



Los Barrios Viejos

NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK APPLICATION

PREPARED BY
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ON BEHALF OF
THE TUCSON HISTORIC PRESERVATION FOUNDATION

| Draft |
June 2021

NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK NOMINATION

NPS Form 10-934 (Rev. 12-2015)

OMB Control No. 1024-0276 (Exp. 01/31/2019)

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1. NAME AND LOCATION OF PROPERTY

Historic Name: Los Barrios Viejos

Other Name/Site Number: Barrio Viejo, Barrio Libre (Barrio Calle Meyer and Convento), Barrio El Hoyo, Barrio Santa Rosa, and portions of Armory Park Neighborhood

Street and Number (if applicable): N/A

City/Town: Tucson

County: Pima County

State: Arizona

2. SIGNIFICANCE DATA

NHL Criteria: 1, 4

NHL Criteria Exceptions: 1

NHL Theme(s): I. Peopling Places

- 3. Migration from outside and within
- 4. Community and neighborhood
- 5. Ethnic homelands
- 6. Encounters, conflicts, and colonization

III. Expressing Cultural Values

- 5. Architecture, landscape architecture, and urban design
- 6. Popular and traditional culture

Period(s) of Significance: 1862 – 1942

Significant Person(s) (only Criterion 2): N/A

Cultural Affiliation (only Criterion 6): N/A

Designer/Creator/Architect/Builder:

Architects/Designers:

Arthur W. Hawes (Temple of Music and Art [330 South Scott Avenue]), Ely Blount (Temple Emanu-El [564 South Stone Avenue]), Henry O. Jaastad (Valencia House [432-446 South Convent Avenue]), Merrit Starkweather (Drachman and Carrillo Schools), Poster Frost Mirto (Lalo Guerrero Elderly Housing [124 West 18th Street]), Rick Joy (Convent Avenue Studios and Rick Joy Studios [469 South Convent Avenue and 400 South Rubio Alley]), and Vint & Associates (Hardy Residence [585 South Main Street]).

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Builders:

Juan Pascale (209-219 West 17th Street), Catholic Archdiocese of Tucson (All Saints Church, San Cosme, Immaculate Heart Convent and the St. Joseph's Academy), and Manuel Flores (Teatro Carmen [380 South Meyer Avenue]).

Historic Contexts and NPS Thematic Studies:

*African American Reflections on the American Landscape: Identifying and Interpreting African American Heritage*¹

*American Latinos and the Making of the United States: A Theme Study*²

*Asian Reflections on the American Landscape: Identifying and Interpreting Asian Heritage*³

*Hispanic Reflections on the American Landscape: Identifying and Interpreting Hispanic Heritage*⁴

*Spanish Exploration and Settlement*⁵

¹ Brian D. Joyner, "African Reflections on the American Landscape," Historic Context Statement, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, National Center for Cultural Resources, Office of Diversity and Special Projects, 2003.

² National Park System Advisory Board, ed., "American Latinos and the Making of the United States: A Theme Study," Theme Study, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2012.

³ Brian D. Joyner, "Asian Reflections on the American Landscape," Historic Context Statement, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, National Center for Cultural Resources, Office of Diversity and Special Projects, 2005.

⁴ Brian D. Joyner, "Hispanic Reflections on the American Landscape," Historic Context Statement, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2009.

⁵ National Park Service, "Spanish Exploration and Settlement," Historic Context Statement, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1959.

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3. WITHHOLDING SENSITIVE INFORMATION

Does this nomination contain sensitive information that should be withheld under Section 304 of the National Historic Preservation Act?

___ Yes

✓ No

4. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

1. Acreage of Property: 155 acres

2. Use either Latitude/Longitude Coordinates or the UTM system:

	UTM	Zone	Easting	Northing
References				
A	12S		502963.9933	3564662.1309
B	12S		502969.1527	3563939.817
C	12S		502898.5088	3563504.4443
D	12S		502609.5832	3563500.8724
E	12S		502259.5388	3563795.3542
F	12S		502146.0648	3564074.1193
G	12S		502189.2918	3564471.2337
H	12S		502786.193	3564509.7306
I	12S		502765.5554	3564645.859

3. Verbal Boundary Description:

The Los Barrios Viejos National Historic Landmark District is roughly bounded by East McCormick Street and West Cushing Street to the north; South 6th Avenue and South Russell Avenue to the east; West 21st Street and West 19th Street to the south (excluding Santa Rosa Park); as well as South Osborne Avenue, South 11th Avenue, and the western edge of Barrio El Hoyo to the west.

4. Boundary Justification:

The boundaries of the Los Barrios Viejos National Historic Landmark District (NHL District) enclose the highest concentration of intact architectural resources within the City of Tucson’s (city) oldest extant barrios (neighborhoods). These resources are representative of the city’s early growth and show its transition from a Sonoran Mexican settlement into a Southwestern American city. Within the boundary are included the Barrio Calle Meyer and Convento (“Barrio Libre”—see below), Barrio El Hoyo, Barrio Santa Rosa, and portions of Armory Park.

Most of the district’s northern boundary is formed by West Cushing Street. This represents the northern truncated terminus of Los Barrios Viejos and the southern edge of midcentury urban renewal that

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demolished many of Tucson's oldest barrios to make way for the Tucson Community Center (TCC), now called the Tucson Convention Center. Portions of the boundary have been extended further north to include blocks that survived demolition and contain important institutions to the history of the district's residents. The district's eastern boundary is formed by South 6th Avenue and South Russell Avenue. This boundary includes portions of Armory Park that share a cultural and architectural heritage with the district and omits portions of South 6th Avenue that have been lost to auto-related commercial development. The district's southern boundary is drawn along West 21st Street and East 19th Street to encompass the most intact portions of Barrio Santa Rosa and exclude Santa Rosa Park which has been repeatedly redeveloped into the modern era. The western boundary of the district is formed by the barrios' most westerly residential development and follows the western border of the Elysian Grove Subdivision (today Barrio El Hoyo) and the Southwestern Addition (today also part of Barrio El Hoyo).

It should be noted that the rigid borders and names of these barrios are, in many cases, a result of modern documentation and have historically proven to be both fluid and subjective to the barrios' different population groups. When urban renewal began removing streets, buildings, and residences in the late 1960s and early 1970s, three out of the four barrios located in Los Barrios Viejos had recognizable names: El Hoyo, Santa Rosa, and Armory Park. But, over the last 50 years, the largest and oldest barrio in the center of these has been referred differently by various interests. Bounded by Cushing Street on the north, this barrio was originally inseparable from the area further north destroyed by urban renewal and was considered an extension of the project area also targeted for demolition. Historian Dr. Lydia R. Otero refers to this area as *La Calle* ("The Street") and notes that, "[a]lthough urban renewal documents often refer to this [urban renewal] area as a single barrio, namely Barrio Libre, the eighty acres that were bulldozed encompassed a complicated geographical amalgam of several barrios and La Calle, which Tucsonenses [—a self-identifier for Tucson's long-standing Mexican community—] claimed as their downtown."⁶ Thus, the portion that survived because it fell outside the Pueblo Center Redevelopment Project (urban renewal boundaries), found itself separated from La Calle, and entered a period of (re)defining itself through a series name changes.

The area that most Tucsonenses would come to know as La Calle was often called Barrio Libre in the late nineteenth century—mostly by those who intentionally sought to highlight what they considered the immoral and disagreeable aspects of the ethnic communities who lived there. According to historian Thomas Sheridan, however, by 1940, the area immediately south of downtown came to be known by a variety of names such La Convento after South Convent Avenue or La Calle Meyer after South Meyer Avenue: both streets with high retail activity and pedestrian traffic. He also noted that by 1940, Barrio Libre had moved farther south.⁷ Sheridan pointed out the difficulty or subjective nature of locating Barrio Libre: "[d]espite the high visibility in the press... the exact location of Barrio Libre is difficult to pinpoint."⁸ He described it as a "wandering barrio... something of a moveable feast, steadily moving southward as Tucson grew."⁹ To complicate matters further, Sheridan included a map of local barrios in his 1986 book, *Los Tucsonenses* that placed Barrio Libre much farther south, away from downtown, which reflects the tendency of many locals today to refer to an area in the City of South Tucson as "Barrio Libre."¹⁰

⁶ Lydia R. Otero, *La Calle: Spatial Conflicts and Urban Renewal in a Southwest City* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2010), 14.

⁷ Thomas E. Sheridan, *Los Tucsonenses: The Mexican Community in Tucson, 1854—1941* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1986), 237.

⁸ Ibid, 82.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid, 238. See also Figure 3 . Caution must be exercised in referring to the barrio map on page 238. Although based on 1940 U.S.

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In the 1970s, as Mexican Americans took a more pronounced role in Tucson's historic preservation movement, and as the city moved in that same direction, one of its leaders, Arnulfo Trejo publicly insisted that, "[w]e should avoid using the name Barrio Libre. The residents there feel it has a derogatory connotation. The Mexican-Americans don't like it."¹¹ Despite these concerns, the name Barrio Libre was resurrected and the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) nomination for the Barrio Libre Historic District was completed on September 26, 1977 and listed in 1978. Also, in that year, the city approved a Historic Zoning Ordinance that established the Barrio Histórico Historic Zone. It referred to the surviving portion of La Calle in question as Histórico and Viejo (old). This zone also included a few other barrios such as Barrio El Hoyo, Barrio Santa Rosa and others. Subsequently, the neighborhood association that formed, which included Barrio El Hoyo, also began referring to themselves as Histórico and more recently as Viejo.

It is important to retain this area's historical and physical connection to La Calle. Its relationship to the 80 acres demolished during urban renewal is also critical. Indeed, a prominent 1972 architectural report claims that this area stands as "the sole reminder of a Tucson that existed a century ago."¹² Meyer and Convent Avenues shared many similarities with the area destroyed by urban renewal, including high residential density, retail activity, and both are architectural and cultural expressions of the area destroyed. These streets, and Main Street, ran unabated and served a vital role in connecting neighborhoods to the south with downtown before urban renewal. People like Guadalupe Castillo, who was born and raised in the area and who went on to teach history at the local community college provide important insight regarding the importance and specificity involved in naming places, "I never heard it called 'Barrio Libre,'" and "I never heard it called 'Barrio Viejo.' I never heard anyone in my family call it any of those names. They referred to specific places: Suey's [Market], Del Monte Market, and La Calle Meyer or La Calle Convento. Each place had its own specific name."¹³ Describing and illuminating the characteristics associated with this distinguished barrio requires referring to it by a name that has persisted over time, and that can be in oral histories and the archives. Two prominent streets anchor this area's geographical and historical past, and, in this nomination, we will refer to this area as Barrio Calle Meyer and Convento.

Census information, it incorporated the contemporary names of the barrios, most notably, Barrio Histórico. Also see Armando Durazo, "Barrio Libre: South Tucson Refuge," *Star*, July 16, 1978.

¹¹ "Historical Panel Approaches New Zoning Ordinance," *Citizen*, November 11, 1971, page 40.

¹² Dennis R. Bell et al., *Barrio Historico*, Tucson (Tucson: College of Architecture, University of Arizona, 1972), 1.

¹³ Guadalupe Castillo, videotaped interview with Lydia R. Otero, February 13, 2008, Tucson.

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5. SIGNIFICANCE STATEMENT AND DISCUSSION

INTRODUCTION: SUMMARY STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

The Los Barrios Viejos NHL District is formed from four contiguous barrios located in downtown Tucson, Arizona (Figures 1-3). These barrios are among the City of Tucson's oldest neighborhoods. Together they showcase their collective architectural heritage, as well as the social history of its racially and ethnically diverse populations. Historically, these barrios housed African Americans, Chinese and Chinese Americans, Anglo Americans, and most prominently, Tucsonenses. Moreover, this ethnic and racial heritage is reflected in Los Barrios Viejo's built environment which includes 622 buildings, structures, and sites, during a period of significance stretching from 1862 to 1942 (see Figure 3). The NHL district's period of significance begins with the earliest extant building and ends with the United States' (U.S.) emergence in World War II (WWII). At the onset of WWII, the NHL district was facing political, social, demographic, and physical changes to its composition.

Based on a review of NHL Criteria¹⁴ complimented by NPS thematic studies (see Page 2, Section 2¹⁵), the Los Barrios Viejos NHL District is significant under Criterion 1 for the district's ability to convey its historic associations with *events that have made a significant contribution to, and are identified with, or that outstandingly represent, the broad national patterns of United States history and from which an understanding and appreciation of those patterns may be gained*, and under Criterion 4 for *properties that embody the distinguishing characteristics of an architectural type specimen exceptionally valuable for a study of a period, style, or method of construction, or that represent a significant, distinctive and exceptional entity whose components may lack individual distinction*. Within the NHL Thematic Framework, the applicable areas of significance include Ethnic Heritage, Community Planning and Development, and Architecture¹⁶.

Historically, clay potsherds found at the base of the city's most visible mountain, Sentinel Peak ("A" Mountain), date initial settlement back to more than 4,000 years ago, adding credence to claims that Tucson may be the "oldest continuously inhabited place in the United States".¹⁷ When the Spanish arrived in the late seventeenth century, the Tohono O'odham had established permanent villages, complete with irrigation systems that made possible a flourishing life for some two thousand farmers.¹⁸ In 1848, under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the U.S. acquired most of Arizona but not the southern and most densely populated quarter, which remained part of Mexico's northern state of Sonora. Five years later, the U.S. annexed this area, inhabited by Native Americans and Mexicans who called themselves *Tucsonenses* under the terms of the Gadsden Purchase, or el Tratado de la Mesilla as it was known in Mexico.¹⁹ Although December 30, 1853, marked the official

¹⁴ "National Historic Landmarks." National Parks Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, www.nps.gov/subjects/nationalhistoriclandmarks/write.htm.

¹⁵ *Hispanic Reflections on the American Landscape: Identifying and Interpreting Hispanic Heritage* (Brian D. Joyner, 2009) and *American Latinos and the Making of the United States: A Theme Study* (National Park System Advisory Board American Latino Scholars Expert Panel, 2013).

¹⁶ "NHL Thematic Framework." National Parks Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, www.nps.gov/subjects/nationalhistoriclandmarks/nhl-thematic-framework.htm.

¹⁷ Archaeological evidence also indicates that the Tohono O'odham and Akimel O'odham, who had long inhabited the Tucson area, were rather recent arrivals. Margaret Regan, "What's to Become of Tucson's Birthplace" in *Tucson Weekly*, June 27--July 3, 2002. Declarations about the "oldest continuously inhabited city" are always controversial.

¹⁸ Fay Jackson Smith, John L. Kessell, and Francis F. Fox, *Father Kino in Arizona* (Phoenix: Arizona Historical Foundation, 1966), 14, 44.

¹⁹ Mexican Americans, some of whose families had lived in Southern Arizona before it became a part of the U.S., and who claim this

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transfer of national sovereignty, Mexican troops remained in Tucson until 1856.²⁰ No other U.S. city remained under Mexican control longer, and although Tucsonenses outnumbered Anglo Americans throughout the nineteenth century, by 1920 Anglo Americans became the majority.²¹

Spatial and social separation occurred almost immediately after Tucson was incorporated into the U.S. As the number of Anglo Americans increased, they asserted their dominance by appropriating the most commercially desirable, developed, and established sections of town and surrounding agricultural lands. This shift of power and wealth took place quickly. In 1860, Anglo Americans constituted less than 20 % of Tucson's population, but controlled 87 % of the wealth, setting in motion a dynamic where the more marginalized moved southward and established their own communities.²²

As African and Chinese Americans arrived and settled in the desert city in the late-nineteenth century, business opportunities, social clubs, churches, and ethnic and racial tolerance determined where they settled. Inevitably, they were excluded from Anglo neighborhoods and joined Tucsonenses in Los Barrios Viejos.

In contrast to the department stores, commercial buildings, professional offices, and skyscrapers that emerged and defined the Central Business District (CBD), Los Barrios Viejos's origins were primary residential. Smaller locally owned businesses, often owned by Tucsonenses and recent Chinese arrivals were interspersed throughout the area. Anglo Americans who came to represent the dominant culture, found the Sonoran-influenced adobe architectural forms in Los Barrios Viejos and the residents who shared yards and socialized outside their homes on the stoops and sidewalks objectionable. With the exceptions of South Stone Avenue and 6th Street corridors within Los Barrios Viejos, narrow streets dominated the organizational layout of these neighborhoods, but this did not deter residents from using them to walk downtown, to schools, religious institutions, and entertainment venues. These daily social interactions resulted in a strong attachment to place where residents connected with their neighbors and the physical landscape. Thus, a primary characteristic of Los Barrios Viejos was social interconnectedness.

Current impressions that consider Los Barrios Viejos a part of the downtown landscape overlook geographical considerations that led to their formation and survival. Affordability made Calle Meyer and Convento (Libre) and El Hoyo in particular, desirable to Tucsonenses and other marginalized communities. Social biases that perceived these ethnic neighborhoods as being peripheral to the CBD contributed to lower rents. Businesses and civic leaders invested in residential and commercial development north and east of downtown, allowing the barrios to go unattended and fall into structural decline. In 1962, the local electorate rejected a 395-acre urban renewal plan that would have decimated most of Los Barrios Viejos. Persistent city leaders, however, intent on attending to what they considered "blight," managed to gain approval to move forward with an 80-acre plan in 1966 that targeted urban "problems" closest to the CBD. Again, perceptions of Los Barrio Viejos' remoteness to the CBD contributed to its survival.

area as their home, then and now, identify themselves as "Tucsonenses." A multilayered interrelationship between region and ethnicity and a strong historical and cultural connection with Sonora, Mexico, form the core of this distinctive and unifying identity. See Cynthia Radding, *Wandering Peoples: Colonialism, Ethnic Spaces, and Ecological Frontiers in Northwestern Mexico, 1700--1850* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1997); and Sheridan, *Los Tucsonenses*, for more on this regional identity.

²⁰ Thomas Edwin Farish, *History of Arizona*, 8 vols. (San Francisco: Filmer Brothers Electrotpe, 1915--18), vol. 1:321; Sheridan, *Tucsonenses*, 30, 275n24.

²¹ James E. Officer, "Sodalities and Systemic Linkage: The Joining Habits of Urban Mexican Americans" (PhD diss., University of Arizona, 1964), 57n.

²² Sheridan, *Tucsonenses*, 37.

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Each generation of residents has left their own imprint on Los Barrios Viejos, and until recent years, its hallmark was one of racial, ethnic, and class diversity. Today, Los Barrios Viejos retains the architectural expressions of many of the buildings lost during urban renewal and of Tucson's past stretching back to the mid-nineteenth century. An appreciation of the area's historical value took hold after urban renewal. In keeping with patterns and influences established since its inception, walkability remains high in Los Barrios Viejos, and the influence of nineteenth century architectural designs are evident from the exteriors of new homes being built in the few scattered available lots. That many of these newer buildings have relied on construction materials such as adobe and rammed earth indicate a sustained effort to maintain the practices grounded in sustainability that have endured for more than a hundred years in Los Barrios Viejos.

Criterion 1:

Properties that are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to, and are identified with, or that outstandingly represent, the broad national patterns of United States history and from which an understanding and appreciation of those patterns may be gained.

In 2019, Regina Romero was elected Tucson's mayor. No Mexican American had held that office since 1875, when Arizona was still a territory and Estevan Ochoa won the mayoral race by a landslide.²³ In Tucson, as they did in other regions throughout the West in the nineteenth century, Anglo American settlers immediately asserted their dominance by monopolizing political offices and the economic and social spheres.²⁴ The marginalization of Tucsonenses also became evident in the physical landscape as Anglo Americans took possession of the areas they found most desirable and most economically advantageous. In response, Mexican and Mexican American residents established their own barrios, away from the new arrivals. They settled south around the emerging CBD to an area that became known as "La Calle" or the "Tucsonense downtown." This dynamic resulted in establishing Los Barrios Viejos in the late-nineteenth century.¹³ Here, openly living and celebrating their Mexican American culture, Tucsonenses patronized small retail and service shops, restaurants, and entertainment venues, which had been established to serve their cultural and consumer needs (Figure 4).

PEOPLING AND ESTABLISHING LOS BARRIOS VIEJOS

As early as 1862, as Tucsonenses established homes in Los Barrios Viejos, a few main thoroughfares stood out. Main Avenue, Tucson's El Camino Real, or "Royal Road," that ran through this outlying area led south to Mexico. It connected Tucsonenses and the city to the rest of Southern Arizona, as well as Sonora. At this time, Tucson's streets still had Spanish-language names such as Calle de la India Triste (Street of the Sad Indian Woman) and Calle de la Alegría (Happiness Street) would later be known as Congress Street.²⁵ According to geographers, the city still retained its Sonoran character: "There is little evidence in the street pattern to suggest that Tucson was anything but a rural Mexican village in spite of the early influx of Anglos."²⁶ But by the turn of the century, as the number of Anglo Americans increased, the shift in power became more evident, and as Sheridan asserts, "patterns which began in the 1850's—geographic segregation, political and economic subordination—shaped and limited the lives of most Mexicans in Tucson. The town which had once been

²³ Sheridan, *Los Tucsonenses*, 43.

²⁴ The decline of Tucsonenses' social and economic influence was spearheaded by merchants who arrived with wagonloads of new merchandise and new ways of doing business. David Montejano argues that merchants served as "intermediaries" between the new and old economic order. They arrived early, often married women from the elite, and learned to speak Spanish, but, despite acquiring a bicultural background, they "plant[ed] the foundation for a complete transformation." See Montejano, *Anglos and Mexicans in the Making of Texas, 1836--1986* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1997), 25.

²⁵ "80-Year-Old Map First of Tucson," *Citizen*, January 11, 1943, 9.

²⁶ Thomas F. Saarinen, John Crawford, and Karen Thomas, "Street Patterns and Housing as Ethnic Indicators," in Saarinen and Lay J. Gibson, eds., *Territorial Tucson*, Tucson, n.d. (unpublished manuscript in possession of T. F. Saaringen), 6--4.

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bicultural slowly became a community of ethnic enclaves...”²⁷

As Tucsonenses faced downward mobility, they looked to each other for support. Historian Richard Griswold del Castillo argues that barrios provided an escape and that the “creation of the barrio was a positive accomplishment... [t]he barrio gave a geographical identity, a feeling of being at home, to the dispossessed and poor. It was a place that offered security in the midst of the city’s social and economic turmoil.”²⁸

Tucsonenses preference for sites of cultural affirmation gave rise to La Calle and the nearby barrios such as those within Los Barrio Viejos. The resultant architectural forms and street layouts that radiated southward indicate a quest to reaffirm and maintain Tucsonenses’ older cultural priorities in their new spaces. Not only did they choose to live with others like themselves; they also created a landscape that looked and felt like their homes in Sonora or in Tucson before the arrival of Anglos. Smaller service and commercial businesses emerged to cater to the needs of the large population of Mexican Americans, such as shoe repair shops, restaurants, *panaderias* (bakeries), grocery stores owned mostly by Chinese Americans, tortilla factories, and meat markets. Barrio residents bought tamales, vegetables, *cimarronas* (snow cones), and other foods from the street vendors on its corners.²⁹ Indeed, since the late-nineteenth century, South Meyer Avenue served as “the commercial axis around which the southern barrios turned”³⁰ (Figure 5).

