Utah, specific types of industrial properties will not be described individually. Instead, some examples of industrial property types that might relate to Latinx history in Utah are listed below. This list is not intended to be exhaustive.

- Sugar beet processing plants (which may also be significant in relation to agriculture)
- Mines or mining sites, including metal mining, such as those found in Park City or Bingham Canyon, as well as coal mining, such as those located in Carbon County
- Mining-related sites, such as ore processing and refining structures and buildings, storage or transportation facilities (such as tramways), or assaying offices (if used or operated by Latinx individuals)
- Facilities associated with the lives of Latinx industrial workers (such as union or social halls or company housing)
- Industrial districts or landscapes, such as large mining complexes owned and operated by one or more mining companies

The type, design, and materials of these properties may vary widely based on their intended function and the construction resources available to build them. Geographically, industrial resources associated with Latinx history are most likely to be found in central and northwest Utah, which were more heavily industrialized and saw more mining and manufacturing work (such as sugar beet processing) conducted by Latinx Utahns than other areas of the state.

F.1.8.2 Significance

Industrial resources with a significant association with Latinx history in Utah may qualify for the NRHP at the local or statewide level. Industrial resources may be significant in the areas of Industry and Ethnic Heritage. Manufacturing, mining, and railroads are representative of key industries in the state in which the majority of Latinx Utahns were employed during the mid- to late twentieth century. It is possible that there may be company housing resources that have statewide significance. In such cases, it will be important to provide context and comparative analysis on a statewide basis to prove significance at this level.

F.1.8.3 Registration Requirements

Notable industrial resources will generally be eligible under Criterion A in the areas of Industry and Ethnic Heritage for their significant association with historic patterns of industrial work by Latinx communities in Utah. Because these properties are industrial by definition, and because their relationship with the lives of Latinx laborers is a key component of their historic significance, they should be evaluated and/or nominated under both areas of significance. The type and density of these resources vary widely throughout the state, although they are most common in central and northwest Utah.

In cases where Latinx laborers played significant leadership roles in industrial development or in the Latinx community, these properties may possess significance under Criterion B as well.

If an industrial property retains integrity and embodies significant and distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or if it contributes to a historic district, it may be eligible under Criterion C in the area of Architecture. Most likely, examples of this property type will be of more common, vernacular design. Note that the vernacular types, styles, or methods of construction that may characterize many of these buildings are equally as important as more high-style examples. However, the unique vernacular characteristics of the architecture will need to be established to determine architectural significance. Comparative analysis of building characteristics to reveal a unique or significant type, style, or method of construction will need to be established to prove statewide significance.

Industrial resources and properties, particularly those associated with manufacturing, mining, and railroads, may be significant under Criterion D if they have yielded or have the potential to yield through further physical investigation specific information significant to the history of industry or ethnic history. As there have been no existing research programs or even excavations in the state of Utah with regard to any Latinx topics, Criterion D research questions are better served by the site-specific investigations that would stem from an individual nomination. Although research questions are not provided in this MPDF, they will be required to be identified and developed for each individual nomination.

In addition, specifically, the following requirements must be met for examples of industrial resources and properties to be considered eligible for the NRHP.

1. The building was constructed between 1943 and 1978 and used for industry during the historic period outlined in this MPDF.
2. The building relates to the historic period in this MPDF and is significant under Criterion A, B, C, or D.
3. The building retains sufficient integrity to convey its significance, particularly in the aspects of location, design, setting, feeling, and association with industry. Common requirements include the following:
    a. Overall, the building retains its original mass and scale. Minor additions to the rear of a building will not affect integrity.
    b. The building retains its original fenestration pattern on the primary façade. The non-public-facing elevations of a building should retain much of the original fenestration pattern. However, while greater modifications to the rear are acceptable, all modifications and impacts on historical integrity will be assessed on an individual basis.
    c. As it was not uncommon for industrial properties to receive alterations over time to allow for changes in use, storage, machinery, etc., these will not render a building not eligible. However, later alterations will need to be assessed for their association with the period of significance; any alterations and additions will be evaluated on an individual basis.

Industrial properties are likely to be significant under Criterion D if they have yielded or have the potential to yield through further physical investigation specific noteworthy information significant to the history of industry or ethnic history. As there have been no existing research programs in the state of Utah with regard to any Latinx topics, Criterion D research questions are better served by the property-specific investigations that would stem from an individual nomination. Although research questions are not provided in this MPDF, they will be required to be identified and developed for each individual nomination.

To retain integrity, industrial resources and properties should possess key significant features relating to their use in resource extraction or manufacturing during their period of significance, which will be manifested in the aspects of location, design, setting, feeling, and association. In particular, they should retain their layout as it existed during the period of significance, especially in terms of how the space was used, in order to convey the industrial processes and reflect the lives and work of the laborers using them.

F.1.9 Lowrider Resources and Properties

F.1.9.1 Description

Lowrider resources and property types include individual buildings and cultural landscapes associated with lowrider culture in Utah. Individual buildings are likely going to be automotive garages associated with the building and maintenance of lowrider vehicles; garages may be associated with commercial or residential properties. Additionally, garages may be associated with or a part of a cultural landscape. Cultural landscapes will typically consist of one or both of the following:

- Streets and roadways associated with cruises or cruising routes
- Gathering places, including parks and parking lots where members of lowrider clubs gathered (and may still gather) to display their vehicles.

F.1.9.2 Significance

Lowrider resources and properties associated with Latinx history in Utah may qualify for the NRHP at the local or statewide level and are significant in the areas Ethnic Heritage and Social History. Lowrider clubs are representative of post-World War II and late twentieth century Latinx social and cultural expression in Utah. Commercial and residential garages, public streets, and other gathering places would have provided physical creative and meeting space for lowrider club members, along with their families and members of the Latinx community. Typically, lowrider resources and properties will be located in the Salt Lake City area, but there is potential for these resources and property types to be anywhere in Utah that had a post-World War II or late twentieth century Latinx population; in such cases, it will be important to provide context and comparative analysis on a statewide basis to prove significance at this level.

F.1.9.3 Registration Requirements

Lowrider resources and properties will generally be eligible under Criterion A in the areas of Ethnic Heritage and Social History; they should be evaluated and/or nominated under those areas of significance.

Properties may possess significance under Criterion B in cases where noteworthy leaders or other important figures associated with the lowrider culture played leadership roles in the Latinx community.

If a garage associated with a lowrider club or significant lowrider club member retains integrity and embodies significant distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or if it contributes to a historic district, it may be eligible under Criterion C in the area of Architecture. Additionally, if a cultural landscape containing a cruise rout and/or a gathering place retains integrity and embodies significant distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, it may be eligible under Criterion C in the area of Landscape Architecture. Most likely, examples of these

property types will be of more common, vernacular design. Note that the vernacular types, styles, or methods of construction that may characterize many of these resources are equally as important as more high-style examples. However, the unique vernacular characteristics of the architecture or landscape architecture will need to be established to determine architectural significance. Comparative analysis of resource characteristics to reveal a unique or significant type, style, or method of construction will need to be established to prove statewide significance.

Lowrider resources are unlikely to be significant under Criterion D unless they have yielded or have the potential to yield through further physical investigation specific information significant to social or ethnic history. As there have been no existing research programs in the state of Utah with regard to any Latinx topics, Criterion D research questions are better served by the property-specific investigations that would stem from an individual nomination. Although research questions are not provided in this MPDF, they will be required to be identified and developed for each individual nomination.

To retain integrity, lowrider resources should possess key significant features relating to their use in the expression of cultural values and community and social organizing during their period of significance. They should retain integrity in the aspects of location, design, setting, feeling, and association. In particular, they should retain their exterior appearance as it existed during the period of significance; if being nominated under Criterion C, they should retain historically significant building and/or landscape features and retain integrity in the aspects of materials and workmanship as well.

In addition, specifically, the following requirements must be met for examples of lowrider resources to be considered eligible for the NRHP.

1. The resource was constructed between 1943 and 1978 or used as a garage, cruise route, or gathering place associated with a lowrider club or clubs during the historic period outlined in this MPDF.
2. The resource relates to the historic period in this MPDF and is significant under Criterion A, B, C, or D.
3. The resource retains sufficient integrity to convey its significance, particularly in the aspects of location, design setting, feeling, and association with the lowrider culture. Common requirements include the following:
    a. Garages
        i. The building retains mass and scale as they were during the historic period outlined in this MPDF. Minor additions, particularly at the rear of a building, will not necessarily affect integrity.
        ii. The building retains its fenestration pattern on the primary façade as it was during the historic period outlined in this MPDF. The non-public-facing elevations of the buildings should retain much of the fenestration pattern as it was between 1943 and 1978. However, while greater modifications to the rear are acceptable, all modifications and impacts on historical integrity will be assessed on an individual basis.
        iii. Alterations and additions that are more than 50 years old and reflect architectural trends of a later historic period may have achieved significance in their own right and will not necessarily affect integrity, based on their association with the period of significance; any alterations and additions will be evaluated on an individual basis.

b. Streets and Roadways

   i. The street or road retains mass and scale as they were during the historic period outlined in this MPDF. Minor alterations will not necessarily affect integrity.

   ii. The street or road retains its corridor or circulation pattern as it was during the historic period outlined in this MPDF.

c. Gathering Places

   i. The place, such as a park or parking lot, retains mass and scale as they were during the historic period outlined in this MPDF. Minor additions will not necessarily affect integrity.

   ii. The place retains its associated landscape features as they were during the historic period outlined in this MPDF.

   iii. Alterations and modifications that are more than 50 years old and reflect architectural trends of a later historic period may have achieved significance in their own right and will not necessarily affect integrity, based on their association with the period of significance; any alterations and modifications will be evaluated on an individual basis.

