“Dancing Until…?”

A Community Strategy for Preserving the Black and Tan Club’s Cultural Heritage in Seattle’s Chinatown International-District

by

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Abstract

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A Community Strategy for Preserving the Black and Tan Club's Cultural Heritage in Seattle's Chinatown International-District

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This graduate thesis determines a post-positivist framing for preserving intersectional spaces and heritage in Seattle's Chinatown-International District by engaging with the legacy, memory, and current preservation discourse of the 20th century music venue, the Black and Tan Club. The resulting research engages with multiple histories and community-rooted narratives for preserving the history of the Black and Tan Club and highlights actionable and constructive strategies for the preservation of the Club's cultural heritage. Preservation strategies developed by local cultural heritage groups such as the Black and Tan Hall, the Wing Luke Museum, the Black Heritage Society of Washington State, and Friends of Little Saigon offer an initial conceptual grounding for future preservation plans. Secondly, the experiences and opinions of current tenants at the case study property regarding historic preservation offer invaluable insights into existing community sentiments. This work expands upon Kimberlé Crenshaw's theory of intersectionality within the field of historic preservation and documents cultural heritage in the polyvocal, multi-ethnic context of Seattle's Chinatown-International District. More importantly, this study contends with the reality of cultural erasure of non-dominant groups in diverse spaces and how preservationists and community groups can transcend single-issue or single-history narratives. Through working with commercial and cultural stakeholders associated with the former Black and Tan Club property, a community record was developed for 1201 South Jackson Street's potential contributions to Seattle's history and the historic development of integrated spaces, particularly in Chinatown-International District. Analyzing stakeholder attitudes toward place, power, and memory related to the Black and Tan Club presents opportunities for cross-cultural dialogue and, more broadly, invaluable research for a field of historic preservation as it struggles to represent the histories of an increasingly diverse United States.

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Chapter I: Introduction

On April 18, 2022, Seattle's Mayor Bruce Harrell announced a community volunteer effort called "One Seattle Day of Service" to paint over graffiti and clean up trash throughout the city. While officials from all seven City Council Districts were present, Harrell announced the initiative from the corner of 12th Avenue and South Jackson Street in the Little Saigon area of the Chinatown-International District. The decision to announce the mayor's volunteer effort in the C-ID was both intentional and political as community members in the neighborhood had expressed concerns about the increase in crime and Black-market activity in the area for years and Harrell himself picked up a paint brush to cover up a wall of graffiti. A mural had covered the exterior of the building previously until it was tagged, painted over by the tenants, and tagged once again. The building the city chose for the photo-op is a low-slung commercial property at 1201 S Jackson Street whose windows and doors have been covered with plywood since the beginning of the COVID-19 Pandemic. Mayor Harrell described the problems in the C-ID as "decades in the making" but he did not comment on why the building or its history were important to the City's public safety efforts other than to cite the unusually high crime statistics for the corner (Northwest Asian Weekly, 2022).

Indeed, there were likely few people present that day that recognized the significance of Seattle's first African and Asian American mayor painting the walls of a building that once housed one of the West Coast's most prominent Black nightclubs, the Black and Tan Club. The

nightclub has garnered a surge in attention in recent years as community activists, artists, and preservationists have begun to uncover the story of one of the few integrated venues that operated in the United States during the middle decades of the twentieth century. Mayor Harrell's announcement from the corner of 12th Avenue and South Jackson Street, however, focused solely on the homelessness crisis, public safety, and a post-COVID recovery. For the time being, greater recognition at the city-level for the Black and Tan Club and its cultural heritage for Seattle must still wait.

Seattle's Chinatown-International District (C-ID) is one the city's oldest and most diverse neighborhoods. While its borders have shifted over the decades, today's International Special Review District (ISRD), the locally protected historic district which also includes the Seattle Chinatown National Register Historic District, occupies more than 23 acres of the downtown core (City of Seattle, 2021). Multiple Asian immigrant groups have historically made the C-ID a central node for commerce, nightlife, and displays of cultural heritage, including Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, and Vietnamese Americans. The existence of multiple City-recognized sub-districts, such as Nihonmachi (Japantown), Chinatown, and Little Saigon, further demonstrate the unique layering of history that both divides and unifies the neighborhood. African American businesses and nightclubs also historically lined South Jackson Street but had largely left the C-ID by the 1970s due to a variety of cultural and economic factors (Lee, S., 2011). These historic claims to space have only become more pronounced in the 21st century as patterns of redlining and racial covenants have given over to gentrification and displacement. Although city agencies, historic preservationists, and non-profit organizations have worked hard to preserve the neighborhood's cultural character, the fear of "erasure" remains palpable among the community's residents and businesses (Abramson, Manzo, & Hou, 2006).

Gentrification and the disappearance of neighborhood-specific cultural heritage, far from a new phenomenon, is already a well-documented topic in the field of historic preservation. Authors McCabe, Lee, and Rotenstein have explored how gentrification induces threatened communities to espouse NIMBYism (McCabe & Ellen, 2016), rally around neighborhood cultural monuments (Lee, 2004), and develop a modern folklore to describe the emotional and financial hardships displacement causes (Rotenstein, 2019). Ned Kaufman's recent study of the intersection of race and cultural landmarks helps illuminate the many ways in which cultural changes to neighborhoods not only transform physical space but also the stories of its inhabitants (Kaufman, 2009). With this context in mind, the question of how to go about preserving cultural heritage in the C-ID is undeniably challenging, not only for preservationists but also for community stakeholders who have historically not had a seat at the table. Even more troublesome is the issue of how to preserve the history and memory of those already "erased" from the neighborhood (Abramson, Manzo, & Hou, 2006). Seattle's C-ID neighborhood, in many regards, represents the struggles of planners and preservationists to move beyond a "single-issue" lens when working in diverse, intersectional contexts (Crenshaw, 1989).

Kimberlé Crenshaw's groundbreaking 1989 study of anti-discrimination law first introduced the concept of intersectionality to academia. Scholars, activists, and policy makers have since embraced the theory to better understand how race, class, and gender impact identity and define our conceptions of social sameness and difference (Cho, Crenshaw, & McCall, 2013). The field of historic preservation has also begun to use intersectionality as a framework to interpret the histories of groups who have historically been ignored by the field and contend with historic preservation's majority white, educated, and cis-gendered demographics. Since the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) in 1966, the field of preservation has

been routinely, and rightly, critiqued for its lack of minority representation (Kaufman, 2009). Historic preservation scholars Dongoske and Pasqual have asserted that the inflexibility of the NHPA to adapt to a more diverse, post-colonial world is painfully evident in its unchanged listing criteria (Dongoske & Pasqual, 2016) while other researchers have noted that historic district regulations have produced highly inauthentic, exclusionary urban spaces (Tipson, 2004). This intransigence to develop more equitable processes and methods has impelled some within the field, such as Graves, Dubrow and Schroeder, to use intersectionality as a lens to highlight the importance of cultural heritage (Graves & Dubrow, 2019), exposing how interconnected identities can both contest and share space (Schroeder, 2014). Rodgers, Sosa, and Petersen's recent ethnographic study of Dekalb, Illinois, expanded Crenshaw's framing of intersectionality by examining links between Latino and Finnish working-class heritage, resulting in the preservation of community spaces that reflect the contributions of both groups (Rodgers, Sosa, & Petersen, 2018). It is evident from this growing body of work that preserving properties and cultural sites with shared histories presents opportunities for greater inclusivity and self-reflection that are long-overdue in the field of historic preservation.

One such opportunity was recently highlighted by community historians connected with the multi-racial, POC-led arts and culture organization, the Black and Tan Hall (BTH). Using the 1936 *Negro Motorist Green Book Guide* as a reference, BTH compiled a digital, self-guided walking tour of South Jackson Street buildings that held significance for Black communities in the twentieth century. One building stands out for its diverse and intersectional cultural heritage, however. The Black and Tan Club at 1201 South Jackson Street operated as a nightclub from as early as 1920 until 1969 where legendary performers such as Ray Charles, Duke Ellington, Charlie Parker, Gladys Knight, and Aretha Franklin performed (Black and Tan Hall, 2021). In

addition to the building's important Black cultural and artistic heritage, notable Japanese Americans entrepreneurs operated businesses at the site prior to internment while Vietnamese-Americans made the building a major commercial destination within Little Saigon after the 1970s. 1201 South Jackson Street is recognized as a historic site by Seattle's Department of Neighborhood in its Historic Resources Survey but its lack of landmark designation and likely future demolition as a result of a major 2019 up-zone pose a dilemma over how to preserve multiple claims to place-based heritage (Seattle Department of Neighborhoods, 2021). Seattle's struggle to identify, interpret, and protect non-high styled buildings particularly those with intersectional histories is laid bare by 1201 South Jackson Street in the C-ID for its unacknowledged and undocumented history. The question, therefore, remains if the unique intersections of race and class represented by Seattle's Black and Tan Club are too divergent from accepted preservation narratives to be preserved.

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this research was to determine a post-positivist framing for preserving intersectional spaces and heritage in the C-ID by engaging with the legacy, memory, and current preservation discourse of the Black and Tan Club. I hoped to answer the question of whether engaging with multiple histories and community-rooted narratives for preserving the history of the Black and Tan Club can offer actionable and constructive strategies for the preservation of its cultural heritage. Moreover, it was my intention to understand how place, power, and memory are overlooked by a field that claims to value equity, diversity, and inclusion. Preservation strategies developed by local cultural heritage groups such as the Black and Tan Hall, the Wing Luke Museum, the Black Heritage Society of Washington State, and Friends of Little Saigon offered an initial conceptual grounding for my analysis. Secondly, the experiences and opinions

of current tenants at 1201 South Jackson Street regarding historic preservation offered invaluable insights into existing community sentiments and assisted in identifying potential opportunities for the preservation of intersectional cultural sites.

This work expands upon Kimberlé Crenshaw's theory of intersectionality within the field of historic preservation and documents cultural heritage in the polyvocal, multi-ethnic context of Seattle's C-ID. More importantly, this study contends with the reality of cultural erasure of non-dominant groups in diverse spaces and how preservationists and community groups can transcend single-issue or single-history narratives. Through working with commercial and cultural stakeholders associated with the former Black and Tan Club property, I developed a community record for 1201 South Jackson Street's potential contributions to Seattle's history and the historic development of integrated spaces, particularly in Chinatown-International District. Analyzing stakeholder attitudes toward place, power, and memory presents opportunities for cross-cultural dialogue and, more broadly, invaluable research for a field struggling to represent the histories of an increasingly diverse United States.

Chapter II: Literature Review

The purpose of this review of related literature in the field of historic preservation is to identify current challenges and opportunities for preserving cultural heritage and to explore how to better contextualize intersectionality within the field. More broadly, this chapter confronts the feasibility of preserving places with intersectional pasts where certain cultural histories are more present than others. More specifically, it is essential to determine whether a praxis exists within the field that can adequately discern the cultural significance and historical value of the Black and Tan Club in Seattle, Washington. As a result, this literature review outlines what tools preservationists have utilized to preserve places with multiple histories, how historic preservation and placemaking have operated in the current Chinatown-International District, and how intersectionality has helped frame methodologies and recent studies within the field. Several bodies of literature were consulted for this research, including the history of historic preservation within the United States as explored by scholars such as John H. Sprinkle and Thomas Carter, new discourses in cultural heritage research from scholars such as Erica Avrami, Dolores Hayden, and Gail Dubrow, and the proliferation of intersectional theory as developed by Kimberlé Crenshaw. Additionally, this chapter assesses the local context of Seattle's Chinatown-International District and the struggle to preserve its multi-ethnic heritage while also making valuable and nuanced distinctions between its numerous cultural groups.

Throughout this review of the literature and in later chapters, I will frequently refer to both historic preservation and cultural heritage preservation. While both can be applied to the built environment, historic preservation has most often been associated with tangible historic assets while cultural heritage preservation can often relate to intangible traditions, practices, or even feelings. Michele Valerie Cloonan defines *preservation* as "the general care of collections and the built environment," noting that "stabilization, restoration, rehabilitation, or reconstruction" are some of the ways preservation cares for and treats objects or places (Cloonan, 2018, pg. 4). The field of historic preservation, therefore, concerns itself with the conservation of places and caring for what the past leaves behind. Cultural heritage preservation, however, is less transparent and grounded less in the discernable actions of the field and more in theory. Historic preservationist John H Stubbs writes that cultural heritage possesses "historical, archaeological, architectural, technological, aesthetic, scientific, spiritual, social, traditional or other special cultural significance associated with human activity" (Stubbs, 2009, pg. 379).

Heritage encompasses a broad spectrum of the human experience and strict definitions in many ways only further misconceptions about what the terminology implies. The 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage is frequently cited in the field for its more inclusive and malleable definition of cultural heritage. It states that heritage as it relates to culture can include "oral traditions and expressions including language…performing arts (such as traditional music, dance, and theater); social practices, rituals and festive events; knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe; and traditional craftsmanship" (UNESCO, Intangible Cultural Heritage, 2003). The UNESCO definition is critical to understanding how music and, more specifically, gathering engender enduring forms of cultural heritage. Finally, in analyzing the history of the Black and Tan Club,

it was common to come across sensations, emotions, and convictions in the anecdotes of those who had been there and experienced the club first-hand. These make up what can be referred to as the cultural landscapes of place, or what Carl Sauer desires as "the essential character of place" (Larkin & Peters, 1983, pg. 140). The characteristics of what made the Black and Tan Club unique for each patron are essential to understanding what made it an intersectional and integrated space and how its legacy can be preserved for future generations.

Since the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) in 1966, the field of historic preservation has increasingly taken a leading role in documenting and interpreting the history of place. Historic Districts and sites at the local, state, and national level are recognized by plaques in towns and cities across America. While historic preservation has made great strides in the last five decades, its ability to remain a relevant subfield of urban planning and contribute to the changing national dialogue on social, political, and economic issues is less clear. Historic Districts have served to boost local economies and preserve important architectural assets at the neighborhood scale but have also resulted in fabricated landscapes (Tipson, 2004) and a rise in NIMBY sentiments with increased levels of displacement (Passell, 2021). The Federal Historic Preservation Tax Incentives program has saved thousands of historic structures across the country but has faced recent pushback for building market-rate housing in traditionally low-income, minority neighborhoods (Ryberg-Webster and Kinahan, 2017) while community preservation commissions that advocate for this type of rehabilitation often reflect the demographics of more recent, white residents (Passell, 2021). Issues of sustainability have also come to the fore as a massive, aging catalog of mid-century structures requires new preservation methods and designation criteria to conserve their embodied energy in addition to their architectural features (Elefante, 2017).

However, issues of equity, diversity, and inclusivity most overtly demonstrate the limitations of the field in the Twenty-First Century. Due to decades of neglect, marginalized communities have "generated a tide of protest" to correct inaccurate representations of history (Hayden, 1995) while prompting a reevaluation of what it means to be American. The field of historic preservation has consistently shown an inability to discern multiple forms of public memory and, more importantly, continues to focus on tangible, euro-centric forms of heritage (Dubrow, 2016). Much of this is due to the significance criteria outlined in the NHPA that preferences white, European history (Dongoske & Pasqual, 2016) but also a notable lack of trust and communication between non-white communities and preservationists, namely the National Park Service (NPS) (Adams & Edges, 2021). Coslett and Chalana note that while interpretative programming at National Parks has begun to cater to new and more diverse audiences, the NPS struggles to relinquish older narratives even as it introduces more contemporary themes (Coslett & Chalana, 2016). It is also evident that many communities' understandings of place and integrity do not fit the standards of the field and its systems of documentation, leaving many in what Andrea Roberts describes as a state of "preservation apartheid" (Avrami, 2020, pg.115). This has only exacerbated the cultural disconnect and public distrust of historic preservation's motives during a period of increased political division and racial reckoning.

In 2017, the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation (ACHP) acknowledged these failures in a report for the 50th anniversary of the National Historic Preservation Program (NHPP). Within its priorities and recommendations for the future, the ACHP admits that the Section 106 process, by which community engagement is structured, is not adequately convening the diverse stakeholders or perspectives that currently exist in American communities. More importantly, the NHPP and the NRHP avoid the "difficult stories" that are inherent to the

American experience while many buildings, sites, and landscapes fail to meet the "typical preservation tests" that overlook the relationship between intangible heritage and traditional place-based history (ACHP, 2017).

What began as an effort to rectify these failings and increase the number of recognized historic properties associated with non-white and working-class communities has increasingly become a drive by scholars and community activists to incorporate elements of social justice into the field (Roberts, 2017). A move away from western, "techno-scientific" approaches to studying cultural heritage (Winter, 2014, p. 560) has spurred new attitudes around how the field can democratize itself for increasingly diverse American communities. The recent preservation of African American homesteads in Texas, for example, fomented increased interest in the vernacular architecture and cultural landscapes associated with non-white groups that define rural Black heritage (Roberts, 2019). The use of folklore and storytelling have also become an increasingly invaluable tool for communities of color and the preservation of public memory (Rotenstein, 2019).

As American communities seek more inclusive narratives for their built environments, the field has begun the difficult task of preserving buildings and places that hold significance for communities who may no longer actively define the area. In the 1980s, public art was used to activate a Los Angeles parking lot and commemorate the legacy of the city's first Black woman homesteader (Hayden, 1995) while, more recently in 2018, working-class history was used to designate historic structures in an historic Finnish enclave that has become an important Latino-majority neighborhood in Dekalb, Illinois (Rodgers, Sosa, & Peterson, 2018). This new approach to preservation focuses on shared memory but does not ignore the differences between groups that have consistently divided American society. In this way, memory-focused preservation has

significant potential to counter the field's lack of equity, diversity, and inclusivity. Redefining place through the public memory that exists within American streets and neighborhoods can give historically marginalized communities greater agency in preserving their history and allow preservationists to acknowledge and better articulate cultural overlaps and differences. Studies that rely on memory, particularly ones that deal with themes of integrity, authenticity, and belonging, however, remain a point of contention among preservationists (Lee, 2004).

Preservationists are also now reexamining historical resource surveys and inventories to better understand the ways in which existing data on cultural resources is failing the field's push for greater equity and inclusion. Launched in 2015, HistoricPlacesLA is an online information and management system designed to map and inventory more than 25,000 cultural resources in the city of Los Angeles (HistoricPlacesLA, 2022). A multi-year partnership between the Getty Conservation Institute and the Los Angeles Office of Historic Resources allowed the Los Angeles City Planning Department to utilize data collected as part of SurveyLA, a massive historic resources survey conducted between 2010 and 2017 and combine it with cultural resource history in an easily navigable and accessible central database (City of Los Angeles, 2022). From this work, the Getty Conservation Institute launched a second collaborative project with the city in 2020, *Los Angeles African American Historic Places*, to identify and ultimately designate African American historic places and develop a better framework for interpreting tangible and intangible heritage in Black spaces (Getty Conservation Institute, 2020). This project was made possible after the Office of Historic Resources published a Historic Context Statement on the African American history of Los Angeles in 2018. Preservationists, historians, community organizers, and artists can now all reference a document that gives a broad historical overview of the development of the Black community of Los Angeles, from the history of the

Great Migration to the development of neighborhoods like Watts, Pacoima, and Venice (City of Los Angeles, 2018). The domestic, social, and political lives of African Americans from the early 19th century through the 1980s were carefully documented with the help of local community organizations and the database now serves as a model for jurisdictions across the country attempting to more accurately inventory its cultural resources and tell more equitable narratives.

A number of recent projects have followed in Los Angeles' footsteps, including East at Main Street, an online mapping tool that was developed by Asian and Pacific Islander Americans in Historic Preservation (APIAHiP) to document oral and place-based histories by crowdsourcing local knowledge (Avrami, 2020). In 2012, San Francisco's Historic Preservation Commission passed Resolution No.0698 which ushered in the city's successful Cultural Heritage Program that recognizes both tangible and intangible forms of cultural heritage. The San Francisco Planning Department subsequently developed its Social Heritage Inventory Record that utilizes several groundbreaking practices, such as highlighting cultural and social affiliation above physical integrity, that are recognized in UNESCO's Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage (San Francisco Office of Planning, 2022).

Despite these advances, the field of preservation is still reliant upon many twentieth century practices and policies. It is critical, therefore, to look at existing national, state, and local preservation criteria and ordinances to better identify where the field is most constrained and where communities can lead. The National Park Service has used the same four criteria for the National Register of Historic Places since the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act in1966, cementing a strict definition of historic significance for the field over the course of the subsequent five decades. In addition to Criteria A, B, C, and D, which outline the importance of

events, people, type of construction, and likelihood to yield important historical information, the NPS states that "the quality of significance in American history, architecture, archeology, engineering, and culture is present in districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects that possess integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association" (U.S. Department of the Interior, 1995, pg, 2). While culture is identified as a key aspect of integrity, there is obvious ambiguity to the terminology of feeling and association. Notable too in the criteria considerations from National Register Bulletin 15 are that properties which are less than fifty years old are not considered eligible for the National Register, unless they show "exceptional importance", hence the creation of the dominant "50-year rule" in the field (U.S. Department of the Interior, 1995, pg, 2). Finally, to qualify for the National Register, properties must not only be associated with an "important historic context," they must also retain "historic integrity of those features necessary to convey its significance" (U.S. Department of the Interior, 1995, pg, 2). This is a strikingly high bar for buildings that must contend with strict code regulations and local property taxes while also adhering to a system of best economic use that pervades much of the United States.

The strict classification of integrity and historic significance was not created haphazardly but instead, carefully formulated over the first half of the twentieth century by mostly white, male architects, planners, and historians. While early historic districts such as Vieux Carré in New Orleans or Colonial Williamsburg in Virginia developed their own criteria for preservation, the Historic Sites Act of 1935 introduced many of the processes we know today, from inventory and surveying to classification and designation. However, John H. Sprinkle Jr. argues that the initial objective behind historic sites surveys was to "deter, delay, and disapprove proposals for historic recognition" (Sprinkle, 2014, pg. 28). The passage of the NHPA did try to limit the

highly scientific and objective gate keeping that had defined the field previously but much of the restrictive criteria remained. Sprinkle defines this unusual compromise as an imperfect equation in which “a significant story plus physical integrity equals historic value” (Sprinkle, 2014, pg. 63). What is most troubling about this sobering summation of historic significance is that stories and narratives are culturally constructed over time and often done so unintentionally. There is an inherent contradiction, therefore, to the practice of preservation and its intended outcomes. Indeed, social history, Dolores Hayden writes, often develops “without much consideration of space or design” (Hayden, 1995, pg. 8) and often diminishes physical integrity due to the very social activity that defines a property’s significance.

Washington State’s Department of Archeology and Historic Preservation utilizes much of the National Register criteria but emphasizes that the authenticity of a property's historic identity is evidenced by the *survival* of physical characteristics that existed during the property's historic period. Moreover, this historic integrity must be at a “high to medium level”, indicating that some flexibility is required when considering characteristics of a property that have survived weather, neglect, or renovation (Washington State Department of Archeology and Historic Preservation, 2022). Properties are immediately added to the Washington State Historic Register when they are listed in the NRHP, which further demonstrates the overlap of state and federal criteria.

Seattle’s local landmark’s ordinance and, in particular, Seattle Municipal Code 25.12.350 are similar to other local ordinances in that they can restrict the alteration and demolition of historic properties but cannot prevent it outright. The Seattle Landmarks Boards negotiate a Controls and Incentives Agreement with property owners after a property has been designated a landmark to protect certain aspects of a building or structure, utilizing many of the incentives

available at local jurisdictions to prevent exterior or interior alterations through zoning variances, building code exceptions, or financial incentives. What sets Seattle's local ordinance apart from federal and state preservation criteria is the addition of terminology that includes culture and neighborhoods. Criterion C and F of SMC 25.12.350 state that significance can be conveyed for the following categories:

> *C. It is associated in a significant way with a significant aspect of the cultural, political, or economic heritage of the community, city, state or nation;* (25.12.350 – Standards for Designation)
>
> *F. Because of its prominence of spatial location, contrasts of siting, age, or scale, it is an easily identifiable visual feature of its neighborhood or the City and contributes to the distinctive quality or identity of such neighborhood or the City.* (25.12.350 – Standards for Designation)

It is important to note that the term heritage is largely absent from National Register Bulletin 15 but in the context of Seattle, cultural heritage is attached to communities rather than governmental entities. Scale is also a critical element of the Seattle ordinance, as it recognizes both the micro and macro significance of historic properties and how neighborhood development can either mirror or differ from the history of the city overall. While "identifiable visual features" are still preferred indicators of significance, there is some room within both Criterions C and F to recognize historic properties or sites that may have otherwise been ignored by the National Register criteria (25.12.350 – Standards for Designation).