Until the early-twentieth century, Tucsonenses maintained a large demographic presence and outnumbered Anglo Americans within Tucson as a whole. Between 1900 and 1920, the population of Mexican Americans in the city nearly doubled, to just under 7,500. During those same two decades, the Anglo-American population also grew, and Tucson’s total population nearly tripled to more than 20,300. By 1920, Anglo Americans became the demographic majority and, “Mexicans had finally become a minority in the community they had founded, roughly 37 % of Tucson’s rapidly growing population.” This population shift had dire consequences for most Mexican people. They moved south into established barrios and created new ones that increasingly became more socially and physically distant from Tucson’s emerging Anglo American neighborhoods.

In newer and more upscale sections of the city, the Hispanic visibility and presence decreased after 1920. They remained, however, the majority population in Los Barrios Viejos well into the 1990s. Houses that once belonged to established Tucsonense families such as the Montijos, Carrillos and others changed ownership multiple times and larger homes were subdivided into apartments to house the increasing number of residents. Such is the case for Pedro and Elena Pellón who on August 7, 1880, purchased a lot on the southwest corner of Convent and Simpson Street at 370 S. Convent Street (Lot 1, Block 236). They paid \$510.00 for the lot, built a house, and raised their family there for the next thirty years. They grew fruits and vegetables in their yard and at one point, they kept fourteen cows on their property and allowed them to graze in what was then grassland west of Main Street. In 1904, the Pellón barn and stables caught fire. The structures and fifteen tons of hay burned and the family had a difficult time making up the losses. Pedro died in 1911 and Elena passed in 1928.³¹ By 1964, four apartments stood on the former Pellón homesite. In February of that year, another fire devastated the

²⁷ Sheridan, *Los Tucsonenses*, 87.

²⁸ Richard Griswold del Castillo, *The Los Angeles Barrio, 1850--1890: A Social History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 150.

²⁹ Otero, *La Calle*, 28-29.

³⁰ Sheridan, *Los Tucsonenses*, 186.

³¹ Pedro Pellón was a Spanish immigrant. His death certificate dated, February 28, 1911 lists his address as 370 Convent. For more background on the Pellóns, see Grace, Ruthann. "DON PEDRO PELLÓN: Tucson's Pioneer Actor and Activist," *The Journal of Arizona History* 57, No. 2 (2016): 153-96. Information about the land purchase is discussed on p. 172. See p. 183 for more about the fire. Footnote 64 mentions that Pedro's brother-in-law, Manuel Montijo and his family resided at 116 West Crushing Street, on the southwest corner of Cushing and Convent Street.

apartments, and 28 occupants were displaced and left without a home.³²

NEW PEOPLES AND NEIGHBORS IN LOS BARRIOS VIEJOS: AFRICAN AMERICANS

The first African American family, Wiley and Hannah Box, arrived in Tucson between 1850 and 1855.³³ Even at this early date in the city's history, residential patterns that would become more pronounced as the town expanded were set in motion. The Box family moved south of the emerging CBD and they purchased a home and lived on South Convent Avenue within Barrio Calle Meyer and Convento.³⁴ In 1866, Charlie Embers arrived when he was seventeen, followed by Emmet Woodley in 1869 (Figure 6). Both married Tucsonense women.³⁵ Dozens more arrived after serving in the U.S. military's quest to subdue Native Americans during the "Indian Wars" (1870-1886). Racial restrictions meant that most African Americans were assigned to segregated units such as the 9th Cavalry, 10th Cavalry, 24th Infantry and 25th Infantry. Regiments of African Americans were stationed at military encampments near Tucson such as Fort Huachuca, Fort Apache in San Carlos, Fort Grant, and Camp Naco.³⁶ After their discharge, many single men decided to stay in the west and made a home for themselves in Tucson.

By the turn of the new century, African Americans had reached the population density and clout to form a local African Methodist (AME) congregation. A report in the Tucson newspaper in 1900 confirms the existence of "the African Methodist old school building on East Congress."³⁷ Still, African Americans faced racist policies and practices, including one that prevented them from serving as jurors on a city and county level until 1907.³⁸ Prior to 1913, many African Americans attended the Drachman School located on South Convent Avenue within Barrio Calle Meyer and Convento (Libre), but after Arizona became the 48th U.S. state, the local school district mandated that they attend separate schools. Local schools did not reintegrate until 1951.³⁹ The few African American Catholics in Tucson worshiped at the nearby St Augustine's parish and attended the Marist College.

Restrictive Housing outside Los Barrios Viejos

In Tucson, as in most cities throughout the U.S., a variety of zoning and other municipal ordinances empowered city officials to treat diverse ethnic groups and economic classes of people differently. In 1938, a group requested that local agencies "protect" their neighborhood. The headline in the *Arizona Daily Star* read, "No Color Line Found in City: Lack of Restriction for Colored Residents Is Indicated." Couching their racism in the language of market imperatives, Anglo American homeowners appealed to the city council to provide

³² "Fire Guts Apartments, Leaving 28 Homeless," *Arizona Daily Star*, 17 February 1964, page 9.

³³ James Walter Yancy, "The Negro of Tucson, Past and Present" (Master's thesis, University of Arizona, 1933), 14. Yancy claims that there is no "no record" of the African American population in Tucson before 1900, see Footnote 13.

³⁴ *Ibid*, 14. Unfortunately, the exact street number is lost to history.

³⁵ *Ibid*, 15. The racial and legal ramifications of Woodley's marriage to Leonicia in 1872 is discussed in Sal Acosta's, *Sanctioning Matrimony: Western Expansion and Interethnic Marriage in the Arizona Borderlands* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2016), 3.

³⁶ "The Buffalo Soldiers of Fort Huachuca: African-American Soldiers in the West" at <https://www.azcentral.com/story/travel/arizona/road-trips/2018/09/10/fort-huachuca-arizona-buffalo-soldiers/953088002/> accessed June 12, 2020; "Old Regiment has Birthday: 25th Infantry Observes its 70th Anniversary Next Thursday," *Star*, 15 April 1939, 2.

³⁷ "Places of Worship," *Star*, 27 May 1900, 4. Not much is known about this church except that the A.M.E. pastor from Phoenix spent weeks at a time with the congregation and that the church stood opposite Corbett's Hardware Store. See "Additional Local," *Star*, 28 July 1903, 5. A year later, the paper reported a "Colored Church" met at the Grand Army of the Republic (G.A.R.) Hall, a fraternal organization for veterans of the U.S. Civil War located at the corner of Jackson Street and Convent Avenue. See *Star*, 31 January 1904, 6.

³⁸ "Heard in Passing," 4 May 1907, 8. Like several other cities in the U.S., African American men could serve on juries in Tucson before woman suffrage.

³⁹ For more information see Aloma J. Barnes, *Dunbar: The Neighborhood, the School, and the People, 1940-1965* (Tucson: Wheatmark, 2016).

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“protection from the erection of homes for Negroes in their neighborhoods... It was not a matter of race prejudice, but rather the facing of the inevitable lowering in their property values which always follows the occupation of a district by Negroes.” The city council responded that, under both the U.S. Constitution and the Arizona Constitution, “the city had no power to place restrictions on property ownership and residence for race or color.” Deputy Real Estate Commissioner William F. Kimball proposed a workable alternative, however: “the subdivider of [a neighborhood], or later,... all the property owners acting together” could enter into “a form of contractive restriction agreement”—or covenant—which, if “properly drawn” would achieve the same end, namely, racially homogeneous white neighborhoods.⁴⁰

In a 1942 study, sociologist John Kestner Goodman found that Tucson realtors refused to show homes to African and Mexican Americans, particularly in newer, middle-class, Anglo American areas where deed restrictions were in place.⁴¹ As the city grew, more neighborhoods included these types of racial deed restrictions and in 1946, Harry T. Getty identified eighty-three locations under restrictive covenant throughout the city. Clearly, Anglo American Tucsonans had followed Kimball’s advice.⁴² All these covenants included specific racial exclusions, such as “restricted to whites,” “restricted against other than whites,” or “restricted against ‘persons of African, Mongolian, or Mexican descent,’” designed to establish racial boundaries in Tucson and to keep them intact and self-perpetuating.⁴³

These exclusionary patterns were most evident in the developing suburbs, but Los Barrios Viejos did not follow such patterns. African Americans, particularly those from the working-class, and single men from the surrounding military bases gravitated to the cheaper rents offered in the barrios helping to contribute to their multi-cultural character and diverse institutions.

In 1933, University of Arizona master’s student James Walter Yancy wrote “The Negro of Tucson, Past and Present.” This thesis integrated primary documents, census data, a survey, and site visits. Yancy claimed to have interviewed close to a hundred informants and to have collected 317 surveys, making this thesis seminal for learning more about African Americans before 1930 (Figures 7 and 8).⁴⁴

The rate of African American home ownership was certainly “dismal.” Although Yancy did not include any maps of Tucson, he used tax records to determine that in 1930 only 86 families owned their home and that 223 families rented their homes.⁴⁵ If 1,003 African Americans lived in Tucson in 1930, extrapolating from Yancy’s data based on “families” meant that he did not account for 373 residents. He also estimated that 60% of African Americans resided in the Dunbar neighborhood north of the CBD and points to two other neighborhoods that

⁴⁰ “No Color Line Found in City: Lack of Restriction for Colored Residents Is Indicated,” *Star*, 5 May 1938, 2.

⁴¹ John Kestner Goodman, “Race and Race Mixture as the Basis of Social Status in Tucson, Arizona” (Master’s thesis, Yale University, 1942), 72. Federal Housing Administration (FHA) policies also played a large role in enforcing racial boundaries. Lenders were instructed to consider a neighborhood’s “character” when issuing mortgages. The FHA encouraged the implementation of restrictive covenants to protect “against undesirable encroachment.” See “Zone Control Needed for New Areas,” *Star*, 17 August 1941, 9.

⁴² Note that Tucsonan is a demonym for any resident of Tucson unlike Tucsonenses which demarcates only the city’s longstanding Mexican American residents.

⁴³ Harry Thomas Getty, *Interethnic Relationships in the Community of Tucson* (New York: Arno Press, 1976), 141.

⁴⁴ Yancy, “Negro in Tucson,” 2.

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, 54. On page 55, Yancy surmised that the “...average size of the Negro family in Tucson is 2.03.” Taking this information into consideration, 86 homeowners and 223 renters would yield about 630 residents. Thus, Yancy fails to account for 370 residents in 1930. On pages 65-67 he discusses “lodgers,” those who rented rooms or shared a room in houses with the proprietary family although he offers no residential data for them.

housed 35% of the population.⁴⁶ The remaining 5%, he claimed were scattered across the city, in districts “not entirely composed of any one race, but are composed of a composite of races.”⁴⁷ Racial restrictions and attitudes severely limited African American residential options and Yancy did not venture to estimate how many African American residents lived in Los Barrios Viejos during the early decades of the twentieth century.⁴⁸ By 1940, 1,678 African Americans made up 4.56% of the city’s growing population.⁴⁹

Expressions of African American Cultural Values in Los Barrios Viejos

Several buildings within Los Barrios Viejos were crucial to the African American community residing in the area, as well as individuals scattered throughout the city. Oral history interviews conducted in 2020 with former members of the local African American community indicated that they lived on South Meyer Avenue, as well as West Cushing Street and Main Street.⁵⁰ Residents recalled an active community social life circulating around clubs and other institutions within Los Barrios Viejos. Buildings remaining from this era have continued to serve as a reminder of collective gatherings and activism that helped to define the community during the period of significance.

Prince Chapel of African Methodist Episcopal Church (531 South Convent Avenue)

In March 1909, a letter from church elder and acting pastor of the Arizona African Methodists, Reverend W.H. Prince appeared in the local paper asking “white friends and sympathizers” to contribute towards building a church. In his appeal, Reverend Prince stated that, “Our people are few and of very limited means, having come to these western towns seeking homes and a livelihood...”⁵¹ In a month, the AME congregation had raised \$300.00 to invest in a site to build a new Prince Chapel of African Methodists Church. The AME Board of Trustees purchased a corner lot that measured 50 by 83 feet on 17th Street and Convent Avenue (Figure 9).⁵² The group immediately started constructing the 27 by 43 feet brick Prince Chapel. It was plastered white and was designed to seat 200 people. The Trustees hoped to open as soon as possible and expressed plans to add a tower and more imposing entrance at a later date.⁵³

The city’s second African American church, Prince Chapel opened on April 3, 1910. Reports estimated that it had cost around \$3,000.00 to build. The new church opened to a large crowd and many of whom the newspaper

⁴⁶ Ibid, 46. On page 47, Yancy projected that 25% of the African American population lived between 5th and 6th Streets extending from 4th Avenue to Stone Avenue and that another 10% lived south of 6th Avenue before the railroad tracks on 22nd and 24th Streets. Barnes states that other African American neighborhoods such as A-Mountain and South Park became established, “Sometime between 1938 and the early 1940s.” *Dunbar*, 58. African Americans started moving to Sugar Hill after WWII.

⁴⁷ Ibid, 47. Yancy may have avoided the Barrios Viejos neighborhoods because most residents were from the lower classes. He used the term “degenerate” to describe a restaurant located south of the CBD.

⁴⁸ Bernard J. Wilson, *The Black Residents of Tucson and Their Achievements, 1860-1900: A Reference Guide* (Tucson: Bernard Wilson, 2007).

⁴⁹ Amelia Breit, “Problems of Negro Youth in Tucson,” (Master’s thesis, University of Arizona, 1947), 7. The author used U.S. Census data and information from the Chamber of Commerce to arrive at this number. During the war, African Americans continued to arrive in Tucson and in 1946 their population jumped to 2,800 in a city whose population reached 56,781; a 0.4% increase according to Breit.

⁵⁰ The interviews took place at the Dunbar School reunion that took place at the Dunbar Pavilion on Saturday, January 18, 2020.

⁵¹ “A Plea for Money to Build A Church,” *Star*, 14 March, 1909, 10. To learn more about the reverend, see Richard Robert Wright and John Russell Hawkins, “Rev. W.H. Prince,” *Centennial Encyclopedia of the African Methodist Episcopal Church* (Philadelphia: AME Church, 1916), Volume 1, 180. Reverend Prince also spearheaded to efforts to build other AME churches in Arizona by purchasing lots in Clifton and Douglas.

⁵² “Lot Paid For; New Preacher Coming,” *Star*, 16 June 1909, 8. Despite the headline, the AME Board of Trustees still owed a balance of \$250.00. The new preacher, Reverend Ratcliff Hughes arrived a few months later, see “New Preacher,” *Star*, 10 August 1909, 7.

⁵³ “City Briefs,” *Star*, 8 March 1910, 7.

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considered “the most prominent white residents in the city” were in attendance.⁵⁴ The new church provided a meeting space and a month after opening, the Prince Chapel posted an “Important Notice” in the paper requesting that all African Americans attend a meeting at the church to start preparing for an Emancipation Day Celebration (now known as Juneteenth) scheduled for June 19.⁵⁵

In 1918, the AME congregation celebrated their final mortgage payment by publicly burning the loan documents at a rally held at the church.⁵⁶ Many gravitated towards Prince Chapel activities and events and in 1922, the local press reported that a visiting minstrel troupe (of which many appeared in Tucson) attended services at the church.⁵⁷ Presumably in good financial standing, the AME Board of Trustees had the wherewithal to grow their congregation and plan for a new church. They purchased a large lot two blocks east from Prince Chapel on 17th Street and Stone Avenue.⁵⁸ In July of that year, the women from congregation staged an outside carnival on the lot to fundraise for the church.⁵⁹

In 1926, the church pastor, Reverend E.C. Cox, launched a new program to better serve community needs. He stressed that the church move toward becoming more of a “social center” where African Americans new to Tucson could meet “the other people of their race.” He also envisioned an employment agency that would make it easier for employers to hire African Americans, and also promised to provide a “day nursery” or childcare center for working mothers. He also called for a reading room in the chapel. In short, Reverend Cox wanted the AME Chapel to serve as “seven day church” and make the building and its services more available, ensuring that African Americans were present, and visible on barrio streets on weekdays.⁶⁰

In 1930, the Prince Chapel was the largest African American Church in Tucson. Its membership surpassed others and the value of the real estate the AME owned outpaced that of the other African American churches, including owning two homes along W 17th Street between Convent and Stone Avenues at 19 and 25 W 17th Streets within Los Barrios Viejos. Prince Chapel paid their pastor an annual salary of \$1,400.00 and also offered them a furnished home located nearby.⁶¹ That same year, the Prince Chapel announced plans for a new chapel.⁶²

The financial hardship wrought by the Great Depression made building a new church difficult. The “new” Prince Chapel AME Church would not open until 1941. Until then, the church on Convent Avenue and 17th Street still held religious services and classes that helped African Americans survive economic hard times. But once the congregation had set their sights on a new church, the current one seemed constricting. The congregation even started holding their larger fundraising efforts in other sites and auditoriums (Figure 10).

In early February of 1941, a fire damaged the Prince Chapel, and the congregation began to hold its Sunday

⁵⁴ “New Church Opened by Colored People: Many Prominent White People Attend Services at African Methodists Church,” *Star*, 7 April 1910, 8. A Second Baptist Church was located at the corner of 6th Street and Seventh Avenue. See *Star*, 2 February 1909, 7.

⁵⁵ “Important Notice,” *Star*, 31 May 1910, 5.

⁵⁶ “Will Pay Mortgage,” *Star*, 16 April 1918, 4.

⁵⁷ “Minstrels to Church,” *Star*, 15 January 1922, 2.

⁵⁸ “Flag Dedication Exercises Today at Negro Church,” *Star*, 7 June 1923, 3. The congregation would eventually build a parsonage on this lot.

⁵⁹ “AME Church will Present a Carnival Tonight,” *Star*, 7 July 1922, 2.

⁶⁰ “Negroes’ Bureau Will Care for Need of People,” *Star*, 1 June 1926, 3. In large part, Reverend Cox wanted to increase the church’s membership and to provide a service for white employers by prescreening potential employees.

⁶¹ Yancy, “The Negro of Tucson,” 111-112. He also reports that the church could seat 185 parishioners and its membership numbered 165.

⁶² “Proposed New Prince Chapel Building,” *Star*, 23 May 1930, 7. Church representatives provided the *Star* a rendering of the proposed structure.

services at the Drachman School auditorium few blocks away from their church.⁶³ They met there until the new church opened nine months later (Figure 11). It is unclear whether the AME Board of Trustees sold or leased the original building but in 1944 the South Side Mission Church of God held services there for several years.⁶⁴ When the church became a residence also remains unclear but in 1975 a diminutive advertisement in the local paper relates that a private owner was selling their property described as, “Former church in Barrio. Needs work. Corner lot 17th & Convent” (Figure 12).⁶⁵

Prince Chapel of African Methodist Episcopal Church (602 South Stone Avenue)

In 1930, the Prince Chapel announced plans for a new chapel building and renderings of the proposed building appeared in the newspaper (Figure 13).⁶⁶ They had purchased a large lot on South Stone Avenue and 17th Street early in the 1920s on which they built a parsonage.⁶⁷ In 1939, the congregation finally embarked on their long-awaited project, after years of fundraising by laying the foundation and basement for \$20,000.⁶⁸

The AME congregation held a ceremonial laying of the cornerstone for their new church in April 1941 and announced that their brick church would be completed in the summer.⁶⁹ The second Prince Chapel opened on Sunday, August 17, 1941 (Figure 14). Numerous religious dignitaries attended and gave celebratory speeches. The church was designed by Henry O. Jaastad, an immigrant from Norway who designed many homes, churches, public buildings, and schools throughout Tucson.⁷⁰ The vaulted interior, tile roof and prominent tower that graced the chapel set it apart from its former church and could accommodate 300 persons.⁷¹ Jaastad, the architect who designed the church had become the city’s mayor by this time, also spoke at the dedication.⁷²

The attack on Pearl Harbor took place less than four months after the second Prince Chapel church opened. That event coupled with the ensuing war made launching and sustaining Prince Chapel membership difficult as a result of limited funds. The congregation also faced more competition with other neighborhood churches. In 1941, three other African American churches had been established and were holding services in rapidly growing African American residential neighborhoods.⁷³ When the church celebrated its first anniversary in 1942, the congregation was still financing unpaid construction costs, although fundraising efforts were comparatively fast for the financial constraints most members faced.⁷⁴

During the war, the Prince Chapel staged patriotic events, and continued to invite guest speakers, religious leaders, and choruses. It also became actively engaged in Veteran’s rights, including finding housing and employment after the war ended.⁷⁵ During this same period, the congregation also formed an alliance with the

⁶³ *Star*, 8 February 1941, 3.

⁶⁴ *Star*, 30 April 1944, 21.

⁶⁵ *Star*, 6 December 1975, 43.

⁶⁶ “Proposed New Prince Chapel Building,” *Star*, 23 May 1930, 7.

⁶⁷ AME. Seeks Fund to Build Parsonage,” *Star*, 9 January 1929, 2. The parsonage once stood at 574 South Stone. It was destroyed by a fire in November 1929.

⁶⁸ “City Building Circles Active: New \$20,000 Church Heads Past Week’s List of Improvements,” *Star*, 5 May 1939, 6.

⁶⁹ “Prince Chapel A.M.E. to Lay Cornerstone,” *Star*, 26 April 1941, 11.

⁷⁰ “City Building Circles Active: New \$20,000 Church Heads Past Week’s List of Improvements,” *Star*, 5 May 1939, 6.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* *Star*, 5 May 1939, 6.

⁷² “Dedication for Chapel Planned,” *Star*, 15 August 1941, 4. Also see, “Prince Chapel is Opening Building,” *Star*, 17 August 1941, 2.

⁷³ The other churches were Church of God in Christ at 728 N. 10th Avenue, AME. at 122 W. 4th Street, and Mt. Calvary Baptist at 635 N. 10th Avenue. See “Colored,” *Star*, 21 February 1941, 11.

⁷⁴ “Huachuca Guest to Give Sermon,” *Star*, 17 August 1942, 1942, 7. The paper stated that \$8,000.00 had been raised in the last year as payment “toward the initial costs of \$20,000” which is a 40% reduction in the Prince Chapel loan over just one year.

⁷⁵ “Prince Chapel has Jubilee Week Here With Two Services,” *Star*, 3 March 1946, 3.

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Jewish Temple Emanu-el located next door.⁷⁶

Pilgrims Rest Elks Lodge #601 (The Improved, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks of the World) (380 South Meyer Avenue)

One of the few fraternal organizations that allowed African Americans, albeit in segregated chapters, was the Improved, Benevolent and Protective Order of the Elks of the World (IBPOEW). The African American Elks lodge in Tucson formed in the late 1920s. On June 11, 1928, the “Colored” Elks Pilgrims Rest Lodge conducted ceremonies at the Prince AME Church.⁷⁷ The next summer, they held a long-anticipated dance at the Alianza Hispano-Americana Hall downtown.⁷⁸ Within the next two years, they were meeting on Meyer Street within Los Barrios Viejos (Figure 15).⁷⁹ The date when the building at 380 South Meyer Avenue became the Elks Lodge remains uncertain, and newspaper announcements for their various meetings and events only referenced the “Elks Club on Meyer.” The historical marker on the site states that the Elks acquired the building in 1937 (Figure 16).

A search of the two major archives in Tucson, the Arizona Historical Society and Special Collections at the University of Arizona (UA), produced surprisingly little, if any at all documentary evidence on the lodge or African American Elks. But in 1932, as a statement to their network and connections, when the local group commemorated the 69th anniversary of Texas emancipation, now known as Juneteenth, by challenging the 25th Infantry group from Nogales to a baseball game, the event drew 350 spectators. Supporters came as far from Douglas, Fort Huachuca and Nogales to witness the two teams compete.⁸⁰ Although the local Elks lodge remains relatively absent from the archives, African American Elks would have held substantial influence in the region as a social and business networking venue for the community.