F.1.10 Neighborhoods, Business Districts, and Cultural Landscapes

F.1.10.1 Description

Five types of neighborhoods, business districts, and cultural landscapes are most likely to be associated with Latinx history in Utah and significant at the local level.

The first type is in larger cities such as Salt Lake City or Ogden. Historically in Utah's larger cities, Latinx populations typically lived in informally designated neighborhoods. Although these neighborhoods had large Latinx populations, they were generally not majority Latinx; instead, a mixed population often encompassing many cultural, racial, and ethnic groups, was common. These neighborhoods often developed a combination of owned or rented single- or multiple-family residences, Latinx-owned or Latinx-operated businesses, religious institutions, and recreation/entertainment options. They were frequently close to transportation (railroad) or industrial sites at which many Latinx residents worked. Historically, they also frequently possessed underdeveloped infrastructure, such as unpaved roads, lack of streetlights, or even basic water and sewer systems; in the case of neighborhoods such as Salt Lake City's west side, historic accounts also note that the buildings were frequently small and/or substandard. While many neighborhood infrastructure deficiencies were later remedied through action by their inhabitants and local government, these neighborhoods may still reflect earlier patterns of community growth and planning.

The second type is in smaller towns, such as Monticello and Garland. Although these communities were smaller in size than those of dense urban areas, they had specific areas in which Latinx individuals were more likely to reside. As a result of de facto segregation, smaller "mini-districts," perhaps constituting no more than several adjacent or closely located properties, may be present. Segregated sections of cemeteries (such as in Monticello) may also fall within this property type. As evidenced by historic photographs, these neighborhoods may include objects or structures specific to Latinx cultural practices, such as *hornos* (beehive-shaped outdoor ovens).

The third type is mining communities. Many Latinx Utahns lived in communities associated with mining, such as in Bingham Canyon (no longer extant) or Carbon County. For Latinx residents in these communities, rental properties were common, and many miners and their families rented residences from the mine companies.

The fourth type is ranches or large agricultural properties. Large properties with multiple historic components, such as ranches or large homesteads, are frequently evaluated as districts; ranches or farms owned by Latinx Utahns (such as those in San Juan County) were rare and may be difficult to distinguish from those owned by Anglo agriculturalists. But because of their uniqueness and value in telling an often-neglected aspect of this history, particular care should be given to their identification and registration when located. Anglo ranches with distinct resources related to Latinx workers may be significant within this context and should also be considered for eligibility as districts.

The fifth type is cultural landscapes and rural historic districts. In the case of certain historic practices, properties may be best evaluated as part of a broader cultural landscape. This landscape can exist at multiple levels ranging in size from the region as a whole to a single farmstead or archeological site.

Geographically, neighborhoods and business districts associated with Latinx history are likely to be in areas that historically had, or continue to have, a significant Latinx population, such as the west side of Salt Lake City or the Wall Avenue area of Ogden. Company towns formed intentionally through the influence of mining or agricultural companies are also likely to be located in proximity to agricultural or industrial sites, such as sugar beet farms or mines, and may also represent potential historic districts. Rural historic districts or cultural landscapes are likely to be in rural areas of the state in which significant numbers of Latinx individuals lived or worked, such as San Juan County.

F.1.10.2 Significance

Neighborhoods, business districts, and rural historic districts and cultural landscapes with a significant association with Latinx history in Utah may qualify for the NRHP at the local or statewide level. Neighborhoods and business districts may be significant in the areas of Ethnic Heritage and Community Planning and Development. Rural historic districts or cultural landscapes may be significant in the areas of Ethnic Heritage and Agriculture.

F.1.10.3 Registration Requirements

Noteworthy neighborhoods and business districts will generally be eligible under Criterion A in the areas of Ethnic Heritage and Community Planning and Development for their association with Latinx history in Utah; business districts may also be eligible in the area of Commerce. Comparative analysis of cultural characteristics to reveal a unique or significant historical association will need to be established to prove statewide significance.

Neighborhoods and business districts are unlikely to be eligible under Criterion B. If a neighborhood or business district retains integrity and represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction, it may be eligible under Criterion C in the area of Architecture. As with any historic district, the individual resources will be required to be evaluated for age, integrity, and contributing status based on their historical association to the district. Comparative analysis of neighborhood or district characteristics to reveal a unique or significant type, style, or method of construction will need to be established to prove statewide significance.

Because of the frequent destruction of historically Latinx communities as a result of urban renewal and transportation development, even demolished neighborhoods and business districts have the potential to yield specific information significant to history through their study as archeological districts and sites and therefore to be significant under Criterion

D. Sources of information that would make a neighborhood or district eligible under Criterion D might include building foundations, travel routes, and/or other structures reflecting travel routes and the spatial layout of neighborhoods and cultural artifacts showing patterns of procurement and use. As there have been no existing research programs in the state of Utah with regard to any Latinx topics, Criterion D research questions are better served by the property-specific investigations that would stem from an individual nomination. Although research questions are not provided in this MPDF, they will be required to be identified and developed for each individual nomination.

To retain integrity, neighborhoods and business districts should possess key features relating to their history. The component resources should generally retain integrity of location, design, materials, and workmanship; the neighborhoods and business districts, as a whole, should retain integrity of location, design, setting, feeling, and association. Neighborhoods and business districts associated with Latinx history are likely to have been modified over time. This is particularly the case for urban areas, given the fact that building stock was typically older and in poorer condition when Latinx individuals began using it, and therefore more often required changes or modifications. Additionally, Latinx-owned or Latinx-operated neighborhoods were frequently located in areas that underwent urban renewal during the late twentieth century, resulting in a smaller number of these historic resources. Therefore, minor allowances may be made in terms of integrity (particularly exterior integrity) when evaluating these buildings; existing examples, even if modified, may be significant due to their comparative rarity. However, qualification for what is allowable with regard to impacts on historical integrity will need to be established in the nomination. In the case of rural historic districts or cultural landscapes, the rural nature of the surroundings is typically a key component of integrity. Therefore, it is important that these resources retain integrity in terms of location, setting, and feeling as well as design (particularly in relation to patterns of use).

F.1.11 Monuments and Murals

F.1.11.1 Description

No examples of historic monuments or murals relating to Latinx history from 1943 to 1978 were identified during research, but unidentified examples of this property type may exist in Utah.

F.1.11.2 Significance

Monuments or murals associated with Latinx history may qualify for the NRHP at the local or statewide level. Monuments and murals will be significant in the areas of Art, Ethnic Heritage and Social History. Monuments or murals may commemorate important events in a community's history or may represent artistic achievements by Latinx Utahns.

F.1.11.3 Registration Requirements

Monuments and murals will generally be eligible under Criterion A in the areas of Art and Ethnic Heritage and Social History for their significant association with Latinx history in Utah and may reflect important historic period efforts and activities to recognize important themes, persons, or activities; this may be particularly true for any resources identified with the later Chicano movement, during which mural efforts were common. Because the associations with a specific ethnic group are an important part of their importance in the broader historical narrative, the creation or commissioning of monuments or murals by members of the Latinx community is an important aspect of their history. Commemorative monuments with noteworthy important aesthetic qualities that are associated with an ethnic group's historic identity, that

symbolize the value placed on historic figures, or markers established early in a community's history may be eligible under Criteria Consideration F.

In rare cases where the creator is a significant artist or played significant leadership roles in the Latinx community, a monument or mural may possess significance under Criterion B as well, if no property with a stronger association to the productive life of the artist or creator remains.

Monuments and murals are unlikely to be significant under Criterion C unless they embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, represent the work of a master, show high artistic value, or if they contribute to a historic district. Comparative analysis of characteristics to reveal a unique or significant art style or cultural message or association will need to be established to prove statewide significance.

Monuments and murals are unlikely to be significant under Criterion D unless they have yielded or have the potential to yield through further physical investigation specific information significant to the history of Art or Ethnic Heritage. As there have been no existing research programs in the state of Utah with regard to any Latinx topics, Criterion D research questions are better served by the property-specific investigations that would stem from an individual nomination. Although research questions are not provided in this MPDF, they will be required to be identified and developed for each individual nomination.