In the review of national, state, and local preservation criteria, it is evident that historic significance and integrity are often prevented from expressing what can't be professionally

measured. Value-based preservation, therefore, is not well integrated into a field that has maintained the same professional criteria for more than half a century. Randall Mason and Erica Avrami underscored this apparent disparity in a recent analysis of heritage management by asserting that "the conservation profession tends to magnify and segregate heritage values" rather than incorporate them with societal values for fear that social change would occur too rapidly (Avrami, E., & Getty Conservation Institute, 2019). Considering the rapid social changes of the 21st century, it is evident that the 1966 NHPA's ability to serve the preservation needs of a diversifying American public is uncertain at best.

In 2020, Sara Bronin, Professor of City and Regional Planning at the Cornell College of Architecture, Art, and Planning, published an article titled *How to fix a National Register of Historic Places that reflects mostly white history* in the *Los Angeles Times.* While Bronin raised many issues that are known to academics in the field of historic preservation, it reached thousands of readers who likely had little knowledge of the National Register or the NHPA. Moreover, Bronin determined that the reason behind the shocking underrepresentation of non-white communities in the National Register was its "technical, legalistic approach to determining what merits designation," or the very criteria that undergirds the U.S. Department of the Interior's preservation methods (Bronin, 2020). The bureaucratic obstacles to realizing a more modern and equitable set of national preservation criteria, Bronin alerts us, are both substantial and complex. However, she also recognized that the "formalities" that have often prevented preservationists from recognizing more diverse histories are not insurmountable, which is perhaps what made her piece so remarkable; she at once labeled the legal structure of the field as inconsistent with the makeup of American society while also recognizing the continued need for official frameworks of historic significance and integrity. In other words, the field of

preservation will not disappear as a practice but may risk preserving an increasingly narrow and inaccessible history if the accepted criteria remain arcane.

In reviewing the literature discussed so far, it is evident that the debate over if sites and places associated with non-white, marginalized communities can be preserved has now instead become a "how" question. In addition to examples highlighted by Erica Avrami, Diane M. Rodgers, and Andrea Roberts, some scholars have sought the reorganization of review and landmarks boards (Tipson, 2004) while others see an opportunity to loosen the definition of integrity as delineated by NHPA criteria (Rast, 2014), particularly in how properties and landscapes are analyzed for significance (Dongoske & Pasqual, 2019). The Equal Justice Initiative, which helped fund and design the much-lauded National Memorial for Peace and Justice, recently initiated the Community Soil Collection Project that seeks to bring attention to sites associated with racial violence by collecting and displaying jars of soil (EJI, 2021). This visual display of trauma reorients our understanding of how place can be remembered by physically transplanting soil to areas where the tragedy of lynching in United States can be explained to a larger audience.

Over the last decade, historic preservation scholars have built on some of these recent successes and have embraced more theoretical approaches to preservation rather than focusing entirely on reworking antiquated bureaucratic structures. Using intersectionality as a lens for interpreting layered history, particularly history that has remained at the margins of the field's understanding, has shown promise. Preserving structures and engaging with heritage that is significant to multiple groups not only helps resurrect the history of communities and individuals that have come and gone but also positions the field as an advocate for the polyvocal, American experience (Graves & Dubrow, 2019). The intersections of race, class, and gender have an

inherent spatial dimension that makes the study of change across neighborhoods or landscapes both contentious and essential (Hayden, 1995). Notably, the Tenderloin District of San Francisco has had significance for the LGBTQ community for many decades but has also become a context for the study of Women's Liberation and the Civil Rights Movement (Graves & Dubrow, 2019). When studying the concentration of gay men in middle-class, professional neighborhoods in Toledo, Ohio, preservationists found evidence of interconnecting identities around religion, the nuclear household, and homosexuality (Schroeder, 2014) by framing their work through an intersectional lens. Ethnic and racial differences, which often stymie efforts to preserve places with multiple associations, can also produce unusual coalitions of stakeholders when intersectional themes around economic marginalization and community survivance are highlighted (Rodgers, Sosa, & Peterson, 2018). It is evidenced from these examples that intersectionality is emerging as a valid theoretical framework in the field for preserving places with shared histories. Despite this, however, there remains a lack of consensus on what constitutes intersectionality and if it can be applied to disciplines such as historic preservation (Collins, 2021).

The term intersectionality was first credited to Kimberlé Crenshaw when she analyzed the intersections between sex and race in the context of antidiscrimination law. Crenshaw introduced the idea of single-issue discrimination, or the simplification of identity-based disadvantages to a single issue such as race, class, or gender (Crenshaw, 1989). The issues related to single-issue perspectives in discrimination law were very clear in Crenshaw's analysis, but her discussion of the unique "compoundedness" of intersectional identity (Crenshaw, 1989, p. 166) led scholars in other fields to see its potential as a social theory (Verloo, 2013). Over the last four decades, intersectionality has indeed become a valuable tool for inquiry across multiple

disciplines. Social scientists and planners have both struggled to navigate difference and develop a paradigm for the study of layered identity, therefore making intersectionality a practical conceptual language for engaging in challenging discussions (Collins, 2019).

Intersectionality, however, has been challenged by critics who disavow that interconnected identities, particularly racial identities, are central to understanding hierarchies and power structures (Tomlinson, 2013). The depersonalization of identity, therefore, remains a potent flashpoint for those who see intersectionality as a tool to reconceptualize global colonization and those who deny its consequences (Tomlinson, 2013). Cross-movement politics often create competition and inequality among groups and subsequently limit the use of intersectionality as societal advantages and disadvantages cannot be agreed upon (Verloo, 2013). Reaching a consensus in the context of public policy can be complicated by the fact that community knowledge cannot always be accessed in its current forms of "deliberative" democracy as a recent analysis of public hearings over oil pipeline construction in British Columbia demonstrated (Hankivsky & Jordan-Zachery, 2019). Defining intersectionality as theory is undoubtedly a difficult task but some social scientists see its inherent value in what it does rather than what it is. Contextualizing sameness and difference rather than developing one coherent theory is ultimately the true objective for most disciplines that utilize intersectionality (Crenshaw, Cho, & McCall, 2013). It is this opportunity to see past single-issue paradigms and explore the multiplicities of identity that makes intersectionality an essential conceptual tool for historic preservation.

When using intersectional frameworks in the context of historic preservation, the importance of place and social cohesion become paramount (Schroeder, 2014). This is particularly true for the Chinatown-International District neighborhood of Seattle which is

defined by multiple coexisting narratives. Its history as a socially constructed landscape of immigrants and marginalized communities have often put it at the center of Seattle's intersectional past. The neighborhood has had numerous monikers, from the Lava Beds and Skid Row to Japantown and Chinatown (Chin, 2009), that speak to its complex spatial reality. As a neighborhood in flux, the C-ID has held onto its status as an ethnic and racial enclave for fear of cultural erasure (Abramson, Manzo, & Hou, 2006) and consequently has often had difficulty defining its own boundaries. While the Chinatown International-District Preservation Development Authority (SCIDpda) has had recent success in mitigating displacement in the Seattle neighborhood, building vacancy and deterioration continue to plague the area (Ryberg-Webster, 2019). Through the purchase and management of historic properties, SCIDpda developed a unique model for preservation that safeguarded the structural integrity of aging buildings while preserving space for Asian-owned businesses and community organizations. Notable examples are the Bush and New Central Hotels.

Yet, the Community Advisory Boards tasked with developing a neighborhood long-range plan have seen unequal representation among the neighborhood's various ethnic groups (Abramson, Manzo, & Hou, 2006). As of 2022, the Seattle Chinatown Historic District National Register designation includes over 40 buildings associated with Chinese Americans, for example, but none associated directly with Filipino heritage and while Chinatown, Japantown, and Little Saigon are recognized as cultural hubs within the Historic District, Manila Town is not (U.S. Department of the Interior, 2018). Also inhibiting greater levels of preservation are multi-person property ownership models that exist in Chinatowns throughout the country that have left them highly susceptible to development pressures (Acolin, & Vitiello, 2018).

The recent rehabilitation of the Louisa Hotel offers proof that some of these obstacles can be avoided with broader stakeholder coalitions and strong public/private financial backing. After a 2013 fire that gutted the 1909 structure, the Woo Family worked with a private developer with experience in historic restoration, local community groups such as the Wing Luke Museum, and local preservation agencies such as Historic Seattle to give the building new life (Historic Seattle, 2020). The building ultimately added 84 affordable housing units to the neighborhood and preserved 1920s-era murals in the basement where a jazz club once operated. The restoration of the Louisa Hotel also laid bare the complex multi-cultural history that is inherent to most structures in the C-ID.

The racial covenants and redlining that limited the settlement of Chinese and Japanese immigrants to the neighborhood is only one of many stories told and retold by its residents. Filipinos worked the drydocks and fishing vessels following their arrival after the Spanish-American War while tens-of-thousands of African Americans were escaping the violence of the Jim Crow South (Lee, S., 2011). Filipino Americans used the neighborhood as a base for labor organizing and political dissent against the Philippine government, culminating in the murder of two Seattle activists in 1981 (Fujita-Rony, 2011),

Japanese Americans became successful landowners in the C-ID, acting as quasi-gatekeepers prior to their internment by the U.S. government in 1942 (Lee, S., 2011). Jewish Americans who were restricted from using the Capitol Hill neighborhood's commercial districts often shopped in Japanese groceries (Lee, S., 2011). African American nightclubs sprung up in basements throughout the Jackson Street corridor (De Barros & Calderon, 1993), so much so that motorist guidebooks gave visiting Black visitors tips on places to stay, drink, and fill up on gas (Black and Tan Hall, 2021). Systems of interdependence in the C-ID were also contrasted by

patterns of competition and some degree of prejudice among the Asian majority and African American minority in a neighborhood with strict racial boundaries (Taylor, 2011). Unsurprisingly, this was a dynamic that played out in cities across the West Coast during the first half of the twentieth century as the territory available to non-white workers and families was typically finite (Widener, 2013).

There are numerous tools for deciphering historically significant properties in the C-ID but the City of Seattle's Department of Neighborhoods primarily relies on existing national, state, and county historic registers. These include those that were previously discussed, such as the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP), the Washington Information System for Architectural and Archaeological Records Data (WISAARD), and King County and Seattle Landmarks. The Seattle Department of Neighborhoods' Historic Resources Surveys (HRS) documented its unprotected historic structures between 2000 and 2009 and it provides the fullest available record of historically significant, vernacular structures in the city (Seattle Department of Neighborhoods (Ed.)., 2021). Moreover, while the NRHP includes 218 historic properties and objects in Seattle, few are explicitly associated with minority groups. The HRS statements of significance allow preservationists and historians to identify sites with associations to multiple groups and individuals (National Park Service (Ed.)., 2021). Even then, however, the HRS is an imperfect resource with uncited references, discordant address types, and limited public accessibility and legibility. Furthermore, it too fails to equitably represent the non-white and marginalized communities of the city.

It may be necessary, therefore, to return to Dolores Hayden's model of "cognitive mapping" of socially constructed places (Hayden, 1995). The intersectionality evident in the HRS demands, moreover, that the field of preservation seek community-focused, qualitative

approaches to the preservation of the built environment and its cultural heritage. Ultimately, pursuing preservation narratives for sites with layered histories requires a sustained connection with existing cultural actors and the descendants of the displaced. The recent preservation of community halls in the Finntown area of Dekalb, Illinois underscored the importance of this approach (Rodgers, Sosa, & Peterson, 2018) while examples in Arrow Rock, Missouri demonstrated how Black-led history committees can help recenter African American community narratives in state-run cultural heritage sites (Baumann, 2011). What is evident from these examples compared with Seattle's HRS is that telling difficult history requires building difficult relationships. We risk allowing lesser-known narratives to lose out against more dominant forms of history if diverse coalitions of stakeholders are not included in preservation methods from the outset (Nelson & Pharaon, 2017). Groups such as the Equal Justice Initiative (EJI, 2021), International Coalition of the Sites of Conscience (Nelson & Pharaon, 2017), and the Tulsa Race Massacre Centennial Coalition (Hill, 2021) are all actively engaged in bridging these gaps in knowledge and reorienting the field toward goals of cross-community solidarity and social justice.

Historic preservation, therefore, currently sits at a juncture between the needs of the bureaucracy it serves and the networks of American communities whose place-based connections to society remain unacknowledged (Hayden, 1995). Author Gail Lee Dubrow recognizes this current moment as critical for preservationists and planners who have not only a professional but a moral responsibility to advocate for those who cannot "defend their own tangible heritage" (Sandercock, 2014, pg. 66). Until this responsibility is acknowledged more broadly, "canonical" versions of history will continue to pervade the field.

A significant knowledge gap in the literature exists as a result of this lack of acknowledgement. Bottom-up systems of heritage preservation are actively restoring public memory and centering placemaking around how communities intersect across the country, yet, they are not adequately recognized by government preservation agencies. By documenting current efforts to preserve the intersectional heritage of the Black and Tan Club in Seattle's C-ID, this study intends to fill this gap in the literature and present a community-informed framework for preserving layered history in highly transitory and spatially contested places. Ultimately, the neighborhoods and buildings that are passed between cultural groups continue to defy the single-issue narratives set by greater American society but, as a result, remain at the margins of our recorded cultural heritage. These untapped storehouses of public memory indicate both our collective failure to recognize our complex intersectional pasts and the immense opportunity the field of historic preservation has to reconcile and celebrate the fragments of our collective history.

Case Study Context

The former Black and Tan Club building is a one-story commercial structure whose exterior shows signs of extensive settling and deterioration (see Field Visit). Various layers of paint cover graffiti on the West and North elevations while plywood installed during the COVID-19 Pandemic still covers many of the building's windows. The awning for stores on South Jackson Street is fraying but the store names are still legible in both English and Vietnamese. Although the building is more than a century old, it is still largely intact and retains its original exterior, with brick columns clearly visible and building footprint unchanged.
In 2018, Seattle' Chinatown-International District was 43.5% Asian, 19.4% Black or African American, and 27.5% white while 81.6% of households in the neighborhood were renters

(Seattle Department of Neighborhoods, 2018). More than half of residents spoke a language other than English at home and nearly 3 out of every 4 residents was a person of color (Seattle Department of Neighborhoods, 2018). The latest census data from 2020 indicate that the population of the C-ID had increased to 6,309 residents from a previous total of 5,333 in 2010. While the proportion of Asian-reporting residents remained the same over this decade period, the African American population of the neighborhood dropped 22%, a pattern of population loss that has persisted over the last thirty years. In 1990, for example, African Americans made up nearly 18% of the population of the C-ID, a figure that dropped to 12% by 2020 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2020). While it is difficult to know the extent to which the African American population has decreased since the mid-twentieth century, they appear to mirror the levels of population loss for the community throughout Seattle. Indeed, the Black population of Seattle hit its lowest levels in 2020 since the early 1960s at 6.8% (Balk & The Seattle Times, 2020). It is important to note, however, that while many businesses in the C-ID were owned and run by Black individuals, the African American population was largely concentrated in residential areas in the nearby Central District. South Jackson Street, in other words, was often home to single men but more of a commercial and nightlife corridor for Seattle's Black residents who built their families in nearby neighborhoods (De Barros, 1993).

Although the Asian population of the C-ID has remained stable compared to its Black population, the uneasiness among Asian residents in the C-ID about the new development occurring in and around the neighborhood cannot be ignored. A recent proposal to demolish a longtime Karaoke bar, Bush Garden, for a new a condominium building sparked intense debate among residents over how many units the building should have and why the old single-occupancy-hotel needed to be demolished (Robinson & The International Examiner, 2019).

These debates are occurring during a period of immense growth for a neighborhood just adjacent to downtown and Rainier Valley. In 2021, the C-ID added 3,904 units over its 2015 base number, leading downtown neighborhoods at a 51.7% growth rate over that period (Seattle Office of Planning and Community Development, 2021). Although the C-ID has historically seen major growth in short periods of time, particularly between 1900 and 1920, the neighborhood is undergoing a level of transformation that has not been seen in generations.

The property at 1201 South Jackson Street is zoned as DMR/C 75/75-95. This refers to its classification as Downtown Mixed Retail and Mixed Commercial by Seattle Department of Construction and Inspections and its height limits of 75 feet for residential buildings and up to 95 if a development contributes to the city's stock of affordable housing (City of Seattle, 2022, Zone 117). Chapter 23.49 of the Seattle Municipal Code applies these requirements to other downtown historic districts such as Pike Place Market Urban Renewal Area, Pike Place Market Historic District, Pioneer Square Preservation District, and the Shoreline District (City of Seattle, 2019, Chapter 23.49). Zoning maps from both 1947 and 1973 indicate that the zoning of Little Saigon has remained largely unchanged compared to other downtown neighborhoods. In fact, the height limit for the neighborhood has only increased by 15 feet since 1947 (City of Seattle, 2018,

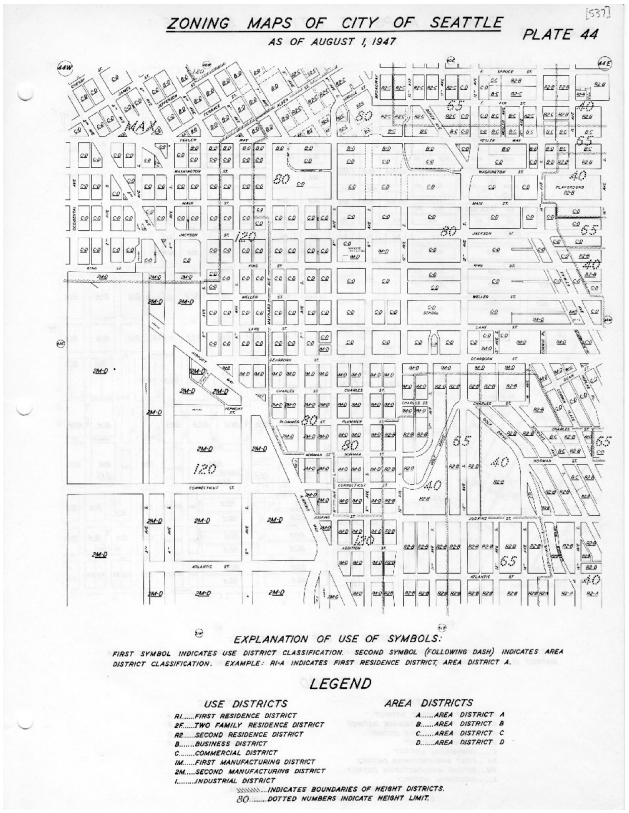


Figure 1: Plate 44 of 1947 Zoning Maps of City of Seattle (City of Seattle, 2018, Plate 44)

Plate 44) and the CG or General Commercial Zoning from 1973 was the equivalent of today's Downtown Mixed Retail (City of Seattle, 2018, Section 44E).

Although the height limits for other blocks in the C-ID are capped at 85 ft, new buildings can be built up to 170 ft one block south of the study area between South King and South Weller Streets (City of Seattle, 2022, Zone 117). According to Shaping Seattle, the City's online tracker for property and building permits, there are plans to construct two large apartment structures within a block of the case study property that would add hundreds of studio apartments and thousands of square feet of additional retail and commercial space (City of Seattle, 2022, Shaping Seattle). This is in addition to the already completed Thai Binh Apartments further West on South Jackson Street and the thousands of new market and public housing units at Yesler Terrace just North of South Jackson Street (Bayang & Northwest Asian Weekly, 2018). It is clear that Little Saigon and the C-ID neighborhood are seeing major transformations to their built environments with modern residential and commercial spaces being rapidly added to an area that still has a significant number of parking lots and one-story structures.

While there are likely a number of factors driving this increase in development, including the 120,000 new residents that Seattle added between 2010 and 2020, recent up-zones in the downtown core have had a major impact on the real estate industry. Seattle's Mandatory Housing Affordability (MHA), adopted by the Seattle City Council in 2019, amended many of the zoning requirements for Seattle's urban villages as a means of increasing affordability and housing options for residents. In exchange for up-zoning significant portions of the city, including many formerly redlined neighborhoods, the City Council required developers to either build additional affordable units within new developments or pay into a city fund that can build or preserve housing at a later time (City of Seattle, 2019, MHA). Although the outlying

residential areas of Seattle were up-zoned in 2019, downtown neighborhoods, including the C-ID, saw zoning changes in 2017. The C-ID is considered a “high” MHA zone, which entails a higher payment requirement percentage or number of affordable units in exchange for additional buildable height (City of Seattle, 2019, How MHA Works).

Although the C-ID has long been a highly livable and centrally located neighborhood, MHA and the strength of Seattle’s real estate market have been enough incentive for developers to invest more heavily in the neighborhood since 2017. The cultural heritage of the Black and Tan Club and, more specifically, the fate of its original building, must be understood in the context of increased development in the neighborhood and a real estate market that rewards upper height limits and maximal use of developable area. This study did not set out to focus on zoning as it relates to historic preservation, but zoning and MHA did color the responses of the cultural and commercial stakeholders and has played a role in how other buildings in the C-ID were preserved, notably the Louisa Hotel and Uncle Bob’s Place (Edge Developers LLC, 2019). Therefore, the current zoning of 1201 South Jackson Street demonstrates that the building is not only at risk of demolition and redevelopment but that its likely fate is part of a broader pattern of development in downtown neighborhoods.

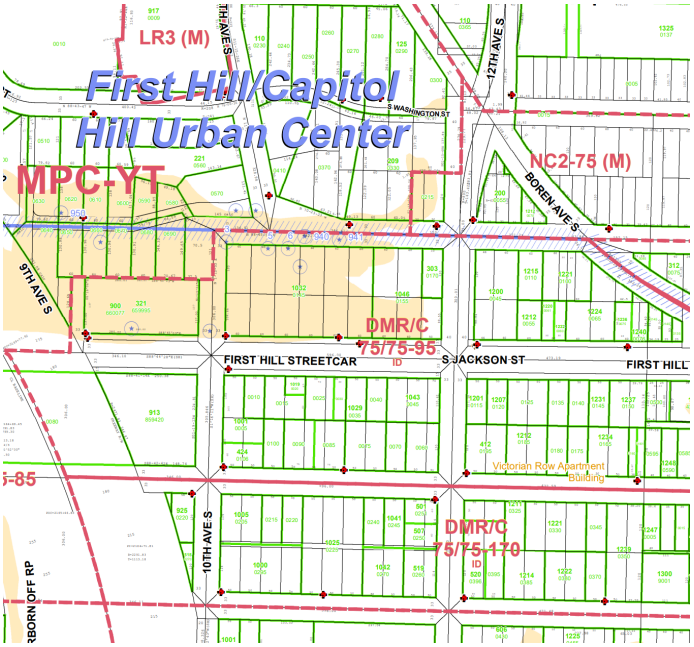


Figure 2: Downtown Zoning including C-ID East of I-5 (City of Seattle, 2022, Zone 117)

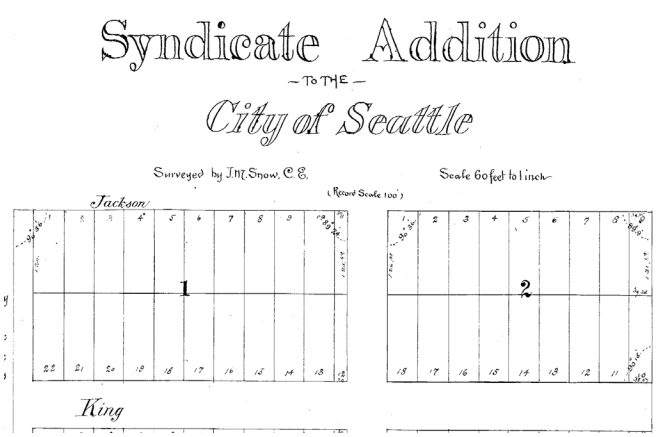


Figure 4: Syndicate Addition to the City of Seattle, including 1201 S Jackson St (King County Recorder's Office, Plat of the Syndicate Addition)

The building at 1201 South Jackson Street was built in 1917 in the Syndicate Addition of the City of Seattle, which was platted in 1884 and included the blocks between 12th and 16th Avenues and Jackson and Lane Streets (King County Recorder's Office, Plat of Syndicate Addition). The building covers 5,584 sq ft and was appraised in 2022 at $1,173,600, according to the King County Assessor's Office. (King County Department of Assessments, 1201 S Jackson St 98144). The most recent owner, Wu Hsiung Kuo, passed away in 2021 and no other sales are listed. The 1937 Property Record Card states that 1201-1203 Jackson (now South Jackson) was built with a wood frame and a brick veneer, had plate glass windows along Jackson and 12th, and used copper and wood trim (King County Assessor, 1201-1203 Jackson). Its appearance in the assessor's photos suggest it was a typical commercial structure of the period. The basement, however, was finished with Fir and was plastered, indicating that the space was consistently occupied. The building's assessed value in 1941 was $8,280, a substantial sum considering that by 1965, near the end of the Black and Tan's time at the building, the land and building were only $6,300 (King County Assessor, 1201-1203 Jackson).