The IBPOEW organized nationally in 1898. Like the all-Anglo American Elks fraternal organizations, entertainment and social events dominated their agendas, as they did for African American Elk lodges. By the 1930s, most of IBPOEW members had been influenced by movements such as the Harlem Renaissance of the previous decade and they work to advance a positive black identity and called for full citizenship rights. Early in 1932, Tucson’s leading newspaper, *The Star*, ran a lengthy article on fraternal organizations and their importance. They referenced the various Elks organizations and among them was the “I.B.P.O. E. of the World.”⁸¹ Later that same year the African American Elks named its baseball team, IBPOE.⁸² According to historian Venus Green, most of its IBOPOEW were working class African Americans who sought solidarity through, “[c]ross-class alliances, male–female solidarity, racial unity, and a willingness to join ideologically mixed coalitions and to engage in multiple forms of struggle, especially militant mass mobilization, distinguished Elk labor activism from that of other fraternal orders during the 1930s and 1940s.”⁸³ In 1941, the Daughter Elks’ IBPOEW, celebrated their fourteenth anniversary at the Lodge #601. This group provided women a means to participate in the group and they did not need to be related to a male member to gain

⁷⁶ Rabbi Joseph Gumbiner gave a talk titled “Our Common American Heritage” at the Prince Chapel. See *Star*, 27 April 1946, 2.

⁷⁷ *Star*, 11 June 1928, 3.

⁷⁸ “Tucson Topics,” *Star*, 23 July 1929, 2. The paper referred to the dance being held at the “Spanish-American Hall.” It was located at 129 W. Congress Street and the Alianza Building was considered the “center of Mexican American culture and society.” See Otero, *La Calle*, 35.

⁷⁹ *Star*, 27 August 1931, 3.

⁸⁰ “Nogales Negro Club Defeats Local Elks, 26-8,” *Star*, 21 June 1932, 7. The paper refers to the group simply as the “local Colored Elks.”

⁸¹ “Tucson Lodges Able to Boast of Fine Homes,” *Star*, 20 February 1932, 50.

⁸² “Change Name,” *Star*, 10 May 1932, 7.

⁸³ Venus Green, “Not Your Average Fraternal Organization: The IBPOEW and Labor Activism, 1935–1950,” *Labor History*, 53, No. 4 (2012): 471-494, 471.

admittance. This news article indicated the celebration mentioned that the women's group started in 1927.⁸⁴

During WWII, Lodge #601 formed a strong alliance with the African American Charles Young American Legion post; membership in both groups often overlapped. The Elks hosted parties for those joining the military and sponsored dances for the "negro" soldiers of the 25th Infantry Stationed at the local Davis-Monthan airbase.⁸⁵ They marched in patriotic parades and passed out nuts and candy gift bags and fruit to the Dunbar students for Christmas.⁸⁶ African Americans stationed in military bases in and around Tucson gravitated toward the Elks Club.⁸⁷ In turn, the Elks held more evening events and began inviting more well-known orchestras and performers. After the war, the Elks club shifted its focus to more entertainment programs (Figures 17 and 18).

The IBPOEW members championed civil rights and the organization merits additional archival attention and research, although little information was found in local repositories. Beyond the scope of this nomination's period of significance are two events that stand out and illuminate racial relationships within Tucson. In 1957, the IBOEW were the first African American group that dared to level public accusations of police brutality against the police department.⁸⁸ And, in 1965 they held a regional conference of the IBPOEW that culminated in a parade through downtown. About 500 members marched and more than 1,000 spectators lined the streets to witness the procession.⁸⁹ The Elks Club met at 380 S. Meyer Avenue until the early 1980s.

Birthplace of Ulysses Kay (586 South Main Street)

Ulysses Simpson Kay (1917-1995) was a famous musical composer from Tucson (Figure 19). Born on January 7, 1917 into a musical family, his maternal uncle King Oliver was a well-known jazz trumpet player. His father, Ulysses Sam Kay operated a barber shop in the CBD for African Americans.⁹⁰ Kay was a musical prodigy. He played jazz saxophone as a youth and later turned to piano and violin. At 12 years old, Kay wowed local audiences with his talent and versatility. The newspaper noted that the 12-year old played a full recital of Bach, Schubert, Mozart and others from memory.⁹¹ As a child, local racial restrictions required that Kay enroll in Dunbar, a segregated elementary and junior high school before entering Tucson High School. He graduated in 1934 followed by attendance at the UA, the Eastman School of Music at Rochester University, Yale and Columbia universities. His career skyrocketed and his talent brought him numerous national and international honors.⁹²

In 1947, at 30 years old, Kay was featured in *Vogue Magazine* as someone "changing trends within their fields."⁹³ In 1957, he returned to Tucson as a guest conductor for the Tucson symphony and his return was covered by *Time Magazine*. On average, Kay's recitals drew more than more than 2,000 attendees to his

⁸⁴ *Star*, 22 May 1941, 4.

⁸⁵ *Star*, 30 January 1942, 2.

⁸⁶ "Dunbar Holding Christmas Party," *Star*, 15 December 1944, 14. The IBPOE uniformed drill team along with the Dunbar drum and bugle corps also marched in parades, see "Soldier Dead of World War I are Honored Armistice Day," *Star*, 7 November 1940, 4.

⁸⁷ *Star*, 28 October 1938, 2.

⁸⁸ Fritz Kessinger, "Club Officers Say Police 'Violent,'" *Citizen*, 26 December 1957, 28.

⁸⁹ "Elks Finish Convention in Parade," *Star*, 26 June 1966, 10.

⁹⁰ *Encyclopedia Britannica*, "Ulysses Kay," at <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Ulysses-Kay>. Accessed June 20, 2020. Also see Constance Tibbs Hobson and Deborah A. Richardson, *Ulysses Kay: A Bio-bibliography* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1994). This book also includes a discography of Kay's music. Regarding his father, see "Ulysses S. Kay, Once Barber Here, is Dead," *Star*, 12 September 1935, 5.

⁹¹ "Youthful Negro will Entertain: Full Recital from Memory is Achievement of Young Ulysses S. Kay," *Star*, 1 June 1930, 4. The paper also featured a photo of the 12-year-old.

⁹² "Composer Ulysses Kay Dies at 78," *Star*, 3 May 1995, 4.

⁹³ "Vogue Magazine Lauds Ulysses Kay," *Star*, 29 August 1947, 19.

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performances.⁹⁴

During his lifetime, Kay “wrote more than one hundred forty compositions in a wide range of forms—five operas, over twenty large orchestral works, more than thirty choral compositions, fifteen chamber works, a ballet, and numerous other compositions for voice, solo instruments, film, and television.”⁹⁵ Kay died at age 78 in New Jersey.

MIGRATION FROM OUTSIDE AND WITHIN: CHINESE AND CHINESE AMERICANS IN LOS BARRIOS VIEJOS

Pinpointing when the first Chinese migrants arrived in Tucson is not a simple matter. Scholar Wensheng Wang addressed the many discrepancies and assessed that, “[u]ntil further early records are uncovered, the issue of the first Chinese arrival in Tucson remains an open question and a fertile field for further research.”⁹⁶ He, and more recent scholars agree, however, that Chinese and Chinese Americans arrived sometime in the 1870s. Building the Southern Pacific Railroad relied heavily on Chinese labor and in 1880 when it reached Tucson, some workers, attracted by the city’s social and physical climate decided to stay. More migration followed and new arrivals from the lower classes and railroad laborers settled in an area of substandard housing recognized in the territorial period as “Chinatown.” Located near the city’s CBD within present-day North Granada Avenue and south of West Alameda Street, other ethnic residents from the lower classes also lived in Tucson’s Chinatown.⁹⁷ By 1911, most had moved to the barrios south of downtown and according to newspaper reports, “Chinatown has for the most part already been demolished, and the remainder will go as soon as possible.”⁹⁸

In the late nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, anti-Chinese sentiment took hold both in Tucson and throughout the nation. Borderlands historian Grace Delgado summarizes that, “[a]fter the passage in 1882 of the Chinese Exclusion Act, which barred Chinese laborers from entering the U.S., virtually all Chinese were subject to intense inspection and surveillance by an immigration bureaucracy designed to exclude and deport.”⁹⁹ In 1893, some Tucson residents gathered signatures and pressed for regulations designed to confine Chinese and Chinese Americans “in one section or location of the city.”¹⁰⁰ The city council responded by rejecting these efforts as “unconstitutional” and ensured that “The Chinese of Tucson can stay where they are and not be relegated to a designated portion of the city...”¹⁰¹

Before 1900, early Chinese arrivals worked as domestics, cooks and laundered for the growing Anglo American population, but some leased fertile lands on the city’s westside, at the base of Sentinel Peak, near the Santa Cruz River. They carved out a living for themselves by growing and selling vegetables, melons, and fruits. Chinese farmers would deliver these goods to the more populated areas near downtown on their backs, carts, and later

⁹⁴ “Kay Appearance with Symphony,” *Star*, 5 March 1954, 16.

⁹⁵ Jennifer Lee, “Ulysses Kay Special Collection” (*Current Musicology*, 2012), 141.

⁹⁶ Early researchers often cited the following, “First Chinese of Old Pueblo Came in 1860’s: Three Wongs Following Railroad East Were Earliest Pioneers,” *Star*, 22 February 1935, 76. For a more detailed discussion of the issue see Wensheng Wang, “The First Chinese in Tucson: New Evidence on a Puzzling Question,” *The Journal of Arizona History*, No. 43 (Winter 2002), 369-80. This article is also available online at [The Promise of Gold Mountain: The First Chinese in Tucson](#). Also, for more on the importance of the railroad in the city’s history and economy, see William D. Kalt, *Tucson Was a Railroad Town: The Days of Steam in the Big Burg on the Main Line* (Mountlake Terrace, WA: VTD Rail Publishing, 2007).

⁹⁷ Original Chinatown Razed For Building of City Hall, “Colony Came Into Being with First Influx of Chinese about 1880,” *Star*, 22 February 1935, 75. Although interesting, this article provides little detail regarding how the area known as Chinatown came into existence.

⁹⁸ “Condemnation of Natatorium Asked by City,” *Star*, 24 February 1911, 6.

⁹⁹ Grace Delgado, *Making the Chinese Mexican: Global Migration, Localism, and Exclusion in the U. S.-Mexico Borderlands* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2012), 2.

¹⁰⁰ “The Chinese in Tucson,” *Star*, 9 July 1879, 3.

¹⁰¹ “City Council,” *Star*, 4 April 1893, 4. Also see Delgado, 58.

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using trucks to sell door-to door to households, stores, and restaurants. In selling their farm goods, these vendors formed relationships and got to know more about their Spanish and English-speaking customers. Building on these skills, experiences and relationships led Chinese and Chinese Americans to establish small grocery stores.¹⁰² Despite prevailing exclusionary attitudes and legislation, they also sought the financial success associated with becoming merchants as an avenue toward greater social acceptability. Anthropologists Florence C. Lister and Robert Lister claimed that, “[t]o become a shopkeeper not only meant independence but freedom from threat of deportation and opportunity to sponsor immigration of qualified relatives. Therefore, with the promising need for grocery and general dry goods stores to serve the expanding Hispanic neighborhood and the attraction of becoming self-employed, some Chinese moved southward into a predominantly Hispanic quarter.” By the turn of the century, the 1900 census indicated that 224 Chinese and Chinese Americans lived in Tucson and classified 40 as “merchants.”¹⁰³

As early as 1909, settlement patterns indicated that Chinese and Chinese Americans were locating their businesses in the “thoroughfares remote from the central business section of the city.”¹⁰⁴ Many like Him Lee and Don Wah, ventured into Los Barrios Viejos, populated largely by Tucsonenses and the largest concentrated number of African Americans in the city. In 1894, Lee established his store on Convent Avenue and Simpson Street.¹⁰⁵ He rented the property from Pedro Pellon and stocked his market with items and foods that appealed to a large Tucsonense client base. The newspaper described Him’s diverse offerings as “everything from a tamale covering of corn husk to a sack of wheat, string of chile or a pin to a loaf of bread.”¹⁰⁶ In addition to an assortment of food and merchandize that appealed to Tucsonenses, signs inside Him’s store were often in Spanish, and the merchant had acquired the needed Spanish speaking skills that allowed for efficient exchanges with his customers. Him’s family lived in the back of, or adjacent to, his store and they too helped behind the counter, stocking and maintaining the market.

ETHNIC ENCOUNTERS: CHINESE AND CHINESE AMERICAN MARKETS IN LOS BARRIOS VIEJOS

Before WWII, most markets in Los Barrios Viejos were owned by Chinese and Chinese Americans (Figure 20). These grocery stores were often named after their proprietors. Thus, Chinese and Chinese American surnames were often painted on the walls of their buildings, adding an additional dimension that enhanced their visibility and the area’s ethnic diversity that comprised Los Barrios Viejos. They also invested their fiscal resources to ensure an increased awareness in the city’s social and commercial fabric by regularly advertising in the local papers. Some of these were firmly grounded in promoting ethnic solidarity and a pride in distinctive business success. Despite maintaining strong ethnic connections with themselves and their homeland, Chinese, Chinese Americans, and their markets depended on and were intertwined with the barrio and its residents in which they were located (Figures 21 and 22).

As the map provided in the continuation sheets indicates (Figure 20), many markets were established on corners and it was not unusual for more than one to be located on a single block. At one time, barrio consumer needs and patronage allowed for a store on each of the corners at the intersection of Kennedy and Meyer.¹⁰⁷ In

¹⁰² John Lewis Schweitzer, *The Social Unity of Tucson's Chinese Community*. Department of Anthropology Master’s Thesis, University of Arizona, 1952.

¹⁰³ Florence C. Lister and Robert Lister, *The Chinese of Early Tucson: Historic Archaeology from the Tucson Urban Renewal Project* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989)

¹⁰⁴ “Chinese in Tucson Three Hundred: Sixty Engaged in Merchandising, Many as Laundrymen and Others Truck Gardeners,” *Star*, 18 March 1909, 8.

¹⁰⁵ “John Low Will Open New Market April 7,” *Star*, 1 April 1949, 28.

¹⁰⁶ “Chinese in Tucson Three Hundred: Sixty Engaged in Merchandising, Many as Laundrymen and Others Truck Gardeners,” *Star*, 18 March 1909, 8. This article mistakenly refers to “Him Kee” as Lim Kee. Pellon at this time served as the city jailer.

¹⁰⁷ 1919-1947 Sanborn maps.

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addition to a pool hall located nearby, barrio residents gravitated to this intersection and “[i]n former days this was a hub of activity, and people living nearby brought their chairs out to the sidewalk, expecting to greet their neighbors.”¹⁰⁸

Jerry Lee Ho Market (600 S. Meyer Avenue)

To this day, residents still remember Jerry Lee Ho Market that once stood at 600 S. Meyer Avenue in Los Barrios Viejos. Jerry Lee Ho learned the business from his grandfather and father who also owned markets. The family’s patriarch, Lee Lung who arrived in the late nineteenth century found success in running a market and he encouraged his son, Lee Ho to do the same. Using borrowed funds from his father, in 1904, Lee Ho opened his own store on 600 S. Meyer Avenue. Similar to many other Chinese families, the Lee’s never lost touch with their homeland. In 1949, Lee Ho died while on an extended visit to China but had already entrusted his son, Jerry Lee Ho to manage the grocery store. Jerry Lee Ho was educated in Tucson’s public schools and in Canton, China. When he took over the store he named it after himself, and renovated the establishment to ensure its success (Figure 23).¹⁰⁹ Between 1958 and 1963, Ho had the parcel north of the building cleared to make way for a large parking lot which was indicative of changing consumer trends.¹¹⁰ His marketing campaigns included large advertisements in the local newspapers, and he also invited a well-known Mexican radio host, Jacinto Orozco to host his popular show on weekend afternoons outside Jerry Lee Ho Market (Figure 24). This brought large crowds and additional attention to the grocery store that affirmed the store’s linkages with its Tucsonenses customers. Jerry Lee Ho Market remained the largest grocery store in Los Barrio Viejos until changes in the neighborhood and the arrival of giant supermarkets led to its decline. In 2002, the building was rehabilitated into commercial offices (Figures 25-27).

ECONOMIC HARD TIMES

During the early years of the Great Depression (1929-1934), new construction in the city fell by about 40%.¹¹¹ While the economic, social, and environmental effects of the Great Depression were felt by most Tucson residents, during the early 1930s, Los Barrios Viejos residents had to live through even leaner times. Similar to welfare boards in the U.S. South, officials in Tucson sanctioned discriminatory policies in their work and relief programs. In her trip through the Southwest, Lorena Hickok, a special investigator for Harry Hopkins and the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, singled out the discriminatory conditions she encountered in Arizona. “In Tucson-without any publicity, but so quietly that people didn't even know they were being classified,” Hickok noted, “they divided their case load into four groups, Classes A, B, C, and D.” A brief description of this classification system indicated that sixty “A” families received fifty dollars a month. Engineers, teachers, lawyers, former businessmen, and contractors composed the bulk of this elite group. The largest numbers of families, 1,490, were classified as “D.” Hickok describes this group as “the low class Mexican, Spanish American, and Indian families.” This group received ten dollars a month.”¹¹² By in large, the bulk of this group resided within Los Barrios Viejos.

On the other hand, Los Barrios Viejos was the recipient of federal funds for neighborhood improvements,

¹⁰⁸ “A Guide to Historic Places: Barrio Historico,” *Star*, 9 April 1978, 138.

¹⁰⁹ ““2 Automobiles Crash Headon [sic] East of Yuma,” *Star*, 24 August 1953, 1 and “Merchant Lee Ho is Taken in Death,” *Star*, 4 September 1949, 7. Lee Lung’s market was on South Convent and 17th Street.

¹¹⁰ NETROnline, “Viewer,” Historic Aerials, Nationwide Environmental Title Research, LLC, 2021,

<https://www.historicaerials.com/viewer>; City of Tucson, “Tucson Historic Preservation,” City of Tucson GIS, City of Tucson, February 15, 2021, <https://maps2.tucsonaz.gov/html5viewer/?viewer=historicproperties>.

¹¹¹ David Devine, *Tucson: A History of the Old Pueblo from the 1854 Gadsden Purchase* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2015), 78.

¹¹² “Lorena Hickok Reports on the Great Depression's Ravages in Texas and the Southwest, 1934,” in J’Nell L. Pate, *Document Sets for Texas and the Southwest in U.S. History* (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath and Company, 1991), 144.

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including a Works Progress Administration (WPA) project that resulted in new neighborhood sidewalks and by 1938 portions of South Main, Meyer and Convent Avenues were also paved.¹¹³

EARLY SLUM CLEARANCE TARGETS LOS BARRIOS VIEJOS

Home building permits started slowly rising in 1934 and three years later in 1937 had increased by 20% in response to Congress passing the Housing Act of 1937.¹¹⁴ As the city slowly rebounded from the Depression, the availability of slum clearance funds piqued civic interests.¹¹⁵ In February 1941, then Mayor Henry O. Jaastad moved forward and put forth a bid for \$2,000,000.¹¹⁶ He created the Tucson Housing Authority to whom he issued the following charge: ““You [Housing Authority Committee Members] should find out how many families live in substantial houses both from a sanitary as well as a comfort point of view.”” According to the mayor, it was up to the committee to decide whether Tucson needed “five, 50 or 500 houses or apartments, or none at all and then lay your plans accordingly.”¹¹⁷ Federal authorities, however, required a housing survey.¹¹⁸ It, and the subsequent report, took months to complete and in early July 1941, the survey confirmed that “500 Families Need Better Housing Here” (Figure 28).¹¹⁹

The “Tentative Report on Survey of Low-Rent Housing Needs” singled out the two areas south of downtown as requiring “major redevelopment.”¹²⁰ “Area 22” was adjacent to and immediately south of the CBD and north of Los Barrios Viejos, in the area referred to as La Calle. According to the report, “most of the old Latin-American section,” populated by “a general mixture of Negroes and Latin-Americans, with one block predominantly Chinese” lived in this area.

Area 27 incorporated most of Los Barrios Viejos. The 1941 survey indicated that 70% of the residents were renters and that rents were “quite low, about \$11 a month.” It cited overcrowding in 33% of the dwellings and that 75% of the homes did not have inside bathrooms. The survey noted the “intermixture of several racial and ethnic groups.” Mexican and Mexican Americans formed the demographic majority and “other whites, Indians and Negroes.” Interestingly, although they did not offer a count, they noted that between 1930-1940 the

¹¹³ “Many Feet of New Concrete Walks Built,” *Star*, 19 February 1938, 64 and “Another Paving Job is Started,” *Star*, 14 October 1938, 7.

¹¹⁴ “New Tucson Construction in 1938 Valued at \$2,152,262,” name of newspaper not noted, 24 February 1939 found in AHS ephemera file “Places-Arizona-Tucson-Housing-General.” The number of permits had increased from 1,329 in 1934 to 1,591 in 1937.

¹¹⁵ Housing reformists pressed and influenced the passage of The Housing Act of 1934 and 1937. Urban activist Catherine Bauer played an important role in influencing New Deal Housing policies and co-authored the U.S. Housing Act of 1937. *H. Peter Oberlander, Eva Newbrun, and Martin Meyerson, Houser: The Life and Work of Catherine Bauer (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999).*

¹¹⁶ “Housing Plans Outlined Here: Ancient Project Brought Before Council for Consideration,” *Star*, February 18, 1941 found in AHS ephemera folder, “Places-Arizona-Tucson-Housing-Public Housing.” The mayor oddly shared with the press that he was moving forward ““just for ducks”” either meaning “ducks” as a metaphor for something other than ducks, or else as a mispronunciation for ducets (money) (see <https://urbanthesaurus.org/synonyms/duck>).

¹¹⁷ “City Housing Unit To Meet and Organize: Mayor Tells New Members Of Duties and Asks for Full Investigation” *Citizen*, 25 February 1941, 2.

¹¹⁸ “HSHA Fund for City Reported: Housing Chairman Still Wants to See Color of This Money,” *Star*, 5 April 1941, 3. Ladislav Segoe and C. W. Matthews, *Tentative Report on Survey of Low-Rent Housing Needs: Tucson, Arizona* (Tucson Housing Authority: Tucson, 1941), MS 1173, File 48, Box 4, Arizona Historical Society, Tucson. Segoe and Matthews’s survey indicates that almost 23 percent of the houses in the entire city of Tucson did not meet municipal housing standards.

¹¹⁹ “500 Families Need better Housing Here: Local Housing Authority Receives Survey from TRP Engineers,” *Star*, 6 July 1941, 1. In 1941, local papers used “population congestion and lack of modernization to tenements” to describe slums, see “Housing Group To Ask For New Units: Government Would Purchase 90 Per Cent of Bonds to Finance,” *Citizen*, 25 March 1941, 2.

¹²⁰ Ladislav Segoe and C. W. Matthews, *Tentative Report on Survey of Low-Rent Housing Needs: Tucson, Arizona* (Tucson Housing Authority: Tucson, 1941), MS 1173, File 48, Box 4, Arizona Historical Society, Tucson. Segoe and Matthews’s survey indicates that almost 23 percent of the houses in the entire city of Tucson did not meet municipal housing standards. Segoe and Matthews were working on the Tucson Regional Plan when they completed this survey. How they mapped and described Area 22 and 27 are extremely similar.