Monuments and murals, when considered commemorative properties, are typically not eligible for the NRHP but may be eligible under Criteria Consideration F if they are historic and are significant in their own right (see Section F.2.2.6 for additional information on Criteria Consideration F).

To retain integrity, monuments and murals should possess key features relating to the period of significance associated with their basis in historic events. In particular, they should retain integrity of location, design, materials, workmanship, and feeling.

F.1.12 Residences

F.1.12.1 Description

Residences can vary widely in appearance based on their period of construction, the socioeconomic status of their owners, and the availability of building materials and the architects or craftspeople to build them.

Geographically, residences are likely to be in areas where a significant Latinx population was historically present. In the early twentieth century, the largest Latinx populations in the state were present in Salt Lake City, Ogden, and Utah County. Residences (particularly those of individuals significant for their roles in Latinx history) are therefore most likely to be in those places.

F.1.12.2 Significance

Residences associated with key figures in Latinx communities in Utah may qualify for the NRHP at the local or statewide level. These residences will be significant in the area of Ethnic Heritage; the exact nature of the individual's role within the community (such as a social organizer, business owner, or religious leader) will determine additional areas of significance. These areas might include Social History, Commerce, or Religion. Conversely, an intact example of a

dwelling typical for an average Latinx person or family might be significant in the area of Ethnic Heritage and potentially in the area of Community Planning and Development, as well as Architecture, if it reflects a specific type, period, or method of construction.

F.1.12.3 Registration Requirements

Residences will generally be eligible under Criterion A in the area of Ethnic Heritage for their noteworthy association with Latinx history in Utah; additional areas of significance may also apply depending on the individual.

In the case of residences associated with the lives of key significant individuals in Latinx history, Criterion B may apply. Because of the importance of the individuals with which these residences were associated, they will always be significant under Criterion B unless the residence is not associated with that individual's productive period (such as their community leadership or professional work) or there is a property that better represents their work.

To retain integrity, residences should possess key features relating to the lives of residents. In particular, they should retain integrity of location, design, materials, workmanship, and setting from the period of significance. In the case of properties significant under Criterion B, integrity should remain for the period of significance when the key historic individual lived there.

If a residence retains integrity and embodies significant distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or if it contributes to a historic district, it may be eligible under Criterion C in the area of Architecture.

Residences are unlikely to be significant under Criterion D unless they have yielded or have the potential to yield through further physical investigation specific significant information significant to one of the areas of significance. As there have been no existing research programs in the state of Utah with regard to any Latinx topics, Criterion D research questions are better served by the property-specific investigations that would stem from an individual nomination. Although research questions are not provided in this MPDF, they will be required to be identified and developed for each individual nomination.

The following requirements must be met for residential examples to be considered eligible for the NRHP.

1. The building was constructed between 1943 and 1978 and used as a residence during the historic period outlined in this MPDF.
2. The building relates to the historic period and is significant under Criterion A, B, C, or D.
3. The building retains sufficient integrity to convey its significance, particularly in the aspects of location, design, materials, workmanship, and feeling. Common integrity considerations include the following:
    a. Minor and easily reversible changes (such as the addition of awnings over windows, the replacement of doors, or the replacement of a front porch with one similar in scale and design) generally will not affect eligibility.
    b. The addition of modern siding by itself generally may not render the building not eligible. However, if combined with other significant changes, like window replacement or an addition on the façade, the building will most likely not be eligible. For example, if the building has been covered with newer siding but generally retains its original form, massing, and a few windows or other significant architectural features, it may be considered eligible. Similarly, one of these house types that retains its original siding but has newer windows

or a new porch, or a significant addition on the side or rear of the house, may also be considered eligible. Each case will be evaluated individually for integrity.

c. The building retains its original fenestration pattern on the primary façade. The non-public-facing elevations of a building should retain much of the original fenestration pattern. However, while greater modifications to the rear are acceptable, all modifications and impacts on historical integrity will be assessed on an individual basis.

d. Alterations that are more than 50 years old and reflect architectural trends of a later historic period may have achieved significance in their own right and will not necessarily affect integrity, based on their association with the period of significance; any alterations and additions will be evaluated on an individual basis.

F.2 Significance Criteria

F.2.1 National Register Criteria

F.2.1.1 Criterion A

Properties significant under Criterion A are "associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history" (NPS 1997a:2). Latinx-related resources may qualify for local, regional, state, or national significance under Criterion A for contributing to the broad patterns of history. Latinx individuals and groups have been involved with many patterns of Utah history, including exploration, settlement, community development, religious practice, social and cultural expression, agriculture, industry, and transportation work. Properties associated with Latinx history may be eligible under Criterion A through their association either with specific events or, more commonly, with trends or patterns in history at local or state levels.

F.2.1.2 Criterion B

Properties significant under Criterion B are "associated with the lives of persons significant in our past" (NPS 1997a:2). Eligibility of resources under Criterion B is likely to be associated with key figures in the community who were important in leading or shaping Latinx history in the state. Some property types that might be eligible at the local level under Criterion B include homes or businesses associated with persons important in organizing or leading cultural or religious organizations, important business or political leaders, or other key persons in the community.

F.2.1.3 Criterion C

Properties significant under Criterion C are those that "embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction" (NPS 1997a:2). A building or district (whether residential, commercial, agricultural, or industrial) that retains a high proportion of original features might be significant under Criterion C because it embodies the distinctive characteristics of a particular type or period of construction or is a significant and distinguishable entity whose components cumulatively relate to a specific historic period in Utah's Latinx history. A house or apartment building that represents the work of a master may also be significant under Criterion C.

F.2.1.4 Criterion D

Properties significant under Criterion D "have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history" (NPS 1997a:2). Criterion D can apply to architectural properties but is most commonly applied to archeological sites. Any project involving ground disturbance in traditionally Latinx neighborhoods or in areas of company or worker housing has the potential to offer information relating to the material culture and lives of past residents.

F.2.2 Criteria Considerations

The NPS, in the early 1980s, after its first 15 years of reviewing nominations and registering properties nationwide, responded to questions and criticisms about the eligibility of certain properties by issuing the criteria considerations. The following quotes and approaches for applying the criteria considerations to properties associated with Utah's Latinx history are taken from *National Register Bulletin* 15 (NPS 1997a).

F.2.2.1 Criteria Consideration A: Religious Properties

Ordinarily, properties owned by religious institutions or used for religious purposes are not considered eligible for the NRHP. "A religious property's significance under [NRHP] Criterion A, B, C, or D must be judged in purely secular terms" (NPS 1997a:26). Typically, a house of worship might be eligible under Criterion C for its significant architectural merits. If the building is potentially eligible under Criterion A for events or Criterion B for persons, those associations typically cannot be religious in nature unless an extensive case is made for significance that transcends the regular religious associations with the building and its congregation. In the case of Utah's Latinx history, houses of worship were frequently also used by congregations and communities as sites for cultural and social events and for community building beyond religious worship. These uses may enable a religious property to be nominated under Criteria Consideration A.

F.2.2.2 Criteria Consideration B: Moved Properties

Ordinarily, properties moved from their original locations and contexts are not considered eligible for the NRHP. Regarding moved properties, the NRHP states, "significance is embodied in locations and settings as well as in the properties themselves. Moving a property destroys the relationships between the property and its surroundings and destroys associations with historic events and persons" (NPS 1997a:29). Criteria Consideration B states that for buildings and structures with exceptional significance through their design, materials, and workmanship, a case for sustained eligibility might be made for the property after its move if its new setting and orientation are similar to its original location or if it is the surviving structure most importantly associated with a historic person or event. Additionally, for a neighborhood with a historically large Latinx population eligible as a district, a small percentage of buildings moved within or out of the district would not disqualify it, especially if those resources were less significant to the function of the district as a whole (such as storage sheds or other minor outbuildings). Likewise, buildings moved into the district during its period of significance—for example, relocated from nearby neighborhoods—would be contributing to the district. Similarly, boxcars or temporary housing used for railroad camps and, potentially, worker housing in agricultural or mining areas, for which transportability was integral to their design and which were frequently moved throughout their period of significance, may also qualify under Criteria Consideration B.

F.2.2.3 Criteria Consideration C: Birthplaces and Graves

Ordinarily, birthplaces and graves are not considered eligible for the NRHP: "Birthplaces and graves, as properties that represent the beginning and the end of the life of distinguished individuals, may be temporally and geographically far removed from the person's significant activities, and therefore are not considered eligible" (NPS 1997a:32). However, under Criteria Consideration C, a grave or cemetery in a historic district can contribute to that district if it is not the main resource or focal point of the district. A birthplace or grave of a historical figure of outstanding importance can also be eligible if there is no more representative site or building directly associated with his or her productive life. An example of a birthplace or grave relating to Latinx history that might be eligible for listing in the NRHP is that of an important figure in Latinx history for which a more representative site or building directly associated with their productive life does not exist.