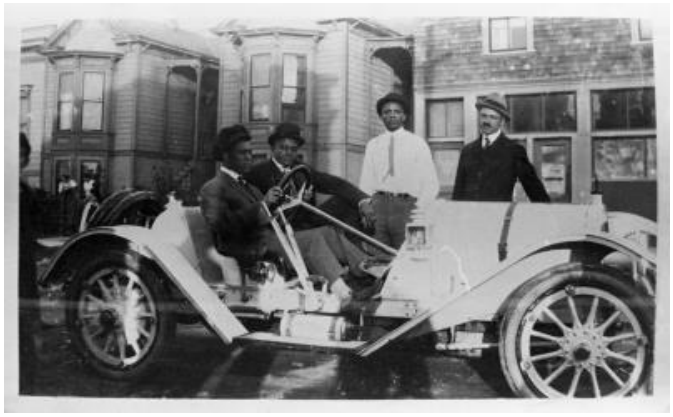


Figure 3: E. Russell "Noodles" Smith at the wheel, circa 1935 (Unknown, Bicentennial Oral History Project, 1975-76)

Unfortunately, there are few early ownership records for the property. Names are illegible on the Property Record Card but the 1928 Seattle City Directory lists “Stebbins E.I. and Co.” at 1201 and “Monarch Pool Hall” at 1203 Jackson (Seattle Public Library, 1928 Seattle City Directory). According to recorded oral histories from Robert Wright, the nephew of the Black and Tan’s longtime owner, E. Russell “Noodles” Smith, the pool hall upstairs was connected to the downstairs club and was also run by Smith (Bicentennial Oral History Program, Washington State Archives). Smith also operated the Hill Top Tavern across the street but clearly invested in the Black and Tan evidenced by the corner marquee sign visible in the 1937 assessor’s photo (De Barros, 1993). While there is no official address listed for the basement in 1928, it is evident that Black businesses were already established at this corner even before the Great Depression. Paul De Barros notes that 12th and Jackson was not just the epicenter of Black music culture but where jazz, an increasingly interracial genre in the 1920s and 1930s, “was born and where it

Figure 5: 1201-1203 S Jackson St, 1937, from King County Property Record Cards (King County Assessor, 1201-1203 Jackson)

flowered" in Seattle (De Barros, 1993, pg. 1). Evidence of the Black and Tan Club disappears after the 1960s and while this study tried to ascertain what happened to the building's basement space during the 1970s and 1980s, few records seem to remain. Aside from a recent Washington Trust oral history program that identified 1969 as the last year the club was in operation, there are no certifiable records that speak to the space's later history or when it became officially vacant (Washington Trust for Historic Preservation, 2020).

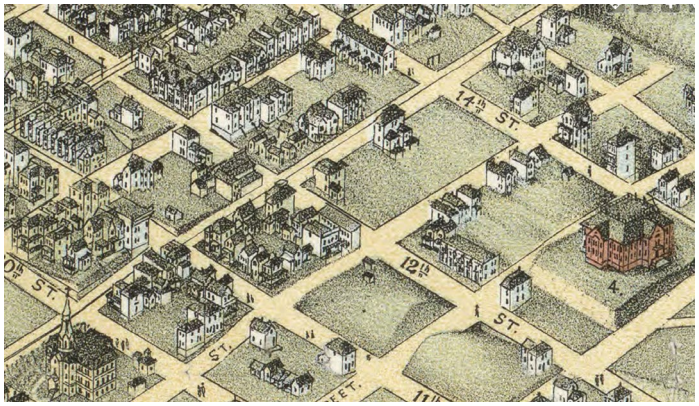


Figure 6: Birdseye view of today's Little Saigon, circa 1890s (Koch and Hughes, 1891)

The hilly topography that South Jackson Street follows today is not the one that existed prior to the construction of the Black and Tan building in 1917. Numerous regrades were completed between 1890 and 1920 in and around the modern day Chinatown-International District. A bird's eye view of Seattle from 1891 shows a residential area with Victorian homes and row houses while steep hills surrounding the recently platted area have yet to regraded (Koch and Hughes, 1891). Maps from the Black and Tan period (approximately 1920-1960) indicate that there were up to four separate commercial spaces at street level at 1201 and 1203 Jackson and 412 and 412 ½ 12th Avenue South (Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Seattle, 1950). By 1950, the surrounding built environment was a dense mix of residential and commercial/industrial structures, including row houses, hotels, gas stations, auto garages, poultry processing warehouses, and garment factories (Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Seattle, King County, Washington, 1950). This represented significant growth from the mostly vacant lots and scattered rowhouses, laundries, and churches that characterized the blocks between Jackson and

Lane Streets only a few decades prior (Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Seattle, King County, Washington, 1916). The corner of 12th Avenue South and South Jackson Street remains a busy intersection today but it's clear that the neighborhood in the mid-twentieth century served as a crossroads for commerce between Rainier Avenue to the South and downtown to the West.

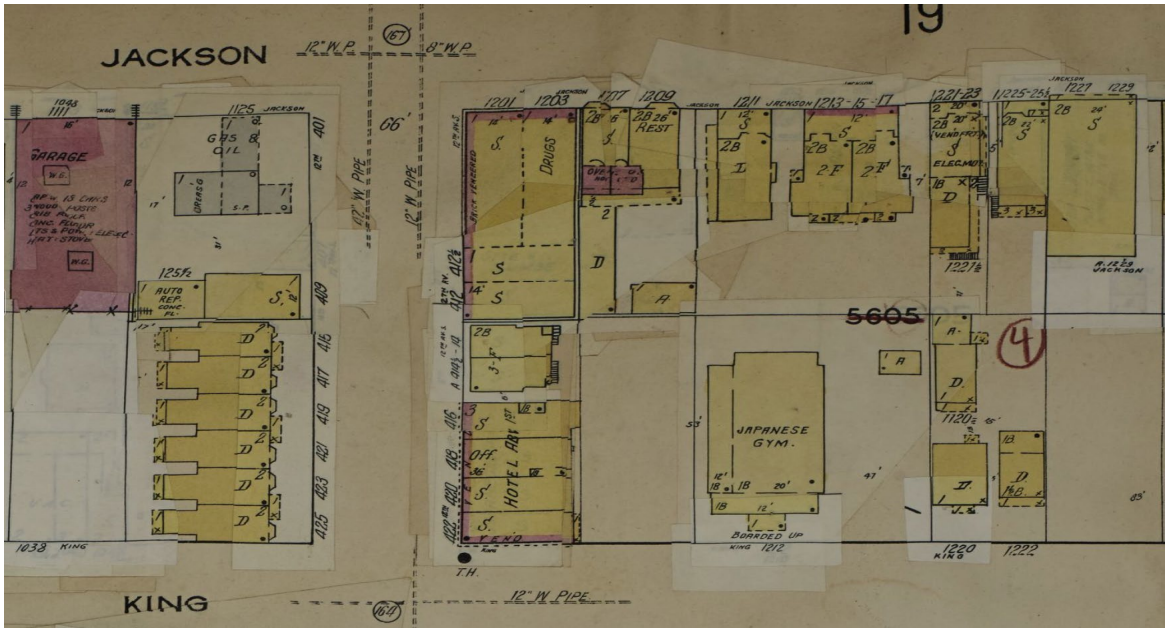


Figure 7: The corner of 12th Avenue and South Jackson Street, circa 1950 (Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps of Seattle, 1916-1950)

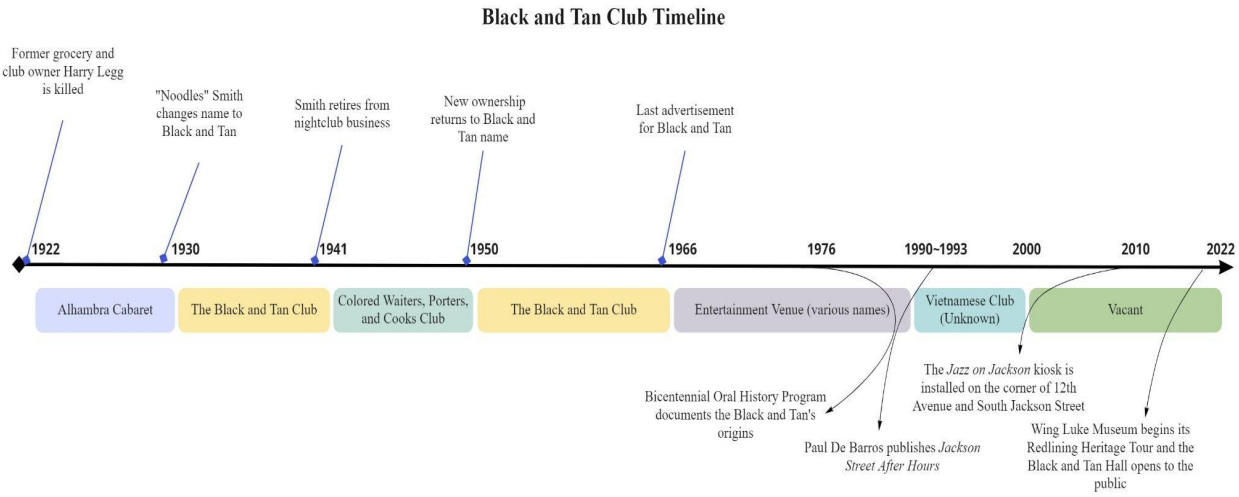


Figure 8: Timeline showing important names, events, and dates related to the Black and Tan (Author)

The 1934 City Directory lists “Tazuma Ten Ct Store”" at 1201 and “Chikata Drug Company” at 1203 Jackson (Seattle Public Library, 1934 City Directory). These upstairs commercial spaces were occupied by Japanese tenants for most of the 1930s according to city directories. Jack Chikata is listed as the owner of the building in the 1940 Seattle City Directory but does not appear in other documents and any records of him disappear after Japanese Internment in 1942 (Seattle Public Library, 1940 Seattle City Directory). Prior to internment, the area surrounding the Black and Tan Club had a significant Japanese presence. Sandborn Fire Insurance Maps between 1916 and 1950 show that a “Japanese Gym " operated one block South on King Street and several Japanese groceries operated along Jackson Street (Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Seattle, King County, Washington). This confirms Shelley Sang-Hee Lee’s analysis that Japanese Americans drifted further East of Chinatown due to Chinese property ownership further West and that Jackson Street became an unusual conglomeration of Japanese, Jewish, and African American commercial activity (Lee S., 2011).

The basement space was often listed as 404 or 404 ½ 12th Avenue South according to advertisements in local Black newspapers (The Northwest Enterprise, 05 April, 1944). However, the 1940 Seattle City Directory lists this space as vacant (Seattle Public Library, 1940 City Directory). This date coincides with “Noodles” Smith’s retirement from the nightclub business but did not mean the space was closed for long (De Barros, 1993). Advertisements listing the Black and Tan at either the 1201 Jackson or 404 12th Avenue South address reappear in 1941 as the “Colored Waiters, Cooks, and Porters Club” (The Northwest Enterprise, 26 December, 1941). Notably, this new name was rarely listed without stating that it was formerly the Black and Tan, demonstrating the notoriety and name recognition that the club must have had in the 1930s and 1940s (The Northwest Enterprise, 31 December, 1947). In fact, the club appears to

have dropped the new name entirely by 1950 and returned to using the Black and Tan for a Juneteenth Dance (The Northwest Enterprise, 14 June, 1950). This is noteworthy not only for the fact that the Texas-originated holiday had migrated to Seattle (watermelon and barbecue were served) but that by this point, the name Black and Tan had been in use for nearly two decades.

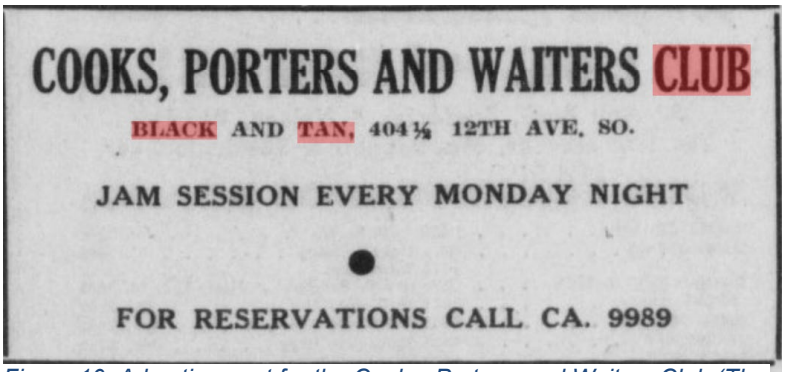


Figure 10: Advertisement for the Cooks, Porters, and Waiters Club (The Northwest Enterprise, 26 December, 1941)

In fact, the name "Black and tan" was originally a colloquial term for nightclubs that allowed Black and white patrons. The Encyclopedia of the Harlem Renaissance notes that Prohibition was a major factor in forcing Black and white nightlife into the same spaces while the term "tan" was used to reflect white clientele who were more open to interracial spaces (Black and Tan Clubs, 2004). Black and Tan clubs existed Black neighborhoods throughout the United States but many of them were not as integrated as the name suggested. The Cotton Club, for example, was a Harlem jazz institution that eventually discouraged Black patrons so as to attract bigger acts (Black and Tan Clubs, 2004). Because Black and Tan was a well-known term within nightclub circles and not as recognized by bureaucrats and white elites, the name was essentially a welcome mat for anyone who enjoyed jazz. In the context of early-to-

Figure 9: Advertisement for the Black and Tan (The Northwest Enterprise, 14 June, 1950)

mid-twentieth century Seattle, Black and Tans were the epicenter of what De Barros labels the unique “crossover culture” that the small West Coast city had during that period (De Barros, 1993, pg. 207). There were so few white clubs that featured jazz that many white musicians and nightclub goers flocked South Jackson Street and, more specifically, the Black and Tan Club. In two different scenarios, De Barros notes that integrated bands made the Black and Tan Club their mainstay. Gaylord Jones, a popular white big-band conductor from the 1950s, spent much of his time studying jazz at the Black and Tan (De Barros, 1993, pg. 50) while in another exceptional instance, Leon Vaughn, a Black trumpet player, met the white bandleader, Bud Storm, at the Black and Tan and subsequently began a ten-month collaboration (De Barros, 1993, pg. 67). Integration in the Black and Tan Club, evidently, was less about openly accepting multiple races and more about the shared experience of music.

Oral history interviews with Robert Wright, the nephew of E. Russell “Noodles” Smith, further demonstrates this unusual reality for patrons of the Black and Tan Club. In speaking with local Black historian Esther Mumford, Wright recalled that large touring acts that played theaters downtown would normally finish earlier in the evening and “always came down” to the Black and Tan afterwards to play and entertain (Robert Wright Oral History, Bicentennial Oral History Program, 1975, pg. 14). It was so normal to see Black and white patrons at the Black and Tan, Wright continues, that “you could see as many white people on 12th and Jackson at midnight, as you'd see on 3rd and Union in midday” (Robert Wright Oral History, Bicentennial Oral History Program, 1975, pg. 16). Wright participated in the Bicentennial Oral History Program in 1975, after the Civil Rights Movement and nearly a decade after the closure of the later iteration of the Black and Tan Club. Even so, his description of the Club as a hub for cross-cultural gathering on

Seattle's Jackson Street corridor illustrates that it was truly an integrated space, long before the last racial covenants disappeared from Seattle's urban fabric.

Numerous advertisements and newspaper articles from the period attest to both Wright and De Barros' claims that the Black and Tan Club was unique among other Seattle venues for its welcoming atmosphere. The Black-owned newspaper, The Northwest Enterprise, frequently ran stories and published advertisements for the Black and Tan and other clubs along South Jackson Street throughout its operation between the 1910s and 1960s. The Northwest Enterprise, therefore, represents one of the best records of this era in Seattle jazz history besides the editorial-focused Cayton Quarterly. The language used in club advertisements that filled these newspapers was normally straightforward and included an address, cover charge, and the name of a visiting performer. Advertisements for the Black and Tan Club, however, often differed from these in a notable way by stating that the venue was open to all patrons. A New Year's Eve party from 1932, for example, declares that there would be "dancing until…?" while in the bottom corner it states, "all welcome" (The Northwest Enterprise, 29 December, 1932). In 1944, the integrated all-female band, The International Sweethearts of Rhythm, completed a two-week residency at the Black and Tan before performing a segregated show at the Civic Auditorium (The Northwest Enterprise, 06 September, 1944). These engagements were not uncommon at the club where both male and female and Black and white artists gathered to collaborate and earn good tips before


Welcome the New Year with Joy
BIG NEW YEAR'S EVE
Frolic and Dance
Saturday Night, December 31
At
BLACK AND TAN CLUB
1205 Jackson St., formerly the Alhambra
NEWLY DECORATED — NEWLY RENOVATED
Music by
ALL-STAR BAND
Dancing until ?
Admission, 50c
All Welcome

Figure 11: Advertisement for the Black and Tan Club (The Northwest Enterprise, 29 December, 1932)

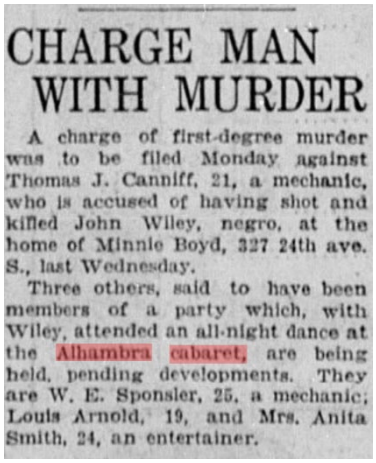
hitting the road. As De Barros notes, many young musicians began their careers at the Black and Tan, such as a young Ray Charles (De Barros, 1993), where open jam sessions occurred weekly and club managers like "Noodles" Smith were willing to take a chance (The Northwest Enterprise, 14 February, 1945). Smith was heralded after his death for having "no color bias" and as readily helped both white and Black neighbors, friends, and musicians (Seattle Post Intelligencer (Seattle Post-Intelligencer, 16 April, 1952).

It is important to underscore that Asian Americans, particularly Filipino and Japanese Americans, were an integral part to the club's welcoming atmosphere. The Black and Tan Club consistently advertised events in the Filipino-run newspaper, The Filipino Forum. In one advertisement for the Colored Waiters, Porters, and Cooks Club, an alternative name to the Black and Tan, dancing was slated to last until 6 a.m. and "all mixes" were welcome (The Filipino Forum, 01 December, 1945). This may have been alluding to the fact that mixed-race and interracial couples were not uncommon at the Black and Tan. Albert Smith's photos from the period often include interracial Asian and African American couples at tables (Smith, Albert J., MOHAI) and highly diverse groups sitting at the bar. At Least three different interracial couples met at the Black and Tan, according to De Barros, often starting as band or dancing partners and eventually marrying (De Barros, 1993).

Figure 12: Asian and African American patrons at the Black and Tan (Smith, 1950)

Figure 13: Black and white patrons sitting at a booth with a thirsty pup (Smith, 1945)

While these examples further illustrate that the Black and Tan Club operated as an open and integrated venue in the early-to-mid-twentieth century, it was always entirely harmonious. After a dance party at the Alhambra Cabaret, predecessor to the Black and Tan, a group of both white and Black patrons had a disagreement and one was killed. A white man was charged with first degree murder. (The Seattle Star, 09 April, 1923).

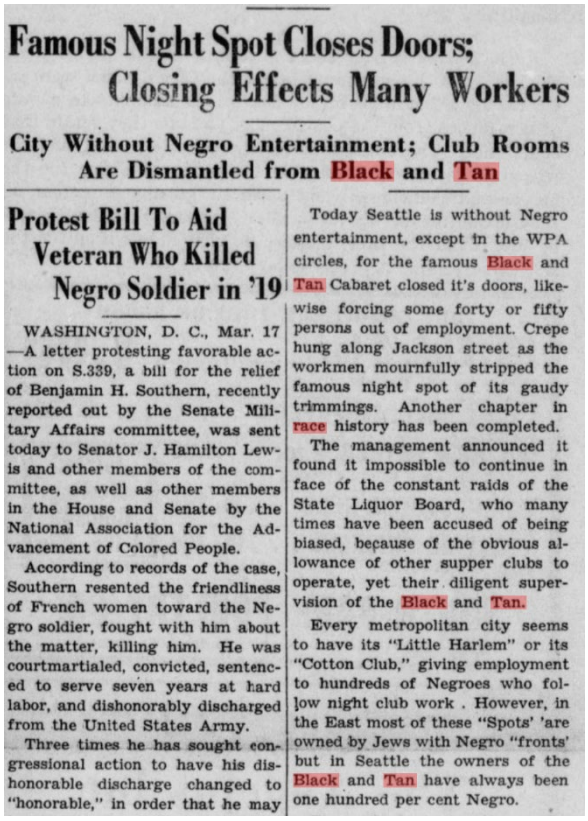


CHARGE MAN WITH MURDER

A charge of first-degree murder was to be filed Monday against Thomas J. Canniff, 21, a mechanic, who is accused of having shot and killed John Wiley, negro, at the home of Minnie Boyd, 327 24th ave. S., last Wednesday.

Three others, said to have been members of a party which, with Wiley, attended an all-night dance at the Alhambra cabaret, are being held, pending developments. They are W. E. Sponsler, 25, a mechanic; Louis Arnold, 19, and Mrs. Anita Smith, 24, an entertainer.

Figure 14: Murder following a night at the Alhambra Cabaret (The Seattle Star, 09 April, 1923)



Famous Night Spot Closes Doors; Closing Effects Many Workers

City Without Negro Entertainment; Club Rooms Are Dismantled from Black and Tan

Protest Bill To Aid Veteran Who Killed Negro Soldier in '19

WASHINGTON, D. C., Mar. 17—A letter protesting favorable action on S.339, a bill for the relief of Benjamin H. Southern, recently reported out by the Senate Military Affairs committee, was sent today to Senator J. Hamilton Lewis and other members of the committee, as well as other members in the House and Senate by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

According to records of the case, Southern resented the friendliness of French women toward the Negro soldier, fought with him about the matter, killing him. He was courtmartialed, convicted, sentenced to serve seven years at hard labor, and dishonorably discharged from the United States Army.

Three times he has sought congressional action to have his dishonorable discharge changed to "honorable," in order that he may

Today Seattle is without Negro entertainment, except in the WPA circles, for the famous Black and Tan Cabaret closed it's doors, likewise forcing some forty or fifty persons out of employment. Crepe hung along Jackson street as the workmen mournfully stripped the famous night spot of its gaudy trimmings. Another chapter in race history has been completed.

The management announced it found it impossible to continue in face of the constant raids of the State Liquor Board, who many times have been accused of being biased, because of the obvious allowance of other supper clubs to operate, yet their diligent supervision of the Black and Tan.

Every metropolitan city seems to have its "Little Harlem" or its "Cotton Club," giving employment to hundreds of Negroes who follow night club work . However, in the East most of these "Spots' 'are owned by Jews with Negro "fronts' but in Seattle the owners of the Black and Tan have always been one hundred per cent Negro.

Figure 15: Black and Tan and "another chapter in race history" close in 1939 (The Northwest Enterprise, 17 March, 1939)

Operating an integrated club also seemed to attract the attention of Seattle police and city officials. In 1939, the Club briefly went out of business due to a number of destructive police raids (The Northwest Enterprise, 17 March, 1939). The managers believed it was targeted as similar clubs did not experience the same level of oversight from the State Liquor Board. These were not simply Liquor Board inspections but often highly violent episodes that escalated into open brawls with police officers, sometimes leaving patrons with serious injuries as The Northwest Enterprise reported in 1933 (The Northwest Enterprise, 14 September, 1933). It also appears that the Black and Tan Club was

Figure 16: The Dave Lewis Trio performed in the final years of the Club (De Barros, 1993, pg. 145)

routinely denied liquor permits for unstated reasons (The Seattle Daily Times, 10 June 1949). Even with these hostile conditions, however, the Club remained a hub for Seattle's nightlife for another two decades as the last known advertisement for the Black and Tan ran in a local paper in 1966 when the Dave Lewis Trio were doing a residency at "Seattle's latest supper club" (De Barros, 1993, pgs. 145-160). Despite the risks of operating an integrated club, the Black and Tan persisted through numerous mayoral administrations, increasingly strict racial covenants and noise ordinances, and major demographic changes during WWII.

It is this perseverance and cultural continuity that has been most overlooked by the City of Seattle and local preservationists. It was a difficult balance to maintain an integrated space in an increasingly segregated Seattle during the twentieth century and it required complex networks of individuals and a passion for music to keep the club running. Gathering and partying appear to be what the Black and Tan did best. Moreover, music served as common ground for a multi-racial clientele and while it is important to note performances by Jellyroll Morton, Count Basie, Ray Charles, Quincy Jones, and others, these names sometimes obscure the human stories that occurred in the background. Unfortunately, the dominant narrative delineated by the Seattle Department of Neighborhoods and the Seattle Landmarks Board rarely discusses the Black and Tan as an integrated space. The Historic Resources Survey significance statement for 1201 South

Jackson Street does discuss its importance to Japanese and African Americans as well as its role in Seattle Jazz history.