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population of African Americans in this area had grown 200%. The “Survey of Low-Rent Housing Needs” summarized that Area 27 had more vacant lots than Area 22 but considered them both equally substandard and recommended “Clearance over much of this area, replanning [sic] and redevelopment on an extensive scale are needed in this case.”¹²¹

Ideally, local housing authorities planned on addressing the needs of the low-income residents who lived in Area 22 and Area 27. As part of these planning efforts, local authorities used a provision in the 1937 legislation that allowed them to apply slum clearance funds to justify building *new* housing. They envisioned a “self-liquidating” model where those living in substandard conditions would move into new residences and once homes were empty, city officials would step in and demolish them. In 1941, the city formally requested a more realistic bid of \$750,000 from federal housing authorities and began to move forward with their self-liquidating slum clearance plan.¹²² They began by purchasing land on the southern outskirts of downtown along 19th and 22nd streets on which to build a new 162-unit public housing project.¹²³ Called, La Reforma, the new project was located in a former densely populated area within Los Barrios Viejo’s Barrio Santa Rosa.¹²⁴

1942

Even before the nation formally entered WWII, Tucson had begun to experience a housing shortage. In summer of 1941, several building permits for apartments were issued.¹²⁵ But 1942 brought hardship for the building trades and construction industry. A major remodel at the university designed to accommodate the Naval Indoctrination School and La Reforma’s 162-unit housing project stand out as the city’s main projects. Without these two ventures construction “virtually stopped” because of the wartime scarcity of building materials.¹²⁶ A city and county planning report divulges a rare period in the city history when it stopped expanding outward, “It is notable that 1942, the darkest year of the WWII saw no residential subdividing whatsoever in Pima County...”¹²⁷

Expanding military and training activities at the Davis-Monthan airbase located southeast of the downtown and the growing business sector affiliated with defense-related industries such as the Consolidated Aircraft plant located near the airport contributed to the steady increase in population.¹²⁸ Overcrowding in Los Barrios Viejos also intensified. After La Reforma (today Santa Rosa Park) was completed, however, the housing needs of higher income workers engaged in the war effort were prioritized and they moved into the newly built La

¹²¹ Segoe and Matthews, *Tentative Report on Survey of Low-Rent Housing Needs*, 22-23.

¹²² “Personnel For Housing Unit Will Be Selected,” *Citizen*, 20 February 1941, 2.

¹²³ “Council Gives Approval for Housing Note: Authorizes Mayor to Sign For \$45,000 More Needed In Slum Clearance,” *Citizen*, 23 January 1942, 3. The larger housing project was bounded by 19th and 22nd streets, 10th Avenue and an alley between 8th and 9th Avenues.

¹²⁴ As a side note, Roy Place and Lew Place were responsible for many of Tucson’s notable architecture designed La Reforma. Learn more in James F. Cooper and Lew Place, *Places in the Sun* (Tucson, AZ: Westernlore Press, 1989). For more about La Reforma residents see, Aracely Carranza, Jannell Davis, Gina Gradillas, and Voices: Community Stories Past Present, Inc, *Don't Look at Me Different: Voices from the Projects, Tucson, Arizona, 1943-2000 = No Me Veas Diferente: Voces De Los Proyectos, Tucson, Arizona, 1943-2000* (Tucson: Tucson Voices Press, 2000). In 1965, city officials hoped to add 200 units to La Reforma and they acquired 13.5 acres of land adjacent to the public housing apartments. Dwellings were destroyed and lots were acquired but the 13.5-acre area remained empty for more than 20 years. Although outside the nomination area, the newer housing and buildings currently look and have a different flow from the older dwellings in the eastern part of Barrio Santa Rosa. See “Tucson Starts Buying Land for Project,” *Star*, 29 January 1965, 15.

¹²⁵ “Building Permits in Tucson Spurt to \$47,255 During Past Six Days,” *Star*, 6 July 1941, 7.

¹²⁶ “War Projects Lead Building: Housing Units and Naval School Work Keep Up 1942 Permit Total,” *Star*, 20 December 1942, 5.

¹²⁷ City-County Planning Department and Thomas J. McCleneghan, *Subdivision Platting Statistics, 1896-1954, Pima County, Arizona*. (Tucson: City-County Planning Department, 1955), 13.

¹²⁸ C.L. Sonnichsen, *Tucson: Life and Times of an American City*, 272.

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Reforma.¹²⁹

POST WAR DEVELOPMENT

In the 1950s “slum clearance” discussions resurfaced when groups such as the Tucson Festival Society and the Tucson Symphony pushed for an auditorium to accommodate a large audience.¹³⁰ In 1958, the mayor, along with the local Real Estate Board and the Home Builders Association, prepared an urban renewal project that they called the “Old Pueblo Project” (Figure 29). It encompassed 392 acres of the most densely populated, predominantly ethnic neighborhoods in the city including all of Los Barrios Viejos except for a small sliver on its easternmost boundary.¹³¹ Federal housing authorities gave the city the green light and money for surveys and planning, allowing the city to open its first urban renewal office downtown in May 1958.¹³²

When the City of Tucson opened its urban renewal office in 1958, most Mexican Americans lived in barrios that radiated south and west from the CBD (Figure 30).¹³³ Declining income, home ownership, and limited access to certain areas of the city because of restrictive covenants made it difficult for Tucsonenses to retain an economic stake in society. A Tucson Regional Plan report indicated only 20 % of the residents in La Calle and its nearby neighborhoods owned their homes in 1942,¹³⁴ a percentage that would continue to erode in subsequent decades. Most residents in La Calle and Los Barrios Viejos rented their homes making them ineligible to vote in the urban renewal initiative, and therefore denied a voice in determining the fate of their neighborhoods. In 1966, Arizona law specified that only “persons who are real property taxpayers [property owners] and registered to vote and who have lived in the state for one year and the county six months and in their ward for 30 days” would be allowed to vote in the urban renewal bond initiative.¹³⁵

On March 1, 1966, the voters of Tucson approved the Pueblo Center Redevelopment Project—Arizona’s first major urban renewal project—which targeted the most densely populated eighty acres in the state (Figures 31-33). The approved plan resulted in building several governmental buildings, a modern retail complex, and, as its showpiece, a new performance arena and community-conference facility, the Tucson Community Center (TCC). But to do so, city officials destroyed La Calle, and its many small retail and service shops, restaurants, and entertainment venues. The Pueblo Center’s southern boundary separated neighborhoods and people that shared a common past and culture dating back more than a century. To make way for the new structures, residents were removed and some of the oldest structures in the city were demolished north of 14th Street and all

¹²⁹ Lawrence J Vale confirms that authorities began to prioritize the needs of higher-income war workers across the country, and in Tucson, La Reforma that started off as a slum clearance project instead became reserved “solely” for workers and their families engaged in the war effort. See Vale’s *Poorest: Public Housing and Lawrence J. Vale, Purging the Poorest: Public Housing and the Design Politics of Twice-cleared Communities*, 15. Also see “La Reforma Units Used by Workers,” *Citizen*, 22 February 1943, 2. The war effort also derailed the construction of “Negro” housing. “Housing Plans Are Upset by City Council” *Citizen*, 2 December 1941, 2 indicates that housing authorities in San Francisco mandated that that local officials give preference to defense workers.

¹³⁰ “Civic Center Plans Group Will Meet,” *Citizen*, 12 June 1957, 24.

¹³¹ The Federal Urban Renewal Act of 1954 mandated that city’s develop a “workable program” for development. John Gourley, “The Pueblo and the Public; Urban Realities in Counterpoint” (PhD diss., University of Arizona, 1992), 164.

¹³² “Federal Approval Given for Urban Renewal: Allocation of \$151,000 for Survey First Step in Tucson Redevelopment Project,” *Star*, 1 May 1958, A-1.

¹³³ See map in James E. Officer, “Sodalities and Systemic Linkage: The Joining Habits of Urban Mexican Americans” (PhD diss., University of Arizona, 1964), 76 and Sheridan, *Los Tucsonenses*, 238.

¹³⁴ Ladislav Segoe and Associates, *The Rehabilitation of Blighted Areas: Conservation of Sound Neighborhoods* (Cincinnati, 1942), 20.

¹³⁵ The statewide electorate had amended the Arizona Constitution in 1930 to include this stipulation, on the rationale that municipal “bonds are liens” placed on real property owners and thus only they should be allowed to decide the fate of those bonds. See Don Robinson, “Voters Decide on Urban Renewal Fate Tuesday,” *Star*, February 27, 1966, A-1 and “The History of the Bond Election Law,” *Star*, January 22, 1966, B-14.

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the way to its main downtown though fare, Congress Street.¹³⁶

In addition to being excluded from voting on the bond initiative, those who lived in La Calle and its nearby neighborhoods were also excluded from sitting on the citizens' committees required by federal guidelines for urban renewal projects. City boosters and influential city leaders who were mainly Anglo Americans, convinced both federal housing authorities and the local electorate to jump on the urban renewal bandwagon even though residents displaced by the urban renewal were Mexican Americans (63 %), African Americans (27 %), Anglo Americans (9 %), and Chinese Americans (1 %).¹³⁷ Bulldozers began leveling the barrios in and near La Calle in 1967. Close to 80 acres were destroyed, adding significance to the survival of Los Barrios Viejos (Figure 34).

Within these multiethnic exchanges Tucsonenses and Mexican and Mexican Americans always retained their demographic dominance, but Chinese immigrants and African Americans from other parts of the U.S. also established homes, businesses, and cultural institutions in Los Barrios Viejos. Instead of forming their own enclaves, each ethnic group carved out spaces where they maintained, asserted, and expressed their cultural values in the barrios. Census data and city directories also indicate that to a lesser extent Anglo Americans, Native Americans, and Jewish families were also present. Most Anglo Americans resided in the Armory Park neighborhood and worked as supervisors and managers for the nearby Southern Pacific Railroad. Although a synagogue, Temple Emanu-El, was located within Los Barrios Viejos, archival research and oral history interviews indicate that most Jewish families lived outside the district. Native Americans were the earliest inhabitants of the area that became Los Barrios Viejos, they were not specifically called out in city directories. It is likely, however, that they were classified as Tucsonenses and were included in the census data as being either Mexican or Mexican American.

The actual demolition of structures began in May 1967. Over the next two years, 269 structures, some of them multiple- occupancy dwellings and or businesses, were destroyed.¹³⁸ The city managed to relocate "118 individual householders, 142 families, and 105 businesses."¹³⁹ In the end, official estimates reported that 735 residents had to leave their homes. Renters made up most residents in the target area. Because, however, the justice system served only property owners in condemnation proceedings, renters had no legal recourse.¹⁴⁰ Thus no court records document their dissatisfaction.

The \$17.6 million Tucson Community Center, which included a music hall and performance arena, opened on November 6, 1971. A small theater opened later. Speeches and public congratulatory speaking abounded at the ribbon-cutting event, which drew 500 city leaders and reporters. Mayor James N. Corbett declared, "This is a great living testimony made possible by this community."¹⁴¹

Separated from downtown by the TCC, and dealing with lingering resentments about urban renewal, Los Barrios Viejos residents faced new challenges. They organized to fight off the Butterfield Route or freeway that

¹³⁶ *La Calle* provides more detailed information regarding urban renewal in Tucson. An interesting interview with Albert Campos who remembers the urban renewal area and process is available online. See Armando Campos, Interviewed by Aengus Anderson, 16 October 2019, "Archive Tucson", Special Collections, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona. Available at <https://www.archivetucson.com/people/2019/10/16/campos-armando>. Accessed July 17, 2020.

¹³⁷ See Otero, *La Calle*, for more information on urban renewal in Tucson.; "The Boxscore," *jolé! Tucson Daily Citizen Magazine*, December 12, 1970, 10.

¹³⁸ Don Robinson, "Barren Land Near City Hall to Mark Progress: Cultural Center to Spring Up," *Star*, 2 January 1969, A-1.

¹³⁹ Bonnie Newlon, *Pueblo Center Redevelopment Project, 1967-1969* (Tucson: City of Tucson, Department of Community Development, Urban Renewal Division, 1969), 7-8.

¹⁴⁰ Renters had no legal recourse in condemnation proceedings even though they paid hidden property taxes with their rents.

¹⁴¹ "Community Center Dedication Today," *Star*, 6 November 1971, A-1.

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would have destroyed the northernmost and oldest buildings in Barrio Calle Meyer and Convento, parts of Armory Park, and would have also destroyed most of El Hoyo (Figure 35).¹⁴²

Before urban renewal, Los Barrios Viejos's racial, ethnic and class diversity stood out. But a new generation of residents moved in after urban renewal. An appreciation of the area's architectural and historical value has taken hold over the last few decades and those who can afford some of the highest real estate prices in the city find living in Los Barrios Viejos alluring enough to invest in upgrading and preserving its surviving historic buildings.¹⁴³

Criterion 4:

Properties that embody the distinguishing characteristics of an architectural type specimen exceptionally valuable for a study of a period, style, or method of construction, or that represent a significant, distinctive and exceptional entity whose components may lack individual distinction.

Established in the 1800s, Los Barrios Viejos includes four historic districts—Barrio Calle Meyer and Convento (Barrio Libre), Barrio El Hoyo, Barrio Santa Rosa, and portions of Armory Park, all of which are listed in the NRHP. This distinctive collection of neighborhoods features multi-family row houses, as well as Sonoran and Transitional architectural styles that lend the feeling of a Mexican urban streetscape. Most buildings constructed in Los Barrios Viejos are a continuation of the Mexican vernacular building tradition known regionally as Sonoran (1850–1890).

COLONIZATION: TUCSON'S ADOBE ARCHITECTURAL TRADITION

Although adobe architecture in the American Southwest dates to 1150 B.C.E., the existing organization and architecture of Los Barrios Viejos can trace its beginnings to Spanish colonization in the territory that is now southern Arizona and northwest Sonora, Mexico. The Spanish military, mission system, and ranches were well established in Sonora, Mexico by the mid-seventeenth century, but it was not until 1687 that Jesuit priest, Eusebio Francisco Kino, entered into the territory known as Pimería Alta. Pimería Alta is roughly bounded by the Gila River in Arizona to the north, south to the Rio Magdalena in Sonora, Mexico, east to the San Pedro River near Tombstone, Arizona, and west to the Colorado River at the current border of Arizona and California.

Intent on missionizing local populations within Spain's northern frontier, Kino arrived in Tucson and established the mission San Cosme del Tucson (later called San José del Tucson and San Agustín del Tucson), where he encountered Akimel O'odham who lived in small groups scattered along the Santa Cruz River and Tohono O'odham that split their residence between rivers and uplands.¹⁴⁴ Because the Tohono O'odham moved seasonally, Kino noted that their architecture was of dry construction of locally available materials, and could be easily constructed with minimal effort and abandoned with little loss. Habitations were typically made of brush and used for sleeping, storage, or relief from inclement weather. Other activities, such as cooking,

¹⁴²On city planners who had hoped the project would proceed unencumbered, see Bill Kimmey, "Community Favors Butterfield Route," *Citizen*, 27 September 1968, A-25. For more on protests, see Edwin S. Finkelstein, "Singing Marchers Protest Proposed Butterfield Route," *Citizen*, 25 September 1971, 2.

¹⁴³ Henry Brean, "Actress Keaton looks to turn a tidy profit on downtown Tucson house she bought in 2018 Nearly bulldozed in 1980s, adobe row house in Barrio Viejo hits market for \$2.6 million," *Arizona Daily Star*, 10 August 2020. Available online at https://tucson.com/news/local/actress-keaton-looks-to-turn-a-tidy-profit-on-downtown-tucson-house-she-bought-in/article_6087aeb8-c0f9-59e3-82eb-0d7da19a4076.html?fbclid=IwAR1im1cLCs1KV_bR-k3kShN5ycQ-JP8wk1l_e6IKfh8f-Tn2wVQUpj0654w Accessed August 10, 2020.

¹⁴⁴ San Cosme del Tucson would have been visible from Los Barrios Viejos before the installation of Interstate 10.

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occurred outside.¹⁴⁵ In fact, most daily activities and social interactions occurred outside their dwellings. Initially the Spanish adopted O’Odham-style architecture before turning to adobe as the favored building material.

By the mid-1600s, Jesuit missionaries were readily using adobe to build hall-style churches and auxiliary buildings at mission sites. The material consisted of a sun-dried earthen brick composed of clay, silt, and sand, which differed from the puddled adobe used by the O’Odham’s predecessors, the Hohokam. Spanish settlers too, began adopting adobe for their homes, animal barns, and walls. The use of adobe over other building materials was favored because missions were the frequent target of fire, raids, and attacks by Apache Indians. Church walls were built with thick block walls and few windows. Openings were typically placed above the level of a person on horseback, *vigas* or roof joists were either cottonwood or pine, and *savinas* or slats, were made from cactus ribs placed across the *vigas*, and 12-18 inches of soil was placed on the substrate for insulation and protection from rain.¹⁴⁶ In many respects, Spanish architecture in the Pimería Alta and Tucson in particular, was as much defensive in nature as it was practical.

In 1700, under Kino’s influence, the mission San Xavier del Bac was established approximately 16 miles from the current location of Los Barrio Viejos and was constructed of adobe. Five years later the Tucson Presidio, also of adobe, was established by Hugo O’Connor, an Irishman and inspector for the Spanish Crown, who designated Tucson as a new frontier post for the Spanish government. The main purpose of the new post was twofold—to protect Mission San Xavier and San Agustin from Apache attacks and open an overland stage route between New Spain and California.¹⁴⁷

When originally built, Tucson’s adobe presidio encompassed 750 sq ft with 6-foot-high walls measuring 2 ft thick, and towers at each of its four corners.¹⁴⁸ The presidio housed Spanish soldiers, their families, and settlers. It also protected the local indigenous population which was composed of Akimel O’Odham, and later Sobaipuir and Tohono O’odham. Although the relationship between the Spanish and the local indigenous populations was less than amicable, the Spanish missionaries hoped that by resettling Native people around the edges of the Presidio, it might afford them some protection from Apache raids. The Presidio was in what would become the heart of Tucson’s business district and its location directly influenced the pattern of downtown development in the following decades (Figure 36).

Tucson’s urban layout resembled the Spanish city model, a set of town planning guidelines based on the 1573 *Law of the Indies*. These royal building ordinances issued by the Spanish crown were used to guide settlements in the Americas.¹⁴⁹ These ordinances reflected the Roman model of town planning, which used plazas as centering devices for towns. Minimally, the planned settlements would include a compact layout composed of a main square or plaza, the location for a church, and a sequence of streets laid out in respect to cardinal points.¹⁵⁰ Public and religious buildings lined the plaza with private residences and streets radiating away from it. Private residences, including those in Los Barrios Viejos, reflected Spanish design as well: thick adobe-walled row houses encircled a courtyard or central plaza, creating an interior space. This differed from the Anglo American

¹⁴⁵ John Messina, “Architecture and Urbanism of the Primería Alta during the periods of Spanish Colonization and Mexican Independence, 1692-1854,” in *Cross-Cultural Vernacular Landscapes of Southern Arizona*, ed. Laura H. Hollengreen and R. Brooks Jeffery (Annapolis: Vernacular Architectural Forum, 2005), 29.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Sonnichsen, *Tucson*.

¹⁴⁸ Sheridan, *Los Tucsonenses*.

¹⁴⁹ Anne M. Nequette and R. Brooks Jeffery, *A Guide to Tucson Architecture* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2002), 272.

¹⁵⁰ Nina Veregge, “Transformations of Spanish Urban Landscapes in the American Southwest,” *Journal of the Southwest* 35, No. 4 (1993):271-459.

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model of detached houses surrounded by large yards without an enclosed courtyard.¹⁵¹

Although the Spanish crown attempted to link Tucson with other presidios in New Mexico and California, at the start of the nineteenth century, Tucson's growth was limited and it remained a small, isolated, and ethnically diverse outpost of Sonora, Mexico.¹⁵² Between 1810 and 1820, the Spanish colonial program was in a state of turmoil. In 1821, Mexico won its independence from Spain after years of battle, and acquired Spain's northern territory, including Tucson. Mexican settlers continued to practice farming, ranching, and mining activities in the Tucson Basin during this time. Mexican farmers and ranchers were offered water rights by a Mexican Republic decree in 1827, furthering settlement along the Santa Cruz River (a few miles west of Los Barrios Viejos). The Mexican government also secularized the missions at the same time, expelled all Spanish friars from the region, and closed the missions. Mission San Augustin was abandoned between 1828 and 1831.¹⁵³ The newly formed Mexican government was unable to keep the peace in their northern outposts and over the next two decades, as southern Arizona found itself embroiled in constant Apache raids, the Tucson population dwindled and little urban development outside the Presidio boundaries occurred. In the face of the Mexican government's inability to finance and protect its northern outpost, the U.S. government was able to expand westward into Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California.

Urban development was limited outside the Presidio walls from 1775 into the early 1800s. The California Gold Rush stimulated developments beginning in 1849 as Tucson became a stop for miners on the way to California. In response, local businesses grew up outside the Presidio walls.¹⁵⁴ With the Gadsden Purchase in 1853, the U.S. government acquired the region south of the Gila River, including the present-day city of Tucson from the Mexican government. Lands were acquired south of the Gila River for the construction of a transcontinental railroad. In short order, Anglo settlers, anticipating new business opportunities accompanying the construction of the railroad, began moving into the area. In response to these changes, in 1856, the U.S. government established a small U.S. Militia in Tucson in the north central portion of the Armory Park neighborhood (located immediately outside the boundaries of this NHL application). Despite the U.S. military presence in Tucson, Tucson remained a largely rural Mexican town clustered around the Presidio walls and along the banks of the Santa Cruz River.

ANGLO AMERICAN MIGRATION AND TUCSON'S VERNACULAR

When Tucson came under the control of the U.S. government, one of the first tasks of Major David Fergusson of the First California Volunteer Cavalry and commander of the District of Western Arizona was to create a street map of Tucson. Fergusson, along with Tucson registrar William Oury and land surveyor, J. B. Mills, created a map of Tucson that delineated boundaries, recorded street names, and communal plazas as they appeared in 1862. Fergusson's map captures Tucson as a small Spanish town. Streets bore Spanish names and both residential and commercial buildings were oriented towards the street while encircling interior courtyards (Figure 37).¹⁵⁵

Upon arrival in Tucson, early settlers adopted local architectural styles and expressions, principally the use of adobe as the primary building material and continued to occupy an area centered on the Presidio and along Calle Real (or Main Street). This model afforded the best protection from frequent Apache attacks. Despite this threat, Tucson continued to attract Anglo American settlers. While many of these early immigrants saw an

¹⁵¹ Messina, "Architecture and Urbanism."

¹⁵² Sheridan, *Los Tucsonenses*.

¹⁵³ J. Homer Thiel and Jonathan Mabry, ed., "Investigations at the San Agustín Mission and Mission Gardens, Tucson Presidio, Tucson Pressed Brick Company, and Clearwater Site," Technical Report No. 2004-11 (Tucson: Desert Archaeology, Inc., 2006).

¹⁵⁴ Jonathan L. Harris, "Changes in the Structure of Tucson During the First Decade of Anglo Infiltration," in *Territorial Tucson*, unpublished manuscript (n.d.).

¹⁵⁵ Jay Rochlin, "A Simple Question Leads Tucson's 'Street Man' into Intriguing Hobby," *Tucson Citizen*, 19 December 1980.