F.2.2.4 Criteria Consideration D: Cemeteries

Ordinarily, cemeteries are not considered eligible for the NRHP. The NRHP criteria "allow for listing of cemeteries under certain conditions" (NPS 1997a:34). Cemeteries can be listed in the NRHP without applying Criteria Consideration D if they are associated with a more dominant resource such as a church (but see Criteria Consideration A); eligible under Criterion D for their potential to yield significant information and answer research questions; or eligible as contributing properties in a district where the cemetery is not the "focal point of the district" (NPS 1997a:34). Otherwise, if the cemetery itself is considered eligible under Criterion A, B, or C, an extensive case—consideration—must be made for the cemetery's exceptional significance. Consideration includes cemeteries as districts that are eligible as rural or designed landscapes. Cemeteries may also be eligible under Criteria Consideration D if they include the graves of "persons of transcendent importance," are the earliest cemetery in a region, have distinctive design values (such as those related to aesthetic principals of landscaping), are associated with important historic events (such as those associated with the settlement of an area by a specific ethnic group), or have the potential to yield important information (NPS 1997a:2). For example, the Monticello Cemetery, which reflects burial practices and ethnic relations in a key Latinx community in the state during a period for which few more representative sites or buildings exist, might be eligible for listing in the NRHP under Criteria Consideration D.

F.2.2.5 Criteria Consideration E: Reconstructed Properties

Ordinarily, reconstructed properties are not considered eligible for the NRHP. Reconstructed properties "fall into two categories: buildings wholly constructed of new materials and buildings reassembled from some historic and some new materials. Both categories present problems in meeting the integrity requirements of the National Register criteria," particularly materials, workmanship, and feeling (NPS 1997a:37). However, when accurately executed in a suitable manner and presented as part of a restoration master plan, and when no other building or structure with the same association has survived, a reconstructed property may be eligible for listing in the NRHP under Criteria Consideration E.

F.2.2.6 Criteria Consideration F: Commemorative Properties

Ordinarily, commemorative properties are not considered eligible for the NRHP. Properties—typically objects such as monuments and sculptures, "designed and constructed after the occurrence of an important historic event or after the life of an important person," are significant because of "their value as cultural expressions at the date of their creation. . . . A commemorative property generally must be over fifty years old and must possess significance based on its own value, not on the event or person being memorialized. . . . [A] commemorative property may, however, acquire significance after the

time of its creation through *age*, *tradition*, or *symbolic* value" (NPS 1997a:39, 40). Under Criteria Consideration F, an object, such as a historic marker erected more than 50 years ago to commemorate a significant event in Latinx history, might be eligible for listing in the NRHP under Criteria Consideration F.

F.2.2.7 Criteria Consideration G: Properties That Have Achieved Significance within the Last 50 Years

Ordinarily, properties constructed within the last 50 years are not considered eligible for the NRHP. The general standard for a property to be considered of historic age is for it to be 50 years of age or older. However, properties of "exceptional importance" may still be considered significant even if they are less than 50 years old. "The phrase 'exceptional importance' may be applied to the extraordinary importance of an event or to an entire category of resources so fragile that survivors of any age are unusual" (NPS 1997a:42). A property can qualify as exceptionally important at the local, state, or national level; it is not necessary for a property to be significant at the national level in order to qualify as exceptionally important.

F.2.3 Areas of Significance

As noted above, many NRHP areas of significance are applicable to Latinx history in Utah. As with the NRHP criteria, a historic property need only be associated with one area to reflect significance under a criterion. But often a property is significant under more than one area of significance and under one or more criteria. The definitions of the areas of significance, as provided in *National Register Bulletin* 15 and 16A (NPS 1997a, 1997b), are listed below.

Agriculture is "the process and technology of cultivating soil, producing crops, and raising livestock and plants" (NPS 1997b:40). Agriculture may relate to property types owned or primarily used by Latinx farmers, ranchers, or agricultural laborers and may include residential or work-related building types, as well as broader agricultural landscapes, particularly those used and inhabited by sheepherders.

Archeology is "[t]he study of prehistoric and historic cultures through excavation and the analysis of physical remains" (NPS 1997b:40). Archeology may relate to archeological properties or to property types for which standing structures and buildings no longer remain but for which surface or subsurface remains do. Properties significant in the area of archeology are typically significant under Criterion D for yielding, or being likely to yield, information important in history.

Architecture is "the practical art of designing and constructing buildings and structures to serve human needs" (NPS 1997b:40). Architecture may relate to property types designed or built by well-known Latinx architects; vernacular buildings that represent a specific type, period, or method of construction; as well as property types with high artistic values.

Art is "the creation of painting, printmaking, photography, sculpture, and decorative arts" (NPS 1997b:40). Property types in which Latinx artists or craftspeople did their work, such as studios, or property types significant in the display or marketing of that artwork, may relate to this area of significance. Works of art designed by or commemorating Latinx Utahns or their heritage, such as sculptures or other objects, may also relate to this area of significance.

Commerce is "the business of trading goods, services, and commodities" (NPS 1997b:40). Latinx business owners conducted commerce in the operation of their businesses. Associated property types might include retail stores, markets, restaurants, bars, or other businesses owned and/or operated by Latinx Utahns.

Community Planning and Development is "the design or development of the physical structure of communities" (NPS 1997b:40). This area may relate to town founding and development, as well as the growth of ethnic or cultural enclaves within specific cities, particularly as a result of policies of redlining or segregation.

Education is "the process of conveying or acquiring knowledge or skills through systematic instruction, training, or study" (NPS 1997b:40). This area may relate to educational institutions or facilities primarily used or operated by Latinx communities or other institutions that provided education to Latinx individuals (such as the Anchorage school or the Guadalupe Mission, which operated a summer school attended by a large number of Latinx youths).

Entertainment/Recreation is "the development and practice of leisure activities for refreshment, diversion, amusement, or sport" (NPS 1997b:40). This area may relate to both public and private spaces used by Latinx Utahns for recreation or entertainment.

Ethnic Heritage is "the history of persons having a common ethnic or racial identity" (NPS 1997b:40). Property types relating specifically to Latinx history and ethnic heritage may fall under this area.

Exploration/Settlement is "the investigation of unknown or little-known regions; the establishment and earliest development of new settlements or communities" (NPS 1997b:41). This area relates to property types that reflect early Latinx exploration and settlement within the state. Properties may include inscriptions or other markers left by early Latinx explorers (such as the Domínguez-Escalante Expedition's "Paso Por Aqui Ano 1776" inscription), campsites or other archeological remains of exploring expeditions, and architectural or archeological remains of early settlements used by or associated with the lives of Latinx individuals, such as forts connected to the fur trade.

Industry is "the technology and process of managing materials, labor, and equipment to produce goods and services" (NPS 1997b:41). This broad area relates to a wide variety of property types, ranging from the sugar beet processing plants in which many Latinx Utahns worked, copper or coal mining-related buildings and structures, and, potentially, company-owned housing used by Latinx industrial workers.

Performing Arts is "the creation of drama, dance, and music" (NPS 1997b:41). This area may apply to property types in which Latinx entertainers and artists performed, practiced, composed, or otherwise developed their art, including theaters and clubs.

Politics/Government is "the enactment and administration of laws by which a nation, State, or other political jurisdiction is governed; activities related to political process" (NPS 1997b:41). This area relates to property types in which the functions of politics and government occurred as well as those relating to the history of government policy or assistance. Examples of property types include state or local government buildings, buildings housing the offices of government officials, and public areas associated with significant political lobbying or protest events.

Religion is "the organized system of beliefs, practices, and traditions regarding mankind's relationship to perceived supernatural forces" (NPS 1997b:41). This area relates to places of worship important to Latinx Utahns; property types may include formal houses of worship as well as informal religious gathering places.

Social History is "the history of efforts to promote the welfare of society; the history of society and the lifeways of its social groups" (NPS 1997b:41). This broad area can draw together such diverse property types as headquarters of social organizations and civil rights groups, schools, or public or private meeting places.

Transportation is "the process and technology of conveying passengers or materials" (NPS 1997b:41). This area relates to resources important in the construction, maintenance, or operation of transportation systems and may include physical transportation systems (such as railroad tracks) constructed or maintained by Latinx workers (traqueros), as well as resources related to the lives of traqueros while working for railroads, such as section houses or boxcars used for temporary and moveable housing.

These areas of significance are not the only categories that will supplement appropriate criteria; others may be applicable depending on specific properties. See NPS (1997a) for further definitions.

F.2.4 Period of Significance

Determining the period of significance for a historic property or district often depends on the criterion under which it is deemed significant. For properties associated under Criterion A with historic events or trends, the date range of that event or trend is typically that property's period of significance. For properties associated with significant persons under Criterion B, the dates of that person's encounter with the resource are paramount; some people may be famous for activities in other places at other times, but only their association with the evaluated historic property is considered for significance—and thus NRHP registration—under Criterion B. For an architectural property under Criterion C, the construction year is most often the beginning of its period of significance, and the end is usually the point when construction ended (for some properties, the period of significance is a single year). For properties associated under Criterion D with the potential to yield information related to history, the period of significance is defined by research questions that the resource can address in relation to the integrity of the resource. Materials must be related to significant research questions and retain a level of integrity that allows a discrete assessment of temporal data to be made.