> *"This 5, 500 square foot wood frame commercial building was constructed in circa 1917. During the 1930's this building housed a Japanese retail store, Tazuma 10cent Store, and Chikata Drugs, at the front, while the Black and Tan jazz club was conducted out of the back rooms by an African American. The Black & Tan Club has been noted as significant in the history of the Seattle jazz scene, which was centered on Jackson Street, especially in the pre-World War II era. Today it serves as a retail space for a Chinese grocery and herb store and its former associations are no longer apparent, as the building has been extensively altered"* (Seattle Department of Neighborhoods, Historic Resources Survey).

Absent from this description are E. Russell "Noodles" Smith and background on the integrated bands and clientele that frequented the Black and Tan. While the Club did gain notoriety in the pre-World War II era, its later significance for Seattle's burgeoning RnB and Soul music scenes is lacking. Although the Seattle Landmarks Board has not received a nomination for the property at 12th Avenue and South Jackson Street, the Seattle Department of Neighborhoods manages the historic resources within the International Special Review District which includes the Little Saigon area of the C-ID. Similar to the Historic Resources Survey statement, the cultural significance of South Jackson Street mentions the musical heritage of the neighborhood but not the Black and Tan or what made the late night jazz scene so unusual in segregated Seattle.

> *"The Japanese developed a Nihonmachi or Japantown near Main Street, just north of the new Chinatown. The Japanese businesses -- restaurants, bathhouses, laundries, dry*

> *goods stores and markets -- vanished when their owners were herded off to internment camps during World War II. The Filipinos, the third Asian group to arrive, found their way into area hotels, seeking connections for work in the canneries. Some operated cafes, pool halls, barbershops and other small businesses. African Americans also settled in the area, establishing diners, groceries, taverns, tailor shops and nightclubs. For many years, Seattle's after-hours jazz scene thrived on Jackson Street"* (City of Seattle, International Special Review District).

The jazz scene that the Department of Neighborhoods and other City agencies like to bring attention to, however, involved real people with complex cultural and racial backgrounds. The music that brought fame to the Black and Tan Club, in other words, did not exist in a vacuum. Only in the last few years has the narrative begun to mention the unusual integrated nature of the Black and Tan and the human stories of the jazz scene that proliferated after-hours. The MOHAI exhibit, The Black and Tan Collection, greeted visitors by stating that "the Black and Tan Club on 12th and Jackson hosted legendary musical acts and local bands for patrons of all races as one of the first interracial establishments in Seattle" (Museum of History and Industry, 2022). Local Northwest artist Paul Rucker recently installed a sculpture entitled "78" at a new building in Seattle's Central District that lists the names of Black and white jazz artists who do not carry the same notoriety as Ray Charles, Duke Ellington, or Aretha Franklin (Davis & Crosscut, 2022). The design features a spinning record with the names of musicians, entertainers, composers, and organizations in the grooves that invites passersby to sit and learn the lesser told narrative of South Jackson Street (Rucker, 2021).

While these examples have begun the process of laying claim to an underrecognized cultural heritage in Seattle, the dominant narrative of the city's twentieth century jazz scene and

the Black and Tan Club remain impersonal accounts of real-life stories. Moreover, Rucker' work and the recent MOHAI exhibit illustrate that it is essential to bring the names, faces, and feelings of the Black and Tan Club to the forefront so that its significance as an integrated space can be better understood. Ultimately, preserving cultural heritage at 12th Avenue and South Jackson Street may benefit from focusing less on the Seattle jazz scene and more on the intersectional human experiences therein.

Field Visit

On May 2, 2022, I visited the case study property and conducted a field study to gauge the building's exterior condition as well as gain access to the vacant basement space. This visit confirmed that the building was built using a wood frame and brick veneer and that many of the original windows, including the upper light-bay windows, are still in existence. The glass itself has likely been replaced as it appears to be double paned, but the original transoms and store entrances remain. There is little evidence of embellishments or special design additions which is in line with the building's roots as an early low-cost, commercial structure. The brick columns are deteriorated in certain places, mostly due to moisture buildup, and there is a clearly visible settling of the building on both the East and North elevations. This is possibly caused by an inadequate foundation or movement within the wood frame. The 1937 Property Record Card photograph indicates that there were not awnings on the

Figure 17: View of the former Club entrance from 12th Avenue South and I Hair Design Salon (Author)

structure but that a marquee sign hung on the Southeast corner of the building (King County Assessor, 1201-1203 Jackson). There is no marquee today and no indication that any bolts remain. Awnings, however, cover most of the North elevation and are in varying states of disrepair. The South elevation is covered in wood siding rather than a brick veneer.

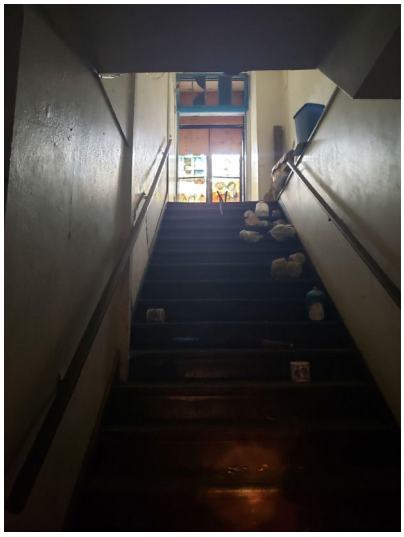


Figure 20: Stairwell at former S Jackson St entrace to the Black and Tan (Author)

The two original entrances to the Black and Tan Club, at 1201 South Jackson Street and 404 ½ 12th Avenue South, remain but are permanently closed off. The 404 ½ entrance is secured with a metal gate and multiple padlocks. I was given access to the downstairs space along with commercial stakeholders Gina Tan and Adam Lu by the niece of the recently deceased owner. Upon entry, it's evident the basement has not been accessed in some time as trash and debris cover the stairwells and there is ample evidence of rat

Figure 19: View toward where the Club's stage once stood (Author)

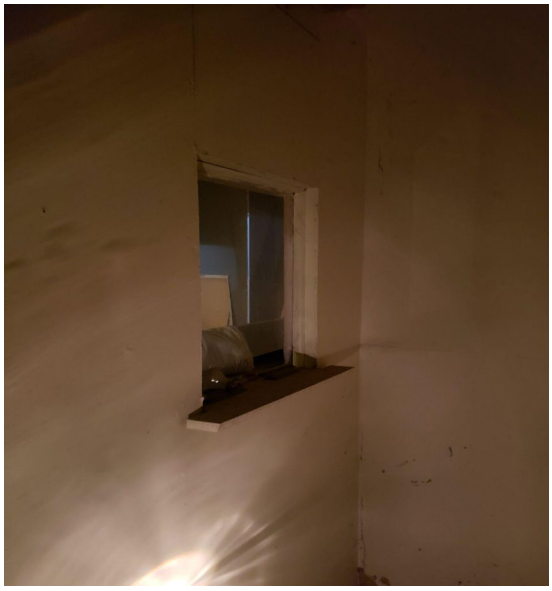


Figure 18: A ticket counter found near the 12th Avenue South entrance (Author)

Figure 21: Original upper bay window frames and structural settling apparent in the upper right (Author)

infestation. Besides this, however, the 5,000 sq ft room is predominately empty and in addition to the original stairwells, the central support columns, wood trim, sidewalk-level windows, and ventilation shafts all appear to be original from the mid-century Club. A ticket counter still stands at the base of the 404 ½ stairwell but its more contemporary drywall indicates it is likely not original. White plaster covers much of the interior space and may hide some murals that appear in photographs of the Club from the 1940s (see Figure 23). Ultimately, the field visit revealed that the original building, while in disrepair and with large sections of it vacant, is surprisingly intact. However, there were no clear signs that the Black and Tan Club once occupied the space and, more importantly, it is difficult to place the crowded scenes of the Club captured in Al Smith's photographs from the 1940s in what is now a cavernous and forgotten room.

Chapter III: Methods

Research Approach and Rationale

The history of the Black and Tan Club is unique in that, compared to other music clubs in Seattle during the twentieth century, it existed for nearly five decades and the original building continues to play an active role in the cultural heritage of a Seattle neighborhood. Its centrality to the Seattle jazz scene, according to Paul de Barros, gave it both regional and national recognition and cemented its role as a cross-cultural hub in what was otherwise a segregated city (De Barros, 1993). However, despite its popularity and renown, little evidence of the club remains at the original location. The few physical mementos that survive, such as photographs and handbills, have engendered a type of preservation that relies less on architectural integrity, notable events or people, and historic registers and more on community-based narratives around gathering, perseverance, and Civil Rights. Therefore, the people-based, quotidian nature of the Black and Tan Club's history is what makes it so extraordinary and so difficult to capture through quantitative analysis. Qualitative methods, however, offer an alternative to better understanding the cultural heritage of the nightclub and access narratives that are actively being used by the community to preserve its history. An inductive approach was applied using a thematic qualitative methodology to code interviews with commercial and cultural stakeholders associated with the former nightclub's building, cultural heritage, or musical legacy.

My research revealed four thematic categories: cultural preservation, public memory, cross-cultural heritage, and contested space. These were developed inductively from the interviews and were rooted in the experiences of each interviewee. Each theme was ranked by the number of references and then analyzed for their potential strategies for preserving the building and its cultural heritage at 1201 South Jackson Street. This was done to identify potential patterns in heritage preservation as well as references to a shared and layered history. For example, during some of the interviews, individuals referenced how the Black and Tan Club was one of many desegregated spaces in the C-ID but that those businesses are not as recognized within the Jackson St Corridor. Others discussed the importance of the original Japanese owners of the building at 1201 South Jackson Street and how they operated a five-and-dime store at the corner. This information was coded for cross-cultural heritage as it related to desegregated spaces, public memory as knowledge that is passed down informally, and contested space as it relates to a perceived imbalance in what spaces are and are not remembered. Additionally, subordinate themes were developed within each broader thematic category. These were used to identify specific strategies, values, or fears the stakeholders conveyed. The 13 subordinate themes that were identified are listed in the results section. The coding of the data was done in phases by each theme and relied on a coding software to track the thematic connections.

The decision to focus on one building, its occupants, and groups associated with its legacy was based on the available resources during the COVID-19 Pandemic as well as the importance of the Black and Tan Club for multiple community groups and organizations in Seattle. The Chinatown-International District is one of only a handful of recognized historical districts in Seattle with direct association to non-white minority communities and includes a number of significant cultural buildings. This context provided a unique setting for the study of

historic intersectional and integrated spaces in Seattle but also necessitated a more specific focus on a property that had demonstrable ties to the cultural groups that still live in and around the neighborhood. Finally, the Black and Tan Club is searchable under multiple racial and ethnic terms in the Seattle Department of Neighborhoods' Historic Resources Survey and is still in existence, making it a tangible example of intersectional cultural heritage in Seattle.

The property at 1201 South Jackson Street has a set number of tenants who agreed to participate and, therefore, the interviewees for the commercial stakeholders are a non-probability sample. More specifically, the interviewees represent a purposive sample from which their responses were sought for their relevance to the chosen topic of this study. For the purposes of this research, the interviewees had to have a professional, personal, or cultural connection with current or historic cultural heritage related to Seattle's C-ID neighborhood. There are two decision rule statements that I considered in my analysis:

A. *If presented with intersectional historical significance that goes beyond racial identity, cultural groups will support the preservation of heritage that is not explicitly their own.*
B. *If there is cross-cultural consensus that the Black and Tan Club's legacy and/or its original location should be preserved, then coalition building using multiple, community-informed histories is a valuable and equitable strategy for historic preservation in the C-ID*

In considering these, this study of the intersectional cultural heritage related to Seattle's Black and Tan Club aimed to find substantive and innovative strategies for the field of historic preservation as it seeks to serve the American public more equitably. It is critical to utilize approaches to cultural heritage preservation that already exist in communities that consistently

negotiate racial and geographic identity. The decision rules that I selected are intended to embrace and build upon rather than co-opt these strategies.

Recruitment Process and Participants

This research of intersectional spaces in Seattle's Chinatown-International District and, more specifically, the history of the Black and Tan Club relied on interviews with community stakeholders. These included two types of cultural actors that currently have some level of association with the property at 1201 South Jackson Street and the greater neighborhood. The first group represents the commercial interests of the property, namely the majority Vietnamese American tenants and the surrounding community. The second group includes cultural organizations that are actively engaged in preserving either mono-cultural or intersectional heritage related to the C-ID. These include the Black and Tan Hall, the Wing Luke Museum, Friends of Little Saigon, the Black Heritage Society of Washington State, and the artist and playwright Chris Hopper who has collaborated with the Museum of History and Industry (MOHAI).

The cultural stakeholders interviewed for this study were selected for their roles in preserving community knowledge and highlighting cultural history in the C-ID. These individuals include Ashley Harrison and Benjamin Hunter of the Black and Tan Hall, Doan Diane Hoang Dy of the Wing Luke Museum, Ricky Pham and Quynh Pham of Friends of Little Saigon, Stephanie Johnson-Toliver of the Black Heritage Society of Washington State, and playwright Chris Hopper who helped produce the Black and Tan Exhibit at MOHAI. The cultural stakeholders represent the primary informative source for this study and helped inform a survey of individuals and community groups who are forefronting intersectional histories while paying homage to an historical integrated nightclub.

There are three retail spaces within 1201 South Jackson Street as well as a 5,500 sq ft basement, which once served as the Black and Tan Club, that is currently unfinished and unoccupied. Therefore, my commercial stakeholder interviews initially included all 3 business owners and one representative from the building's ownership. However, because of language barriers, fears related to development pressure, and disruptions from the COVID-19 Pandemic, only one tenant, Gina Tat, and her son, Adam Lu, agreed to participate in my study. This limited participation is addressed more fully in the chapter on limitations. With assistance from Friends of Little Saigon, I communicated directly with Adam Lu, who helped arrange an interview with his mother and facilitate some communication with the building owners to allow for a tour of the basement space. While it was this study's intention to survey the commercial interests of the building in addition to the cultural stakeholders, this sample was not robust enough to fully capture their perspectives on historic preservation, cultural heritage, and the Black and Tan Club's history. Therefore, the commercial stakeholder interview is used as a comparative perspective throughout this study and is meant to engage with themes that cultural stakeholders may have otherwise disregarded or undervalued.

Ethics and Confidentiality

The commercial and cultural stakeholders were all informed about the nature of my thesis research and its goals before they agreed to speak with me. Their participation was voluntary and coordinated through email, phone, and zoom communication. To ensure that my findings were accurate and that the study participants were comfortable with the themes I explored, the basic list of questions was shared with all commercial and cultural stakeholders before each interview. Informed consent was given for the interview material and its recording. Each participant was asked if they were willing to contribute to my study of the Black and Tan Cub's history and if

they could share their thoughts on the preservation of its cultural heritage. Secondly, they were asked if they preferred to have their name used or not within the text and informed that the thesis would be published and distributed to University of Washington faculty for review. After I received their consent, I then asked if they were comfortable with the conversation being recorded. Regarding confidentiality, each participant was given the opportunity to remain anonymous if they so chose. However, this preference was not expressed by any of the participants. It should be noted that the individuals interviewed expressed their own opinions in addition to speaking to their organization's or community's beliefs and objectives. The results of this study, therefore, reflect the collective strategies of the commercial and cultural stakeholders at both an individual and community-organizational levels. Finally, the recorded conversations were stored on password protected drives and were deleted after coding was completed.

Data Collection and Analysis

I conducted semi-structured interviews with representatives from five organizations to better understand their history working with marginalized communities, their goals for historic and cultural heritage preservation in the neighborhood, and how they value and preserve the history of the Black and Tan Club. The resulting research focused on interviews with organizational leads, grant writing materials, and current exhibitions or performances. The initial conversations with cultural stakeholders began in October, 2022, with the final interviews occurring in May, 2022.

Communication with the existing owner and tenants of the building required more preparation and was driven by recommendations from the Community Outreach Liaison of Friends of Little Saigon. Because many of these business owners are first-generation immigrants and have experienced significant levels of outreach from City of Seattle officials in the past, the

initial contact with this group was done with the help of Friends of Little Saigon. While translation assistance was provided by family members of the building tenants, the C-ID Chamber of Commerce and Friends of Little Saigon were also consulted for translation services.

Driven by an inductive, thematic qualitative methodology, interviews with cultural stakeholders generated the following themes: *cultural (historic) preservation, public memory, cross-cultural heritage,* and *contested space*. These categories describe general patterns evident in the interviews and help distinguish the various ways in which stakeholders interacted with the history of the Black and Tan Club. For the purposes of my methods, I define cultural preservation as intentional actions made to preserve the continuity of cultural expression. Public memory is the embodied cultural narrative that is told through a nostalgic lens, such as photographs or stories that are passed down by the community. Finally, I define cross-cultural heritage as any tangible or intangible form of cultural inheritance that connects multiple groups, while contested space is represented by any spatial tension, division, or negotiation that is present in the community. In the context of the Black and Tan Club, these themes could include a reference to an important business leader or event, a distinct moment of cultural crossover or identity creation, or divisions and anxieties expressed about another cultural group, race, or class. Consequently, it was important that these stakeholders understood that they could remain anonymous and that their personal beliefs were recorded objectively as a way of better contextualizing patterns of experience in the community. Questions within the cultural stakeholder interviews were based on the following criteria:

A. *Public facing mission statement or purpose*
B. *Residents or constituents they intend to serve*
C. *Conception of C-ID community of the past and today*

D. *Opinion of historic preservation efforts in C-ID*

E. *Opinion of potential for intersectional narratives*

F. *Experience with and knowledge of Black and Tan Club history*

G. *Main opportunities and obstacles in advancing community goals and preservation needs*

The second set of interviews with the primary commercial stakeholder coded for similar themes but included an additional treatment. The tenant was asked what they know about the history of 1201 South Jackson Street, what historic preservation means to them in the context of Little Saigon, and if the building should be preserved. Information regarding the Black and Tan Club and its importance to both the Black and Japanese American communities was then shared with the interviewee and some of the previous questions were repeated. Their responses were coded for potential opportunities or conflicts for preserving the Black and Tan's cultural heritage and any signs of intersectional identity were recorded to better understand when the building's diverse history was embraced or eschewed. Questions within the commercial stakeholder interview were based on the following criteria:

A. *Nature of business*

B. *Personal history in the neighborhood*

C. *Knowledge of neighborhood's history*

D. *Knowledge of building's history*

E. *Opinion on historic preservation within C-ID*

F. *Opinion on preservation of 1201 S Jackson St*

G. *Opinion on historic preservation within C-ID post knowledge sharing*

H. *Opinion on preservation of 1201 S Jackson St post knowledge sharing*

The questions used the following format:

1. *What is the nature of your business and how long have you operated a salon?*

2. *What is your personal history in the neighborhood? How long have you been doing business here and do you live nearby?*

3. *What do you know about the neighborhood's history?*

4. *During your years of operating a business here, have you learned anything about the history of this building?*

5. *How would you describe the Chinatown-International District or Little Saigon neighborhood? What makes it special or unique? What are the communities that live here?*

6. *How has Little Saigon and the Chinatown-International District changed since you've been here?*

7. *Do you feel like the history and culture of the neighborhood are being preserved?*

8. *Do you feel that this building at 1201 S Jackson St should be preserved? If so, why? If not, what are your concerns?*

9. *Have you ever heard of the Black and Tan Club or are you aware that there was a music club in this building?*

10. *Knowing this (pictures/history shared), does this change your opinion on if this building should be preserved? What does it make you feel?*

11. *What would you think could be done to highlight the history of the building both for the Vietnamese community and the African American community?*

The order and length of each question was determined by the semi-formal format of each interview and when themes were discussed spontaneously. While notes were taken during all of the interviews, every conversation was recorded and stored in a password protected folder on a password protected laptop.

In regard to the data treatment included for the primary commercial stakeholder interview, it specifies information on the Black and Tan Club's history as a Black-owned nightclub and as a desegregated space where Asian American, African Americans, and white Americans could safely congregate. Visuals were used to further this knowledge transfer and show the continued physical presence of the building at the corner of 12th Avenue and South Jackson Street.

Justification of Methods

In the last two decades, the field of historic preservation has begun to use Kimberlé Crenshaw's theory of intersectionality to frame its work in multicultural, class-diverse contexts. This has allowed for preservationists to develop polyvocal preservation plans that rely on diverse groups of stakeholders. Intersectional identities have revealed narratives that current preservation criteria consistently overlooks. Dongoske and Pasqual have noted this important systemic inflexibility of the field in their work on decolonizing the National Historic Register (Dongoske & Pasqual, 2016). In addition, Dubrow and Tipson have determined that the field has struggled to become more democratic as historic district regulations have simultaneously produced highly inauthentic, exclusionary urban spaces (Dubrow, 2019) (Tipson, 2004). Barile, Roberts, and Rast have demonstrated in their research that cultural history that is represented by vernacular architecture or non-experts, such as community storytellers, is consistently disregarded by the NHPA and local historic preservation agencies (Barile, 2004) (Roberts, 2019) (Rast, 2014).

These same scholars have demanded that preservation directly and critically engage with power structures as a result (Roberts, 2017).

Using intersectionality as a means to dissect and emphasize cultural heritage is how Graves and Schroeder have come to interpret the limits and opportunities associated with macro-groups like the LGBTQ community and Asian-Americans (Graves, 2019) (Schroeder, 2014). Rodgers, Sosa, and Petersen developed a qualitative study of Latino and Finnish working-class heritage that is extremely relevant to my work with cultural heritage and marginalized groups in the C-ID (Rodgers, Sosa, & Petersen, 2018). Their work directly refutes the "zero sum game" that is often linked to preservation projects in gentrifying areas with complex, multi-cultural backgrounds ((Rodgers, Sosa, & Petersen, 2018). Moreover, they explicitly invite others in the field to embrace this pluralistic approach to preservation by soliciting the opinions of real stakeholders and identifying commonalities through accentuating intersectional narratives first. The 2006 study of building rehabilitation in the C-ID undertook a mixed-methods approach to identifying themes of identity negotiation, boundary creation, and cultural erasure (Abramson, Manzo, and Hou, 2016). The authors revealed that political, class-oriented networks were just as important as traditional ethnic associations and that any future study of the neighborhood must consider these dynamics.

Taken collectively, there is sufficient precedent for study that engages multiple, community-rooted histories to better contextualize intersectional cultural heritage in historically diverse neighborhoods such as the C-ID. Additionally, there are well-defined strategies for communicating with marginalized groups in ways that respect their right to interpret and preserve their own collective histories. A qualitative study of both commercial and cultural stakeholders for the property at 1201 South Jackson Street recognizes the political and racial

realities of the C-ID neighborhood while ultimately democratizing the system of determining significance in intersectional contexts. While there are quantitative research alternatives that could analyze existing local historic registers and property records, my study of the Black and Tan Club building seeks to demonstrate that cultural heritage preservation can be led by local stakeholders and community members and not just technical experts in the field of historic preservation.

Data Requirements and Location

All the cultural stakeholder interviews were done remotely either through phone or Zoom (video conferencing). This allowed these groups to participate in the study more easily as most of the participating organizations were already on a remote working model. The structure of each interview was similar and initially addressed the project's goals, my positionality related to the topic and the community, and themes that I had highlighted from a review of the literature. However, discussions were crafted differently so as to cover each organization's ongoing work and varying perceptions of cultural heritage and historic preservation. Following conversations with Quynh Pham and Ricky Pham from Friends of Little Saigon and after consulting local COVID-19 caseload data, I decided to conduct my commercial stakeholder interviews in person at 1201 South Jackson Street. Email communication with the primary commercial stakeholder preceded the interview. The entire study took place within Seattle, Washington and was centered within the Chinatown-International District neighborhood.

Collecting data required several important tools. Interviews were recorded either by phone or through Zoom and were then individually transcribed. Online communication was tracked using a spreadsheet and interview transcriptions were coded and tracked on a separate spreadsheet. A transcription software, Trint, was used to record the and transcribe the interviews

while Delve, a coding software, was employed to organize and analyze the data. Because the primary commercial stakeholder interview was translated, this was coded separately from interviews that did not require translation. The nature of this data collection required an honest and open working relationship with each individual and a clear outline of my expectations for the project. For the primary commercial stakeholder interview, in particular, an introductory statement was prepared that referenced my role as a University of Washington graduate student, my personal background, my respect for their opinion and confidentiality if they choose, and how their input will have real meaning for historic preservation in their community. Communication with all the participants occurred continuously from October , 2021, through May, 2022, with the intention of developing more interactive and dynamic conversations about the themes highlighted earlier in this chapter.