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opportunity to get rich through business and mining ventures in a frontier settlement, they also took the opportunity to bring “civilization” to Tucson. They linked their ability to get rich and Tucson’s path towards progress to improving infrastructure, namely improving, and creating new city streets. Pioneer and businessman Samuel Hughes noted that “streets were so cut up by ravines that a wagon could not get through.”¹⁵⁶ Moreover, without a sanitation department, dead animals were left to rot in the streets for days before being removed. None of this helped dispel the notion that Tucson was a dirty and unsanitary town. Nonetheless, by 1871 Tucson became an incorporated community measuring two square miles.

One of the first tasks was to improve local streets and begin planning efforts to expand Tucson beyond its Presidio walls. By 1870, chain-gang labor was used to improve city streets, and in 1872, Sidney W. Foreman surveyed and platted the town, creating an orthogonal grid made up of north-south running avenues and east-west running streets. Foreman’s town plan differed from the earlier Spanish model. Instead of an organic layout influenced by the location of natural features, plazas, or religious buildings, Foreman’s town plan used the American model of William Penn where space was organized in a grid to reflect what was considered a democratic division of land and to allow for future expansion and speculation.¹⁵⁷

When Foreman platted Tucson, the area comprising what is now Barrio Calle Meyer and Convento was already well-established. The neighborhood was composed of irregularly sized blocks, with little-to-no attention paid to organizing individual lots, and each block was populated with clusters of buildings that abutted one another. Streets were not oriented to true north-south or east-west, and they varied in width. Instead, the neighborhood was an extension of the earlier street layout established during the late Spanish period. By contrast to the rest of Tucson’s grid system, in Barrio Calle Meyer and Convento, streets radiated southward from the original Presidio and appeared more as spokes from a wheel, than rectangular grid lines. The adjoining neighborhoods of Barrio El Hoyo, Santa Rosa, and Armory Park however reflected a combination of both the original Spanish layout and Foreman’s grid as the neighborhoods were built out over time. From 1872 onward however, Foreman’s grid established the model for future growth in Tucson (Figure 38).

In 1873, following Foreman’s survey, new streets and new street names were created, including renaming the primary thoroughfares through town. Earlier Spanish street names were either translated into English or renamed altogether to reflect the preference of Tucson’s newest residents and the desire to fashion Tucson as a distinctly American city. Moreover, few streets retained any reference to the city’s Spanish or Mexican heritage, and those that did were largely contained within Los Barrios Viejos.

The arrival of the Southern Pacific Railroad in 1880 significantly altered the demographic and physical development of the former Mexican frontier town. Not only did the location of the railroad influence the direction of Tucson’s early development and connection to the rest of the U.S. and Mexico, but it brought more Anglo American settlers, most notably women. The increase of Anglo American women led to a decrease in ethnically mixed marriages. Overtime, this socio-economic separation led to a further decrease in ethnic cooperation and in the separation of ethnic populations into distinct neighborhoods. Soon, Tucson’s Mexican, Chinese, and African American populations settled in the area south of Broadway Boulevard and west of Stone Avenue, largely within the boundaries of Los Barrios Viejos, while Tucson’s Anglo American population expanded east and north of Broadway Boulevard.¹⁵⁸ This separation manifested itself in the built environment.

By 1880, most of Tucson’s buildings were constructed of adobe and were vernacular in design. This included those within Los Barrios Viejos where the area’s earliest residents, mainly Tucsonese working-class families, frequently built their own adobe houses. Architectural historians, Thomas Carter and Elizabeth Collins Cromley

¹⁵⁶ Sonnichsen, *Tucson*.

¹⁵⁷ Nequette and Jeffery, *A Guide to Tucson Architecture*.

¹⁵⁸ Sheridan, *Los Tucsonenses*.

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note that “vernacular architecture is often viewed by being handmade, understated, and ordinary,” and that scholars often describe vernacular “objects [as] nothing more than naïve responses to purely external, usually environmental, influences and conditions.”¹⁵⁹ Historians posit that vernacular buildings as lacking design, but as art historian George Kubler noted “nothing gets made without desire.” In contrast to earlier academic biases, Carter and Cromley argue that vernacular buildings are purposeful, valued, desired, and ultimately designed. This intentionality as described by Carter and Cromley and Kubler is evident within Los Barrios Viejos’ earliest architecture.

A readily available and inexpensive material, adobe offered excellent insulation properties, resulting in houses that were cool in the summer and warm in the winter. The one-story dwellings were modest in size, scale, and massing, and nearly flush with the street. Buildings typically featured internal or rear courtyard spaces tucked away behind protective adobe walls. Flat roofs with parapets alternated with shallow gabled roofs; wood windows were double-hung sash. Los Barrios Viejos’ residential buildings were also often interconnected or abutting, rather than free-standing, and were built incrementally, whereby they grew over time to accommodate the changing needs of their residents. In many places across the NHL boundaries, clusters of multi-family adobe row houses line the streets in nearly unbroken lines reflecting the vestiges of earlier Spanish influence, whereby architecture is in many ways a reflection of social and cultural influences, as well as environmental considerations. Los Barrios Viejos early adobe buildings are functional, sturdy; have limited openings, and are interconnected to one another. As a collection, the NHL’s adobe buildings present the appearance of a protective wall from outside intrusion through sealing itself around both community spaces (streets) and personal spaces (courtyards), while simultaneously responding to environmental constraints.

By the turn of the twentieth century, the desire to refashion Tucson as a “progressive” American city, resulted in clashes between the established Tucsonese population and newly arriving citizens of the U.S. This disparity resulted in a period of pronounced cultural and architectural change. Besides the growing socio-economic division amongst Tucson’s citizenry, the railroad provided ready access to new building materials such as fired brick, wood, and metal. The railroad changed the scale of neighborhoods, the city itself, and in building form, materials, and construction details.¹⁶⁰ Los Barrios Viejos was directly impacted by these changes. Whereas the early organization of these barrios was primarily social and therefore communal, the new arrivals brought with them a new vision that was influenced by connections to larger cultural networks, commerce, and technology that manifested itself in separation of buildings and structures.¹⁶¹

Eastern architectural styles were introduced into the desert setting with every new settler. Many of the old adobes were torn down or replaced with larger Victorian-style homes or remodeled to reflect a more American appearance. As architectural historian, Anne Nequette notes,

The first phase of architectural transformation was marked by modification through *addition* to existing Mexican or Sonoran structures, the second through *hybridization*, i.e. the use of elements from both cultural groups, followed by *substitution* of American materials, building forms, or land use patterns, and finally by *assimilation* into the larger architectural movements occurring in the United States.¹⁶²

Architectural Transition within Tucson’s Barrios

By the early-to-mid 1900s, architectural hybridization was clearly reflected in Los Barrio Viejos. This period is considered transitional in nature, whereby most homes were still constructed of adobe but began reflecting the

¹⁵⁹ Thomas Carter and Elizabeth Collins Cromley, *Invitation to Vernacular Architecture* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2005), 13.

¹⁶⁰ Anne M. Nequette, “Architecture of the Territorial Period in Southern Arizona, 1848-1912,” in *Cross-Cultural Vernacular Landscapes of Southern Arizona*, ed. Laura H. Hollengreen and R. Brooks Jeffery (Annapolis: Vernacular Architectural Forum, 2005).

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 44.

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city's newest residences and their preferences. Adobe homes were now free-standing or not sited on the lot line, incorporated metal gable, or hipped shingled roofs on formerly flat roofed adobe homes, or included decorative wood spindlework, quoins, and corner porches. Territorial architecture in southern Arizona reflected national vernacular housing trends, from rectangular, square, L- or T-shaped floor plans, gable, hipped, or pyramidal roofs, hall-and-parlor, pyramidal cottage, and four-square plans, yet retained use of locally available materials, most notably adobe.

While the use of adobe continued to be prevalent in Tucson, increasing numbers of Anglo American settlers brought calls to eliminate “mud towns” of adobe buildings and replace them with “progressive” buildings. As Sonnichsen observes, “newcomers preferred to freeze in winter and stew in summer rather than live in one of those ugly mud houses.”¹⁶³ By the 1890s, Tucson's Anglo American residents demanded buildings using what they perceived to be “modern” materials such as fired brick and stone, rather than the more “primitive” adobe. An *Arizona Daily Star* editorial made these cultural distinctions clear: “The adobe must go, likewise the mud roof. They belong to the past and with the past they must go.”¹⁶⁴ Between 1900 and 1920, popular architectural styles characteristic of the eastern seaboard and California, most notably Queen Anne Victorian, Spanish Eclectic, and Craftsman Bungalow, were introduced into the neighborhood, although not to the degree seen in other residential districts in Tucson. Within Los Barrios Viejos, each contiguous barrio showcases early Sonoran, Territorial, and Transitional architecture, as well as the later influence of Victorian, Bungalow, and Revival styles.

Barrio Calle Meyer and Convento (Barrio Libre; Barrio Histórico)

The heart of Los Barrios Viejos is Barrio Calle Meyer and Convento which is roughly bounded by West Cushing Street to the north, West 18th Street to the south, South Stone Avenue to the east, and the buildings lining the western edge of South Main Street to the west (Figure 39). Within this area is an irregular street grid comprising north-south arterials including South Main Avenue, South Meyer Avenue, and South Convent Avenue, as well as the east-west arterials of West Simpson Street, West Kennedy Street, and West 17th Street.

Until 1872, Tucson's urban expansion did not use a surveyed street grid leaving most of Barrio Calle Meyer and Convento with erratically sized blocks and streets. Traditional patterns of Sonoran urban development resulted in an architectural character defined by single-story, flat-roofed, adobe row houses forming continuous façades around the perimeter of each block. Within were often semi-private courtyards utilized by the block's residents for a wide variety of domestic tasks.¹⁶⁵ Depending on an owner's needs, additional rooms could be appended to the interior wall of one's row house creating a smaller, fully private courtyard for a family compound. Commercial properties were frequently placed on block corners and were signified by a chamfered corner entry allowing ingress from both streets.

Although these patterns of development were more evident in the demolished portions of Tucson's Barrios, they are nonetheless discernable within Barrio Calle Meyer and Convento. Here, substantial portions of South Meyer and South Convent Avenue maintain unbroken streets of adobe façades directly bordering the streets, creating an alley-like effect. Following the American annexation of Tucson in 1854, row houses and communal spaces became increasingly undesirable in deference to Anglo American ideals which promoted detached brick buildings set back from the street, peaked roofs, and private yards. Existing vacant lots within the barrio were infilled with buildings constructed in the American Territorial or Queen Anne styles. Traditional row houses were often modified with hipped or gable roofs to conform to American standards and some were demolished to make way for new development or due to their undesirability. Although less frequent, through the 1940s,

¹⁶³ Sonnichsen, *Tucson*, 107.

¹⁶⁴ *Arizona Daily Star*, 20 August 1892.

¹⁶⁵ Nequette and Jeffery, *A Guide to Tucson Architecture*, 271.

additional buildings were constructed throughout the barrio including vernacular interpretations of revivalist styles, bungalows, and later ranch houses. Due to patterns of Tucson's outward growth, the Barrio's oldest buildings and most intact Sonoran-styled streets are generally located in its north, close to the city's center. Detached and newer buildings become more numerous further south where unbuilt land remained available after the 1880s.

Historic photographs indicate that the Barrio's typical streetscape consisted of an unpaved dirt road bordered by concrete curbs in turn bordered by the adobe façades of Sonoran vernacular row houses.¹⁶⁶ Vegetation was highly limited, and shade was sometimes provided by *toldos* constructed off buildings to shield the sidewalk beneath.¹⁶⁷ Telephone poles would line one or both sides of the street while trees were mostly visible within rear courtyards. Today, substantially more vegetation is found throughout this barrio, utility wires have multiplied, and modern infill development is observable among the earliest of the barrio's historic buildings.

Barrio Santa Rosa

The portion of Barrio Santa Rosa included within Los Barrios Viejos is roughly bounded by West 18th Street to the north, West 21st Street to the south, South Russell Avenue to the east, and Santa Rosa Park to the west (Figure 40). Unlike Barrio Calle Meyer and Convento, Santa Rosa possesses a regular street grid based on its location in the southwest corner of S.W. Foreman's 1872 survey of the Tucson town site.¹⁶⁸ Because of this, the barrio possesses a distinctive Anglo-American layout with square city blocks, narrow rectilinear lots, as well as rear alleyways. Its arterials include South 8th Avenue and South 7th Avenue running from north-to-south as well as West 19th Street through West 21st Street running from east-to-west.

The barrio was initially developed in the 1890s and possesses a mix of Sonoran vernacular and Anglo-American buildings. Few of these buildings were constructed as row houses due to the neighborhood's plat which forced property owners buying only one lot to construct buildings perpendicular rather than parallel to the street. Instead, most of the barrio's residences are detached single-story houses constructed from adobe or brick masonry and topped by peaked roofs. Stylistically, most of these are examples of the Transitional Sonoran style, however, substantial number of Bungalows and Mission Revival (often California Bungalows) residences are also found.

Streets generally consist of a paved roadbed bordered by a concrete curb which holds back a graveled or landscaped road verge. Behind this is public land for a walkway, however few formal sidewalks have been constructed and paths are informally formed by packed earth. Based on Santa Rosa's transitional architectural nature, some of its dwellings are constructed flush against the property line in the traditional Sonoran manner while others are in the center of their lots with a moderate set back. Fences constructed from chain link or other transparent materials are common and form an important part of Santa Rosa's Mexican American cultural traditions which often utilize front yards as an exterior room.¹⁶⁹ Overhead powerlines generally run along one side of the road and limited vegetation is found throughout the barrio.

Barrio El Hoyo

Barrio El Hoyo (The Hole) is located on the western periphery of Los Barrios Viejos and is so named for its sunken topography and propensity to flood (Figure 41).¹⁷⁰ The neighborhood is generally bounded by West

¹⁶⁶ Dennis R. Bell et al., *Barrio Historico Tucson*, Tucson: University of Arizona, College of Architecture, 1971/72, <http://www.library.arizona.edu/exhibits/swetc/barr/index.html>, Accessed April 14, 2020.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ Pedersen, "The Townsite is Now Secure," 164.

¹⁶⁹ Sojin Kim, "On Fences, Plazas, and Latino Urbanism: A Conversation with James Rojas," *Folklife*, 24 February 2015, <https://folklife.si.edu/talkstory/2015/on-fences-plazas-and-latino-urbanism-a-conversation-with-james-rojas>, accessed April 14, 2020.

¹⁷⁰ Paul Farnsworth, Paul Rawson, and Morgan Rieder, "Barrio El Hoyo Historic District," 1, 23.

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Cushing Street to the north, South Osborne Avenue and South Samaniego Avenue to the east, West 18th Street to the south, and an industrial belt to the west. The southernmost third of the area was subdivided in 1905 as part of the City of Tucson plat. The northern third followed in 1920 on land owned by Emanuel Drachman and formerly occupied by the Elysian Grove amusement park.¹⁷¹ The remainder was subdivided by Drachman as the Elysian Grove Addition in 1921.¹⁷²

Because of the barrio's seclusion and prior history, it possesses an unorthodox street grid with elongated blocks divided by angled side roads many of which terminate in dead ends or three-way junctions. The two plats that make up the neighborhood's northern end are divided from each other by the arterial West Simpson Street which runs from east to west. Like Barrio Santa Rosa, El Hoyo is composed of narrow Anglo American style lots, although many of these are rhomboid in shape to accommodate the slanted street network. Within these lots are a variety of buildings dating from 1908 onwards.¹⁷³ Nearly all buildings are detached single-story residences occupying a single lot and orientated perpendicular to the street.

Showing the influence of both Anglo American and Sonoran traditions, some of these residences are located flush against the property, however most are placed in each lot's center with a small set back. These dwellings are constructed from a combination of adobe and brick masonry, as well as wood frame, and show the influence of a variety of styles including Sonoran Transitional, Spanish Eclectic, Bungalow, and Ranch. A single adobe commercial building—the Elysian Grove Market (since converted for residential use)—with a traditional chamfered corner entry is located on the intersection of South Samaniego Avenue and West Simpson Street. Due to the multipart subdivision of the barrio, its oldest buildings are generally found at its southern end with their age progressively decreasing to the north and west.¹⁷⁴

The streets within El Hoyo show moderate variation due to its multiple plats. Those at the barrio's southern end are widest with a paved roadbed flanked by a concrete curb holding back substantial public right-of-way reserved for road verges and sidewalks. Like Barrio Santa Rosa, these sidewalks are intermittent, with most of the space occupied by gravel and sparse street trees or other landscaping. Further north, all the streets except West Simpson are substantially narrower with no sidewalks and a minimal road verge. Throughout the entire area of the neighborhood, fences typical of Latinx urbanism, form a visible separation between semi-private front yards and the public street. Vegetation and landscaping are prevalent in this portion of the barrio, due in part to the barrio's distinct topography. Overhead powerlines traverse the neighborhood on wooden poles forming a key visual component of the streetscape.

Armory Park

The limited sliver of Armory Park included in Los Barrios Viejos is bounded by East 13th Street and East McCormick Street to the north, South 6th Avenue to the east, and the diagonal cut of South Stone Avenue to the west and south (Figures 42 and 43). This area includes the east-west arterials of East 14th through East 17th streets, all of which connect the center of Armory Park to the historic transportation thoroughfare of South Stone Avenue. The blocks included in this area were mostly subdivided as part of Tucson's original 1872 town site.¹⁷⁵ The northernmost two blocks of the sliver were originally included in a large military plaza that was subdivided three decades later.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷¹ Ibid, 16.

¹⁷² Ibid.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid, 16-17.

¹⁷⁵ Pedersen, "The Townsite is Now Secure," 164.

¹⁷⁶ Collins, William S. "Amendment to the Armory Park Historic Residential District," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, Washington, D.C., U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1996, 2.

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The Foreman survey divided the land into a distinctly Anglo-American gridiron with square blocks composed of long narrow lots divided by a service alley. Development of these lots began to occur following the arrival of the railroad in 1880 when the district of Armory Park proved to be conveniently located for railroad workers and administrators. Because of this, the neighborhood is traditionally defined by its Victorian character featuring single and multistory residences constructed in eastern styles and located in the center of the lots. Showing an important counterpoint to such buildings are the neighborhood's alleys which often feature modest adobe worker's housing originally utilized by blue-collar railroad workers and house servants.¹⁷⁷ Although elements of this Victorian quality persist where the Armory Park meets Barrio Calle Meyer and Convento, the Anglo American and Sonoran traditions of the two neighborhoods intermix along an important commercial corridor that historically served both resident groups.

Following 1902, the blocks between South Stone and South 6th Avenue began to be developed southward and westward.¹⁷⁸ Pressures from the railroad coupled with the completion of a street trolley line in the early 1900s fostered further growth within the neighborhood.¹⁷⁹ The streetcar line ran south from Tucson's urban core along South Stone Avenue before turning east at East 17th Street.¹⁸⁰ This made property along the route increasingly trafficked, convenient, and valuable, thus propelling South Stone Avenue and the streets adjoining it to become a rich mix of detached residences, apartment buildings, commercial properties, and institutional buildings. Local landmarks constructed along or near the line include the Temple of Music and Art, the Labor Temple, the San Carlos Apartments, the Immaculate Heart Academy, as well as numerous religious facilities belonging to multiple denominations. The corridor culminates in the "5 Points" intersection where South Stone Avenue, South 6th Avenue, West 18th Street, and East 18th Street all meet in a five-part junction.

The variety of the building typologies within the sliver possess a similarly wide array of styles including Transformed Sonoran, Transitional Sonoran, American Territorial, Queen Anne, various revivals, bungalows, Commercial forms, as well as more contemporary-styled buildings. Along South Stone and East 6th Avenue are numerous detached multistory residences. Both roads possess three lanes (likely originally more) and are flanked by concrete curbs retaining road verges and concrete sidewalks. Street trees are irregularly planted within the verges, many of which are paved or graveled. Transparent fences or low retaining walls regularly line both streets, while the occasional commercial and apartment building are flush against the property line. Both avenues retain historic single arm streetlights with additional dual globe lights attached midway up their shafts. Utility lines are largely absent.

Behind these buildings, a central alley runs from East 14th Street to East 15th Street and is alternatively called South Scott Avenue or South Russell Avenue. Although paved, this is substantially narrower than the streets east and west of it and features several more modest single-story buildings located nearly flush with the street edge. Moderate vegetation is located along the alley where private property owners maintain small gardens. The area's remaining east-west streets are narrower than its wide avenues, but possess road verges, concrete sidewalks, limited street trees, and some overhead powerlines.

Decline of Tucson's Adobe Architectural Tradition

Upon statehood in 1912, Tucson was well on its way to achieving a common ambition for settlements in the West: becoming a modern, progressive American city. During the first two decades of the twentieth century, fewer and fewer of Tucson's buildings were constructed of adobe. The emergence of brick as a dominant building material relegated Mexican/Spanish and Native American forms and materials to the margins of "modern" Tucson, solidifying the socio-economic division between old and new architecture. During the Great

¹⁷⁷ Nequette and Jeffery, *A Guide to Tucson Architecture*, 106.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

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Depression for instance, very little construction occurred within the Los Barrios Viejos, save for the installation of new sidewalks and by 1941, local, state, and federal housing authorities turned their attention to urban renewal targeting neighborhoods like those comprising Los Barrios Viejos. Apart from La Reforma housing complex, little new construction occurred within the NHL boundaries in the post-war period, and instead housing programs focused more and more on targeting these areas for demolition.

By the second half of the twentieth century, the city's adobe legacy was dealt another blow, when urban renewal efforts decimated entire sections of Tucson's barrios, including portions of what would have been Barrio Calle Meyer and Convento (Barrio Libre).¹⁸¹ Los Barrios Viejos remains the best example of Tucson's local architectural traditions representing the largest concentration of Sonoran adobe vernacular architecture in the U.S. Today, Los Barrios Viejos serves as a lasting reminder of Tucson's Spanish and Mexican American roots, its multiethnic past, and its adobe architectural tradition.

¹⁸¹ Sheridan, *Los Tucsonenses*; Sonnichsen, *Tucson*.

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6. PROPERTY DESCRIPTION AND STATEMENT OF INTEGRITY

Ownership of Property

Private: ✓
Public-Local: ✓
Public-State:
Public-Federal:

Category of Property

Building(s):
District: ✓
Site:
Structure:
Object:

Number of Resources within Boundary of Property: 622^182

Contributing

Buildings: 391
Sites: 1
Structures:
Objects:
Total: 392

Noncontributing

Buildings: 225
Sites: 4
Structures:
Objects:
Total: 229

ARCHITECTURAL CLASSIFICATION:

Sonoran: Classic Sonoran, Transformed Sonoran, Transitional
Late 19th and 20th century American movements: American Territorial, Queen Anne, Bungalow (Craftsman), Ranch, Commercial
Late 19th and 20th century revival styles: Italianate, Neoclassical, Spanish Eclectic (Mission Revival, Spanish Colonial Revival, Pueblo Revival)

MATERIALS:

Foundation: Stone, concrete.
Walls: Adobe, stone, brick, wood, concrete, metal, stucco.
Roof: Sod, wood, tile, asphalt, metal, synthetic.
Other: Glass, Concrete Masonry Unit (CMU), cast stone.

PROVIDE PRESENT AND PAST PHYSICAL DESCRIPTIONS OF PROPERTY

The NHL district occupies 155 acres south of modern Tucson's downtown core (Figures 1-3). This represents the remaining portion of Tucson's original Sonoran-style barrios, portions of which were demolished in the late 1960s and early 1970s to make way for large-scale urban renewal.