For a district, the date of construction of its earliest contributing resource, or the earliest associated event reflected in surviving properties in the district, is the beginning date. The end date for the period of significance of a district often, although not always, runs to 50 years prior to evaluation (for example, 1974 for evaluation in 2024). The end date for a district's period of significance can also be a specific date, such as when the initial period of construction of a neighborhood ended or when it ceased to be associated with a certain event or group of people.

F.3 Aspects of Integrity

As defined in *National Register Bulletin* 15, "Integrity is the ability of a property to convey its significance" (NPS 1997a:44). The integrity of a property is defined by the seven aspects of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. To convey its significance under one or more NRHP criteria, a property must retain integrity in several, or (more usually) most, of these aspects. Most important are those aspects that are vital to the significance of the property and which help to create its historic identity. Overall, a property either retains integrity (its historic identity) or it does not; integrity is binary rather than on a scale.

F.3.1 Location

Location "is the place where the historic property was constructed or the place where the historic event occurred" (NPS 1997a:44). Put simply, this means that a property's features should not have been moved to or from their locations during or after their periods of significance. For a Latinx heritage–related building, structure, or object to be significant under NRHP criteria and retain integrity of location, the resource must remain in the same location that it occupied during the period of significance (construction or the event of association). All moved properties should be evaluated under Criteria

Consideration B, which further defines properties that must comply or are exempt. Properties that were moved before their period of significance do not need to meet this standard.

F.3.2 Design

Design "is the combination of elements that create the form, plan, space, structure, and style of a property" (NPS 1997a:44). The design of a property is a result of all the decisions that go into its creation, including how buildings and structures were built and the overall layout of a given property or landscape. In the case of a residence or business, this may include the physical layout of the property as well as the form and plan of buildings. For archeological sites or landscapes, it may relate more to the ways in which the site was used. It is important to note, however, that design also encompasses historic systems and technologies as well as physical layouts. As *National Register Bulletin* 15 states, design "includes such considerations as [a building's] structural system; massing; arrangement of spaces; pattern of fenestration; textures and colors of surface materials; type, amount, and style of ornamental detailing; and arrangement and type of plantings in a designed landscape" (NPS 1997a:44).

F.3.3 Setting

Setting "is the physical environment of a historic property" (NPS 1997a:45) and means that the area around a property should remain similar to what it was during the property's period of significance. For a Latinx history–related property or district to be significant under NRHP criteria and retain integrity of setting, it must exhibit its "relationships between . . . buildings and other features [and] open space." Setting is retained within the property's boundary and "between the property and its surroundings," even when surrounding features are outside the NRHP boundary (NPS 1997a:45). Setting refers to the character of the place in which the property played its historic role. Setting often reflects the basic physical conditions under which a property was built and functioned during its period of significance. It can also reflect the builder's or designer's concepts of nature and aesthetic preferences, particularly when the property is set within a cultural landscape. The physical characteristics of setting can be natural or human made, including surrounding development, open spaces, and nearby streets, and (in the case of historic districts) the relationships between buildings and structures within the property boundary. Setting frequently includes historically significant views.

F.3.4 Materials

Materials "are the physical elements that were combined or deposited during a particular period of time and in a particular pattern or configuration to form a historic property" (NPS 1997a:45). Properties that reflect this aspect should retain the original materials that defined them. For a Latinx history–related property to be significant under NRHP criteria and retain integrity of materials, it must "retain the key exterior materials dating from the period of . . . historic significance" and "reveal the preferences of those who created the property and indicate the availability of particular types of materials and technologies" (NPS 1997a:45).Vernacular buildings are often built using local or easily obtained materials, and these help define the building's relationship to its geographic area and provide a sense of time and place. Comparing a property's material integrity to similar resources is often helpful when determining whether a property retains sufficient integrity of materials.

F.3.5 Workmanship

Workmanship "is the physical evidence of the crafts of a particular culture or people during any given period in history or prehistory" (NPS 1997a:45). For a Latinx history–related property to be significant under NRHP criteria and retain integrity of workmanship, it must preserve the exterior construction materials present during the period of significance, retain "evidence of the crafts," and illustrate "the aesthetic principles of a historic period." In addition, workmanship reveals "individual, local, [and] regional . . . applications of both technological practices and aesthetic principles" (NPS 1997a:45). Workmanship can be expressed in vernacular methods of construction and plain finishes or highly sophisticated configurations. Examples of workmanship can include tooling, carving, painting, graining, turning, and joinery.

F.3.6 Feeling

Feeling "is a property's expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time," which results from the presence of physical features that combine to convey a property's historic character (NPS 1997a:45). Extensive modification to properties and/or their surroundings is likely to have a detrimental effect on their integrity of feeling. The retention of the original design, materials, workmanship, and setting will strongly convey the feeling of a property's relationship with Latinx history.

F.3.7 Association

Association "is the direct link between an important historic event or person and a historic property" (NPS 1997a:45). For a property to be significant under NRHP criteria and retain integrity of association, its physical setting must be "sufficiently intact to convey" its period of significance to an observer, particularly anyone familiar with the property during its identified period (NPS 1997a:45). Integrity of association draws strength from other exhibited aspects of integrity, particularly design, materials, workmanship, and setting.

F.3.2 Linking Significance Criteria and Integrity

F.3.2.1 Integrity under Criteria A and B

A property that is significant under Criterion A or B is eligible if it retains the essential physical features that characterized its appearance during the period of its association with the important event, historic pattern, or person(s). For example, the residence of an important Latinx community leader, which is where they did the majority of their leadership work and which retains its essential physical features from that period of association, will be eligible under Criterion A or B. Another example of such a property would be the business of a prominent Latinx entrepreneur. If it retains its essential physical features from the period during which that entrepreneur worked there, that property will also be eligible under Criterion A or B.

Archeological sites eligible under Criterion A or B must have limited disturbance with excellent preservation of features, artifacts, and spatial relationships to the extent that they remain able to convey important associations with events, historic patterns, or persons. For example, the remains of a historic residence or business as a site where the buildings are no longer standing, but where foundations and/or cultural artifacts remain intact and in a condition able to express their relationship to each other and to significant people or activities that took place there, may retain integrity of location, association, and setting. It will therefore be eligible under Criterion A or B.

F.3.2.2 Integrity under Criterion C

A property (including a district) significant for illustrating a particular architectural style, type, or construction technique must retain the majority of the external physical features that characterize the style, type, or technique. Some historic material loss is acceptable depending on the style or architectural type, but a property is not eligible under Criterion C if it only retains some basic massing and has lost the majority of physical features (or buildings in the case of a district) that once characterized it. Due to patterns of urban renewal during the late twentieth century that disproportionately resulted in the demolition or removal of low-income and minority neighborhoods, many important Latinx resources dating to the early twentieth century no longer remain. Furthermore, it may be difficult for some Latinx resources to meet typical standards of integrity due to their locations in already economically marginalized areas as well as the higher proportion of older building stock in poor condition due to disinvestment and economic disadvantage. In situations where a resource may be significant but is marginal in terms of integrity, greater weight should be given to location and association over materials and workmanship when gauging integrity to allow for these factors.

F.3.2.3 Integrity under Criterion D

Archeological sites do not exist in the present as they did when they were formed. Cultural and natural processes always alter deposited materials and their spatial relationships. Therefore, integrity under Criterion D is based upon the property's ability to yield information and to answer research questions. For example, the archeological remnants of a long-term campsite used by a Latinx sheepherder would retain integrity under Criterion D if subsurface materials had experienced little disturbance. However, if subsurface materials had been disturbed through extensive looting or major ground-disturbing activities (such as construction projects), integrity might no longer remain. A property, such as a building or structure, that can offer important information by answering historic research questions through its physical material or design may also be eligible under Criterion D. For example, a house occupied by a Latinx sugar beet worker that retains its original design, materials, and workmanship may offer otherwise unavailable information about the lifestyle, daily activities, and even building construction methods used by similar individuals throughout the state; it might therefore be eligible for listing in the NRHP under Criterion D.

F.3.2.4 Integrity and Districts

The majority of individual components that comprise a district must retain their individual integrity: "For a district to retain integrity as a whole, the majority of the components that make up the district's historic character must possess integrity even if they are individually undistinguished. In addition, the relationships among the district's components must be substantially unchanged since the period of significance" (NPS 1997a:46). A district's historic character is the result not just of buildings and structures but also the relationship between properties, which is defined by design components such as building setbacks and height, vacant lots, sidewalks, patterns of infill, and streetscapes. When studying the impact of non-contributing intrusions in a district, the evaluation should take into consideration their number, size, scale, design, and location. A component of a district cannot be contributing if it was built after the period of significance; has been substantially altered outside the period of significance; or, based on this historic context document, does not share historic associations with contributing resources in the district. The integrity of rural historic districts and cultural landscapes depend heavily on their design and function as a complete system; because these are generally found in undeveloped areas and will often not include buildings or structures that can be clearly tied to a historic period, temporally diagnostic artifacts will often be key indicators of the age of a property.

G. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

For this MPDF (and for all historic periods discussed in it), the geographical area is the state of Utah. Although larger Latinx populations were historically centered in specific areas of the state (such as Salt Lake City, Provo/Orem, Ogden, Carbon County, and Bingham Canyon), this context considers Latinx history on a broad, statewide scale.

H. SUMMARY OF IDENTIFICATION AND EVALUATION METHODS

H.1 Research Methods and Data Sources

This MPDF is intended to provide a general context and guidance to assist with the identification and evaluation of Latinx history–related resources throughout the state of Utah and a context and guidance for future NRHP nominations of Latinx history–related resources, both archeological and architectural. Background information in the historic context is based on primary and secondary source material, particularly existing histories, theses and dissertations, articles, and other published academic resources, publicly available archival records, federal population census data, and existing site and property data from state and federal databases.

Information was obtained from multiple repositories, including SWCA's in-house library, the University of Utah J. Willard Marriott Library and Special Collections, the Utah State Historical Society and Utah State Archives, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Church History Library, the Brigham Young University Harold B. Lee Library and L. Tom Perry Special Collections, the Utah State University Merrill-Cazier Library and Special Collections and Archives, the Weber State University Stewart Library, and online catalogs and databases, including Ancestry, the Utah Digital Newspapers archive, the National Archives, and the LOC.

When conducting research, SWCA utilized the methodology listed below.

H.1.1 National Background

It was important to first understand Utah's Latinx history within a broader national framework, which was drawn exclusively from secondary sources, including the following:

- Other Latinx history–related contexts and MPDFs
- Published histories and scholarly articles

H.1.2 State and Regional Background

The majority of state-level research concentrated on existing secondary source documents, including the following:

- Published or unpublished histories
- Scholarly articles

- NRHP or State Register of Historic Places nomination forms
- Master's theses and doctoral dissertations

State-level research also incorporated a limited amount of primary source research. This was directed research, designed to fill in identified gaps in the historic record.

Primary sources that were consulted for each region included the following:

- Digitized newspapers (available through the Newspapers.com website)
    - These newspapers were text searched for key words relating to Latinx history, activities or careers frequently associated with Latinx residents, and places or municipalities with known Latinx populations.
    - Only digitized newspapers were reviewed; no hard copies were used.
    - Research using historic newspapers was used to supplement secondary source research and to identify potential resource types and locations.
- Transcribed oral histories
    - Oral histories offered important insight into the lived experiences of individuals.
    - Due to time and budgetary constraints, only oral histories that had been transcribed and had transcriptions available digitally were consulted.
    - Only oral histories in English were consulted.
- Census data (available through the U.S. Census Bureau)
    - Historic census data provided information about the locations, growth, and movement patterns of Utah's Latinx communities. Census data provided a broad statistical view of the lives of Latinx residents of the state; data were not used to trace the histories of specific individuals.
- Archival records and collections
    - Only collections that had been catalogued and had finding aids available were considered for review.
    - Due to time and budgetary constraints, only a limited amount of primary source archival research was done using collections most directly relevant to patterns of history at the state and regional levels; research targeted broader areas of research rather than the specific lives and histories of individuals.

H.1.3 Population Census Data

In order to supplement information from secondary sources, census records from 1950 through 1980 were also searched for persons of Latinx birth and/or ethnicity. The U.S. Census Bureau website was used for this purpose. Given the project limitations, in addition to the level of data available publicly at this time, census data could only be quickly scanned for information pertaining to the numbers and locations of Latinx Utahns and for general information on employment types, gender, and age. However, much richer demographic information remains to be gleaned from the census data, including details on immigration years and patterns, a more comprehensive study of households and how they changed through time, the movement of Latinx individuals into and out of Utah after arriving in the United States, and so forth.

Population census data represents a unique challenge when researching Latinx history because the meaning of Latinx identity in terms of race and ethnicity has shifted extensively throughout the twentieth century. At various times, and in various places and contexts, Latinx people were regarded as White, Black, Native American, and (in the case of the 1930 census) formally defined as "Mexican" by the U.S. Census Bureau. "Mexican" was dropped in the 1940 Census and no Latinx associated classification was included in either the 1950 or the 1960 census (U.S. Census Bureau 2015). Latinx associated classifications were included, and expanded, in the 1970 and 1980 census (U.S. Census Bureau 2015); however, due to the recentness of these census counts, statistical data for Latinx population in Utah is only available at a very generalized level.

The totals and data derived from this search and processing method are presented as fact in this MPDF for clarity but should be regarded instead as the best available estimates based to some degree on an arbitrary judgement on the part of those processing the data. Additionally, it should be noted that minority and low-income populations are typically underrepresented today, and this was likely even more true historically. The frequent changes of residence of many members of Utah's Latinx population historically would have further exacerbated low representation in census data.

H.1.4 Advisory Committee

In addition to historic research, the context incorporated the feedback and insight of representatives from Latinx communities and local experts on Latinx history throughout the state. To achieve this, an Advisory Committee was convened, composed of the following six individuals with an interest in the project from academic and cultural communities throughout Utah:

- Javier Chaves, Jr.
- Lourdes Cooke
- David-James Gonzales
- Xris Macias
- Manuel Romero
- Armando Solorzano

The role of the Advisory Committee was to assist in identifying research sources and significant properties, to review the context, and to facilitate outreach to Latinx communities and organizations about the project. Although budgetary constraints only allowed for one digital Advisory Committee meeting, SWCA solicited committee members for feedback on potential primary and secondary sources, property types, and historic properties.

Dr. Armando Solórzano, associate professor at the University of Utah, provided invaluable assistance with community outreach, Advisory Committee organization, and research and context review.

H.2 Research Limitations and Potential Data Sources for Future National Register of Historic Places Evaluations and Nominations

A wide variety of repositories and sources of historical documentation was consulted for this study, but due to the generalized nature and purpose of an MPDF, the research was not exhaustive. As a part of future research efforts on specific topics or properties, additional sources of information may include regional libraries or repositories (such as the Uintah County Library System or local Family History Centers associated with The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints), Region 4 of the U.S. Forest Service (which maintains extensive archives relating to grazing and ranching on National Forest land throughout the state), the Western Mining & Railroad Museum, historic agricultural census data (which were not examined in depth for this document but which can often provide insight into agricultural practices and the lives of agricultural workers), and interviews or oral histories with members of Utah's Latinx communities. Other potential sources include local social or cultural organizations, local historical societies, local government offices, and private repositories.

Several historic map and imagery sources (General Land Office [GLO] maps, historical topographic maps, historic aerial imagery, and Sanborn Map Company [Sanborn] fire insurance maps) are also available for many areas and municipalities in Utah (Table 6).

GLO maps were created as a result of the Land Ordinance Act of 1785, which authorized the U.S. Department of the Treasury to survey and sell public domain land as a source of revenue (BLM 2024). In addition, the "Act also established the policy of 'survey before settlement,'" which led to the use of a rectangular survey system to definitively identify lands with a legal description (BLM 2024). The resulting maps show not only land parcels but the roads, major landforms, and features like buildings and structures the surveyors thought important to document throughout the state; these were not examined due to time constraints. GLO maps may provide additional information about specific resources, as well as more general information about cultural landscapes and regional development, for future research and NRHP nominations of specific resources.

The U.S. Geological Survey's (USGS's) TopoView online historical topographic map collection is an easily accessed source for topographic maps of the Uinta Basin; these maps range in scale from 1:24,000 to 1:250,000. This online collection allows a user to download topographic maps in several formats. At present, the USGS's National Geospatial Program is still scanning and georeferencing maps, and when the collection is complete, it will include scans of paper maps from 1884 through 2010; at present, the collection includes 178,000 maps (USGS 2024). While these maps may be of limited application in identifying Latinx resources outright, they may provide useful information when nominating specific previously identified resources to the NRHP (particularly those in rural areas) by providing records of landscape development and use, travel routes, and historic landownership.

Historical aerial imagery can complement topographic maps during background research and confirm property and/or structure locations and patterns of community development, depending on the quality of the imagery. Imagery available from the Utah Geological Survey's aerial imagery collection dates from 1935 through the present.

Sanborn maps are available only for urban areas. The maps were created beginning in 1866 by surveyor D. A. Sanborn to provide fire insurance agents with information about existing properties and allowed agents to identify hazards that might pose a risk to insured properties. The maps typically detail construction materials and building shapes, with the owner or

associated shop name or business type noted. Sanborn maps can be used to learn about the history of buildings or areas in mapped cities and towns. Sanborn maps for many municipalities throughout the state from the historic period between 1884 and 1955 are available digitally from the University of Utah.

Lastly, this report only includes published data available in English. Spanish-language sources, such as oral histories, were noted but were not utilized in the course of this project. As a result, additional historical information is likely to be available relating to this topic of history and bears additional investigation for researchers in the future. Although its omission is unlikely to change the overall history described in Section E, the use of these sources is likely to provide important details and information from Latinx Utahns that will enrich future studies and assist with the evaluation and nomination of specific resources.