Chapter IV: Results

Interviews with cultural stakeholders associated with the Black and Tan Club's legacy and its neighborhood location in the Little Saigon area of the Chinatown-International District yielded important insights into how layered, intersectional histories are disseminated in Seattle and, moreover, what strategies exist for preserving the polyvocal experience of place. The experiences and perspectives of the five cultural organizations interviewed echoed many of the concepts identified in the literature review but also introduced a number of additional or subordinate themes that help to contextualize the Black and Tan Club amidst neighborhood change in Seattle. The themes identified during these interviews were categorized as:

Contested Space:

Stewardship, Hierarchy, and Erasure

Cultural Preservation:

Behaviors, Networks, Legacies, and Continuity/Survivance

Public Memory:

Experience/Ethos and Narrative

Cross-Cultural Heritage:

Resiliency, Cooperation/collaboration, Value Statements, and Layering

Thematic Category	Number Referenced
Contested Space	**28**
Cultural Preservation	**39**
Public Memory	**21**
Cross-Cultural Heritage	**29**

Table 1: Thematic Category Final Count of Cultural Stakeholders

Subordinate Category	Number Referenced
Stewardship	**8**
Hierarchy	**8**
Erasure	**12**
Behaviors	**6**
Networks	**11**
Legacies	**10**
Continuity/Survivance	**12**
Experience/Ethos	**11**
Narrative	**10**
Resiliency	**4**
Cooperation/Collaboration	**11**
Value Statements	**8**
Layering	**6**

Table 2: Subordinate Category Final Count of Cultural Stakeholders

Stakeholders consistently referenced how place could be divided, protected, or lost based on race, ethnicity, or class. Contested space was referenced 28 times by cultural stakeholders and dealt directly with issues of place-based stewardship, hierarchy among groups or ideas, and cultural erasure. Cultural preservation or the active conservation of a culture's artifacts,

traditions, or oral histories was used most often by stakeholders to define their approach to historic preservation. Stakeholders touched on the need to preserve cultural behaviors, networks, and legacies while also consistently acknowledging how these aspects of preservation determine the continuity or survival of a cultural group. The third thematic category most evident in discussions with stakeholders was public memory or the collective storage or knowledge, information, and stories that facilitate the preservation of intangible cultural heritage. Public memory was expressed either in a narrative form, with anecdotes and 2nd or 3rd person dialogue, or through human experience, which is defined by general feeling or a greater ethos. Finally, stakeholders introduced cross-cultural heritage most often in the form of individual or cultural resiliency, cooperation or collaboration between groups, their own personal values, or the layering of diverse histories. The individual breakdown by stakeholders and by thematic and subordinate categories is listed below:

Thematic Category	**Stakeholder**
Contested Space	**Stephanie Johnson-Toliver (8)**
Cultural Preservation	**Ashley Harrison and Benjamin Hunter (14)**
Public Memory	**Ashley Harrison and Benjamin Hunter (6)**
Cross-Cultural Heritage	**Ashley Harrison and Benjamin Hunter (8), and Stephanie Johnson-Toliver (8)**

Table 3: Thematic Category Preferred Cultural Stakeholder

Stakeholder	**Thematic Category**
Ashley Harrison and Benjamin Hunter (Black and Tan Hall)	**Cultural Preservation**
Doan Diane Hoang Dy (Wing Luke Museum)	**Cross-Cultural Heritage**
Ricky Pham and Quynh Pham (Friends of	**Contested Space**

Little Saigon)	
Stephanie Johnson-Toliver (Black Heritage Society of Washington State)	**Cultural Preservation**
Chris Hopper (Playwright and Black and Tan Exhibit Producer)	**Cultural Preservation and Public Memory**

Table 4: Cultural Stakeholder Preferred Thematic Category

Subordinate Category	Number Referenced
Stewardship	**Ashley Harrison and Benjamin Hunter (Black and Tan Hall) (3)**
Hierarchy	**Stephanie Johnson-Toliver (Black Heritage Society of Washington State) (3)**
Erasure	**Ashley Harrison and Benjamin Hunter (Black and Tan Hall) (3), Ricky Pham and Quynh Pham (Friends of Little Saigon) (3), Stephanie Johnson-Toliver (Black Heritage Society of Washington State) (3)**
Behaviors	**Ashley Harrison and Benjamin Hunter (Black and Tan Hall) (3)**
Networks	**Ashley Harrison and Benjamin Hunter (Black and Tan Hall) (5)**
Legacies	**Stephanie Johnson-Toliver (Black Heritage Society of Washington State) (4)**
Continuity/Survivance	**Stephanie Johnson-Toliver (Black Heritage Society of Washington State) (4)**
Experience/Ethos	**Ashley Harrison and Benjamin Hunter (Black and Tan Hall) (3), Doan Diane Hoang Dy (Wing Luke Museum) (3), Stephanie Johnson-Toliver (Black Heritage Society of Washington State) (3)**
Narrative	**Chris Hopper (Playwright and Black and Tan Exhibit Producer) (4)**
Resiliency	**Ashley Harrison and Benjamin Hunter (Black and Tan Hall) (2)**

Cooperation/Collaboration	**Stephanie Johnson-Toliver (Black Heritage Society of Washington State) (4)**
Value Statements	**Ashley Harrison and Benjamin Hunter (Black and Tan Hall) (3)**
Layering	**Doan Diane Hoang Dy (Wing Luke Museum) (2)**

Table 5: Subordinate Category Preferred Cultural Stakeholder

Stakeholder	Subordinate Category
Ashley Harrison and Benjamin Hunter (Black and Tan Hall)	**Networks (5)**
Doan Diane Hoang Dy (Wing Luke Museum)	**Experience/Ethos (3)**
Ricky Pham and Quynh Pham (Friends of Little Saigon)	**Erasure (3)**
Stephanie Johnson-Toliver (Black Heritage Society of Washington State)	**Networks (4), Legacies (4), Continuity/Survivance (4), Cooperation/Collaboration (4)**
Chris Hopper (Playwright and Black and Tan Exhibit Producer)	**Narrative (4)**

Table 6: Cultural Stakeholder Preferred Subordinate Category

In addition to the thematic and subordinate categories that were identified during the interviews, innovative concepts regarding preservation distinguished each cultural stakeholder and further validated the necessity of intersectional cultural heritage within the field of historic preservation. In their active roles as cultural stewards of both the Black and Tan Club or the C-ID neighborhood, stakeholders developed unique strategies to engage with difficult histories, particularly as they relate to redlining, cultural loss, and gentrification. These concepts are invaluable contributions to the field and offer potential strategies for coalition building and, more

importantly, a polyvocal approach to preservation that centers around gathering multiple histories.

Distinguishing Concepts:

1. ***Riffing*** *- Ashley Harrison and Benjamin Hunter of the Black and Tan Hall*
2. ***Gray Areas*** *- Doan Diane Hoang Dy of the Wing Luke Museum*
3. ***Connection Points*** *- Ricky Pham and Quynh Pham of Friends of Little Saigon*
4. ***Buy-In*** *- Stephanie Johnson-Toliver of the Black Heritage Society of Washington State*
5. ***The Curtain Call*** *- Chris Hopper, playwright and Black and Tan Exhibit Producer*

The Black and Tan Hall frequently referred to the idea of Riffing. This is a conscious improvisation of the Black and Tan Club legacy that utilizes the Club's name, musical legacy, and the role it played in securing Black space along South Jackson Street. The Black and Tan Hall plays with these themes by uplifting the original name while building a sustainable model for Black-led and arts-focused programming in the Hillman City Neighborhood of Seattle. For Benjamin Hunter this meant that even though they were consistently looking back to the Black and Tan Club, it was more about "understanding how we came here and how lessons of the past might inform or parallel what we're looking at today, but always acknowledging, too, that we are in a distinct moment" (Interview with the Black and Tan Hall, see Appendix). The contemporary is neither fully defined by or removed from the past and for the Black and Tan Hall, this gives them the ability to improvise on what made the original nightclub space so "soul filling" (Interview with the Black and Tan Hall, see Appendix). Creating space for entertainment, Black-

led programming, and community gathering, therefore, are paramount to the Black and Tan Hall's preservation of its namesake.

Doan Diane Hoang Dy of the Wing Luke Museum utilized gray areas to specify the feelings, discussions, or policies that community groups and preservationists often ignore as a result of complex, intersectional identities. While Gray Areas cause confusion and disagreement among stakeholders in the context of the C-ID, they have also presented the Wing Luke Museum with rare opportunities to curate programming that focus on individual storytelling as a means of increasing cross-cultural transfers of knowledge. Dy soberly acknowledges that "as people move into new spaces…(they) don't recognize the history that's already there" (Interview with Wing Luke Museum, Appendix). However, Wing Luke understands that to preserve a fuller history of the C-ID neighborhood, narratives must stretch further back than many might be comfortable with, "looking at this place since time immemorial" (Interview with Wing Luke Museum, see Appendix). The oral histories and photographs that help bring the Redlining Heritage Tour to life are meant to speak directly to an overlying theme of white supremacy and give community members "a sense of the intersections between the different communities and the support they had for one another" (Interview with Wing Luke Museum, see Appendix). Ultimately, Gray Areas are talking points for change and a tool the Wing Luke Museum utilizes to make people question how they fit into their own communities.

Connection Points symbolize anchor points in dialogue between community groups that Friends of Little Saigon emphasize in their ongoing efforts to preserve Vietnamese Heritage in the neighborhood. The Black and Tan Club is one such connection point and represents both an emotional and physical association between cultural groups. Quynh Pham defined connection points as a call to action to "connect all the dots and say, this is a part of history, these are the

changes" that ultimately made Little Saigon the place it is today (Interview with Friends of Little Saigon, see Appendix). Friends of Little Saigon, therefore, shapes its role in the community by maintaining relationships to people, places, and ideas that were integral to the neighborhood's development.

Stephanie Johnson-Toliver and the Black Heritage Society of Washington State emphasize active participation and personal investment in heritage preservation as a way of measuring success. This is the distinguishing concept of Buy-In that Toliver repeatedly referred to throughout the interview. In the context of the Black and Tan Club, this represented a commitment from Asian-American communities to collaborate with the Black Heritage Society on projects that recognize the cultural heritage of the property. Buy-In is a willingness to participate in difficult conversations and about "always trying to find a way to be a contributor or show up in some way to share" under told histories (Interview with the Black Heritage Society of Washington State, see Appendix). Toliver is clear that people "take comfort" in community and, particularly for marginalized communities, it is not surprising that preservation in these contexts is as much about securing space as it is retaining its built or cultural legacy. Communities must determine for themselves, Toliver continues, how and if they step up to partake in conversations around cultural heritage preservation.

Chris Hopper's work to bring to life the atmosphere and personalities of the Black and Tan Club through writing a musical and producing a visual art exhibit at MOHAI reveal the importance of the Curtain Call, or the replaying of history as celebration. By crafting a play that is loosely based on real individuals and evoking the integrated, cross-cultural atmosphere of the original Black and Tan Club, Hopper hopes to bring to life what now only exists in memories and photographs. Moreover, the Curtain Call is about "taking us back to that time" before history

erases the little that remains of the Black and Tan Club (Interview with Chris Hopper, see Appendix). E. Russell "Noodles" Smith, one of the main proprietors of the Black and Tan Club, and the famous Seattle-raised jazz singer, Ernestine Anderson, are both given central roles in the play. Smith's character even returns to the site of the Black and Tan as apparition to foreshadow the impending gentrification of Black neighborhoods in Seattle. Hopper is insistent on portraying the Black and Tan in narrative form because it will make people recognize the gritty nightlife that both Black and white Seattle residents escaped into when they entered the Black and Tan. "Maybe it happened by happenstance," he notes, "but that's what it looked like" (Interview with playwright Chris Hopper, see Appendix).

The data compiled from the commercial stakeholders was analyzed separately from the cultural stakeholders and, while it did follow similar thematic trends, it relied more heavily on the individual experiences of community members and the realities of being a business owner in the Little Saigon area of the C-ID.

Interviews with the primary commercial stakeholder, Gina Tat and Adam Lu, underscored the value of contested space, particularly the negotiation of space through generations and the hierarchies that develop along ethnic and class lines. Moreover, the stakeholders relied heavily on public memory as a result of decades of working in the Little Saigon area. Tat and Lu referenced the fall of Saigon, similarities between the homelessness crisis of today and the economic malaise of the 1980s, and important dates related to the start of the first businesses in Little Saigon. Narrative and, more specifically, first person and third person storytelling helped articulate priorities and challenges of the Vietnamese community while naming important stores, individuals, and events from the recent past. Cross-cultural heritage, however, was not stressed by Gina Tat or Adam Lu other than value statements that

clarified why immigrants may not identify with the musical heritage of Seattle but recognize the constant layering of businesses and communities around them. Perhaps most revealing from the commercial stakeholder interview are the networks that commercial stakeholders operate within and how the transfer of space from one community to another is often messy and unclear, defined by vacancies and economic hardship.

Thematic Category	Number Referenced
Contested Space	**10**
Cultural Preservation	**7**
Public Memory	**8**
Cross-Cultural Heritage	**3**

Table 7: Thematic Category Final Count of Commercial Stakeholders

Subordinate Category	Number Referenced
Stewardship	**2**
Hierarchy	**5**
Erasure	**3**
Behaviors	**2**
Networks	**3**
Legacies	**2**
Continuity/Survivance	**1**
Experience/Ethos	**2**
Narrative	**6**
Resiliency	**Not referenced**
Cooperation/Collaboration	**Not referenced**
Value Statements	**2**

Layering	**1**

Table 8: Subordinate Category Final Count of Commercial Stakeholders

Gina Tat has occupied a storefront at the corner of 12th Avenue and South Jackson Street for nearly 40 years while her son, Adam Lu, grew up doing homework and helping out at his mother's salon after school. Both witnessed significant changes to Little Saigon and the former Black and Tan Club building. Their testimony of the transformation of the cultural and built environment relied on distinguishing concepts that, in general, affirmed their lack of support for traditional forms of historic preservation and reflected the challenges of preserving a building like 1201 S Jackson St.

Distinguishing Concepts:

1. ***Enough Space*** - *Gina Tat*
2. ***Generational Preservation*** - *Adam Lu*

Gina Tat observed throughout the interview that there is a finite amount of space in the C-ID and how it has been divided in the past determines much about how long a community is able to occupy parts of the neighborhood. Tat stated that when she first arrived in the C-ID, "Chinatown had no space…I'm being honest, no space. Here, Little Saigon it was all empty" (Interview with Gina Tat and Adam Lu, Appendix). Evidently, there were clear spatial and cultural dynamics in 1980s Seattle that pushed recent Vietnamese immigrants away from Chinatown (bounded by 5th Avenue to the West and 8th Avenue to the East) and across Interstate-5 to 12th Avenue. Also central to Tat's description of the area is a perception that current-day Little Saigon was empty on her arrival when, in fact, according to Stephanie Johnson-Toliver, Black businesses were still operational there even after the Black and Tan Club

closed (Interview with Stephanie Johnson-Toliver, Appendix). When there was not "enough" space, the flow of goods, people, and memories went elsewhere, inhabiting areas that had already seen the displacement of Japanese and African Americans. *Enough Space* also describes the dilemma of preserving a building that is in need of significant repairs and whose condition limits the potential growth of Vietnamese-owned businesses.

Gina's son, Adam Lu, noted that beyond the ethnic differences between Little Saigon and blocks further west in the C-ID, the Vietnamese community has not seen the generations of efforts to rehabilitate or secure buildings that have occurred in nearby Chinatown. Lu notes that "there is no history of preservation that we can claim" in reference to the Vietnamese community and that, more importantly, it is difficult for immigrant communities to decipher American history after they had "built their lives on" Vietnamese histories and traditions (Interview with Gina Tat and Adam Lu, Appendix). Consequently, there is not a culture of or a multigenerational tie to preservation, leaving many community members more concerned with kitchen table issues, such as property taxes, rent, or building maintenance.

The commercial stakeholder interview also revealed that traditional forms of preservation, particularly of the built environment, may not hold as much value for businesses at the former Black and Tan building. Gina Tat repeatedly referenced the age of the building and the fact that decades of wear and tear mean "it must be rebuilt" if someone new buys the building (Interview with Gina Tat and Adam Lu, Appendix). Moreover, the economic environment in Little Saigon appears to be "too calm" and the lack of modernized retail space has pushed more Vietnamese to move their businesses to Martin Luther King Boulevard in the Othello neighborhood of Seattle. Both Tat and Lu agree that the epicenter of the community has moved South and that preserving buildings in Little Saigon may only speed up this exodus. Tat notes

that there are regulations in Chinatown that prevent businesses from changing "the outside, the look, the history" but that those would not apply well to Little Saigon where there are predominantly one-story, late twentieth century buildings (Interview with Gina Tat and Adam Lu, Appendix). Tat goes on to say, "I don't think they can keep the downstairs for it to become a nightclub" because "times are changing". This seems to tie into the fears about Little Saigon's economic viability and the fact that the needs of the community have changed, leaving certain types of businesses and buildings obsolete.

> *"Now they don't have the space for the couples, the dancing space, they don't have it. Yeah. Because now all the land is so expensive, people can't afford it. It's very hard to have the space that's big like that, a dancing hall."* (Interview with Gina Tat and Adam Lu, Appendix)

Here Tan acknowledges that nightclubs no longer have a place in the neighborhood and may be impossible, in her mind, to operate given the increase in land values and rents. While Tan and Lu did reference a former Chinese-owned dance hall, Jun Wah, they also recognized that the building remains because they have been allowed to alter the inside multiple times but "outside they still keep it looking okay" (Interview with Gina Tat and Adam Lu, Appendix). Once again, Tat returns to the conclusion that there is a clear difference between Little Saigon and Chinatown further west. While both are within the C-ID neighborhood, in her mind, one deserves to be preserved and has the type of resources to do it while the other cannot. As a result, the valuing of history and place in the context of the C-ID is highly complex and subjective, leaving buildings like the former Black and Tan Club in flux. What is most revealing from Tat's account, however, is that apathy and lack of knowledge sometimes merge in the context of highly transitory and culturally-layered neighborhoods. "Since I opened here and other stores opened

slowly," Tat explains, "I don't think they care about the history over here because they don't know" (Interview with Gina Tat and Adam Lu, Appendix). An unawareness of history, therefore, undergirds the feeling that the Black and Tan is a building in need of transformation rather than renewal.

The two distinguishing concepts listed above indicate that historic preservation must better accommodate the priorities of recent immigrants and recognize the diversity of needs among newer and more established minority communities. More importantly, the future of the building at 1201 South Jackson Street may need to be determined through a far different process than that of the preservation of Black and Tan Club's cultural heritage. The issues facing businesses along South Jackson Street today may not be the same as those that faced the Black and Tan Club in segregated Seattle, but they do resemble the construction and deconstruction of identity that existed in historically intersectional spaces.

Chapter V: Discussion

Data Implications

This study of Seattle's former integrated nightclub, the Black and Tan Club, sought to explore its cultural heritage by engaging with multiple histories and, in doing so, contend with the single-issue narratives that often limit the field of historic preservation in highly diverse and fluid environments. This was particularly relevant in the contrast between more dominant narratives of the Black and Tan that focused on its role solely as a music venue rather than an integrated space. Moreover, this analysis was based on the unique perspectives and strategies of stakeholders directly involved in the neighborhood and its history, therefore establishing a polyvocal, community-based framework for heritage preservation at the corner of 12th Avenue and South Jackson Street and more broadly in Seattle, Washington. The coded data from interviews with stakeholders indicate that public memory, contested space, cross-cultural heritage, and cultural preservation ought to play more critical roles in the ongoing efforts to preserve the history of the Black and Tan Club. There are numerous other themes identified as part of this analysis that drive the work of community organizations and point to the unique cultural layering in the Little Saigon area of Seattle's Chinatown-International District. However, many of these subordinate categories, such as resiliency, the experience or ethos of place, or inter-minority hierarchies may not express the integrity of location, feeling, or association that National Register Bulletin 15 and many preservationists in the field consider as baseline significance.

While the historic significance of the Black and Tan Club is clear, its continued ability to portray this significance is in question because of the condition of the building and lack of protection at the local, state, or national level (U.S. Department of the Interior, 1995, pg, 2). However, in considering Seattle Municipal Code 25.12.350 Criterion C, the building at 1201 S Jackson St clearly possesses significant cultural, political, and economic heritage for the community (25.12.350 – Standards for Designation). The work of the Black and Tan Hall, Wing Luke Museum, Friends of Little Saigon, the Black Heritage Society of Washington State, and artist and playwright Chris Hopper demonstrate a considerable level of consensus around the important cultural heritage of the Black and Tan Club.

Most notably, however, the rhetoric and language used by these stakeholders to describe their efforts to preserve this history indicate how strictly defined and single-issue narratives fail to safeguard highly diverse places. Quynh Pham, for example, notes that the International Special Review District or ISRD has been more of a "burden" to local businesses than a benefit and that it has been difficult to work with city officials because they perceive all the cultural groups of the C-ID as "clumped together" (Interview with Friends of Little Saigon, Appendix). Because of this, Friends of Little Saigon has forged its own relationships with groups such as the Black and Tan Hall and the Wing Luke Museum without the

Figure 22: The bar at the Black and Tan Club, circa 1930 (Stokes, Bicentennial Oral History Project, 1975-1976)

guidance of official preservation bodies. The legacy of the Black and Tan's longtime owner, E. Russell "Noodles" Smith, has been largely forgotten, leading Chris Hopper to focus on his character more heavily. Hopper inserts Smith into his play by detailing "his struggles keeping the club open with the raids that happened," reminding the audience that integrated spaces did not mean safe spaces and that the Black and Tan was a Black-owned space. Moreover, Hopper wants the audience to grasp "what happened in his life as a bootlegger, gambler, and an entrepreneur" and, in effect, give a more sobering account of the nightclub that the Black and Tan was in its day (Interview with Chris Hopper, Appendix). The dominant narrative centered around Seattle's jazz history is apparent in Hopper's play but it is not guided by it. Rather, the struggles of a Black man to build a business and transform a nightlife district become the historic record.

Intersectionality was used either directly or in-directly by every stakeholder as a tool for the preservation of place, heritage, or memory. This is in clear contrast to patterns that Randall Mason and Erica Avrami have described as stubbornly embedded within the field as heritage issues are regularly segregated or centralized without direct consultation of community members (Avrami, E., & Getty Conservation Institute, 2019). This research found that by not focusing on the legalistic or technical approaches to heritage preservation that Sara Bronin has routinely questioned, a distinct framework for the preservation of the Black and Tan Club's place-based and legacy-based history is easily evident. Cultural stakeholders clearly support more

Figure 23: International Sweethearts of Rhythm perform at the Black and Tan, circa 1944 (Smith, Albert J., 1944)

cultural preservation in the C-ID and, more importantly, are willing to engage with the complex history of the Black and Tan Club to better uplift the shared heritage of the neighborhood.

While there were numerous strategies that stakeholders employed to better understand or secure cultural heritage, the endeavors that organizations and individuals took to highlight cross-cultural histories and engage with their own discomforts around race, class, or gender offer compelling lessons for preservationists and planners alike. Gina Tat and Adam Lu recognized that the presence of a "different kind of race" often made communities choose to live an area or not while the cultural heritage of the Black and Tan Club remained elusive for the Little Saigon community because it "did not belong to the Vietnamese, it belonged to others" in the past (Interview with Gina Tat and Adam Lu, Appendix). Doan Diane Hoang Dy revealed that "generational amnesia" about preexisting cultures and groups is a real obstacle to telling more nuanced histories (Interview with Wing Luke Museum, Appendix) and Stephanie Johnson-Toliver was perplexed by the fact she had not known that the basement space of the Black and Tan building was still there, despite what she perceived as good working relationships with neighborhood groups (Interview with the Black Heritage Society of Washington State, Appendix). Chris Hopper questions the need to prioritize making money at the 12th Avenue and South Jackson Street, contradicting Gina Tat and Adam Lu's statements, because the Black and Tan "was its own culture and that culture deserves to be retained" despite the potential economic consequences (Interview with Chris Hopper, Appendix). This testimony speaks to the complexity of intersectionality and the inherent historical subjectivity it often engenders.

Beyond the qualitative data compiled in this study, current preservation projects such as the Redlining Heritage Tour, the Green Book Tour, and a future mural at the building give added weight to the themes of contested space, cultural preservation, public memory, and cross-cultural

heritage. These efforts give Stephanie Johnson-Toliver hope that there is finally a broader conversation about Black history and that groups like the Black and Tan Hall "lean into the history" of integrated and intersectional spaces rather than avoid their complexity (Interview with the Black Heritage Society of Washington State, Appendix). Cultural stakeholders agree that heritage tours and visual representations of history have an essential role in retaining claims to place and relying on layered narratives and "not just a singular storytelling of what's in the C-ID" as Doan Diane Hoang Dy claims (Interview with the Wing Luke Museum., see Appendix).