Much of the district was initially developed in the 1800s south of the fortified Presidio that formed the nucleus of colonial Tucson. As the city transferred from Spanish, to Mexican, and eventually American jurisdiction, it became an important link in transcontinental travel. By the 1850s, the first urban settlement beyond the

182 Please note that one resource is classified as "more information needed to evaluate" owing to its inaccessibility.

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immediate vicinity of the Presidio walls was occurring in what is today Barrio Calle Meyer and Convento. These buildings were arranged in an urban form reflective of earlier Spanish building ordinances. Central plazas were surrounded by public and religious buildings while residential streets emanated from them. Buildings utilized Sonoran vernacular architectural traditions with adobe row houses encircling a communal courtyard in the center of the block (Figure 44).

Increasing numbers of Anglo Americans began to settle in the city transforming its built environment with their own imported architectural traditions. Existing Sonoran buildings were modified with hipped or gable roofs and decorative millwork. New buildings showcased elements of multiple conventions utilizing local adobe construction techniques to erect detached buildings set back from the street indicative of Anglo American building traditions. New materials too were employed, including brick masonry, glass, or milled lumber. Increasingly, ornamentation was used to embellish building features. These changes were accelerated by the arrival of the Southern Pacific Railroad in 1880.

With the arrival of the railroad, new construction throughout the district began corresponding to national architectural trends. Although adobe remained an inexpensive building material, brick masonry became favored by the city's Anglo-American settlers. Over time, such distinctions in material and style differentiated Tucson's residents along ethnic and socio-economic divides which was solidified in the early twentieth century. Throughout the 1880s and 1890s, residences were constructed in the American Territorial and Queen Anne styles followed by twentieth century revivalist styles, Craftsman bungalow, and Commercial style. All of these made their own contributions to the development of Los Barrios Viejos building stock between 1890 and 1942. Following the conclusion of WWII, the edges of these barrios were infilled with Ranch style housing.

Throughout the history of Los Barrios Viejos, its Spanish layout and Sonoran architectural heritage rendered it increasingly unpalatable to Tucson's Anglo-American settlers. As these settlers avoided the area in favor of the city's newly platted northeastern suburbs, the barrios became an enclave for Tucsonenses and other marginalized communities. Perceived urban blight resulted in the demolition of nearly half of Barrio Calle Meyer and Convento by the 1970s. This resulted in the displacement of individuals from more than 200 residences. In the aftermath of this demolition, the remainder of Barrio Calle Meyer and Convento was listed on the NRHP as Barrio Libre in 1978 following the listing of Armory Park in 1976.¹⁸³ Barrio El Hoyo was listed in 2008 and Barrio Santa Rosa 2011.¹⁸⁴

Building styles

SONORAN

Classic Sonoran 1850-1890

The development of a distinctive Sonoran architectural typology in the post-contact period drew from both Colonial and indigenous traditions which were informed by climatic demands and material availability.¹⁸⁵ This blend resulted in a vernacular design that was uniquely suited to the culture,

¹⁸³ Tim Fisher, Dale Frens, and Janet Smith, "Barrio Libre," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1977); Anna B. Laos, "Armory Park Historic Residential District," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1977).

¹⁸⁴ Paul Farnsworth, Paul Rawson, and Morgan Rieder, "Barrio El Hoyo Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2007); Morgan Reider, "Barrio Santa Rosa Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2011).

¹⁸⁵ Dora P. Crouch, Daniel J. Garr, and Axel I. Mundigo, *Spanish City Planning in North America* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1982), 69.

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customs, and environment of the upper Sonoran region (Figure 45).

Well before the typology's development, archeological evidence and eyewitness accounts indicate that the protohistoric inhabitants of the Tucson region—the Tohono (Desert) O'odham (People)—did not construct substantial permanent buildings.¹⁸⁶ Elsewhere in Sonora and neighboring New Mexico however, settlements were more substantial with agglomerations of cellular stone or adobe brick rooms constructed around a large central courtyard.¹⁸⁷ Such complexes could be expanded with additional rooms or floors, had excellent thermal qualities, and were reasonably defensible during periods of conflict.¹⁸⁸

As Spanish colonizers pushed north from Mexico City, they brought with them their own architectural legacy. Like indigenous cultures, the Spanish also utilized a form of adobe technology in the erection of permanent buildings. The form of these were governed by a series of royal ordinances that attempted to standardize urban forms in New Spain's colonial settlements, known as the "Laws of the Indies."¹⁸⁹

Based upon classical antecedents, the "Laws" stipulated a number of standards for *pueblos* (towns) from their siting and configuration to their architecture and public buildings.¹⁹⁰ According to these edicts, buildings throughout New Spain should be located along streets which radiate outwards orthogonally from a central plaza.¹⁹¹ These streets should be narrow in hot environments to reduce passive exposure to the sun.¹⁹² Individual houses should maintain large yards and corrals for "health and cleanliness."¹⁹³ They should also "try so far as possible to have the buildings all of one type for the sake of the beauty of the town."¹⁹⁴ While adherence to the Laws was substantially weaker in remote frontier communities removed from Mexico City, these laws nonetheless informed the development of the colonial built environment and formed a shared benchmark for Spanish architectural tradition in the New World.¹⁹⁵

Both Spanish and indigenous architecture placed emphasis upon adobe construction, the importance of setting, a unified form, and a central yard. These similarities allowed for an easy transposition of ideas and methods which were intertwined to create the Classic Sonoran building style. The earliest of these buildings were single-story boxes with adobe block walls sometimes covered in a mud stucco.¹⁹⁶ When present, the foundation of these buildings was constructed from stone masonry or a stone veneer applied along the base of the wall.¹⁹⁷ Atop these walls, an *enterrado* roofing system was employed usually consisting of *vigas*—ceiling beams—topped by smaller *savinas*—cross beams—which were in turn covered by a *latilla*—lathing—often made from the ribs of saguaros.¹⁹⁸ This was capped by an earthen

¹⁸⁶ Messina, "Architecture and Urbanism," 29.

¹⁸⁷ Crouch, Garr, and Mundigo, *Spanish City Planning*, 69.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁹ Messina, "Architecture and Urbanism," 37; Veregge, "Transformations of Spanish Urban Landscapes," 379-389.

¹⁹⁰ Veregge, "Transformations of Spanish Urban Landscapes," 380-381.

¹⁹¹ Dora P. Crouch and Axel I. Mundigo, "The City Planning Ordinances of the Laws of the Indies Revisited," Parts 1 and 2, *The Town Planning Review* 48, No. 3 (1977): 247-268; No. 4 (1977): 397-418, Part 1, 254.

¹⁹² Crouch and Mundigo, "The City Planning Ordinances," Part 1, 255.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁵ Crouch and Mundigo, "The City Planning Ordinances," Part 2, 399.

¹⁹⁶ Nequette Jeffery, *A Guide to Tucson Architecture*, 272.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*; Bob Vint and Christina Neumann, *Southwest Housing Traditions* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Partnership for Advancing Technology in Housing (PATH), 2005), 33, 49.

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layer up to 12 inches thick creating a nearly flat roof bordered by a parapet.¹⁹⁹ This roof provided additional work space for domestic tasks and could function as an open air sleeping porch during the hot summer months.²⁰⁰ During the later monsoon season, water often permeated the layers of the *enterrado*, however this was partially alleviated through the use of *canales*—cylindrical scuppers set into the parapet to convey excess water off the roof and away from the mud brick walls of the building.²⁰¹

Inside each building was a pounded dirt floor and adobe-built corner fireplace while above both these, *manta*—cloth—could be stretched between each *viga* to protect against falling earth or insects.²⁰² Due to the substantial thermal mass of adobe, these interiors remained cool in the summer and retained heat in the winter while their single room depth allowed for effective cross ventilation.²⁰³

These simple adobe boxes formed a basic unit of construction and were usually built flush against the street edge with shared party walls.²⁰⁴ This created a unified street-facing elevation which was characteristically austere with few openings, hand-hewn mesquite lintels, and minimal trimwork.²⁰⁵ Entries were filled with wooden plank doors set back into the wall, while windows were unglazed and covered by iron grills called *rejas*.²⁰⁶ As additional units lined urban blocks, safe communal courtyards were created within, most of which contained an outdoor kitchen behind each dwelling, as well as communal trees, a well, an outhouse, or a ramada.²⁰⁷

As the Classic Sonoran building matured, elements of it changed and higher status variants were developed. One of these was the *zaguán* house which is defined by a large central hall allowing a horse and wagon to enter from the street into the interior courtyard.²⁰⁸ Unlike early Sonoran row houses, the *zaguán* house was regularly freestanding, designed as two-rooms deep, and its size was often determined by the length of available timber.²⁰⁹ Still, these houses were not typically architect designed and were instead part of a local vernacular tradition; what architectural historian Eric Mercer describes as “the common building of a given place and time.”²¹⁰ The success of the Classic Sonoran was due in part to its adaptability, modularity, and relative ease of construction. New rooms could be added as families expanded, outdoor kitchens enclosed to keep pace with fashion, or the *zaguán* walled up to form further living space.²¹¹

The development of the Classic Sonoran building in Tucson was nearly synonymous with the development of the settlement itself. In 1775, Spanish colonial authorities relocated military fortifications in contemporary Southern Arizona from Tubac to Tucson.²¹² The new site was located along the Santa Cruz River across from an existing Spanish *visita*; San Agustín del Tucson.²¹³ The

¹⁹⁹ Nequette and Jeffery, *A Guide to Tucson Architecture*, 272; Vint and Neumann, *Southwest Housing Traditions*, 33.

²⁰⁰ Nequette and Jeffery, *A Guide to Tucson Architecture*, 272.

²⁰¹ Vint and Neumann, *Southwest Housing Traditions*, 33.

²⁰² Nequette and Jeffery, *A Guide to Tucson Architecture*, 272, 273; Vint and Neumann, *Southwest Housing Traditions*, 49.

²⁰³ Vint and Neumann, *Southwest Housing Traditions*, 52.

²⁰⁴ Nequette and Jeffery, *A Guide to Tucson Architecture*, 271.

²⁰⁵ Nequette and Jeffery, *A Guide to Tucson Architecture*, 272; Vint and Neumann, *Southwest Housing Traditions*, 51.

²⁰⁶ Nequette and Jeffery, *A Guide to Tucson Architecture*, 272.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁹ Vint and Neumann, *Southwest Housing Traditions*, 55.

²¹⁰ Qtd. in Carter and Collins Cromley, *Invitation to Vernacular Architecture*, 8.

²¹¹ Nequette and Jeffery, *A Guide to Tucson Architecture*, 272; Vint and Neumann, *Southwest Housing Traditions*, 49.

²¹² Nequette and Jeffery, *A Guide to Tucson Architecture*, 12.

²¹³ Messina, “Architecture and Urbanism,” 31-32.

position was considered to be a strategically superior location to defend against Apache raids and to maintain a forceful presence over the local O'odham.²¹⁴ By 1783, approximately 600 ft long adobe walls had been constructed to create a square Presidio.²¹⁵ Despite the ongoing risk of hostilities, the Presidio formed the nucleus of small agricultural settlement that grew up around it under Spanish and later Mexican control.²¹⁶

As a military *presidio*, Tucson was not subject to the same rigid planning that governed more formal Spanish *pueblos*. Dwellings constructed outside the presidio walls were not formally arranged and were instead clustering along the fort's western edge near its primary entrance.²¹⁷ Over time, the locus of this peripheral community moved south along transportation corridors leading to the river and *visita* complex.²¹⁸ A dense urban landscape was developed consisting of tight blocks defined by narrow streets and edged in the adjoining façades of Classic Sonoran buildings. These elements continued to define Tucson's built environment through its acquisition by the U.S. in 1854 and Arizona's subsequent territorial status in 1863.

Despite the prevalence of Classic Sonoran buildings in Tucson's early history, none have remained unchanged through to the present-day.²¹⁹ All have been subsequently modified to suit changing architectural trends or demolished due to redevelopment, urban renewal, or dilapidation. Transformed examples (see Transformed Sonoran) are visible along South Convent Avenue as well as at La Casa Cordova.²²⁰ Nonetheless, the building type marks an important touchstone in Tucson's succeeding architectural development and would form the core of a local vernacular tradition lasting through the mid-twentieth century.

Transformed Sonoran 1863-1912

The Transformed Sonoran style was a successive development upon the Classic Sonoran building brought about by the influx of Anglo Americans into Southern Arizona following the 1853 Gadsden Purchase (Figure 46).²²¹ Across the region, preexisting buildings were modified to correspond to Anglo American values which expected peaked roofs and milled molding.²²² As such, building supplies including fired brick, milled lumber, and sheets of tin were imported by wagon to dress existing adobe boxes.²²³ Flat roofs were covered by a gable or pyramid, fenestrations were ornamented with trimwork, and porches were added to exterior elevations.²²⁴

As Southern Arizona's principal population center, Tucson saw the greatest transformation of its existing architectural stock after the American Civil War. The War's conclusion allowed the country to begin refocusing its attention on westward expansion making Tucson an attractive regional locale with its strategic position and relative urbanity.²²⁵ While the earliest settlers had conformed to existing Mexican-Hispanic architectural traditions, as their Anglo American population increased they sought

²¹⁴ Ibid, 37.

²¹⁵ Ibid.

²¹⁶ Ibid, 39; Nequette, "Architecture of the Territorial Period," 45.

²¹⁷ Veregge, "Transformations of Spanish Urban Landscapes," 423.

²¹⁸ Ibid.

²¹⁹ Nequette and Jeffery, *A Guide to Tucson Architecture*, 272.

²²⁰ Ibid.

²²¹ Nequette, "Architecture of the Territorial Period," 44.

²²² Nequette and Jeffery, *A Guide to Tucson Architecture*, 273.

²²³ Ibid.

²²⁴ Ibid; Nequette, "Architecture of the Territorial Period," 47.

²²⁵ Nequette, "Architecture of the Territorial Period," 45.

familiar architectural forms to help distinguish their own homes and anglicize Tucson's urban form.²²⁶ Using limited building materials brought first by wagon, Anglo Americans helped to produce numerous examples of Transformed Sonoran buildings across the city's existing neighborhoods.²²⁷ This process accelerated after the arrival of the Southern Pacific Railroad in 1880 making possible larger shipment of building supplies at lower cost.²²⁸ While the construction of Classic Sonoran buildings largely ceased after 1890, their alteration into Transformed Sonoran buildings continued into the twentieth century stopping fully only around 1912.²²⁹ These are visible throughout Tucson's oldest neighborhoods but are concentrated within Barrio Calle Meyer and Convento in Los Barrios Viejos.

Transitional c. 1880-1900

The Transitional style is a hybridization of American and Sonoran building practices that is indicative of the increasing numbers of Anglo Americans in Southern Arizona throughout the late-nineteenth century (Figure 47). While the Transitional style shares many identifying characteristics with the Transformed Sonoran style, a Transformed Sonoran building is exclusively an earlier building type adapted to later standards while the Transitional style is used to describe new construction.

The style is often divided into two periods: the Early Transitional style and the Late Transitional style.²³⁰ The Early Transitional style retained the Sonoran practice of constructing buildings to the property line, however these new buildings were often detached from their neighbors showing an increasing preference for Anglo American norms and concepts of private property.²³¹ These buildings show the distant influence of Greek Revival architecture (contemporaneously termed the "National style"), then popular in the American East and Midwestern frontier.²³² Like the Transformed Sonoran style, the Early Transitional style utilized gable roofs, brick coping, and simple trimwork.²³³ Buildings were also frequently lime-stuccoed with a basalt veneer wainscoting and shutters for glazed windows.²³⁴

Across Southern Arizona, with the arrival of the railroad, the style matured into the Late Transitional style which is characterized by more elaborate building forms deriving from national trends. Here, new buildings were often constructed in the center of their lot with porches to create zones of separation between public and private spaces.²³⁵ In addition to gable roofs, these Late Transitional Buildings possessed square floorplans and hipped roofs or pyramidal roofs with bay windows.²³⁶ Other changes included the use of new materials imported by rail including delicate Victorian spindlework, tin roofing, or exotic landscape species.²³⁷

The Transitional style was used found in Tucson through 1900 with the 1880 arrival of the Southern

²²⁶ Ibid, 47.

²²⁷ Ibid.

²²⁸ Nequette and Jeffery, *A Guide to Tucson Architecture*, 273.

²²⁹ Ibid.

²³⁰ Harris J. Sobin, "Vigas to Rafters: Architectural Evolution in Florence, Arizona," *The Journal of Arizona History* 35, No. 4 (1975): 357-382, 358-359.

²³¹ Sobin, "Vigas to Rafters," 358-359; Nequette, "Architecture of the Territorial Period," 50; Nequette and Jeffery, *A Guide to Tucson Architecture*, 273.

²³² Nequette and Jeffery, *A Guide to Tucson Architecture*, 273; Sobin, "Vigas to Rafters," 358-359; Virginia Savage McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses* (New York: Knopf, 2017), 252.

²³³ Nequette and Jeffery, *A Guide to Tucson Architecture*, 274-275.

²³⁴ Ibid, 273-274.

²³⁵ Ibid, 273.

²³⁶ Sobin, "Vigas to Rafters," 358-359.

²³⁷ Ibid, 359; Nequette and Jeffery, *A Guide to Tucson Architecture*, 274.

Pacific Railroad marking a clear transition between the Early and Late variations of the style.²³⁸ The continued use of the style gave a long afterlife to Greek Revival in the City which had fallen out of fashion elsewhere in the country in the 1860s.²³⁹ The Transitional style represented a substantial change in local cultural values eschewing traditional Mexican architectural forms for those of the U.S.²⁴⁰ Anglo American residents clearly held it was no longer appropriate to utilize flat roofs as sleeping quarters nor were they needed for defense against potential raids.²⁴¹ The style's usage continued in Tucson's neighborhoods through the 1890s when it was replaced by a preference for the Queen Anne styled buildings that began appearing in larger numbers within Armory Park.²⁴²

EARLY AMERICAN

American Territorial c. 1880-1910

The American Territorial style (also the "Anglo-Territorial," "Anglo-Brick," or "American-Brick" style) was the first style in Southern Arizona to be largely divorced from local architectural traditions and environmental demands (Figure 48).²⁴³ The style was instead a vernacular iteration of the National Folk style found across the U.S. in the wake of widespread railroad expansions.²⁴⁴ Throughout the country, the coming of the National Folk style erased regional traditions, instead replacing them with construction techniques derived from standardized, easily transported materials including milled lumber and brick masonry.²⁴⁵

In Southern Arizona, these American Territorial buildings show some relation to earlier Anglo American efforts to cast existing architectural traditions in a more familiar form. When compared to the Transformed or Transitional styles, the American Territorial style shows a similar reliance on freestanding mass, simple geometric plans, large expanses of wall, porches, and pyramidal roofs.²⁴⁶ Unlike these earlier styles however, American Territorial buildings are exclusively constructed of brick which was imported first by railroad and later manufactured at local brickyards.²⁴⁷ Because of this, they often possess segmental arches above window and door openings but are more easily defined by integrated corner porches and the use of other prefabricated components.²⁴⁸

With the construction of the Southern Pacific Railroad through Tucson in 1880, imported construction materials became substantially cheaper and more accessible for residents and builders. Suggestive of their increasing political power, Tucson's Anglo-American residents began a concerted effort to restyle the city in the image of urban America.²⁴⁹ These efforts raised brick and stone construction to peak of the "modern style" while denigrating adobe buildings as "mud and straw."²⁵⁰ Because of this changing attitude, numerous buildings in the American Territorial style were constructed throughout the city despite their apparent shortcomings for Tucson's climate. While adobe buildings possessed substantial

²³⁸ Nequette and Jeffery, *A Guide to Tucson Architecture*, 276.

²³⁹ McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 264.

²⁴⁰ Nequette and Jeffery, *A Guide to Tucson Architecture*, 274.

²⁴¹ Ibid.

²⁴² Ibid.

²⁴³ Sobin, "Vigas to Rafters," 359.

²⁴⁴ McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 135.

²⁴⁵ Ibid.

²⁴⁶ Nequette, "Architecture of the Territorial Period," 51.

²⁴⁷ Ibid; Sobin, "Vigas to Rafters," 359; Allison C. Diehl and Michael W. Diehl, "Economics, Ideology, and the Brick Industry in Tucson," *Journal of the Southwest* 43, No. 3 (2001): 423-446, 436.

²⁴⁸ Sobin, "Vigas to Rafters," 359; Nequette and Jeffery, *A Guide to Tucson Architecture*, 276.

²⁴⁹ Diehl and Diehl, "Economics, Ideology, and the Brick Industry," 436.

²⁵⁰ Ibid.

thermal mass to insulate them from outside temperatures, brick provided few such benefits.²⁵¹ Nonetheless, the style persisted until it was ultimately replaced by the Craftsman Bungalow and other revivalist styles of the early-twentieth century.²⁵²

Queen Anne 1890-1910

The Queen Anne style (sometimes Queen Anne Revival) originated in England in the late 1850s in the work of architects including Philip Webb and W.E. Nesfield.²⁵³ Although loosely based upon masonry buildings dating from the reign of Queen Anne (1702-1714), the style quickly evolved beyond its formal revivalist roots.²⁵⁴ In the work of architects such as Richard Norman Shaw, the Queen Anne style became defined by its asymmetrical façades, free-flowing plans, and textural surfaces ornamented with motifs drawn from Elizabethan and Jacobean sources.²⁵⁵ These buildings often contained large central stair halls open to adjacent rooms and defined by a spatial interplay of light and shade.²⁵⁶ The style was utilized for a variety of public buildings but became most popular for residential buildings providing a less somber substitute to Gothic Revival architecture.²⁵⁷

Sources differ over the introduction of the Queen Anne style to the U.S. Some describe H.H. Richardson's 1875-1876 Watts Sherman House as the style's first usage in North America.²⁵⁸ Others meanwhile note the style's first introduction in the construction of two houses at the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exposition.²⁵⁹ Regardless, through the 1870s the style proved initially popular among elite patrons and resulted in a number of architect-designed residences throughout the Eastern U.S.²⁶⁰ These architects transformed the style with elements inspired by a new interest in Japanese architecture and America's colonial past.²⁶¹ Although the resulting buildings retained the English emphasis on the Queen Anne's irregular façade, organic floorplan, and aesthetic *horror vacui*, their designers crafted a new version of the style in its own North American idiom. To this end, English half-timbering and pargetting was replaced with native clapboard, shingles, and stickwork.²⁶² Developments in balloon framing allowed for the addition of bay windows and towers to avoid expanses of planar wall surfaces.²⁶³ Wide ground story verandas were constructed to help enunciate a façade's asymmetry and provide a building with better horizontal massing.²⁶⁴

By 1880, the style had started to spread across the country through its publication in pattern books and *American Architect and Building News*.²⁶⁵ These books and the availability of mail-order plans gave the

²⁵¹ Ibid; Nequette and Jeffery, *A Guide to Tucson Architecture*, 276.

²⁵² Nequette and Jeffery, *A Guide to Tucson Architecture*, 276.

²⁵³ Margaret Henderson Floyd, *Grover Art Online*, online, s.v. "Queen Anne Revival," 1999, accessed January 10, 2020, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.article.T070355>.

²⁵⁴ Ibid.

²⁵⁵ Ibid; McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 350.

²⁵⁶ Andrea J. Lazarki, "Philip E. Chappell House," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1988).