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United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Name of Property Statewide; Utah
County and State Historic Latinx Resources in Utah, 1943 to 1978
Name of multiple listing (if applicable)

Figure 1. The Notre Dame School, Price, Utah, 1927 (Utah Department of Culture and Community Engagement 1927).

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Name of Property Statewide; Utah
County and State Historic Latinx Resources in Utah, 1943 to 1978
Name of multiple listing (if applicable)

Figure 2. Guadalupe Center, Salt Lake City, Utah, ca. 1970. (Utah Department of Culture and Community Engagement n.d.).

Table 1. Chronological Summary of Latinx History in the United States and Utah, 1942–1978

Date	Event
1942	**Bracero Program** Established by executive order as the Mexican Farm Labor Program resulting from a series of diplomatic agreements between the United States and Mexico, the Bracero Program allowed millions of Mexican men to work legally in the United States on short-term labor contracts as a means to address the shortage of agricultural workers during World War II (LOC 2023).
	People v. Zamora Also known as the Sleepy Lagoon murder trial, in which prosecutors for the State of California cited zoot suits and Pachuco hairstyles sported by Hispanic, Black, and Filipino youth as evidence of guilt (LOC 2023).
1943	**Zoot Suit Riots** Violent altercations—spurred by the three first-degree and nine second-degree murder convictions from the People v. Zamora trial—that took place over 10 days in the Los Angeles area between zoot suiters, who saw their attire as a source of community pride, and military service members stationed in Southern California, who in saw the suits' abundant fabric and showy nature as rebuffs to wartime austerity measures (LOC 2023).
1944	**Convictions Reversed** The California Court of Appeals reversed all 12 murder convictions from the People v. Zamora trial (LOC 2023).
	Fair Employment Practice Bill Sen. Dennis Chavez of New Mexico introduced the first Fair Employment Practices Bill, which prohibited discrimination because of race, creed, or national origin. The bill failed but set a steppingstone for the 1964 Civil Rights Act (Learning for Justice 2023).
1945	**Latinx Veterans Seeking a United Home Front** Latinx veterans return home from World War II with a new feeling of unity, seeking equal rights in the country they defended. They used their G.I. benefits for personal advancement, college education, and buying homes (Learning for Justice 2023)

Date	Event
1946	**Mendez v. Westminster School District of Orange County** The Nonth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that it was unconstitutional and unlawful to forcibly segregate Mexican American students by focusing on Mexican ancestry, skin color, and the Spanish language. This case forged a foundation upholding the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, thereby strengthening the landmark Supreme Court ruling in Brown v. Board of Education in 1954, which found racial segregation in public schools unconstitutional (LOC 2023).
1948	American G.I. Forum Latinx veterans organized American G.I. Forum (AGIF) in Texas to combat discrimination and improve the status of Latinx. Branches spread to 23 states, including Utah (National Museum of American History 2020).
1954	**Hernandez v. State of Texas** The U.S. Supreme Court ruled that Mexican Americans have equal protection under the law; the court unanimously agreed that the "exclusion of otherwise eligible persons from jury service solely because of their ancestry or national origin is discrimination prohibited by the 14th Amendment" (LOC 2023).
	Operation Wetback Instituted by President Dwight Eisenhower and named for a racial pejorative, these military-style roundups were led by the Immigration Bureau and Border Patrol and aimed toward removing illegal workers; the program claimed to have deported one million Mexicans, many of whom were United States citizens of Mexican descent (UTA 2019).
1959	**Ritchie Valens Dies in Plane Crash** A plane carrying musicians Ritchie Valens, Buddy Holly, and "The Big Bopper" J. P. Richardson crashes near Clear Lake, Iowa, killing everyone on board. Valens, who was just 17 years old when he died, is the first Mexican American rock and roll star, scoring four hit records (*Donna* and *La Bamba* among them) in his 8-month-long career (History 2023).
1961	**Bay of Pigs** On April 17, U.S.-trained Cuban exiles invaded their homeland during the botched Bay of Pigs invasion in a failed attempt to overthrow dictator Fidel Castro. Soon after his inauguration, President John F. Kennedy authorized the plan. When the 1,400 exiles land at the Bay of Pigs on Cuba's southern coast, they come under a swift counterattack by 20,000 Cuban troops, and the invasion ends April 19, with nearly all of the exiles surrendering and 100 dead. Two months later, the prisoners begin to be released in exchange for $53 million worth of medicine and baby food (History 2023).

Date	Event
1962	**United Farm Workers Union** The National Farm Workers Association (NFWA), a predecessor of the United Farm Workers (UFW), was founded in Delano, California. Cesar Chavez, alongside Dolores Huerta and other Chicano activists within this organization, defended the rights of farmworkers by employing nonviolent organizing tactics rooted in Catholic social teaching, Chicano identity, and civil rights rhetoric (LOC 2023).
1963	**First Bilingual Education Program** Miami's Coral Way Elementary School offered the nation's first bilingual education program in public schools under a grant from the Ford Foundation (Learning for Justice 2023).
1964	**Civil Rights Act of 1964** The landmark Civil Rights Act of 1964 is signed into by President Lyndon B. Johnson, outlawing discrimination based on race, sex, religion, color, or national origin. The act also created the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to enforce federal job discrimination laws. One immediate effect of the act was an end to segregated facilities requiring Black and Latinx Americans to use racially segregated areas (History 2023).

Date	Event
1965–1966	**Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 (Hart-Celler Act)** President Johnson signed the landmark Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, better known as the Hart-Celler Act, into law, an immigration reform bill that ended a quota system established in 1924 based on country of origin and requiring 70 percent of immigrants to come from Northern Europe. The act gives priority to highly skilled immigrants and those with family already living in America. After enactment of Hart-Celler, nearly 500,000 people immigrate annually, with 80 percent coming from countries other than Europe (History 2023). **Delano Grape Strike** Primarily organized by the Agricultural Workers Organization Committee (AWOC), a predominantly Filipino AFL-CIO sponsored organization against table grape growers in Delano, California, to fight against the exploitation of farm workers. The strike began on September 8, 1965, and 1 week later, the predominantly Mexican National Farmworkers Association (NFWA) joined the cause (Learning for Justice 2023, LOC 2023). **Cesar Chavez Leads Delano Grape Strike** Cesar Chavez, general director of the NFWA, leads 75 Latino and Filipino farmworkers on a historic 340-mile march from Delano, California, to the state capitol in Sacramento. Drawing attention to the demands of farm workers, the march, held at the onset of a strike that would last 5 years, lasts 25 days, and upon arrival in Sacramento on Easter Sunday, the group is met by a crowd of 10,000. Later that summer, the NFWA merges with the AWOC to form the UFW that affiliates with the AFL-CIO (History 2023). **El Teatro Campesino** Founded in Delano, California, by Luis Valdez and Agustin Lira, during the Delano Grape Strike as the cultural arm of the UFW and the Chicano Movement with the “full support” of Cesar Chavez(Learning for Justice 2023)
1966	**Katzenbach v. Morgan** U.S. Supreme Court case which addressed the constitutionality of Section 4(e) of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which held that no state shall impede suffrage to individuals lacking English language literacy. Ultimately, Justice Brennan, in a 7 to 2 decision, ruled that Section 4(e) was constitutional under Section 5 of the Fourteenth Amendment and the Supremacy Clause of the U.S. Constitution (LOC 2023). **Miranda v. Arizona** In a 5 to 4 decision, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that an arrested individual is entitled to rights against self-incrimination and to an attorney under the Fifth and Sixth Amendments of the U.S. Constitution; the case and ruling culminated in the famed Miranda rights requirement during arrests (LOC 2023).