Preservation in Practice

The Self-Guided Green Book Tour developed by the Black and Tan Hall illustrates how intersectional history and, more specifically, the history of the Black and Tan Club, should not be explored in isolation but rather in the greater context of the neighborhoods and networks that defined it. The *Negro Motorist Greenbook* published the names of integrated or Black-owned businesses in Seattle for more than thirty years and overlapped with the existence of the Black and Tan Club. By republishing these sites, the Black and Tan Hall created a visual and narrative connection to the past and present that engages directly with the idea of riffing. Just as they repurposed the name, the Black and Tan Hall have repurposed and reoriented the place-based history of Black history in the C-ID to make a personal, self-guided experience. It places the viewer at the intersection of race and place and challenges the idea that legacy is tied to specific streets or individuals. The Black and Tan Hall purchased its current building in 2020 with the help of the City of Seattle's Equitable Development Initiative with the purpose of addressing displacement issues in Seattle's South End and securing space not just for artists and performers but for the community to gather (Black and Tan Hall, 2020). The decision to use the name came from the desire to create a community hub, one that could facilitate the same type of community

gathering that the Black and Tan Club once mastered (Black and Tan Hall, 2020). Repurposing the name also "elevates underreported history" as it can begin conversations about segregation and build interest in the Green Book Tour (Black and Tan Hall, 2022). Ashley Harrison and Benjamin Walker reiterated the importance of gathering by focusing on the "power of party" and Black-led, multiracial coalitions that not only preserve cultural heritage in the present but simultaneously preserve the legacy of the Black and Tan Club (Interview with the Black and Tan Hall, Appendix).

Figure 24:A young Ernestine Anderson performs at the Black and Tan (Smith, Albert J., 1944)

Both Ashley Harrison and Benjamin reiterated that music venues and, in particular, musical performances are often remembered for their mainstream or broadly accessible value. The Showbox near Seattle's Pike Place Market offers an example of a storied theater that has seen significant support for its preservation while, historically, other more intimate, smaller venues have not. Harrison states that it is dangerous to allow cities like Seattle to "get used to (preserving) the most mainstream spaces where (performances) occurred and where more people went and not the intimate spaces where other performances also took place" (Interview with the Black and Tan Hall, Appendix). It is evident that groups engaged in securing space and preserving community such as the Black Tan Hall feel there is an imbalance in how we value places used for gathering. The Black and Tan Hall's emphasis on what building once held and

what they facilitated rather than what they physically represent is perhaps what makes the Green-Book Tour and the Hall's success in securing its own building so potent. In other words, the legacy of intersectional spaces in Seattle is best preserved through action, initiative, and feeling rather than overly nostalgic fixations of the past.

Doan Diane Hoang Dy from the Wing Luke Museum discussed the challenge of addressing what she calls generational or cultural amnesia, or the collective failure of communities to remember who came before them. Instead of avoiding this history of erasure, the Wing Luke Museum helped lead efforts to create the Redlining Heritage Tour that connects 80 sites in formerly redlined neighborhoods in Seattle (National CAPACD, 2022). Housing discrimination is highlighted alongside the themes of resiliency and cross-cultural heritage to emphasize what Doan Diane Hoang Dy labels connections points. This strategy was also central to the speaker series, It Happened Here, that was organized by both the Wing Luke Museum and the Duwamish Longhouse and Cultural Center. During the summer of 2019, speakers from the Chong Wa Benevolent Association, Asian Pacific Islander Americans for Civic Empowerment, and the Duwamish Tribal Council, as well as a number of business owners and artists, met in Hing Hay Park in the C-ID neighborhood to share stories that focused on the layered history of the surrounding area (Wing Luke Museum, 2019). Paul de Barros, author of *Jackson Street After Hours,* as well as representatives from the Black Heritage Society of Washington State were included in a later series that touched on the Black experience in the C-ID. Residents and visitors were able to engage with this history on a weekly basis during these events and consider the complex spatial dimensions of race and power that Dolores Hayden described as critical to understanding contemporary American cities (Hayden, 1995). While these projects sponsored by the Wing Luke Museum have had a limited audience, they indicate how multiple histories, some

of which emphasize intersectional spaces like the Black and Tan Club, are present in the Museum's vision for the community.

Friends of Little Saigon, while primarily dedicated to the economic needs of the Vietnamese community in the C-ID, has also helped steward efforts to eventually install artwork at the corner of 12th Avenue and South Jackson Street that celebrates the musical legacy and cultural heritage of the property. While this work is currently on hold due to COVID-19, their intention is to work with mural arts to complete a building wrap that could ultimately be part of Wing Luke Museum's Redlining Heritage Tour. Executive Director, Quynh Pham, expressed a desire to collaborate with the Black and Tan Hall to identify individuals and stories that should be highlighted in the mural. The visualization of cultural heritage at this corner in Seattle's C-ID is, according to Friends of Little Saigon, meant to "connect the dots" for the community and acknowledge a narrative that is hidden under layers of commercial and cultural activity at the one-story property. The organization admitted to some communication issues surrounding the City of Seattle's International Special Review District, a historic district that encompasses part of Little Saigon, which makes their commitment to an eventual mural building wrap at the Black and Tan Club property all the more noteworthy. More importantly, this demonstrates that diverse coalitions of stakeholders, as Ashley Nelson and Sarah Pharaon have claimed, can shift

preservation discourses away from dominant forms of history and toward more intersectional, community-rooted narratives ((Nelson & Pharaon, 2017).

Finally, conversations with Chris Hopper and Stephanie Johnson-Toliver portray how Black-focused narratives in the C-ID must still contend with the impacts of Redlining and the ongoing loss of access to heritage that the African American community in Seattle are experiencing. Fears over displacement and cultural erasure were noticeable in both interviews but so was a commitment to documenting the history of the Black experience in Seattle before parts of it are lost. Chris Hopper consciously added historical characters such as "Noodles" Smith and Ernestine Anderson to his play so that they could be both contextualized and humanized for a greater audience. Rather than an abstract idea, Hopper believes the vision of the Black and Tan Club can be seen on the stage and its heritage recorded in the eyes and minds of the audience.

His role in producing his sister, Bonnie Hopper's, painting collection at MOHAI was motivated in part by his desire to put faces to names, a challenge that many African Americans face in telling place-based histories. The Black and Tan Collection at MOHAI, which includes portraits of the Black and Tan Club's owners and many of its performers, demonstrates how the interpretation of Black cultural landscapes, according to both Andrea Roberts and David Rotenstein, must rely on more imaginative tools than those normally prescribed by the field (Roberts, 2019, and Rotenstein, 2019). Both this

Figure 25: A trumpet player solos in front of an audience at the Black and Tan, circa 1944 (Smith, Albert J., 1944)

collection of paintings and Hopper's forthcoming play, however, still grapple with notions of sameness and difference (Crenshaw, Cho, & McCall, 2013), particularly in that both projects include Black, white, and Asian faces and remind viewers that identity was constantly shifting in areas like the C-ID in the twentieth century. Black heritage as it relates to the Black and Tan Club concerns both the resilience of Black performers and businessmen and the everyday cross-cultural reality of segregated Seattle.

Stephanie Johnson-Toliver and the Black Heritage Society of Washington State worked closely with Seattle Public Library over the course of 2021 and 2022 to preserve the 21-foot Soul Pole at the Douglass Truth Library in Seattle's Central District. Sculpted by neighborhood youth from the Seattle Rotary Boys Club in 1972, the Soul Pole tells the story of 400 years of African American history in the United States (Lindsay, 2022). The preservation of this sculpture represents some of the recent success that community-government coalitions have had in protecting public art while also exposing crucial oral histories that express decades of cultural triumphs and tragedies. For Stephanie Johnson-Toliver, the Soul Pole demonstrates the value of relationship building within the field and has spurred a new initiative to preserve the People's Wall, a half-century-old mural on the side of the former Seattle Chapter of the Black Panther Party (Historic Seattle, 2022). These efforts have relied on building a relationship with the current owner of the property and spreading awareness of the mural in the Squire Park

neighborhood of Seattle through a speaker series and cleanup events to keep the side lot mowed and cleared of debris.

Figure 26: A woman sitting at the bar at the Black and Tan Club (Smith, Albert J., 1945)

Figure 27: A couple at a Black and Tan booth, circa 1944 (Smith, Albert J. & NYTimes, 1944)

The preservation of the People's Wall and the Soul Pole illustrate how critical Dolores Hayden's notion of "cognitive mapping" can be to communities of color when cultural significance is tied to art rather than physical buildings (Hayden, 1995). The mural at the former headquarters of the Seattle Chapter of the Black Panther Party has been formative in demonstrating the power of visual art and centering what a building once facilitated rather than what it is today. Stephanie Johnson-Toliver noted that this process has led her to feel more confident that a mural at the Black and Tan property can happen. Conversations with Friends of Little Saigon and the Wing Luke Museum have begun and ideas for a mural have slowly taken shape as Johnson-Toliver agrees they are now "all in agreement that there are ways that we can share our stories" (Interview with the Black Heritage Society of Washington State, Appendix).

Moreover, while building cross-community relationships can be slow, it transforms community members into cultural stewards and attests to Timothy E. Baumann's claim that inclusivity in preservation can inspire an upwelling of support for cultural heritage (Baumann, 2011). Stephanie Johnson-Toliver believes that it is critical to have the "confidence building" that groups like National Trust and others can give smaller community groups but that "narratives get corrected" when community-informed histories are told. In this context, cultural heritage preservation is dictated not by the criteria of a landmark's board or the National Park Service but rather by how individuals see themselves in a community. This cooperative model for cultural heritage preservation does not need to overtly emphasize intersectionality as it is inherently rooted in cross-cultural knowledge and cognizant of the positionality of each cultural group.

Acknowledging Compoundedness

Kimberlé Crenshaw conceived of intersectionality in 1989 as an inquiry into the complexity or "compoundedness" of identity to spur meaningful conversations about race, class, and gender (Crenshaw, 1989, p. 166). Seattle's Black and Tan Club not only requires us to explore the racial, ethnic, and spatial identities of the C-ID to better understand its history, it forces us to examine the compoundedness of our own identity. Cultural and commercial stakeholders interviewed for this study of intersectional cultural heritage preservation showed the value of self-reflection in preserving oral histories and cultural traditions. Each stakeholder saw themself as an inheritor of the Black and Tan Club's legacy but never sought to co-opt the narrative. The Black and Tan Club and its legacy as one of the rare integrated spaces in segregated Seattle implores preservationists to seek a polyvocal approach to heritage preservation. Acknowledging the unique compoundedness of the Black and Tan Club allows the

field of historic preservation and, more importantly, the C-ID neighborhood to build resilient strategies for telling the Club's story. Although stakeholder interests in the C-ID are broad, a polyvocal framework for the preservation of the Black and Tan Club's cultural heritage as an historically integrated space does exist. By engaging with multiple, community-rooted histories, preservationists and community members can base future efforts on themes of contested space, cultural preservation, public memory, and cross-cultural heritage and recognize that fears of erasure can exist alongside experiences of cooperation and collaboration.

While the tenants of the former Black and Tan Club property who were interviewed for this study ultimately did not express a desire to see the building preserved for fears that it would be too expensive to upgrade, they were surprised to learn that the musical heritage of the building went back so far. After being informed about the Black and Tan Club as part of the interview, they shared their experiences with the later Vietnamese-owned club from the 1990s and early 2000s (see timeline in Case Study Context). This era of the club was not documented by any of the cultural stakeholders, however, and has not been included in recent walking tours, speaker series, or museum exhibits. The fact that this aspect of the Black and Tan Club's story has so far eluded community historians reflects the difficulty of fully grasping the layered history present at the corner of 12th Avenue and South Jackson Street. However, this affirms Stephanie Ryberg-Webster's conclusion that the complex webs of ownership and ethnicity in the C-ID are often resolved among cultural groups in ways that planners or preservationists cannot track (Ryberg-Webster, 2019). Despite having just learned about the pre-Vietnamese history of the basement space, both Gina Tat and Adam Lu joined the researcher after receiving access to the basement space to see what remained of the former club (see Field Visit). Their interest in the building's history was not limited to their business but included the spatial remnants of the past

and, after walking through the empty basement of the property, extended to the public memories that continue to embody the Black and Tan Club today.

Questions over place, power, and memory are unavoidable at the corner of 12th Avenue and South Jackson Street. Building a dialogue to address these questions represents the first step in the moral responsibility that Gail Lee Dubrow believes planners and preservationists owe to communities who cannot defend their own tangible and intangible cultural heritage (Sandercock, 2014). By examining the links between communities and the continuous layering of the cultural heritage of the Black and Tan Club, community stakeholders are actively expanding Crenshaw's framing of intersectionality and building on the multilayered, theme-based analyses from researchers such as Diane Rodgers, Lucy Sosa, and Jessica Petersen (Rodgers, Sosa, & Peterson, 2018). Deciphering cultural significance and architectural integrity may continue to preoccupy the field of historic preservation, but the hard work of bringing histories from the margins to the forefront is already being done by those with a personal stake in the past. The sooner these two approaches can be reconciled, the more we will be able to discover about neighborhoods like Seattle's C-ID and our collective, polyvocal history.

Chapter VI: Recommendations for Preservation

The findings of this study point to the direct benefits of engaging diverse community stakeholders to develop an equitable preservation strategy for the Black and Tan Club while also relying on a polyvocal, intersectional framework. The ability of community stakeholders to express concerns of erasure and survival alongside desires for cross-cultural collaboration is essential in neighborhoods that are experiencing or have experienced displacement in the past. The fact that stakeholders could also rely on narrative, namely personal anecdotes or public memory passed down through generations, further democratizes the process of preserving place and gives collective remembrance a material, productive value. More specifically, the process of celebrating the memory of Black and Tan Club is actively building the groundwork for the preservation of intersectional places and narratives throughout the C-ID.

The limited sample of commercial stakeholders in this study necessitates that future research is required to better understand how retail businesses and, more specifically, immigrant-owned businesses in the C-ID perceive historic preservation and the future use of the building at the Southeast corner of 12th Avenue and South Jackson Street. Author Antoinette J. Lee has long advocated for a larger "preservation footprint" in American cities so that other historians, activists, and business owners can be brought into the fold (Lee, A.J., 2004). Planners and preservationists need to better understand what may deter business owners and immigrant groups from wanting to preserve places like the Black and Tan Club and, more importantly, to what

degree cultural heritage preservation and affordable retail spaces can coexist. A future study of the Black and Tan Club should rely principally on the polyvocal experiences of tenants at the building and determine what preferences they have for a rehabilitated or entirely new structure that could speak to the multiple histories present at the site. An additional study in Little Saigon or the greater C-ID neighborhood can survey both new and long-term businesses in buildings with documented intersectional pasts. This research can help bring multiple histories to the forefront at a greater scale and help inform future comprehensive preservation plans for the neighborhood.

Intersectionality and polyvocal preservation strategies should also be explored in the context of historic districts, and more specifically the International Special Review District (ISRD). Friends of Little Saigon's criticism of the design review process and potential communication issues between the City of Seattle and recent immigrant groups, evidenced by their perception that the ISRD is more often a "burden" than not, indicates that there remains a need to better understand the priorities and values of communities not acquainted with American preservation systems (Interview with Friends of Little Saigon, Appendix). Adam Lu's reference to there being "no history of preservation" within the Vietnamese community further indicates that there may be varying levels of support for or utilization of dominant preservation models such as historic districts. In addition to Tipson's recent research, there may be additional ways in which historic districts restrict the continued expression of cultural heritage or critical economic functions. Studying these dynamics within the C-ID could further contextualize the efforts to preserve the cultural heritage of the Black and Tan Club and could yield important lessons for the field as it continues to engage the layered histories of historic districts.

Finally, in conversations with individuals who are not directly associated with the field of preservation but who are actively engaged in the preservation of cultural space, notably the Black and Tan Hall and Stephanie Johnson-Toliver of the Black Heritage Society, it is evident there is still a lack of support at a governmental level for community-informed preservation projects. Johnson-Toliver states that there needs to be a "more concerted effort" to engage with marginalized communities and, ultimately, preservationists need to build "relationships around what we (marginalized groups) see as significant and worth preserving" (Interview with the Black Heritage Society of Washington State, Appendix). While Seattle's Office of Arts and Culture and the recently created Cultural Space Agency were essential to the Black and Tan Hall's acquisition of its building in Hillman City, the fact that a mural for the Black and Tan property has not moved past the planning stages suggests that there are issues with lining up the needed funding. Therefore, there is a need to study the ways resources are reaching or not reaching organizations and coalitions that are highlighting intersectional history. Moreover, studies can explore in depth the ways in which heritage tours function in diverse neighborhoods so that the field is better acquainted with this model. The Black Heritage Society believes that the Green Book and Redlining Heritage Tours are easily expanded upon and could eventually be incorporated "into the Greenways trail that went up King Street and then up into the Central District", establishing a more geographically diverse section of formerly redlined Seattle (Interview with the Black Heritage Society of Washington State, Appendix).

Indeed, future research can even detail the ways in which heritage tours are possibly undergirding artistic efforts that celebrate the Black and Tan Club's legacy, particularly Chris Hopper's work and programming sponsored by the Black and Tan Hall. Heritage tours provide important visual aids and name recognition for those who wish to use more creative narratives to

document the Club's history. Chris Hopper believes that the recent work to put the history of the Club into writing or into tours means "we can see it and it's there" for more creative interpretation. Studying the connections between heritage tours or oral history programs and more creative forms of cultural heritage preservation such as murals and theatrical performance can further inform preservation strategies for the Black and Tan Club and the surrounding neighborhood.

This research was largely inspired by the recent work of Gail Lee Dubrow and Erica Avrami as well as the study done by Diane Rodgers, Lucy Sosa, and Jessica Petersen in Dekalb, Illinois. The scale of this project was limited to a single property in the C-ID neighborhood of Seattle but it is my hope that additional research can be done for similar properties and sites throughout American cities and, in particular, in the Pacific Northwest. Seattle and the Puget Sound Region served as an important transnational hub in the twentieth century and Dorothy Fujita-Rony, Shelley Sang-Hee Lee, and Marie Rose Wong have extensively researched this period of Asian-American history in Seattle. Attention is finally being paid to twentieth century Asian-American activists such as Carlos Bulosan and the important Filipino labor movement in Seattle due to the tireless work of the Filipino American National Historic Society and Fred and Dorothy Cordova. However, there are still thousands of narratives and properties with important intersectional histories that remain invisible to the field. Reoccupying these spaces and reclaiming these stories, Erica Avrami contends, can begin to give voice to the many "counternarratives and underrepresented publics" that remain in the shadows (Avrami, 2020, Pg. 222). It is imperative that the field of historic preservation focus its efforts, even one building at a time, on studying the intersections of place, power, and memory and, in the process, uplift the voices of individuals and groups actively engaged in preserving our most compounded histories.

Recommendations

Future preservation plans for the Black and Tan Club and its intersectional cultural heritage can follow the lead of community groups already actively engaged in celebrating and interpreting the Club's legacy. The difficult task of engaging with multiple histories of the Club is one that the Black and Tan Hall, the Wing Luke Museum, Friends of Little Saigon, the Black Heritage Society of Washington State, and Chris Hopper and MOHAI have already proven is not only possible but that it builds crucial coalitions in the process. There are potential takeaways for practice, however, that can be gleaned through the Thematic Categories that were identified in this study. More specifically, there are four potential avenues to the preservation of the Black and Tan's cultural heritage that can be informed by themes of contested space, cultural preservation, public memory, and cross-cultural preservation as well as the notions of enough space and generational preservation that the commercial stakeholders referenced. These recommendations rely on both the notable project types that were discussed in the interviews as well as some recent examples of new construction in the C-ID that celebrate the historic use of space.

A. Leave In Place

The fear of erasure that was evident in recent studies of the C-ID (Abramson, Manzo, & Hou, 2006) and uneasiness about displacement following preservation projects (Ryberg-Webster, 2019) have created a difficult environment for preserving the Black and Tan's cultural heritage. Cultural stakeholders acknowledged these challenges by frequently referring to how Seattle and the C-ID are contested spaces. Coming to a consensus on how the current building should function, appear, or who it should serve may ultimately have to contend with the demographic

dynamics that have defined the neighborhood for more than a century. Cultural groups enter and leave the corner of 12th Avenue and South Jackson Street with frequency, both willingly and unwillingly, and there are patterns to this human experience that the preservation of a building could disrupt. It is difficult to accept that nothing can be done to preserve a structure like the Black and Tan building but the use of the space so far has been negotiated by cultural actors who have not needed outside assistance. In this way, preservationists may themselves disrupt or contest historic patterns of social transformation that themselves deserve to continue unabated.

Paramount to this strategy is that it is guided by the Vietnamese community and that they are recognized as the current stewards of the neighborhood. This acceptance requires preservationists and the City of Seattle to prioritize the goals and needs that Friends of Little Saigon other community members put forward around how best to maximize the current use of space for their needs rather than centering the conversation around heritage that may remain unrelatable for Vietnamese Americans in Little Saigon. This also speaks to Gina Tat's concern that there is not enough space in the neighborhood to sustain businesses. If this is truly the case, it appears that the building may ultimately be redeveloped or occupied by immigrant groups that are willing to start a business in a neighborhood that is in flux. Indeed, the reworking of the structure to accommodate Vietnamese businesses over the last forty years demonstrates how preservation-by-neglect allows for more reification of space, only adding more to its layered history.

B. Acquire for use as Cultural Hub

There is a clear desire among some cultural stakeholders to repurpose the basement space if not the entire building. Although she spoke for herself and not the Wing Luke Museum, Doan Diane Hoang Dy asserted that between the choice of preserving the building or its cultural

heritage, “it has to be all of it because not everyone is going to experience this history all in the same way” (Interview with the Wing Luke Museum, Appendix). Stephanie Johnson-Toliver was happily surprised to learn that the basement space was still there while Chris Hopper was emphatic that the building “deserves to be an historical landmark” (Interview with Playwright Chris Hopper, Appendix). While the Black and Tan Hall also believes the building is likely worthy of landmark status, they emphasized that they are not in the position to decide whether it should be recognized as such and nor do they believe it is their right to lay claim to a space that is not their own. These conflicting opinions do complicate the choice of nominating the structure, but the notion of cultural preservation raised by multiple cultural stakeholders may help delineate a path forward.

The recent success of securing the space in which the Black and Tan Hall now operates through an agreement with the Seattle Office of Arts and Culture and the Cultural Space Agency may be an example for the eventual preservation of the Black and Tan Club itself (Black and Tan Hall, 2020). The building in the Hillman City neighborhood of Seattle that the Black and Tan Hall now operates as a cultural hub for arts and other cultural programming was once, according to Ashley Harrison and Benjamin Walker, an Asian restaurant and even a theater that showed pornography (Interview with the Black and Tan Hall, Appendix). The multiple histories present at that building were crucial to ultimately preserving it as cultural space for the community in Hillman City. Seattle’s Cultural Space program has only operated for less than 3 years but has had success in programming the Langston Hughes Performing Arts Center as well as in securing space for groups such as the Black and Tan Hall (City of Seattle, 2022). The program is dedicated to preserving the “creation of artistic product” as well as securing spaces that “supply the means of creative production” for cultural groups throughout Seattle (City of Seattle, 2022,

Cultural Space). Furthermore, the program prioritizes working with community organizations that already have an interest in preserving cultural heritage and, as in the case with the Black and Tan Hall, allows them to operate independently to best serve their communities.

Although the current building at 1201 South Jackson Street is not vacant and continues to serve the Vietnamese community at street level, the vacant basement offers potential opportunities for reactivation. The current landlord, many of the cultural stakeholders interviewed for this study, and the Office of Arts and Culture may be able to come to an agreement to set this space aside for future programming. While it would likely require some renovations to upgrade the space, the symbolism and cultural benefits of reactivating this storied space would far outweigh the financial costs. Transfer of Development Rights (TOD) may be further incentive to preserve the downstairs space and provide the funds necessary to make it functional once again. Designating the building and possibly another neighboring lot as part of an Arts and Cultural District could also allow for more grant opportunities at the county or state level. Groups such as the Wing Luke Museum who have already assisted in the preservation of the Louisa Hotel (Historic Seattle, 2020) can help lead this process while Friends of Little Saigon, who expressed an interest in working with the Black and Tan Hall in the future, can help design programming that can involve the Vietnamese community and other cultural groups. Ultimately, there is ample opportunity for cultural preservation within the actual building itself but a coalition of community groups must present this vision collectively before any progress can be made.

C. Develop for Maximal Cultural Use

The Thematic Category of public memory is a powerful tool for conceptualizing identity through time and, in the context of the Black and Tan Club, aids in our understanding of how

integrated spaces operated during the twentieth century. Cultural stakeholders relied on public memory to tell a relatable narrative and bring individual histories to the forefront. Chris Hopper's decision to focus on the Black and Tan's owner, E. Russell "Noodles" Smith, in his upcoming play and the work that the Black Heritage Society is doing to document and digitize thousands of Al Smith's photographs and explore the history of "quit claims" in Seattle (Interview with the Black Heritage Society of Washington State, Appendix) are examples of public memory playing active roles in contemporary preservation efforts. Public memory, however, is not inherently tied to physical space but rather to the use of space. More specifically, it is less about where events took place and more about the feelings, emotions, and memories that that place gave life to. This is a crucial point when trying to understand the difference between preserving cultural heritage in situ and adapting it to new environments.