²⁵⁷ Floyd, "Queen Anne Revival."

²⁵⁸ McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 350; Charles W. Snell, "William Watts Sherman House," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1970).

²⁵⁹ Nequette and Jeffery, *A Guide to Tucson Architecture*, 277; Lazarski, "Philip E. Chappell House."

²⁶⁰ Floyd, "Queen Anne Revival."

²⁶¹ Ibid; Lazarki, "Philip E. Chappell House."

²⁶² Floyd, "Queen Anne Revival."

²⁶³ McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 348; Lazarki, "Philip E. Chappell House."

²⁶⁴ McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 348.

²⁶⁵ Ibid.

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style enormous influence among the wider American public.²⁶⁶ Without formal theory or rules, the style's early roots were increasingly abandoned in favor of a vernacular Queen Anne utilized by both large and small residences.²⁶⁷ These preserved many of the defining traits the American Queen Anne style but were also characterized by the widespread use of wooden spindlework, patterned shingles, and turned posts or classical columns.²⁶⁸ Advances in mass production and the transcontinental railroads system meant that these elements were both affordable and accessible to greater numbers of Americans.²⁶⁹ By 1897, the Queen Anne style was visible from Boston to San Francisco and had spread to other portions of the Anglophone world.²⁷⁰

In the years following the arrival of the railroad, the architecture of Tucson continued to normalize with that of the wider U.S. Due to the city's remove from more urbanized parts of the country, the Queen Anne style is only evident after 1890.²⁷¹ The style proved popular among the city's new Anglo American residents who applied it in the developing Armory Park neighborhood as well as the city's other more established districts (Figure 49). As with other national styles employed in Tucson, its Queen Anne buildings are dramatically simplified compared to their distant precedents.²⁷² They reflect these origins largely through asymmetrical façades, diagonal walls, bay windows, and flowing interior floorplans.²⁷³ Nonetheless, the buildings are representative of a continued desire among the city's new residents to reinvent Tucson from its origins as a Mexican Sonoran settlement and transform it into an American metropolis.²⁷⁴ As with the American Territorial style, Tucson's Queen Anne buildings are frequently constructed of "modern" brick masonry as part of a contemporary rejection of traditional Adobe architecture.²⁷⁵ By 1910, the style had had been replaced by others both within Tucson and nationally.²⁷⁶

LATE-19TH AND EARLY-20TH CENTURY REVIVAL STYLES

Italianate 1840-1885

The origins of the American Italianate style developed in England in the start of the nineteenth century.²⁷⁷ Along with the older Gothic Revival style, the "Italian Villa style" arose as part of a reaction against the formal dogmatism of Neoclassical architecture.²⁷⁸ Instead of emulating Italy's Roman ruins, the Italianate style drew inspiration from the rustic villas of the region's countryside.²⁷⁹ These proved

²⁶⁶ Ibid, 350; Floyd, "Queen Anne Revival."

²⁶⁷ Floyd, "Queen Anne Revival."

²⁶⁸ McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 370; Floyd, "Queen Anne Revival."

²⁶⁹ McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 370; Floyd, "Queen Anne Revival"; John Leeke and Aleca Sullivan, "Preserving Historic Wood Porches," Preservation Brief (Washington D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2006), 2; Bureau for Historic Preservation, "Queen Anne style 1880 – 1910." Pennsylvania Architectural Field Guide (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical & Museum Commission, August 26, 2015), accessed January 8, 2020, www.phmc.state.pa.us/portal/communities/architecture/styles/queen-anne.html.

²⁷⁰ Floyd, "Queen Anne Revival."

²⁷¹ Nequette and Jeffery, *A Guide to Tucson Architecture*, 277.

²⁷² Ibid.

²⁷³ Ibid.

²⁷⁴ Diehl and Diehl, "Economics, Ideology, and the Brick Industry," 436-437.

²⁷⁵ Ibid, 436.

²⁷⁶ Nequette and Jeffery, *A Guide to Tucson Architecture*, 277; McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 370.

²⁷⁷ Clay Lancaster, *Antebellum Architecture of Kentucky* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2015), 287.

²⁷⁸ McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 286; Bureau for Historic Preservation, "Italianate Villa/Italianate style 1840 – 1885." Pennsylvania Architectural Field Guide (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical & Museum Commission, August 26, 2015), accessed April 3, 2020, <http://www.phmc.state.pa.us/portal/communities/architecture/styles/italianate.html>.

²⁷⁹ Ibid, 314.; Marcus Whiffen and Frederick Koeper, *American Architecture, Volume I: 1607-1860* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1987), 186.

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evocative to English converts of the growing Romantic Movement as well as enticing to architects for their compositional asymmetry and economical lack of ornament.²⁸⁰ This European progenitor of the American Italianate became defined by its “picturesque” massing with broad wall surfaces, deeply bracketed eaves, low pitched roofs, and perhaps an overhead tower.²⁸¹

As the style grew increasingly popular throughout Western Europe, by the 1830s it had begun to establish itself in the Eastern Seaboard of the U.S.²⁸² In 1837, Scottish architect John Notman designed a new residence in the Italian Villa style for the George Washington Doane, the Bishop of New Jersey.²⁸³ This building was later publicized in Alexander Jackson Downing’s 1842 *Cottage Residences*, however it was Downing’s 1850 *The Architecture of Country Houses* that helped cement the style’s popularity.²⁸⁴ Here, multiple plates depicted renderings and plans of Italianate “Villas” and Downing’s books were quickly emulated by other similar publications.²⁸⁵

In the U.S., the European Italianate style matured into a uniquely American version which was fused with elements of the Renaissance Revival and Federal styles.²⁸⁶ This new iteration was defined by rectilinear massing often asymmetrically composed; elaborate window treatments including hoods, pediments, or bays; as well as abstracted classical detailing with bracketed cornices, rusticated pediments, or quoins.²⁸⁷ Between 1850 and 1880, the Italianate style proved enormously popular and migrated to the West Coast in architect Henry W. Cleveland’s 1868 Bidwell Mansion in Chico, California.²⁸⁸ Here, an abundance of virgin forestland allowed for construction with less expensive timber, however the resulting buildings still retained a solidity of form and faux-masonry surface detailing that defined their eastern counterparts.²⁸⁹

The Italianate style proved nationally popular throughout much of the nineteenth century and was easily adapted to both residential and commercial uses.²⁹⁰ Nonetheless, an economic depression following the Panic of 1873 led to a widespread lull in new construction initiating the style’s decline.²⁹¹ When the depression ended, architects in leading metropolitan areas turned instead to the Gothic Revival or Queen Anne styles as more fashionable sources for their designs.

Because of Tucson’s geographic isolation before the arrival of the railroad, the Italianate style was found in the city after it had already grown outmoded elsewhere. In 1877, California emigrant Baron Jacobs first used the style in a large residence located on North Meyer Avenue and Alameda Street.²⁹² Over the twenty year span of its construction, the building was erected with an adobe ground story and wood frame second story making it exemplary of the ways in which national styles were adapted to local

²⁸⁰ Whiffen and Koepfer, *American Architecture*, 186; Lancaster, *Antebellum Architecture of Kentucky*, 287.

²⁸¹ Lancaster, *Antebellum Architecture of Kentucky*, 287.

²⁸² Teresa Grimes, “Los Angeles Citywide Historic Context Statement; Context: Architecture and Engineering, 1850-1980; Theme: Architecture After Statehood, 1950-1884,” Historic Context Statement (Los Angeles: City of Los Angeles, Department of City Planning, Office of Historic Resources, 2016), 20.

²⁸³ Whiffen and Koepfer, *American Architecture*, 186.

²⁸⁴ Lancaster, *Antebellum Architecture of Kentucky*, 288.

²⁸⁵ Ibid.

²⁸⁶ Ibid; McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 302.

²⁸⁷ McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 283-287.

²⁸⁸ Grimes, “Los Angeles Citywide Historic Context Statement,” 20.

²⁸⁹ Ibid.

²⁹⁰ Bureau for Historic Preservation, “Italianate Villa/Italianate Style.”

²⁹¹ McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 302.

²⁹² Nequette and Jeffery, *A Guide to Tucson Architecture*, 52.

traditions.²⁹³ At the time of its construction, the Jacobs House was the most elaborate Italianate building in the city and likely remained so throughout the style's short tenure.²⁹⁴ With the arrival of the railroad in 1880, Tucson's architectural modes became more closely tied with national trends and the Italianate was quickly eclipsed. Due to its short duration, the style is rare throughout the city's older neighborhoods and prime examples of it such as the Jacobs House have since been demolished.²⁹⁵ Nonetheless, elements of the style including its bracketed roofs and paneled double doors are sometimes found on Transformed Sonoran row houses within Los Barrios Viejos (Figure 50).

Neoclassical 1895-1950

The original Neoclassical style had its roots in the academic inclinations of the Enlightenment which looked to the trabeated forms of Ancient Rome as a source of architectural inspiration. Although the style dominated Europe throughout the end of the eighteenth century, in the U.S. it failed to garner the same popular appeal that was given to its successor, the Greek Revival style.

Nonetheless, a new form of the Neoclassical style returned to the U.S. following its dramatic and public reintroduction at the World's Columbian Exposition held in Chicago in 1893.²⁹⁶ Also titled "Beaux-Arts" or "City Beautiful," the style was widely emulated for public, commercial, and ecclesiastical buildings across the country. Here, it was defined by its use of architectural symmetry, classical detailing, freestanding columns, parapeted roof lines, and often monumental scale.²⁹⁷

In domestic construction, the style was most clearly defined by its symmetrical façade covered with a full-height portico featuring classical columns beneath a roof or pediment.²⁹⁸ Between approximately 1900 and 1950 the style proved to be an enormously popular choice for traditionally-minded residential designs.²⁹⁹ The style's tenets would filter down to even more humble dwellings and its symmetry, balance, and detailing can be found in reduced form on middle-class mail-order houses as well as worker's cottages throughout the country.³⁰⁰

In Tucson, the Neoclassical style would prove most successful on largescale public and commercial buildings found throughout the city's downtown core. Examples include Armory Park's Carnegie Free Library and Scottish Rite Cathedral. The style is rarer within Los Barrios Viejos where no high-style examples of it are found within the neighborhood. Instead, elements of the Neoclassical including its detailing and balance can be seen on more modest buildings constructed after the turn of the century (Figure 51). Within Tucson and nationally, the style remained utilized through WWII where it proved to be a stalwart alternative to the influence of International Modernism.³⁰¹ Although rare in Tucson, this mature iteration of the style tended to be even less academic and emphasized side-gabled roofs and more slender columns.³⁰²

²⁹³ Ibid.

²⁹⁴ Ibid.

²⁹⁵ Ibid.

²⁹⁶ McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 446.

²⁹⁷ Nequette and Jeffery, *A Guide to Tucson Architecture*, 52.

²⁹⁸ McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 437.

²⁹⁹ Ibid, 438.

³⁰⁰ Alan Gowans, *The Comfortable House* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1986), 177.

³⁰¹ McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 439.

³⁰² Ibid.

SPANISH ECLECTIC**Mission Revival 1895-1930**

The Mission Revival style was developed in California in the last quarter of the nineteenth century where some scholars see it as a counterpart to the East Coast's enthusiasm for the revived colonial styles.³⁰³ In both regions, architects looked to local historic buildings as a source of inspiration and legitimacy for a new building forms and ornamental motifs. While practitioners of the Georgian Revival style looked to the English Georgian buildings of eighteenth century, Californian architects turned to their own colonial architecture in the form of Spanish missions. Although architects first began looking to these in the late 1880s, they gained widespread publicity following Chicago's 1893 World Columbian Exposition. Here, California's own pavilion was constructed in the Mission Revival style with massive, stuccoed walls, opposing bell towers, decorative parapets, and a low-pitched red tile roof.³⁰⁴ These features came to subsequently define the style which freely interpreted elements of authentic Spanish missions for a wide variety public, domestic, and commercial buildings. Additional characteristic attributes might include the extensive use of arches without molding, overhanging eaves with exposed rafter tails, as well as the use of balconies and verandahs.³⁰⁵

While the Mission Revival style was initially confined to California, it quickly spread eastwards in the first decades of the twentieth century.³⁰⁶ The style was promoted by a numerous journals and magazines and was adopted by the Santa Fe and Southern Pacific railroads for their Southwestern depots and hotels.³⁰⁷ Overtime, the originally simplified forms of the style became more complex until it was ultimately forsaken in favor of more academically "correct" styles with greater ornamentation.³⁰⁸

With its own ruined *visita* mission as well as San Xavier del Bac only 8 miles south, Tucson was well positioned to adopt the Mission Revival style. Its first usage in the city occurred around 1895 and the style was successfully employed by local architect Henry C. Trost in his 1898 designs for the Owl's Club in the El Presidio neighborhood.³⁰⁹ In Los Barrios Viejos, the style was widely utilized for more modest domestic buildings where parapets, arches, and stucco were frequently used to modify the contemporary form of the bungalow. Elements of the Mission Revival style are also visible in several later ecclesiastical buildings including the 1932 Primera Iglesia Bautista (First Mexican Baptist Church), the 1929 Chapel of San Cosme (Figures 52-54), and the 1914 Teatro Carmen (also Elks Club).

Spanish Colonial Revival 1918-1940³¹⁰

By the end of World War I (WWI), architects were progressively concerned with the formal rigor of their work and found the ecclesiastic origins of the Mission Revival style to be both

³⁰³ Ibid, 512.

³⁰⁴ *Pacific Coast Architectural Database* (PCAD), online, s.v. "World's Columbian Exposition, California Pavilion, Chicago, IL," accessed April 2, 2020, <http://pcad.lib.washington.edu/building/11082/>.

³⁰⁵ Nequette and Jeffery, *A Guide to Tucson Architecture*, 280-281.

³⁰⁶ McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 512, 518.

³⁰⁷ Gowans, *The Comfortable House*, 114; McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 518.

³⁰⁸ Gowans, *The Comfortable House*, 114; McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 518.

³⁰⁹ Nequette and Jeffery, *A Guide to Tucson Architecture*, 56, 280.

³¹⁰ Note that many architectural historians consider "Spanish Colonial" to be a misnomer for a style that in fact drew from numerous European antecedents rather than Spain's colonial architecture. Because of this, some scholars have preferred the terms "Spanish Eclectic" or "Mediterranean Revival" however "Spanish Revival" is increasingly preferred (McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 782).

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inappropriate and limited for domestic and commercial designs.³¹¹ Further, the style's plain forms and lack of ornament were increasingly incompatible with the economic prosperity of the "roaring twenties" which utilized lavish architectural styles to showcase individual wealth.³¹²

As early as the 1880s, architects and patrons were exploring Spanish-inspired styles in buildings such as St. Augustine's Ponce de Leon Hotel or Richmond's Jefferson Hotel.³¹³ More playful than Mission Revival, Spanish styled architecture possessed a salable exoticism that represented a sharp contrast to the more dour classical styles of the Northeast.³¹⁴ Developers and boosters encouraged this association with Mediterranean leisure and made use of it to promote Spanish-styled real estate developments as well as travel destinations.³¹⁵

These sporadic efforts crystalized in Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue's designs for the 1915 Panama-California Exposition held at San Diego's Balboa Park.³¹⁶ For the Exposition, Goodhue utilized a grandiose interpretation of Spanish as well as Spanish Colonial Architecture to solidify the highly ornate Spanish Colonial Revival style.³¹⁷ This proved greatly successful, and the exposition's buildings were widely visited and published garnering them national approval.³¹⁸

As defined by Goodhue, the Spanish Colonial Revival style consisted of decorative elements drawn from the entire history of Spanish architecture including Byzantine, Moorish, Gothic, Renaissance, and Baroque sources.³¹⁹ Other attributes of the style included stuccoed wall surfaces, red tile roofs with minimal eaves, elaborate entry portals, as well as colorful tilework and wrought iron elements.³²⁰ These were often arranged on asymmetrical picturesque building forms incorporating open courtyards as well as towers or domes on large-scaled commissions.³²¹

New architects added to this lexicon as ongoing conflicts in Europe forced them to focus their scholastic "Grand Tours" on neutral Spain.³²² Aspiring architectural students often used such trips to develop a personal sourcebook for their future work and many returned to the U.S. full of Spanish Moorish architectural details.³²³ With such impetus, the style initially proved popular throughout California, Arizona, Texas, and Florida where it was lent vague historic legitimacy.³²⁴ By the 1920s, planned communities in Florida as well as Southern California were designed in the style including whole neighborhoods of Los Angeles.³²⁵ Here, the style's rise coincided with the newfound popularity of the film industry and it quickly became associated with Hollywood glamor.³²⁶ Seeking to capitalize on the affiliation, cinemas of the 1920s were

³¹¹ Gowans, *The Comfortable House*, 114, 116.

³¹² Ibid.

³¹³ Ibid.

³¹⁴ Gowans, *The Comfortable House*, 108.

³¹⁵ Ibid, 108-109.

³¹⁶ McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 522.

³¹⁷ Ibid, 522, 534

³¹⁸ Ibid.

³¹⁹ McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 522.

³²⁰ Ibid.

³²¹ Nequette and Jeffery, *A Guide to Tucson Architecture*, 282.

³²² McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 534.

³²³ Ibid, 782.

³²⁴ Ibid, 522.

³²⁵ Ibid, 522.

³²⁶ Gowans, *The Comfortable House*, 118.

often constructed in the Spanish Colonial Revival style and the movie industry likewise helped to spread its use into regions well beyond the Southwest.³²⁷

In Tucson, the Spanish Colonial Revival proved widely popular, and the style was employed on several prominent public buildings. These include Roy Place's 1929 Pima County Courthouse as well as Jaastad, Herreras, and Dubois' 1929 remodel of Saint Augustine Cathedral.³²⁸ Although less prominent, the style was also employed on many domestic homes visible across Tucson's older suburbs. Few such examples are found within Los Barrios Viejos; however, the style was utilized for the 1930 Carrillo School designed by Merritt H. Starkweather (Figure 55).³²⁹

Pueblo Revival 1928-1953

Just as earlier Spanish revivalist styles had used local architectural traditions to inform "authentic" modern designs, the Pueblo Revival style (sometimes the Spanish Pueblo Revival style) drew inspiration from the indigenous and early Hispanic vernacular buildings of New Mexico and Northern Arizona.³³⁰ These distinctive regional buildings were composed of thick battered adobe walls with curved edges, flat roofs, and rounded roof beams or *vigas* that penetrated through the supporting wall to its exterior. Such buildings were agglomerative and grew organically as needed resulting in multi-story complexes with stepped massing and irregular floor plans. As Anglo Americans "rediscovered" or "invented" the American Southwest in the late-nineteenth century, these features were appropriated to create a new style that was both exotic and indicative of an increasingly self-conscious and commercializing West.³³¹

Despite the dominant New Mexican influences on the Pueblo Revival style, it was first developed in California in 1894 when architect A.C. Schweinfurth designed the Montalvo Hotel and later the Pleasanton Ranch for the Hearst family.³³² With a symmetrical composition, stuccoed walls, and some Spanish detailing, these buildings showed the obvious influence of the Mission Revival Style.

By 1905, the style had migrated to Albuquerque where University of New Mexico President William George Tight applied it to his institution's fledgling campus.³³³ With numerous subsequent commissions, Tight helped to codify the Pueblo Revival style which retained the distinctive massing of its exemplars but became a modern Anglo American invention. Like other revivalist styles, Pueblo detailing and motifs were generally applied atop traditional American construction methods.³³⁴ In addition to its form and other indigenous details, contemporary critics stressed the style's horizontality, its lack of arches, its flat parapets, its brown (adobe)

³²⁷ Ibid, 109-110.

³²⁸ Nequette and Jeffery, *A Guide to Tucson Architecture*, 85, 242.

³²⁹ Ibid, 103. Note that Nequette and Jeffery erroneously describe this building as Mission Revival.

³³⁰ Marcus Whiffin, *American Architecture since 1780: A Guide to the styles* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1981), 229-230.

³³¹ Abigail A. Van Slyck, "Mañana, Mañana: Racial Stereotypes and the Anglo Rediscovery of the Southwest's Vernacular Architecture, 1890-1920," *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* 5 (1995): 95-108.

³³² Whiffin, *American Architecture Since 1780*, 230.

³³³ Ibid.

³³⁴ Nequette and Jeffery, *A Guide to Tucson Architecture*, 282-283. Notably, Tight hoped his campus buildings would also reflect the organic growth and multifunctionality of their true Pueblo antecedents stating that all the buildings would eventually become "parts of one enormous structure capable of accommodating all the population and giving room for all varied activities of the University" (qtd. in Whiffin, *American Architecture Since 1780*, 230). Another exception to this is the 1937 National Park Service Region III Headquarter Building in Santa Fe which rambles across an eight acre site and bears the distinction of being the largest adobe office building in the U.S.

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coloring, as well as its carved wood members.³³⁵ Although left unmentioned, architects also incorporated Spanish Colonial elements not found on traditional pueblos including open verandas, corbeled porches, and balconied westworks.

North of Albuquerque, New Mexico's ancient capital and commercial center of Santa Fe had entered a period of decline after being surpassed in 1880 by the Atchison Topeka and Santa Fe mainline.³³⁶ Although the city had later achieved a rail connection, it had lost its former territorial dominance and witnessed a gradual population decline through 1910.³³⁷ Seeking to remake Santa Fe into an American city, civic leaders altered the historic plaza, covered adobe walls, and promoted brick cottages for local residents.³³⁸ These sensibilities remained intact through the early-twentieth century, however a countermovement composed of artists, historians, anthropologists, and wealthy Easterners gained increasing traction in their promotion of Santa Fe's historic form.³³⁹

Beginning in 1909, members of this movement successfully opposed the destruction of the 1610 Palace of the Governor's.³⁴⁰ This was "restored" by archaeologist Jesse Nusbaum over the next three years and resulted in a 1912 exhibition held at the palace titled the "New-Old Santa Fe exhibit."³⁴¹ Based upon the tenets of the City Beautiful movement, admirers of the exhibit proposed a "City Different" movement for Santa Fe which would apply the Pueblo Revival style to the city's built environment.³⁴² It was hoped these changes would attract additional tourism to buoy the city's economy. The plan was approved by the Santa Fe City Council in the same year.³⁴³ Over the next five years, 90% of all remodeling and 50% of all new residences were constructed in the Pueblo Revival style and many of its most successful practitioners were introduced to it.³⁴⁴

In the following decade, the style gained widespread publicity when it was utilized for the New Mexico pavilion at the 1915 Panama-California Exposition in San Diego.³⁴⁵ It proved most popular in New Mexico and Arizona where large concentrations of Pueblo Revival buildings are found in Santa Fe, Albuquerque, as well as Tucson.³⁴⁶ Additional examples are found dispersed across the Western U.S. where they were constructed largely in the 1920s and 1930s.³⁴⁷

Like most revivalist styles, the Pueblo Revival style was rejected following WWII when national tastes turned to more contemporary styles and building forms. Nonetheless, modern zoning

³³⁵ Agnes Lufkin, "The 'New-Old Santa Fe style' of 1915," *Bulletin of the Historic Santa Fe Foundation* 10, No. 3 (1982): 5-8, 5-6.

³³⁶ Corinne P. Sze, "The Santa Fe Railway's Santa Fe Passenger Depot," *Bulletin of the Historic Santa Fe Foundation* 20, No. 1 (1992): 1-11, 2.