Date	Event
	Cuban Adjustment Act of 1966 President Johnson signed into law the bipartisan Cuban Adjustment Act, granting work authorization permits and lawful permanent residency (Green Card status) to any Cuban native or citizen who settled in the United States for at least 1 year. The Cuban population in the United States grew from 79,000 to 439,000 between 1960 and 1970 as thousands of Cuban exiles sought asylum following hostilities surrounding the Cuban Revolution and termination of diplomatic relations between the two countries on January 3, 1961 (LOC 2023).
1967	**Tierra Amarilla Land Grant and Courthouse Raid** Reies López Tijerina, also known as "King Tiger," led the Alianza Federal de Mercedes (Federal Alliance of Land Grants) to storm the Tierra Amarilla courthouse and arrest District Attorney Alfonso Sanchez, free detained members of the Alianza Federal de Mercedes, and raise awareness of the New Mexico land grant movement of the 1960s (LOC 2023).
	Mexican American Youth Organization The Mexican American Youth Organization (MAYO) was founded in San Antonio, Texas. Like many other Mexican American organizations in the state, MAYO sought social justice; unlike older and more established groups, such as the League of United Latin American Citizens, the AGIF, or the Political Association of Spanish-Speaking Organizations, it stressed Chicano cultural nationalism and preferred the techniques of direct political confrontation and mass demonstration to accomplish its goals (Acosta 2023).
1968	**East Los Angeles Walkouts** Discrepancies in the education of Anglo and Mexican American students surfaced in Los Angeles during the 1950s and 1960s. The East Los Angeles Walkouts, also known as Blowouts, reflected a mass response to these discrepancies. From March 1 to 8, around 15,000 students walked out of their classrooms in protest thanks to the organization of collective groups, who together formed the Educational Issues Coordinating Committee (EICC) (LOC 2023).
	Young Lords Organization/Young Lords Party In 1968, José "Cha-Cha" Jiménez established the Young Lords Organization (YLO) at Lincoln Park, one of the most impoverished barrios of Chicago, Illinois. Modeled and inspired after the Black Panther Party, the YLO emerged from a Puerto Rican street gang to a community-based organization involved in advocating for minority access to healthcare, education, housing, and employment. The YLO was multiethnic and inclusive to African American, Latinx, women, and LGBTQ membership, self-identified as "revolutionist nationalists" who rallied for Puerto Rico's independence and power to the people and adopted a 13 Point Program and Platform— a set of policies, responsibilities, and principles the organization lived by. The YLO expanded to other cities, including New York City, where a group of college students established a YLO chapter and renamed it the Young Lords Party (YLP) (LOC 2023).

Date	Event
1970	**National Chicano Moratorium** On August 29, 1970, 20,000 to 30,000 demonstrators formed the National Chicano Moratorium Against the Vietnam War and marched through East Los Angeles. The demonstration was organized to protest the disproportionate number of Mexican American troops drafted and killed or injured during the Vietnam War. Disparities in public education, the systematic exclusion from higher education, and high unemployment rates among Mexican Americans also contributed to a higher number of Mexican Americans who were drafted (LOC 2023).
1971	**Bilingual Instruction Act** The U.S. Congress enacted the Bilingual Instruction Act, which recognized the educational need of students with limited English proficiency and provided federal funds to schools to establish bilingual programs (LOC 2023).
1973	**San Antonio Independent School District v. Rodriguez** In the case brought before the court, the plaintiffs argued that the Texas public school finance system was inequitable and discriminatory based on wealth, citing that the Edgewood district, with a predominantly Mexican American population, and one of the highest tax rates in Bexar County, received $37 per pupil, while the more affluent and Anglo students in Alamo Heights received $413 per pupil. In a 5 to 4 decision, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the Fourteenth Amendment "does not require absolute equality of precisely equal advantages" (LOC 2023).
	Miami (officially) Becomes a Bilingual City The Dade County Commission unanimously passes a resolution from Miami's mayor making Spanish the city's second official language and creating a department of bilingual and bicultural affairs. In 1974, the Florida city is home to 350,000 Cubans who have been fleeing the country under Fidel Castro's regime for more than 15 years. On November 8, 1973, Maurice A. Ferré is elected Miami's first Hispanic mayor, also becoming the first Puerto Rican to lead a major U.S. mainland city (History 2023).
	Roberto Clemente Inducted into the Baseball Hall of Fame Puerto Rican right fielder Roberto Clemente is posthumously inducted into the National Baseball Hall of Fame 11 weeks after he was killed in a small plane crash while traveling from Puerto Rico to Nicaragua to assist in earthquake relief efforts. The owner of four National League batting titles, he received 12 straight Golden Glove awards, was the 1966 National League Most Valuable Player (MVP), and, in 1971 at age 37, led the Pittsburgh Pirates to a World Series victory, earning the MVP title. Voted into the hall in a special election, he is the first Latinx baseball player admitted (History 2023).

Date	Event
1974	**Southwest Voter Registration Education Project** William C. Velasquez, a former founding member of MAYO, established the Southwest Voter Registration and Education Project, a nonpartisan organization championing voter participation and political empowerment among Latinxs and other minorities (LOC 2023).
	Serna v. Portales A class-action lawsuit filed by a group of Mexican American families against New Mexico's Portales school system for discriminatory practices that denied equal educational opportunities to Spanish-surnamed students (LOC 2023).
1975	**Extension of the Voting Rights Act of 1965** President Gerald Ford extends the Voting Rights Act of 1965, with the amended Section 203, mandating that bilingual ballots be provided in certain areas (History 2023).
	United States v. Brignoni-Ponce Racial profiling along the Mexico-U.S. border had enabled Border Patrol agents to stereotype, stop, and associate individuals with "Mexican looking" ancestry with suspected criminal activity. On June 30, 1975, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that stopping individuals for unreasonable suspicions violated the Fourth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution (LOC 2023).
1976	**Congressional Hispanic Caucus** Five members of Congress—Herman Badillo (NY), Eligio "Kika" de la Garza II (TX), Henry B. Gonzalez (TX), Edward Roybal (CA), and Baltasar Corrada del Río (PR)—introduced the Congressional Hispanic Caucus (CHC). This congressional member organization strives to address legislative, executive, and judicial issues pertaining to the Latinx community in the United States, Puerto Rico, and U.S. territories (LOC 2023).
1978	**Congressional Hispanic Caucus Institute** Four members of the CHC—Edward Roybal, Eligio "Kika" de la Garza, Robert "Bobby" Garcia (NY), and Baltasar Corrada—established the Congressional Hispanic Caucus Institute (CHCI), a 501(c)(3) nonpartisan, nonprofit educational organization providing leadership programs and scholarships to young Latinx students (LOC 2023).
	Madrigal v. Quilligan A civil rights class action lawsuit filed by 10 Mexican American women against the Los Angeles County-University of Southern California Medical Center for involuntary or forced sterilization. The plaintiffs were residents of East Los Angeles, a predominantly Latinx population with inadequate medical and educational resources. Unauthorized sterilizations among Mexican women with minimal English proficiency rose at the county medical center during the 1970s (LOC 2023).

Source: Acosta (2023); History (2023); LOC (2023); UTA (2019).

Table 2. Population of Utah and Latinx Population within Utah between 1950 and 1980

Population	1950	1960	1970	1980
State of Utah	688,862	890,697	1,059,273	1,461,037
Latinx in Utah	13,133	16,300	5,600	59,900
Percentage of state population identified as Latinx	1.9%	1.8%	0.5%	4.1%

Source: Gregory (2022); U.S. Census Bureau (1953a, 1961, 1973, 1983).

Table 3. Number of Individuals by County, Born in Mexico and Central or South America, Residing in Utah in 1950

County	Born in Mexico	Born in Central or South America
Beaver	5	–
Box Elder	50	1
Cache	29	14
Carbon	163	3
Daggett	–	–
Davis	41	4
Duchesne	2	4
Emery	5	–
Garfield	2	–
Grand	9	–
Iron	42	4
Juab	4	–
Kane	4	–
Millard	24	1
Morgan	2	–
Piute	1	–
Rich	1	–
Salt Lake	597	107
San Juan	10	–
Sanpete	7	–
Sevier	9	–
Summit	4	2
Tooele	27	6
Uintah	21	1
Utah	130	22
Wasatch	4	–
Washington	37	–

County	Born in Mexico	Born in Central or South America
Wayne	2	–
Weber	164	16
Total	**1,396**	**185**

Source: U.S. Census Bureau (1953a:44-54).

Table 4. Number of Individuals by County, Born in Mexico and Central or South America, Residing in Utah in 1960

County	Born in Mexico*	Born in Central or South America*
Box Elder	120	24
Cache	167	11
Carbon	436	27
Davis	344	45
Salt Lake	2,256	494
Sanpete	15	21
Sevier	16	3
Tooele	79	8
Utah	723	135
Weber	797	52
Total	**4,953**	**820**

Source: U.S. Census Bureau (1961:46-135).

* Data shown for counties with 1,000 or more foreign born persons and/or 1,000 or more persons with foreign/mixed parentage.

Table 5. Number of Spanish and Portuguese Speakers by County, Residing in Utah in 1960

County	Spanish Speakers*	Portuguese Speakers*
Box Elder	–	–
Cache	–	–
Carbon	128	–
Davis	85	–
Salt Lake	616	36
Sanpete	–	–
Sevier	–	–
Tooele	–	–
Utah	90	4

County	Spanish Speakers*	Portuguese Speakers*
Weber	146	–
Total	**1,065**	**40**

Source: U.S. Census Bureau (1961:46-135).
* Data shown for counties with 1,000 or more foreign born persons.

Table 6. Historic Map and Imagery Sources

Historic Source Name	Source Location
BLM GLO maps	http://www.ut.blm.gov/LandRecords/search_plats.cfm
USGS TopoView	http://ngmdb.usgs.gov/maps/Topoview/viewer/
Historic aerial imagery	http://gis.utah.gov/data/aerial-photography/
Sanborn Map Company fire insurance maps	http://utah-primoprod.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/primo_library/libweb/action/search.do?&vid=UTAH
Utah Geological Survey aerial imagery collection	https://geodata.geology.utah.gov/imagery/