Uncle Bob's Place, an affordable housing development led by the CID-based Interim Community Development Association (CDA), will soon open on South King Street and will offer studio and family-sized units to those making under 50% of the area median income. The building is named for famous Civil Rights activist Bob Santos, whose legacy will be preserved within the building itself, both through its availability of affordable units and its commitment to providing community gathering spaces. Additionally, the CDA has signed an agreement with the restaurant, karaoke bar, and neighborhood institution Bush Garden to occupy the ground floor restaurant space (Estoque and South Seattle Emerald, 2021). This model of cultural heritage preservation in the C-ID utilizes the power of public memory and demonstrates what a creative redevelopment of the Black and Tan building could include. More importantly, this may offer the Vietnamese community the opportunity to take part in the generational preservation of the site and move beyond the cultural obstacles that Adam Lu referenced in the commercial stakeholder

interview (Interview with Gina Tat and Adam Lu, Appendix). Reengaging with the memory of the Black and Tan Club while developing the site for maximal cultural use could make the corner of 12th Avenue and South Jackson Street a hub of cultural heritage for generations to come.

D. Develop for Maximal Housing and Commercial Potential

Finally, the importance of cross-cultural heritage at the Black and Tan property and cultural stakeholder recognition of its value in preserving multiple histories and securing space may indicate that there is another potential direction for the development of the site. The unusual multicultural and multiracial reality that the Black and Tan Club represented during the middle decades of the twentieth century fostered equally unique cross-cultural heritage. While the space itself facilitated community gathering, patrons ultimately came to the club for the relationships that music and late-night bars proliferated. These intersections of people, race, culture, musical genre, and neighborhood were definitive of the Black and Tan experience. Therefore, any future development at the site should be designed to maximize the intersections of people and ideas within the space. The most obvious way to do this is by offering commercial and residential space at varying levels of affordability and build to the site's minimum developable potential of 95 feet. A mixed-income building could also purposely serve multiple community groups. The Liberty Bank Building in Seattle's Central District, for example, was developed to honor the legacy of Seattle's only Black-owned bank that once stood on the site and now reserves units for legacy community residents who are predominantly African American, as well as for elder residents in the Pan-Asian community.

The Keiro Project was created in partnership with King County Equity Now, Africatown Community Land Trust, and the Liberty Bank Building and is meant to preserve the original elder care facility while also expanding opportunities for "Black community-led and -centered

affordable housing" at the site (King County Equity Now, 2021). In addition to these services, the Liberty Bank Building also offers commercial space to legacy business owners and market rate housing. This mix of tenants and uses was achievable through maximizing the buildable footprint of the site and extending the ethos of the design to neighboring projects. These preserve the cross-cultural connections that cultural stakeholders of the Black and Tan Club were keenly aware of in their responses.

Therefore, a future building at the Black and Tan Club property can embrace its cross-cultural heritage and consciously design space that encourages the intersection of people and ideas. More importantly, it can honor the Black and Tan Club for its role as an integrated space and seek to bring multiple cultural groups and levels of income into the space.

Chapter VII: Conclusion

The inductive, thematic qualitative methodology used in this study was based on the observations and subjective reasoning of the researcher and, therefore, may limit the degree to which the results can be generalized. Although the themes gleaned through coding do reflect the views and experiences of the study participants, they may also reflect the opinions of the researcher. It is important to note that the literature review was completed before the interviews and that inductive coding could have implicitly responded to the observed gaps in the literature perceived by the researcher. Moreover, many of the responses were classified under multiple themes, sometimes even two contradicting themes such as erasure and cooperation/collaboration. This reflects the variety of the response content but also underscores how the categorization process was tied to the positionality of the researcher and the inherent bias that thematic analysis allows.

Beyond the highly subjective nature of qualitative methods, the replicability and applicability of the results to other areas in the field of historic preservation is also limited. The small sample of participants and the purposeful selection of one property in the C-ID neighborhood do not negate the viability of the research but do restrict how contested space, cultural preservation, public memory, and cross-cultural heritage fit into current preservation discourses. The results did indicate a strong preference for the use of intersectionality as a potential framing for preserving the Black and Tan Club's history and legacy but should apply as a model for properties or sites with similar intersectional histories.

More importantly, the smaller sample of commercial stakeholders was a major detractor of the study. There are likely many reasons for the less-than-robust participation of tenants at the case study property but some of the issues related to zoning and demographic change raised in the Literature Review cannot be discounted. Gina Tat's concern for public safety and affordable rent also alluded to the fact that businesses in the neighborhood are operating in a difficult economic environment which would also depress participation interest. The fact that I was only granted access to the basement for the field visit if current tenants in the building were in attendance perhaps speaks to some of the distrust the Vietnamese community has of outside interests, particularly when developers are active in the neighborhood and a researcher is interested in surveying the building. As a result, participant attitudes were skewed by the fact that cultural stakeholders were not only more interested in the study but were likely more familiar with the interview material. The cultural and commercial stakeholder interviews were designed to reflect these differences but may not have fully anticipated the varying levels of knowledge that commercial stakeholders had of the subject matter.

Finally, the Black and Tan Club has received more attention in the recent past than other historic jazz clubs in Seattle and, as a result, it may already have been prioritized by community organizations as a potential opportunity for cultural heritage preservation. Because this was not a comparative study of multiple properties, this research cannot fully claim that the Black and Tan Club is the only historic integrated space in Seattle. Historically integrated spaces also functioned differently based on their geographic location, demographics, and time period and preservation efforts related to the Black and Tan Club reflect this reality.

Ultimately, the individuals and groups involved in the ongoing efforts to preserve the cultural heritage of Seattle's Black and Tan Club demonstrate how multiple histories can be

leveraged to tell compelling, sometimes difficult narratives. An equitable preservation plan for the Black and Tan Club has emerged in the last decade that invites community members to explore how culture, race, ethnicity, and place all intersect while engaging the Club's history as an integrated space. The field of historic preservation should continue to recognize community-informed narratives and neighborhood coalition building as effective strategies for cultural heritage preservation. More importantly, Seattle can take strides to acknowledge the Black and Tan Club for its role as an integrated space in a city divided by race and prejudice in the twentieth century. This history, like the Club itself, should be understood for what it was in its time, unvarnished, undefined, unifying, defiant, and made in the early morning hours.

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Appendix

Cultural Stakeholder Interviews

Participant One: Ashley Harrison and Benjamin Hunter of the Black and Tan Hall		
Distinguishing Theme: Riffing		
Thematic Category	**Superordinate Category**	**Quotation:**
Contested Space (1)	**Stewardship (1)**	"But to the idea that it's not our space, I just wanted to make sure that it serves the community that has stewarded it for the last 150, 170 years, which is the Black and brown population, but also the Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Vietnamese communities that have supported that neighborhood for so long."
Contested Space (2)	**Hierarchy (1)**	"Like you know, Duke Ellington did play at the Showbox. We haven't been able to confirm he played the Black and tan. And it seems unlikely that he personally was there, though I think some of his band members were. But like, how does it play into both of those things, the places that do get preserved and the places that maybe have a different but related claim to that?"
Contested Space (3)	**Erasure (1)**	"Jackson was the color line for Seattle and arguably still is, even though whiteness has

		crossed that threshold and continues to do what whiteness does. I think that people will still be in search of other suns.”
Contested Space (4)	**Erasure (2)**	“And so it's more just about when redevelopment comes from big financial investments for the purpose of profit, they tend not to do anything to honor and uplift that. It's an erasure. Right. So it really becomes a question of what comes next, how is it done and who's leading it, rather than simply opposing change or saying that the building must remain exactly as it is?”
Contested Space (5)	**Stewardship (2)**	“At the same time, a lot of what we do and are interested in, you know, is I don't feel like we're anti-development. I don't think we're anti change. I think that it's really important to us that community be able to benefit from and help to direct the development that happens.”
Contested Space (6)	**Erasure (3)**	“And then I think in addition to kind of laying claim to that lineage, it was also a way of saying, we want a foothold so that we can't be pushed out from here in the way that Black folks were pushed out of the CD and CID.”
Contested Space (7)	**Stewardship (3)**	“And so, you know, so much of the energy that went into the Black and tan was energy that was already happening in the South End, already

		around, preservation of space, activation of space, and not even just like the word preservation, but like trying to secure space in those terms."
Cultural Preservation (1)	**Behaviors (1)**	"I am a firm believer in the power of the party. So the more party spaces that we have, the more gathering spaces that we have, the more opportunities that we have to listen to a little music? Maybe drink a little sauce, tell stories, do a little dancing? That sounds great. And if it can be in a space that has historical relationship to that concept of the power of the party, I think that would be awesome."
Cultural Preservation (2)	**Networks (1)**	"But to us, these buildings are important because of what they hold and what they facilitate. And it doesn't always have to be that space. It's important to us now to the extent that it allows us to keep doing what we're doing, to have our own building and to be in relationship with that space. I also don't think it really makes sense to emphasize the building in isolation. Right, because the Black and Tan Club was one club among dozens. It's the one that gets remembered. But there was a lot happening in that entire scene. And so it was this whole ecosystem or this network of connected businesses too. So when we talk about how we want to show up in a city, that's a big

		part of it. It's about who are we connected to within our neighborhood and how are we working together to amplify and lift up those concerns as well.”
Cultural Preservation (3)	**Networks (2)**	“For whatever it's worth, you know, whoever is coming back to your thesis or reading it initially, baked into this idea, right, is that we we have to change the the way that our society operates and makes decisions, especially about community planning so that it isn't something that is merely from a profit model. We say people over profit, but that doesn't mean we don't want to be profitable. It just means that in order for us to be profitable, our people have to come first. And I think it's worth mentioning for planning, because, you know, bureaucracy and politics and profit tend to get in the way of the true purpose of a thing.”
Cultural Preservation (4)	**Legacies (1)**	“And so the preservation of these buildings is not just for the audience members to see, to be entertained. It can't just be for the entertainment value or entertainment perspective. It has to be a recognition that these are jobs, that these are careers, that these are lifelong enterprises.”
Cultural Preservation (5)	**Behaviors (2)**	So much so that it's like, you know, from my perspective, you can look at like a Quincy Jones or a Ray Charles and

		Duke Ellington, and you justify the preservation of that because you say, well, these folks, this was their career and they reached a certain echelon that justifies this trade of musicianship as a career, disregarding the fact that there are thousands and millions of other people that engage in this. Similarly, it's their livelihood. It's their job. It's what they've spent countless hours practicing for, to perform and fine tune. They're trained so that they can do that full time. And often that statement is lost on people.
Cultural Preservation (6)	**Legacies (2)**	"I think everybody wants to develop and wants to see something better than what they have. We just want to make sure that it is cognizant of the tarnished legacy of development in this city and making sure that we are diverging that path to something different and better."
Cultural Preservation (7)	**Networks (3)**	"But it's certainly one thing I thought about a lot when working on the Green Book Tour, just like the power of place and about history, like we learn it in high school, often in these broad strokes, not in the context of people's lives or really hyper specific events in specific geographic locations, but being able to say this is where it happened I think is really powerful for people in a totally different

		way.”
Cultural Preservation (8)	**Continuity/Survivance (1)**	“And so on the one hand, like the fact that we've moved into a different space is part of responding to the conditions of today. And I don't actually think that's as disruptive or challenging as perhaps some might see it as being. But I know that also a lot of preservation is focused around the building, but we've kind of directly engaged with those challenges, too, because we own our building now, which is hugely important. If you're talking about preservation, you know, there's yes, preservation of the past history, but like preservation going forward, it's like how do we ensure our own continuity from this point out?”
Cultural Preservation (9)	**Continuity/Survivance (2)**	“And so, you know, we talk about it like it's one thing because the continuity is important and any legacy business is going to have changed hands. It's just more a matter of like how true do we consider it have been to the original? Did it stay in the same family? Those sorts of factors that kind of enhanced the sense of continuity and even at that point its relationship to the building changed over time. And I don't think that the people who owned the business were often the people who owned the building either. So it was one space among several

		rented out within this larger structure. And so there's already all of this stuff that kind of challenges our idea of the club as monolithic. There was all this change. It just happened to be within the same geographic space for a while."
Cultural Preservation (10)	**Behaviors (3)**	"Someone told me it was a Vietnamese restaurant for a time before Maxim's. I haven't talked much about that. I mean, it was Maxim's, so it was a Black owned, a queer, Black owned club that was a welcoming space. And so I just want to like kind of make the link here because when we're talking about buildings, right? Yes. The Black and Tan Club was at 12th and Jackson and it persisted for almost 50 years. It changed hands a bunch of times, though, like from everything I can tell, even when it was just the Black and Tan Club, even those were sort of riffing on the original. Even those were reincarnations."
Cultural Preservation (11)	**Continuity/Survivance (3)**	"Our business is a reincarnation of an entity miles away in a business that also served as an entertainment vessel. It was the American theater. It was built in the early twentieth century, and in its own way, kind of served a radical function as an arts provider or as a community hall. Movies, cinemas have always been

		this place for people to go and dream. Because you go and you see this thing that's moving, these moving pictures that are on this TV screen and you are able to kind of sit there and kind of be transported into another place."
Cultural Preservation (12)	**Legacies (3)**	"I think mostly, it's been a light touch on that piece of preservation because while we all, you know, we're interested in the history, but we we've really made a point as particularly as inspired by Ben and his musician partner Joe, of anytime we look at the past, we're making the link to the present and we're really firmly grounded in the present and not nostalgia. So to the extent that we're looking back, it's about understanding how we came here and how lessons of the past might inform or parallel what we're looking at today, but always acknowledging, too, that we are in a distinct moment."
Cultural Preservation (13)	**Networks (4)**	"But but the idea was to create a performance art, a performing arts space and restaurant that that served also as a community hall or community hub, hence the name putting Hall on the end of it as opposed to club or restaurant or something like that, so that it remained and paid homage and remained dedicated to not just serving this kind of niche crowd of entertainment, but also placed

		community building and advocacy for community space firmly into a model that I think philosophically has been there, right? When you have food and you have and you have kind of storytelling, you're trying to bring people in and and trying to make people safe, but wanting to make sure that that was very, very explicitly built into into our model."
Cultural Preservation (14)	**Networks (5)**	"So the idea was to was to collectivize a really standard business, right, as a restaurant or a performance space, one that, you know, is often owned by one person or maybe a couple of partners and used, you know, from the hours of 6 p.m. to 2 a.m every day, without using the space for the rest of those hours and leaving it kind of fallow. So the idea was to kind of collectivize and bring community partners in to help lower the cost for everybody and have a business that was owned by the community. Moreover, the idea of buying in can be two fold so that folks could buy their way in if they had the money or they could work their way and if they had more of the time."
Public Memory (1)	**Experience/Ethos (1)**	"Because there were performances that became very storied, they get used to preserve the most mainstream spaces where that occurred and where more people went and not the intimate spaces

		where other performances also took place. So it's like, well, why are we saving the Showbox? And to us it's like gone without a moment's thought."
Public Memory (2)	**Narrative (1)**	"And I am reminded that, especially in this country, we're a nation of people that is kind of marked by a certain type of resiliency. Right. People that are nomadic or that need to move or that need to find the warmth of other suns are less connected to a physical space as much as they are connected to a memory or an idea that's passed down to them, you know, a thought or something that maintains that resilience through the action of and the preservation of an idea, rather than holding on to a physical space. Because, you know, in the history of the people of this country, whether they were forced or brought here or they were displaced from their land or they left their country to come here in search of something better."
Public Memory (3)	**Experience/Ethos (2)**	"I'll just say that, you know, there are members of our of our of our, I call them our Auntie crew, our elders are people that, you know, often put things into perspective for us that say like we're Black and tan. It doesn't need to be a business. It doesn't need to be this place. It's an idea. It's an entity in itself regardless of a physical space."

Public Memory (4)	**Experience/Ethos (3)**	“it's important to know that it started from this ethos that was built out of a song. It was built out of an experience.”
Public Memory (5)	**Narrative (2)**	“You know, Black and tan clubs, that was coded language that wasn't just like a fancy or a fun little, like, you know, a play on English style bars like Owl and Thistle or Pig and Whistle or whatever like that. You know, it was a coded language to let people know that we're challenging a system or an institution that doesn't that doesn't work for us, for people that want to celebrate and be with people.”
Public Memory (6)	**Narrative (3)**	“Black and Tan clubs came to my attention through the song Black and Tan Fantasy, which is a song by the great Duke Ellington, who purportedly wrote the song or was inspired to write the song after visiting the Black and Tan Club in Seattle. And so him and his trumpet player, Bubba Miley, both wrote this song after that visit. And so that's kind of where the name came from.”
Cross-Cultural Heritage (1)	**Resiliency (1)**	“I think we would have some interest in ensuring that the history wasn't erased, wasn't forgotten, and was somehow lifted up in the recreation. As for what it could and should be, I don't know.”
Cross-Cultural Heritage (2)	**Cooperation/Collaboration (1)**	“And so it required us to really get to know each other

		so that the decisions that we made as a group, internally, came from a place of mutual understanding. Over time, I understand more about Ashley and how she comes to decisions or the lens with which she looks at things and her for me and, in terms of civic planning and thinking about how we build a better future, I think that that model, while it takes a really long time, yields a much better result because it means that we are being very intentional and thoughtful about the work that we're trying to do.”
Cross-Cultural Heritage (3)	**Value Statements (1)**	“We're talking about change and there needs to be a resurrection of a philosophy in our society that recognizes the value of something that is actually soul filling. And perhaps if we treated it as such, the argument of preserving a building for the sake of housing, a place for people to engage in that would become less of a debate and more of a recognition or truth.”
Cross-Cultural Heritage (4)	**Value Statements (2)**	“And I think especially after this two, two and a half year drought that we've been in where the world kind of stood still and we didn't have the opportunity to be entertained, we recognized that these things, this music and this theater and this art, it is something that was required for our mental health, for our survival. People sing songs

		together.”
Cross-Cultural Heritage (5)	**Resiliency (2)**	“And I think ultimately, that's what we're trying to what we're trying to do is just make sure that the legacy of this ethos, this idea where people can come together and create something better than what was given to them or left to them based off of ideas that were passed down to them or tenets that were instilled in them. I think that is what we represent in Black and tan hall.”
Cross-Cultural Heritage (6)	**Layering (1)**	“And so what do you do to name an honor not just one history within that space, but like the multiplicity of histories? You can do that.”
Cross-Cultural Heritage (7)	**Value Statements (3)**	“But back behind plywood, similar to what's at the Louisa, we really want to track that down before the building is gone. Right, because that's a real vestige of the past and who knows what else is in that basement. But I think it all depends on what comes next. Like you can redevelop places in ways that are mindful of their history.”
Cross-Cultural Heritage (8)	**Cooperation/Collaboration (2)**	“But I do think that, you know, everything that Ben said, you know, just the name itself really evokes this multiracial space, the space that was Black led but welcoming to everybody.”

Participant Two: Doan Diane Hoang Dy of the Wing Luke Museum		
Distinguishing Theme: Gray Areas		
Thematic Category	**Superordinate Category**	**Quotation:**
Contested Space (1)	**Stewardship (1)**	"That's where a lot of the concerns of businesses are so, well, what if we can reimagine this space in a different way that can bring the type of community that they want to see? How do you spin so it can be a win-win situation for everybody?"
Contested Space (2)	**Hierarchy (1)**	"That is the trickiest part of historic preservation, when folks need or want money and is it going to be worth my time and energy if you want to come into my space and transform it…I hate that but that's the world we live in…and when we have that generational amnesia where you cant see the history, its not valuable to open up the space. So we may have to come at it with a different perspective to maybe make it a lucrative investment for local communities."
Contested Space (3)	**Erasure (1)**	"For the 12th and Jackson building, it's great that its still there, but the challenges that you sometimes face is that it gets turned into something else that doesn't carry the old meaning forward or it doesn't recognize those meanings that it had in the past. What happens is an erasure…the new folks that move into the

		building might not have the understanding or respect for what the building used to be. Especially when erasure happens and when communities change over, as gentrification happens and people move into new spaces and don't recognize the history that's already there, this whole generational amnesia thing happens which makes it harder for people to remember where our histories did intersect."
Cultural Preservation (1)	**Continuity/Survivance (1)**	"While we are fighting against gentrification in our neighborhood, I think the key point in being able to secure these spaces and have them preserved on our own terms, which you should note, and you are totally right, it is a very bureaucratic process…but in what way are they saving it?"
Cultural Preservation (2)	**Continuity/Survivance (2)**	"Well, in terms of the museum, that's what we're trying to do making these opportunities more available to communities of color, particularly with oral histories and cementing this idea that there is an importance in having preserved spaces for ourselves and not just for gentrifying places…sometimes preservation leads to that right?"
Cultural Preservation (3)	**Legacies (1)**	"For the 12th and Jackson building, it's great that it's still there, but the challenges

		that you sometimes face is that it gets turned into something else that doesn't carry the old meaning forward or it doesn't recognize those meanings that it had in the past. What happens is an erasure…the new folks that move into the building might not have the understanding or respect for what the building used to be. Especially when erasure happens and when communities change over, as gentrification happens and people move into new spaces and don't recognize the history that's already there, this whole generational amnesia thing happens which makes it harder for people to remember where our histories did intersect."
Public Memory (1)	**Experience/Ethos (1)**	"We shouldn't be driving to things so if everything is in walking distance you can eat there, dance there, drink some more, and it can be like back then when we were all hanging out but now it's like Black and Tan Club 2.0 in 2020 whatever or beyond."
Public Memory (2)	**Experience/Ethos (2)**	"I would have to say both, there should not have to be a choice between saving buildings or voices or memories, it has to be all of it because not everyone is going to experience this history all in the same way."
Public Memory (3)	**Narrative (1)**	"So 170 Chinese immigrant men pooled their resources together to start an investment

		company, the Kong Yick Investment Company, and in that way they were able to be this entity that could own property. Folks have found ways historically in this community in the gray areas to make stuff happen for them and I think that we can draw upon that when we are looking ahead to the future in regards to historic preservation."
Public Memory (4)	**Experience/Ethos (3)**	"It's a lot of interpretation but then also our own personal stories where we find connection and where things resonate with those objects or items that we get a bigger picture of how it was part of the community."
Cross-Cultural Heritage (1)	**Cooperation/Collaboration (1)**	"Where you might enter another institution and there are different tiers, hierarchies, or separation between you as an individual and the thing you are looking at, that creates barriers. I think we at the museum recognize that every individual story is worth listening to and that when people listen to stories, that's when we let down our guard and we connect."
Cross-Cultural Heritage (2)	**Layering (1)**	"It's not about drawing lines, it's more about looking at this place since time immemorial, recognizing that throughout our history, this has been a place for community for many different types of people. There's an easy example to talk about on the

		redlining heritage tour, where you pass by Hing Hay Park, which today is a place where people hang out and eat and play ping pong, but if you take it back, we had this speaker series called, It Happened Here, where different people from different communities who had ties to that space came and spoke about it. Before it was Hing Hay Park, it was many things, such as a marshy lagoon for the Duwamish, so we invited Cecile Hanssen the tribal leader to share the Duwamish story."
Cross-Cultural Heritage (3)	**Cooperation/Collaboration (2)**	"What I love about it is that it's not just a singular storytelling of what's in the CID but instead its 9 different anchor points throughout Seattle and depending on where you're at on the map, there are all these different trails you can take and you really get a sense of the intersections between the different communities and the support they had for one another."
Cross-Cultural Heritage (4)	**Value Statements (1)**	"Now they see our problems as separate when the whole overlying theme is white supremacy and systems of supremacy."
Cross-Cultural Heritage (5)	**Resiliency (1)**	"The Club is a great example of how people who were faced with discrimination, being pushed the the not great parts of the city, still making

		something good out of what they could, and it was an intersection of many different communities."
Cross-Cultural Heritage (6)	**Value Statements (2)**	"It's a lot of interpretation but then also our own personal stories where we find connection and where things resonate with those objects or items that we get a bigger picture of how it was part of the community."
Cross-Cultural Heritage (7)	**Layering (2)**	"All of our programming is based around having members in the community have the courage to share their histories and experiences and stories, to give us a bigger sense of the history that we all share and where intersections happen. If we are honing it down to the Black and Tan Club and to back in the day, even though were more of an Asian-Pacific American focused museum, it doesn't mean that we cant recognize the rest of the history that's there and happening all at the same time, so where you mention the intersection of Vietnamese American, Japanese American, African American, and even outside of ethnic heritage too, 12th and Jackson also was a huge space of the houseless community as well…"

Participant Three: Ricky Pham and Quynh Pham of Friends of Little Saigon

Distinguishing Theme: Connection Points		
Thematic Category	**Superordinate Category**	**Quotation:**
Contested Space (1)	**Stewardship (1)**	"And I think for Little Saigon, because our community has moved away, especially down south, we're trying to figure out that balance right now where we are geographically bound, but the Vietnamese, the greater Vietnamese community also lives outside of this area. And how do we try to do a little bit of both? Half the community still loves and cares and whole heartedly wants to continue to claim the space. And then the other half kind of moved on and tried to do other things elsewhere. But I think there are still really deep roots here that we're trying to work through."
Contested Space (2)	**Hierarchy (1)**	"But because the Asian Pacific Islander community is so diverse, we get clumped together sometimes and so it creates a little bit of competition. But I feel like when we do come together, we're a force."
Contested Space (3)	**Erasure (1)**	"But that's just where things are going in Seattle in this urban environment where there's not much land left and the need for housing. If it was built and with more than one level, I think there would be higher potential to preserve it as is. But right now, as just a one level building, I just don't know if that's going to be feasible down the road."

Contested Space (4)	**Hierarchy (2)**	"There was only like one round of outreach done from the city to let businesses know that they're now part of this boundary or this thing that is trying to help protect them. But I don't think at deep level (they) understand it, it's like if you change a sign or put your facade, you have to go through the ISRD....that's the biggest burden of it."
Contested Space (5)	**Erasure (2)**	"I think the old model of how businesses operate, especially their dependance on parking and these other things....Seattle has gone away from it, which is sad."
Contested Space (6)	**Erasure (3)**	"So we've worked on relocations because of the safety concerns. Businesses are looking elsewhere. But ideally, if they could stay, I feel like they would. We've had many businesses say that they would just love to continue operating, but the biggest challenge is just the safety part."
Cultural Preservation (1)	**Behaviors (1)**	"But there's no real commitment to ensure that they're building residential units or commercial units to fit into what the needs are in the community. That's the more difficult part that we have to really push developers to do. But in terms of physical building preservation, there's not so much of that work because the buildings in Little Saigon aren't historically important, or built or

		preserved in that way. It's more on the design and feel and uses of these new projects."
Cultural Preservation (2)	**Networks (1)**	"Beyond the culture, we're talking about existing businesses that just have a really strong customer base that knows them, knows their history, knows the location. And so just moving even like a block down, some of our businesses are like really hesitant to even move because they're afraid their customers won't know where they are."
Cultural Preservation (3)	**Continuity/Survivance (1)**	"They'd rather stay in their old buildings realistically because they're comfortable. But it's about getting new businesses into old buildings, which is not the easiest thing to do."
Cultural Preservation (4)	**Continuity/Survivance (2)**	"So we've worked on relocations because of the safety concerns. Businesses are looking elsewhere. But ideally, if they could stay, I feel like they would. We've had many businesses say that they would just love to continue operating, but the biggest challenge is just the safety part."
Public Memory (1)	**Experience/Ethos (1)**	"I think the challenge is telling that story publicly and doing it in a way that's very visual."
Cross-Cultural Heritage (1)	**Cooperation/Collaboration (1)**	"But because the Asian Pacific Islander community is so diverse, we get clumped together sometimes and so it

		creates a little bit of competition. But I feel like when we do come together, we're a force."
Cross-Cultural Heritage (2)	**Cooperation/Collaboration (2)**	"And then once the Black and Tan Hall is ready to go, there's always opportunities to just cross collaborate on the history and the significance of the Black and tan and what that means for Black and Asian communities."
Cross-Cultural Heritage (3)	**Value Statements (1)**	"I think there's still, at least from myself, I still want to be able to work together with these groups so that we can highlight this history in the best way possible."
Cross-Cultural Heritage (4)	**Layering (1)**	"I think it's important to connect all the dots and say, this is a part of history, these are the changes, and being able to highlight where the connection points are with buildings could be a really great narrative."

Participant Four: Stephanie Johnson-Toliver of the Black Heritage Society of Washington State		
Distinguishing Theme: Buy-In		
Thematic Category	**Superordinate Category**	**Quotation:**
Contested Space (1)	**Erasure (1)**	"Displacement, the density of our city, particularly the central district right now, it is unrelenting. I got a notice a couple of days ago that down the street from me, they're taking down a duplex to bring

		in nine townhomes. On to a place where it's been a duplex for many, many years.”
Contested Space (2)	**Erasure (2)**	“There's an apartment building on Madison I heard from just yesterday, the Madkin apartments, where the tenants there are anxious because the building is going to be sold.”
Contested Space (3)	**Stewardship (1)**	“Relationships and building our own relationships around what we see as significant and worth preserving and who's doing the work or who's not going to do the work and sometimes pointing fingers.”
Contested Space (4)	**Hierarchy (1)**	“There is still something there, there's still something there that we need to recognize. I had no idea....and in some of my conversations with Friends of Little Saigon, I'm disappointed, they didn't say, come on down Stephanie, we want to take you to the basement.”
Contested Space (5)	**Stewardship (2)**	“Yeah, well, it's all about the money, obviously, I don't think it's the passion for trying to make it happen. Then there is everybody's buy in to the fact that it is significant.”
Contested Space (6)	**Hierarchy (2)**	“So most recently and I won't say who, but saying there needs to be more of a concerted effort, there needs to be more direction, you know, in bringing these African-American or Black heritage sites within the

		Central District to the forefront....”
Contested Space (7)	**Erasure (3)**	“So when I turned a corner to see one of the icons, an iconic structure come down on a corner in the heart of the Central District that was created by Black people, naturally I had these alarms that went off, and thankfully the ownership was in the hands of Seattle Public Library, who understood that this is, you know, something that we understand needs some attention and we want to be able to bring it back to.”
Contested Space (8)	**Hierarchy (3)**	“So I'm feeling really excited about joining them at this time. But again, there's nobody there at all that are like me....it's a lot of old white men. There are some ladies there, who are very passionate about history and understand that Black history is American history and it's Washington state history. But I'm still pushing some boundaries there.”
Cultural Preservation (1)	**Network (1)**	“But with the historic Central area Arts and Cultural District, that was one of our first priorities in 2016 was to do an audit, a combined audit of spaces of cultural significance within the Central District. We combined the list from historic Seattle, from the City of Seattle, and some things from Seattle Municipal Archives. So the goal was to

		combine those lists and see what we had and then where we needed to fill in the blanks.”
Cultural Preservation (2)	**Legacies (1)**	“They received a notice and then they discovered that the Madkins, the husband and wife were these civil rights activists during the fifties and sixties in Seattle and that's significant. There's some significance there for that building. They now want to make sure that the history is maintained at that building. So every day there's something now around preservation and recognizing spaces.”
Cultural Preservation (3)	**Continuity/Survivance (1)**	“And we want to be able to tell the story of that because maybe that building won't be there this time next year. But how can we preserve the history of that space? So I'm getting a lot of that recently.”
Cultural Preservation (4)	**Networks (2)**	“But I absolutely love what's happening within the Black community right now or within the Central District that combines Africa Town, the historic Central Area arts and cultural district. Vivian Phillips and her work with South Lake Union Partners at 23rd in Union. And just all of the building out that's happening through the Central District right now to bring business and offer business opportunities for Black folks.”

Cultural Preservation (5)	**Legacies (2)**	"With the Black and tan, there was a student in urban planning. She sits on the advisory, too, for this new Black and tan or jazz scene trail...she presented an idea that was a building wrap. It was an idea that would wrap the 12th Avenue side of the building with the jazz icons. Right? It would tie into the Greenways trail that went up King Street and then up into the Central District, to Langston Hughes, where there would also be a wrap on the side of the building talking about music, arts, and culture and would lead to different interpretations of history with these murals."
Cultural Preservation (6)	**Behaviors (1)**	"But I just want to encourage people to figure out ways of sharing the history without having that tangible space."
Cultural Preservation (7)	**Networks (3)**	"Let's talk about a trail. Let's talk to the National Park Service who would love for us to probably present the idea of a trail would link different locations through the corridor and identify them. And maybe they're just something that's embedded into the sidewalk.....maybe it's solar type panels so at night it lights up. I mean, there's all sorts of ways to be able to identify and appreciate the historical significance of the jazz scene without just a kiosk sitting on a corner."
Cultural Preservation (8)	**Legacies (3)**	"So current day I have to

		really applaud apply Black and Tan Hall for maintaining the legacy in a way. They are there with the namesake of the Black and tan. But they're, you know, walking their talk. They lean into history. They share and lift the history of the Black and tan and I think that that's where we are now too."
Cultural Preservation (9)	**Legacies (4)**	"We have only started to touch some of that 40,000 images from Al Smith took, the majority of them centered around the jazz and nightclub scene in Seattle."
Cultural Preservation (10)	**Networks (4)**	"So I think that it's confidence building and support from the trust from the Washington Trust, but also the national trust...saying, you can do this thing. You know, rally the troops. You know, we have money. We can support you."
Cultural Preservation (11)	**Continuity/Survivance (2)**	"And so that was the rationale...is to build this skill and then share that skill out with others so that it doesn't look so intimidating when people want to come forward and nominate a location or site because anyone can do that. But so many folks don't know that they can be the advocate, they can be that person. The more we get talking about it in community and giving people and lifting people's enthusiasm around their skill set, feeling confident. Then that's when it really starts to happen and

		move forward and I'm feeling so much more confident about that now than I did three years ago."
Cultural Preservation (12)	**Continuity/Survivance (3)**	"The preservation of the Soul pole is symbolic in a way. You know, we're looking to move other projects forward, preservation projects, and particularly with some focus on the people's wall, Seattle Chapter Black Panther Party, the People's Wall at 20th and Spruce. And thankfully Historic Seattle and also Beyond Integrity at 4culture are supporting that."
Cultural Preservation (13)	**Continuity/Survivance (4)**	"And when I look around the room and I don't see anybody sitting at the table that looks like me, and if they're coming to the realization that if there isn't representation at the table, how do our stories get told and the narratives get corrected? That's what led me to this and all my passion for it to join historic Seattle as on the advisory committee. Then beginning in February this year with the secretary of state with the All Foundation Legacy Washington."
Public Memory (1)	**Experience/Ethos (1)**	"Well secure space but also sense of place. I mean, that's what really grounds us in our community and our neighborhoods. We want to feel like we know about where we live and how we fit into our communities. So when you understand the significance of the older

		buildings or places that you hear people talk about, where that used to be, where this place was. There is a sense of comfort in community. Yeah, I think more and more people are wanting that now."
Public Memory (2)	**Narrative (1)**	"Just two days ago, I got a really beautiful photo. A woman, a Black woman who owned and ran the Idaho hotel that was just off Jackson. It's in the Green Book but it's not on Ashley's tour, but I've talked to her about it, and I'm really intrigued by that space. And it's actually on that block where now Sound Transit is wanting to take that block and expand a station right there. So right on the edge of the C.I.D."
Public Memory (3)	**Experience/Ethos (2)**	"In this whole preservation space, I'm trying to figure it out. I'm trying to bring people along on this journey to understand that, we can preserve the physical space, but we can also preserve the stories of space."
Public Memory (4)	**Narrative (2)**	"But they were able to purchase some properties when Black people could not. And so they would make the arrangements to purchase the property and then quit claim it. In one case, it was for a dollar and we have the original documents of that that we hold BHS. So we like to talk and share about that history."

Public Memory (5)	**Experience/Ethos (3)**	"Talking to people who want to talk to us in the African-American community about preserving the sites that don't necessarily hold all of this architectural integrity, but they have this intangible and emotional type of significance for us."
Cross-Cultural Heritage (1)	**Value Statements (1)**	"And then also looking at the challenges that are uncomfortable sometimes. I love kind of living in that space, too, because how do you grow without actually challenging yourself or systems? If you sit in the same space and get too comfortable there. How do you learn? How do you grow?"
Cross-Cultural Heritage (2)	**Cooperation/Collaboration (1)**	"We're looking into our archives to see where there are connections, where there were connections between our communities and particularly the Asian community stepping up to help Black people secure properties."
Cross-Cultural Heritage (3)	**Cooperation/Collaboration (2)**	"Friends of Little Saigon and and then Cassie and others from the Wing (Luke), came to me first to say we recognize our history and our history with the Black community. And we want to understand it better, too. I've had a number of conversations with them, and I think that we are all in agreement that there are ways that we can share our stories."

Cross-Cultural Heritage (4)	**Cooperation/Collaboration (3)**	"We all recognize the history of jazz and the importance of early jazz in that corridor."
Cross-Cultural Heritage (5)	**Cooperation/Collaboration (4)**	"And we've crossed back and forth on that boundary since the 1880s creating relationships, building relationships with businesses, supporting each other that way in a business sense. But I think more and more lately, again, turning around to look at building our friendships and community and our sensibility around preserving the histories of our community."
Cross-Cultural Heritage (6)	**Resiliency (1)**	"People want to learn more about their communities and the Black people who helped to influence the community, the businesses, or just the everyday people who helped to create the community. What's really interesting to me and, in my spare time, I want to get on that Sundown Town history in Washington State. And I'm really motivated and excited by the work that (Candacy) Taylor is doing around that and so I've been talking to her. I would like to look at some of the history of that in Washington state and the cities where they are today from where they were in 1940."
Cross-Cultural Heritage (7)	**Layering (1)**	"Yeah, well take Centralia as an example. I mean, the founding of Centralia by George Washington, a Black man. There are few and far

		between Black folks there now. But the white community there loves him, they love George Washington."
Cross-Cultural Heritage (8)	**Value Statements (2)**	"I would say that we try to reach as broad of a community as we can and anyone who wants to embrace it, we're always trying to find a way to be a contributor or show up in some way to share, again, this fabulous history that we have."

Participant Five: Playwright Chris Hopper		
Distinguishing Theme: The Curtain Call		
Thematic Category	**Superordinate Category**	**Quotation:**
Contested Space (1)	**Erasure (1)**	"Because there are so many fears now with gentrification and property taxes, everyone's afraid that if it becomes anything other than what it is, then it is going to increase property value and taxes, which I understand."
Contested Space (2)	**Hierarchy (1)**	"Well, that space was not just about money but about culture, and everybody understands culture, every culture is different to some degree but the community of the Black and Tan was about music and they were limited to where they could go."

Contested Space (3)	**Stewardship (1)**	"And I understand the need to make money with the Friends of Little Saigon who are looking after the neighborhood but that building itself holds so much history in regards to the city, the US and the world, and all the people who came through that space, and it deserves to be an historical landmark and, this is my own idea, that if somehow, we had a mural or plaques, where people understood what the Black and Tan was and meant that'd be great."
Contested Space (4)	**Erasure (2)**	"Anyways, to get back to more or less the narrative, he surmises that as much as we have progressed, we have taken two steps back, because the second act takes place during the Civil Rights Movement and he kind of predicts gentrification so to speak."
Cultural Preservation (1)	**Networks (1)**	"This was a historical club in the city and one of the few where African Americans, Asians, and whites could be together. It was its own culture and that culture deserves to be retained. That's what I would tell them."
Cultural Preservation (2)	**Legacies (1)**	"It's not like this is something that we're grasping at or some abstract idea…we can see it and it's there, it's documented."
Cultural Preservation (3)	**Continuity/Survivance (1)**	"That is the importance of the

		piece for me, is to talk to the African American community about our rich heritage and history and how to retain that and to stick together moving forward, because I think what ends up happening is, and I could go on about this, with the way the redlining kept African Americans in a certain area but how it ultimately also pushed them out of those areas as well."
Cultural Preservation (4)	**Behaviors (1)**	"You know it's not just based on every single fact that happened to him but asks, what would it have been like at the times, what the dances were like and how they dressed, it takes us back to that time and it all happened in Seattle."
Cultural Preservation (5)	**Legacies (2)**	"But my play is preserving the Noodle Smith legacy basically."
Public Memory (1)	**Narrative (1)**	"But those little stories here and there from them, there's a lot of people who went to the club that was there in the 70s and are really excited to talk about it, it brings up all these memories and they're looking forward to seeing the play too."
Public Memory (2)	**Narrative (2)**	"There was an interesting story about a white lady who would walk down the street at night with a wad of money and no one fucked with her because everyone knew that she was the nice girl at the club and tipped the

		musicians."
Public Memory (3)	**Experience/Ethos (1)**	"You know, everyone loves music, it's like the close encounters thing, a lot of these musicians who contributed to the landscape of music worldwide played here."
Public Memory (4)	**Narrative (3)**	"My sister did a portrait of Noodle Smith and it was hard to put the thing together because, you know, he was so elusive…you never could take a picture of this guy because rightfully so because he was a gangster…so some kind of cultural center, something that would pay homage to what that place was, there are endless possibilities, like a music school…something that says hey this is part of Seattle's history, Ray Charles was in this damn building!"
Public Memory (5)	**Narrative (4)**	"It's about Noodle Smith, his struggles keeping the club open with the raids that happened and also what happened in his life as a bootlegger, gambler, and an entrepreneur who was, to me, a genius entrepreneur because what he did, he also owned all these hotels closeby to the club…in those days, of course, the whole are close to downtown was segregated, so what he did is, all these people that would come through town, including Aretha Franklin, who would perform downtown at the

		Paramount but couldn't stay downtown (but needed a place to stay), and of course, musicians being young like they were at the time, after they play a gig they don't want to just go home, they want to party…so they they also stayed in his hotels and played at his club."
Cross-Cultural Heritage (1)	**Cooperation/Collaboration (1)**	"And I'm looking forward to the curtain call, when everybody sees all these different faces and cultures on stage, that's what the Black and Tan, what it was meant to be and the vision of the club, maybe it happened by happenstance but that's what it looked like."
Cross-Cultural Heritage (2)	**Layering (1)**	"How the Jackson street corridor was very popular amongst african americans, whites, and asians because it was one of the few clubs that was integrated and the reason why it was integrated cause it didn't what color you were, it was the music that brought everybody together, and that jazz scene."

Commercial Stakeholder Interview

Participant One: Gina Tat and Adam Lu		
Distinguishing Theme: "Enough Space" and "Generational Preservation"		
Thematic Category	**Superordinate Category**	**Quotation:**
Contested Space (1)	**Hierarchy (1)**	"Basically, once she opened

		the shop, she was the only shop here. All around her there was just nothing.”
Contested Space (2)	**Hierarchy (2)**	“But because the Vietnamese come from Vietnam, they get used to running small businesses. They don't want to work for somebody. That's why they start their small business. Small business after small business. But Chinatown had no space. I'm being honest, no space. Here it was all empty. Nobody, just empty stores. That's why they slowly rent these spaces, slowly, slowly. Yeah. Yeah. That's what they did. Most companies and businesses now are Vietnamese. Because they're tied to all of the refugees coming.”
Contested Space (3)	**Erasure (1)**	“Now they develop and go to Martin Luther King. Because there is no space here, not anymore.”
Contested Space (4)	**Stewardship (1)**	“I think this building...Because this building is too old, very old. I think if somebody buys it, it must be rebuilt. Otherwise there is no way (to keep it) because it's too old.”
Contested Space (5)	**Erasure (2)**	“But I don't know. Well, times are changing now. I don't think they can keep the downstairs for it to become a nightclub.”
Contested Space (6)	**Erasure (3)**	“But it is too calm now because most Vietnamese businesses are moving to Martin Luther King because

		here we only have a few stores. Not enough space.”
Contested Space (7)	**Stewardship (2)**	“Because before this building did not belong to the Vietnamese, it belonged to others. Like you said with the nightclub downstairs, it didn't belong to them.”
Contested Space (8)	**Hierarchy (3)**	“Some of them, they don't want to come over here too because there are so many Asians here. Chinatown, Asian, Beacon Hill, Asian. They don't like it. Yeah. That's why they don't like it.”
Contested Space (9)	**Hierarchy (4)**	“Because it's a different kind of race I think because....(Vietnamese to Adam)”
Contested Space (10)	**Hierarchy (5)**	“She says that there's not as many, I guess, non-Vietnamese owners because most of the people in this area speak Vietnamese as their first language and if they're here, they can't communicate with, you know, English. So it's harder for them to connect with the people. It is harder for the new owners to connect with outsiders.”
Cultural Preservation (1)	**Networks (1)**	“Now they don't have the space for the couples, the dancing space, they don't have it. Yeah. Because now all the land is so expensive, people can't afford it. It's very hard to have the space that's big like that, a dancing hall. Even in Chinatown, you have what they called Jun Wah, upstairs, they had a dancing

		Hall. But it was only upstairs. Yeah, but it's not as big as this (downstairs).”
Cultural Preservation (2)	**Behaviors (1)**	“Most Caucasians would not buy it, no Black people either, only Asian people buy it because they like the cheap price. They don't care. You steal what you want. Yeah. It's like this. So they all come together and you have an open market. But they don't do any bad things, they just sell their stuff, you know, and it keeps them from stealing.”
Cultural Preservation (3)	**Networks (2)**	“So she's saying that the mayor tried to get rid of the Black market here but the Black market thrives here because Asian people love cheap stuff.”
Cultural Preservation (4)	**Continuity/Survivance (1)**	“Just like Chinatown! They're just allowed to redo inside, but outside....(Vietnamese)...they still keep the outside looking the same but inside it is all changed in Chinatown. Like the museum (Wing Luke) in Chinatown. They've rebuilt many times but outside they still keep it looking okay. Because in Chinatown you're not allowed to change the outside, the look, the history. But here, I don't think so.”
Cultural Preservation (5)	**Legacies (1)**	“Yeah, the owner they opened up a new Vietnamese club down there (MLK).”
Cultural Preservation (6)	**Legacies (2)**	“But after this landlord came...he bought this building nearly 50 years ago. Then

		when he bought it, then he tried to redo the nightclub downstairs. He tried but...before it was only for Americans, the club. But since this place got developed by some Vietnamese, then he opened a nightclub downstairs and a lot of Vietnamese came."
Cultural Preservation (7)	**Networks (3)**	"So back in Chinatown, all the buildings and properties that are owned by generations within generations and within the cost of the generation.....If they need to sell property, they have to go through a whole herd of hierarchy and stuff. But here, the town, the neighborhood all developed in the eighties. So there isn't that generational thing, you know, there is no history of preservation that we can claim."
Public Memory (1)	**Narrative (1)**	"Now they don't have the space for the couples, the dancing space, they don't have it. Yeah. Because now all the land is so expensive, people can't afford it. It's very hard to have the space that's big like that, a dancing hall. Even in Chinatown, you have what they called Jun Wah, upstairs, they had a dancing Hall. But it was only upstairs. Yeah, but it's not as big as this (downstairs)."
Public Memory (2)	**Narrative (2)**	"Because they lost their country. They all came here. Before there was no freedom, that's American. Yeah, April

		30 is when the communists took over the South part, that's why everybody ran, over the sea. Every year on April 30th, they have a big meeting and they remember their history but they don't care about it (American history). Yeah."
Public Memory (3)	**Experience/Ethos (1)**	"So what she is saying is that, well, most of the immigrants that came here, basically, they all escaped, they're all refugees from Vietnam. So when they come here, all they know about is the history of Vietnam and that's what they've built their lives on. So they don't have any clue about the history of this country."
Public Memory (4)	**Narrative (3)**	"I know it because my daughter told me, but I don't think they know."
Public Memory (5)	**Narrative (4)**	"Even before the Vietnamese nightclub it was very nice too. Everyday, every afternoon, they practiced music and it was so loud, boom, boom, boom. Yeah. It was too bad though that they made a mess, they were fighting."
Public Memory (6)	**Narrative (5)**	"But after this landlord came...he bought this building nearly 50 years ago. Then when he bought it, then he tried to redo the nightclub downstairs. He tried but...before it was only for Americans, the club. But since this place got developed by some Vietnamese, then he opened a nightclub

		downstairs and a lot of Vietnamese came. They came and they liked to drink and drink and drink. After they get drunk, they caused a lot of problems. Then the owner couldn't even afford to pay for the rent. The dilemma was he wanted to stay here but how many business could he keep? The owner asked them to lower the money, just shave a bit off of the rent. Then one time he tried to burn the building and then he was afraid and said, okay, forget it, no more."
Public Memory (7)	**Narrative (6)**	"Changed a lot! Totally changed. Before people said, you're crazy. You are here. Nobody's there. Why do you start a business where there is nobody…"
Public Memory (8)	**Experience/Ethos (2)**	"Because before you don't have anybody, this was all old houses. Very old houses. That was all old land and there was nobody. Only the next door (business), it was a restaurant. That was the only one here when I came."
Cross-Cultural Heritage (1)	**Layering (1)**	"But she said that there are a few shops in the building next to this building that are occupied by non-Vietnamese, they are more like Taiwanese, you know. So they are not like Chinatown Chinese. So they are kind of like a new generation of Asian. So maybe that's the new that's the new thing. This area changes a lot so we often don't don't

		know…"
Cross-Cultural Heritage (2)	**Value Statements (1)**	"But these are all immigrants, so they have no idea who Duke Ellington is or who all these famous singers are."
Cross-Cultural Heritage (3)	**Value Statements (2)**	"Before the Vietnamese, they don't know about that. You can tell them the history. They don't know anything about it. Since I opened here and other stores opened slowly...I don't think they care about the history over here because they don't know."