³³⁷ *Ibid.*

³³⁸ *Ibid.*

³³⁹ Veregge, "Transformations of Spanish Urban Landscapes," 402.

³⁴⁰ David Kammer, "Buildings Designed by John Gaw Meem," National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2002, 6.

³⁴¹ *Ibid.*

³⁴² *Ibid.*

³⁴³ D. Lorne McWatters, "'The City Different'? Historic Preservation and the Santa Fe Plaza," *The Public Historian* 29, No. 4 (2007): 87-90, 88.

³⁴⁴ Veregge, "Transformations of Spanish Urban Landscapes," 402.

³⁴⁵ Whiffin, *American Architecture Since 1780*, 230.

³⁴⁶ McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 544.

³⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

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restrictions requiring the use of architectural styles have kept the style from dying out completely and modern examples of it are still found.³⁴⁸

In Tucson, the style's romantic and picturesque qualities grew to be popular among the city's new Anglo American residential neighborhoods to the north and west of its downtown core. Although buildings constructed in the style did not possess the historic legitimacy given to them in Santa Fe, their thick walls and limited fenestration proved conducive to the city's intense climate.³⁴⁹ Several prominent examples of the style were constructed for social and ecclesiastical purposes such as the 1953 St. Michael's and All Angels Episcopal Church designed by Josias Joesler.³⁵⁰ In Los Barrios Viejos, the style resulted in few residential buildings; however, the 1929 Labor Temple shows the distinctive use of the style's vigas and stepped massing (Figure 56). Elsewhere, elements of the style's detailing can be found on some modest vernacular buildings within Los Barrios Viejos.

BUNGALOW 1900-1940

The American Bungalow was developed in Southern California and was influenced of the architecture of three continents. The term "bungalow" has its origin in the Bengalese word 'banggolo' denoting a simple mud, thatch, and bamboo building type.³⁵¹ The term was subsequently adopted by British imperialists who applied it to a common residential form with a square floorplan surrounded by a verandah. This concept was imported to England in the 1870s and appeared in modified form in Massachusetts in 1880.³⁵² In the 1880s, Americans residing on the east coast are thought to have introduced the term when referring to vacation rentals in California.³⁵³

In California, the evolution of the Bungalow type was heavily influenced by the tenets of the Arts and Crafts Movement and its fascination with Japanese material culture. This resulted in the Craftsman style (sometimes Western Stick) which avoided overt historical references and instead sought to harmonize with its surrounding landscape. Craftsmen designers accentuated handcraftsmanship, structural ornamentation, and sought to exhibit construction materials and methods.³⁵⁴

The bungalow, however, was far more influential as a residential form for the burgeoning middle class in expanding American cities. The Craftsman bungalow embodied an idealized vision of informal domestic life.³⁵⁵ Home builders distilled the style's aesthetic into a simplified and cost-effective form. This was typically 1 to 1.5 stories high with the ground floor raised above grade. A spacious front porch was covered by a principal broad side or front gable supported by tapered piers. Costs were reduced by using local materials and compressed footprints.³⁵⁶ Costs were further mitigated through the use of open plans which combined domestic functions into a single great room.³⁵⁷ These residences were

³⁴⁸ Gowans, *The Comfortable House*, 118, 120; Whiffin, *American Architecture Since 1780*, 232.

³⁴⁹ Nequette and Jeffery, *A Guide to Tucson Architecture*, 282.

³⁵⁰ Ibid, 212.

³⁵¹ Robert M. Craig, *Grover Art Online*, online, s.v. "Bungalows in the United States," 2015, accessed January 8, 2020, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.article.T2289898>.

³⁵² John Mack Faragher, "Bungalow and Ranch Houses: The Architectural Backwash of California," *Western Historical Quarterly* 32, no. 2 (2001): 149-173, 151.

³⁵³ Ibid.

³⁵⁴ Craig, "Bungalows in the United States."

³⁵⁵ Ibid.

³⁵⁶ Faragher, "Bungalow and Ranch House," 153.

³⁵⁷ Ibid.

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popularized through journals including Gustav(e) Stickley's *Craftsman Magazine* (1901-1916), *Sunset*, *House Beautiful*, or *Ladies' Home Journal*.³⁵⁸

Although initially Craftsman in style, the characteristics of the bungalow type were adapted into numerous other styles. Variations included the California, Sullivanese, Art Deco, or Art Moderne bungalows among many others. In much of the country, the California Bungalow is considered the archetypical Craftsman bungalow. In Arizona however, it is synonymous with a Mission Bungalow showing elements of Mission Revival architecture with stucco cladding and a decorative parapet. Most prevalent in Chicago, the Sullivanese bungalow is characterized by its low-relief vegetative ornament inspired by architect Louis Sullivan. An Art Deco bungalow is decorated with "zig-zag" or chevron patterns while Art Moderne is recognizable from its streamlined forms.

In response to public demand, numerous pattern or "bungalow books" were published offering detailed plans for local builders.³⁵⁹ Aspiring homeowners could order a "Ready Cut House" from mail order catalogues published by companies including Sears and Montgomery Ward.³⁶⁰ Through these, bungalows proliferated among a fresh generation of urban residents who constructed them in suburbs made newly accessible by the advent of the streetcar. Within such developments, dwellings were detached on rectangular lots with front yard setbacks narrow side yards.³⁶¹

The popularity of the bungalow throughout the country has been credited with the doubling of national home ownership between 1880 and 1920.³⁶² Its affordability and accessibility gave it broad appeal in every region of the U.S.³⁶³ With the dramatic rise in bungalow construction, contemporary detractors deplored the quality of these buildings and described their rustic simplicity as "uncouth and primitive."³⁶⁴ As in much of the rest of the country, the bungalow had widespread appeal in Arizona's urban areas including Phoenix and Tucson. The Southern Californian roots of the building type were well suited the desert climate of Southwest. The bungalow's wide porches, overhanging eaves, and slatted attic vents all aided in reducing temperatures during warm summer months.³⁶⁵

In Tucson, numerous examples of the bungalow's great versatility can be widely found including both architect-designed and vernacular iterations. Ready-cut homes are found in some of the city's traditionally Anglo American neighborhoods while adobe examples exist in the traditionally Mexican American Los Barrios Viejos (Figures 57 and 58).³⁶⁶

RANCH 1935- C. 1970

The modern ranch house evolved in Southern California in the first decades of the twentieth century. Among its earliest practitioners were the architectural firm Greene and Greene who drew inspiration from the architectural form of the *hacienda* and *casa de rancho*. Drawing from these sources, the firm's 1903 Bandini House was a single-story U-shaped residence surrounding a central courtyard. The

³⁵⁸ Craig, "Bungalows in the United States"; Faragher, "Bungalow and Ranch House," 153; McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 578.

³⁵⁹ Faragher, "Bungalow and Ranch Houses," 156.

³⁶⁰ Ibid.

³⁶¹ McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 67.

³⁶² Faragher, "Bungalow and Ranch House," 161.

³⁶³ Ibid.

³⁶⁴ Qtd. in Ibid, 154; Ibid, 156.

³⁶⁵ Nequette and Brooks, *A Guide to Tucson Architecture*, 284.

³⁶⁶ Ibid, 283-285; Rieder, "Barrio Santa Rosa Historic District," 2011.

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building successfully evoked a heavily romantic vision of California's colonial past and inaugurated a low-slung horizontality that would be the style's most defining feature.³⁶⁷

From these beginnings, the ranch house was further developed in the 1930s by local designers including most prominently Cliff May.³⁶⁸ Although not trained as an architect, May helped pioneer the rise of the style through a variety of custom homes in San Diego and Los Angeles.³⁶⁹ While the materials and ornamentation of these homes was consciously historical, their layout deviated sharply from the compact form and small rooms that characterized turn-of-the-century residences.³⁷⁰ Instead, May's ranch houses were distinguished by "rambling" floorplans with wings which utilized cross-ventilation, skylights, and sliding-glass doors to help "weld" indoor and outdoor living.³⁷¹ These designs reflected the country's increasing reliance on the automobile through the use of large lots and attached garages or carports to elongate their street-facing façades.³⁷²

Although the ranch style of May and others was initially a regional phenomenon, between 1946 and 1958 *Sunset Magazine* and *House Beautiful* repeatedly published May's designs to a national audience.³⁷³ As the style matured, May and others abandoned its Spanish colonial ornamentation in favor of modernist and western vernacular motifs.³⁷⁴ Boosters promoted the ranch as integral to "the California way of life" which was defined as informal, comfortable, and symbolic of "what the average American now has, or can reasonably expect to achieve by his own endeavors under the American democratic system."³⁷⁵ In tandem with its critical success, the style was also one of several architectural modes approved by the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) for subsidized low-interest loans. For these reasons, of the 1.65 million residences begun in 1955 and the 1.5 million begun throughout the rest of the decade, approximately nine tenths of them could be termed a "ranch house."³⁷⁶

In Tucson, the construction boom would result in the creation of more than 50,000 houses between 1945-1975.³⁷⁷ Many of these were in pre-planned suburbs and designed as ranch houses which were likely introduced to the city in the late 1940s through a Phoenix developer of tract housing.³⁷⁸ The form was common throughout Tucson's postwar residential neighborhoods. In Los Barrios Viejos, ranch houses are most notable along the southern periphery of the district where vacant lots remained available through the early 1950s (Figure 59).

³⁶⁷ *Pacific Coast Architectural Database* (PCAD), online, s.v. "Bandini, Arturo, House, Pasadena, CA," accessed January 6, 2020, <http://pcad.lib.washington.edu/building/8651/>.

³⁶⁸ Faragher, "Bungalow and Ranch House," 165.

³⁶⁹ Mary A. Van Balgooy, "Designer of the Dream: Cliff May and the California Ranch House," *Southern California Quarterly* 86, No. (2004): 127-144, 130-137.

³⁷⁰ Faragher, "Bungalow and Ranch House," 165-166; McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 479.

³⁷¹ Faragher, "Bungalow and Ranch House," 166; Cliff May, *Western Ranch Houses* (San Francisco: Lane Publishing Co., 1946), dust jacket, 68.

³⁷² McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 603.

³⁷³ Van Balgooy, "Designer of the Dream," 136.

³⁷⁴ Ibid, 137; David Bricker, "Ranch Houses Are Not All the Same," in *Preserving the Recent Past 2*, ed. Deborah Slaton and William G. Foulks (Washington D.C.: Historic Preservation Education Foundation, 2000), 2-118.

³⁷⁵ Van Balgooy, "Designer of the Dream," 137; qtd. in Faragher, "Bungalow and Ranch House," 172.

³⁷⁶ Laura Anne Kviklys, "The Identification and Preservation of 1950s Ranch House Interiors" (Master's Thesis, University of Georgia, 2011), 1).

³⁷⁷ J. Chris Evans, Jennifer M. Levstik, and R. Brooks Jeffery, "Post-World War II Residential Subdivision Development in Tucson, Arizona 1945-1975," National Register of Historic Places Eligibility Assessment," Tucson: City of Tucson, Historic Preservation Office, 2016, 11.

³⁷⁸ Nequette and Jeffery, *A Guide to Tucson Architecture*, 293.

COMMERCIAL

Beginning in the early-nineteenth century, a new building form was developed based almost exclusively upon the specific needs of urban commerce.³⁷⁹ Although treated in different styles depending upon the decade, the form itself remained in use until it was largely abandoned following ascendancy of automotive culture in the post-WWII period.³⁸⁰ This form was reflective of the increasing concentration of commercial activities into a central urban core which was often defined by a principal thoroughfare or Main Street.³⁸¹ High land values and limited street frontage resulted in block-like buildings that were placed on narrow lots, occupied the lot's full area, and shared party walls with their neighbors.³⁸² The street-facing elevations of these buildings were often ornamented showing a concern for their public appearance while their rear, alley-facing elevations were plain and utilitarian.³⁸³

Although these commercial buildings might show regional variation particularly in the use of style and material, they created a consistent urban environment that can be found across the country. This was typically composed of an orthogonal street grid whose spatial expanse was defined by the flush walls of commercial blocks placed directly on the pavement's edge.³⁸⁴ Competition for development drove communities to conform to this common standard rather than deviate with their own parochial typologies.³⁸⁵ Further, the urban layout proved easy for aspiring towns to emulate on a more modest scale.³⁸⁶

Within the commercial building form, numerous subtypes exist. The most common subset is the two-part commercial block which is defined by the division of its multi-story façade into two distinct and separate horizontal zones.³⁸⁷ This developed out of the shop-house form in the mid-nineteenth century in which a merchant or craftsman would maintain a shop in a building's ground story while inhabiting the levels above it.³⁸⁸ Overtime, the lower zone came to be defined by large windows to showcase the store within while the upper zone was characterized by smaller windows demarcating a single dwelling, apartments, or office space.³⁸⁹

Unlike the multiple stories and functions of the two-part commercial block, another subset—the one-part commercial block—consists purely of a ground-story occupied by a business.³⁹⁰ These buildings were likewise developed in the mid-nineteenth century and became prominent in Victorian boomtowns across the country.³⁹¹ Here, property owners hoping to profit from rising land prices might inexpensively construct a one-part block to create a small income while awaiting a time to re-sell.³⁹²

Until the arrival of the railroad in 1880, Tucson's commercial architecture cleaved far more closely to

³⁷⁹ Richard Longstreth, *The Buildings of Main Street* (Washington D.C.: National Trust for Historic Preservation, 1987), 12.

³⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 126.

³⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 14.

³⁸² *Ibid.*

³⁸³ *Ibid.*, 16, 17.

³⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 14.

³⁸⁵ Richard Longstreth, "Compositional Types in American Commercial Architecture," *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture 2* (1986): 12-23.

³⁸⁶ Longstreth, *The Buildings of Main Street*, 16.

³⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 24.

³⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 54.

³⁹¹ *Ibid.*

³⁹² *Ibid.*, 54-55.

Sonoran building traditions than to Anglo American ones. Where American cities developed clear business districts, Sonoran patterns supported mixed use commercial and residential development based loosely upon Spanish colonial traditions. This had evolved from the Laws of the Indies which demarcated only between governmental, religious, and secular functions rather than commercial and residential.³⁹³ Overtime, patterns developed in which merchants occupied the corner lots of the grid iron street arrangement dictated by the laws while residential buildings were placed in between. These commercial properties were often signified by a chamfered corner entry which was protected by a *toldeo*; a light-weight wood-framed awning.³⁹⁴ Otherwise, these buildings were largely indistinguishable in scale and construction from their adjacent adobe row houses and later records indicate that their use often shifted from store to residence and back again.³⁹⁵

After 1880, the radically reduced cost of rail-imported building materials allowed Tucson's Anglo American inhabitants to relegate the city's established Sonoran architectural traditions in favor of American commercial forms.³⁹⁶ Construction between the City's original urban core and the new train tracks resulted in the development of an expanded business district consisting of shops and warehouses.³⁹⁷ Historic photographs of this quarter centered off of Congress Street show the area boasted an impressive collection of one- and two-part commercial blocks constructed with elaborate Victorian façades.³⁹⁸ These streets were completed with trolleys and telegraph poles producing scenes would be hard to distinguish from many contemporary cityscapes across the U.S.

With commercial growth pulled to the train depot and Anglo American settlement centered elsewhere, Los Barrios Viejos retained much of its traditional development patterns even after the arrival of the railroad. While a minimal number of one-part commercial blocks were constructed on the Barrios' eastern border with Armory Park, the commercial form was more successful in influencing traditional designs (Figure 60). Through the 1930s, adobe masonry corner stores were still being erected; however, these include picture windows and stepped parapets reminiscent of conventional commercial motifs (Figure 61).

Significant buildings and structures

In addition to those buildings described in the Criterion 1 discussion, the following outlines other important buildings and structures located within Los Barrios Viejos.

ALL SAINTS CHURCH (408 SOUTH 6TH AVENUE)

The All Saints Church occupies a prominent corner site at the intersection of South 6th Avenue and East 14th Street (Figure 62). The Spanish Colonial Revival building is composed of a two-story cruciform nave with single-story side aisles all placed on a podium enclosing a full basement. Its walls are constructed from brick masonry sheathed in stucco while its foundation is a combination of rubble stone faced in cast stone ashlar blocks.³⁹⁹ The sanctuary's aisles are topped by shed roofs covered with rolled asphalt roofing while the nave and transept are enclosed by intersecting medium-pitched gables covered

³⁹³ Crouch et al., *Spanish City Planning in North America*, 6-19.

³⁹⁴ Nequette and Jeffery, *A Guide to Tucson Architecture*, 59.

³⁹⁵ Sanborn Fire Insurance Company.

³⁹⁶ Janet Parkhurst et al., "Historic and Architectural Resources of Downtown Tucson Arizona," National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2002, 37.

³⁹⁷ Veregge, "Transformations of Spanish Urban Landscapes," 427.

³⁹⁸ Ibid, 72- 73.

³⁹⁹ Poster Frost Associates, Inc., "Tucson Center for the Performing Arts," Final Report on Assessment Repairs Project, Tucson: City of Tucson, 2000, https://www.tucsonaz.gov/files/business/2000_PosterFrost_Report.pdf, accessed April 14, 2020, 5, 14.

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in metal roofing shingles.⁴⁰⁰ These shingles are rounded and painted red giving them the appearance from street level of Spanish terracotta tiles. Each of the building's four elevations is dominated by a plain double-height façade enclosing a point of the cruciform plan with a shallow triangular parapet. To each side of these façades project the single-story aisles which are given their own parapets along the principal eastern elevation and rear western elevation.

The building's primary entry is reached by wide brick steps which lead to three round-headed portals in the eastern elevation. The side portals consist of single glazed doors ornamented with decorative ironwork while the central portal is composed of a larger double wood door topped by a decorative fanlight. Around this is a cast stone arch applied to the façade while placed above it is a smaller cast stone niche echoing the arch below. Piercing the peak of the parapet is an *espadaña* consisting of a single arch without a bell. Secondary entries in the building's north and south elevations are modern aluminum multi-light round-headed windows placed at regular intervals in the walls of the aisles and as a clerestory. A single modern aluminum eight-light rose window is in the center of the north elevation while a loading dock is placed in the southern aisle-end of the west elevation.

The All Saints Church was established in 1912 as a "House of Worship for English Speaking Catholics."⁴⁰¹ Although further research is needed into the congregation's history, it appears to have been founded as a direct alternative to Tucson's traditional St. Augustine Cathedral located less than a quarter mile to the northwest.⁴⁰² The church occupied a preexisting building on the site that was destroyed by fire in 1917.⁴⁰³ At this time, the congregation consisted of 85 resident families and 25 transient families.⁴⁰⁴ Under the leadership of Reverend Thomas M. Connolly, the current building was constructed between 1921 and 1922 at a cost of over \$50,000.⁴⁰⁵ Built and designed by Charles Whitehead, the church was un-ironically constructed in a "pure Roman-Gothic-Mission" style apparently with red hued pressed brick walls and an elaborate double-towered westwork.⁴⁰⁶ This original fabric was dramatically altered during a substantial remodel undertaken between 1948 and 1949 giving the building its present form.⁴⁰⁷

Within the community, the All Saints Church became increasingly inclusive as its congregation dwindled. A Catholic school operated by the church was integrated with the mixed-race Cathedral School in the 1960s, however the church itself merged with St. Augustine's Cathedral in 1966.⁴⁰⁸ The building was vacated and eventually transformed into a performing arts space known as the Tucson Performing Arts Center or the *Cursillo*—Institute. Although the center was again shuttered in 1999 because of structural deficiencies, the church remains a prominent local landmark within Armory Park due to its scale, site, and history within the community.⁴⁰⁹

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid, 4.

⁴⁰¹ "All Saints Church to be Opened Tomorrow," *Arizona Daily Star*, 30 November 1912, morning edition, 6.

⁴⁰² Ernesto Portillo Jr., "Reunion stirs alumni memories of All Saints Catholic," *Arizona Daily Star*, 3 September 2017, C2.

⁴⁰³ Poster Frost Associates, Inc., "Tucson Center for the Performing Arts," 29; "All Saints Church to be Opened Tomorrow."

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁵ "Beautiful New All Saints' Church Will be Dedicated for Services Easter Sunday," *Arizona Daily Star*, 8 January 1922, 4.

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid; "Plans Completed for Building of New All Saints Church," *Tucson Citizen*, 25 September 1917, 3. Note that no photographs of this early building were uncovered, however aerial photographs dating to 1924 indicate that these towers, if they existed, were likely quite squat.

⁴⁰⁷ Poster Frost Associates, Inc., "Tucson Center for the Performing Arts," 4.

⁴⁰⁸ Portillo Jr., "Reunion stirs alumni memories of All Saints Catholic."

⁴⁰⁹ Teya Vitu, "Theater groups may revive performing arts center," *Tucson Citizen*, 6 April 2009,

<http://tucsoncitizen.com/morgue/2009/04/06/113681-theater-groups-may-revive-performing-arts-center/>, accessed April 14, 2020.

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EL TIRADITO (418 SOUTH MAIN AVENUE)

El Tiradito is a small shrine located on a single lot along South Main Street (Figure 63). The lot measures 40 feet in width by 120 feet in length. The current location is the third site of the shrine, which had been moved to accommodate roadway and residential development within Los Barrios Viejos. The ground is left unpaved and is covered only in fine gravel. At its rear (western end), a three-sided freestanding wall in the shape of a Mission Revival parapet has been erected. This is constructed from unstuccoed adobe masonry capped by brick coping. In the center of the wall, a stuccoed projection surrounds an arched niche that acts as the shrine's focal point. In front of the niche, wrought iron candle stands are placed along the ground surrounded by clusters of river rocks. Placed in front of these is a wrought iron votive candle stand. Minimal vegetation surrounds the shrine including prickly pear cacti and mesquite trees.

El Tiradito (Spanish for "the little castaway") is unique within the U.S. as an example of a "wishing shrine" characteristic of folk Catholic traditions.⁴¹⁰ Although stories differ detailing the shrine's origins, most hold that it commemorates the murder committed in the late-nineteenth century of an adulterous son-in-law.⁴¹¹ Unable to be buried in consecrated ground, the man was interred near the site of his death which became an unsanctioned place for prayer and vigils.⁴¹² The current location of the shrine dates from 1927 when the vacant lot it had moved to was deeded to the city.⁴¹³ In 1940, members of the National Youth Administration constructed the shrine's rear wall and niche.⁴¹⁴ The Tucsonenses community retains substantial traditional lore associated with the site and has maintained it throughout the course of its history.⁴¹⁵

CARRILLO SCHOOL (440 SOUTH MAIN AVENUE)

Located along South Main Avenue, the Carrillo School was built in 1930 on part of a large parcel that formerly contained the Carrillo Gardens and later the Elysian Grove amusement park (Figure 55). The present building is the result of multiple additions and renovations; however, the original school were designed by Merritt H. Starkweather in the Spanish Colonial Revival style.⁴¹⁶

The present-day building possesses a highly irregular footprint loosely organized around an original "E" shape designed to open east to the street. This E is bookended by two double-story pavilions at either end connected by a single-story spine which is bisected by the building's principal entry. When built, all these features enjoyed day-lit basements along the building's western elevation due to the site's sloping grade. In 1939, the northern pavilion was extended west to accommodate additional classrooms. Sometime after 1963, a large double-story rectangular block was constructed off the west side of the spine, opposite the principal entry. After this, another addition was made to the block extending its ground story to the west and south.

The school's oldest portions are constructed from brick masonry sheathed in stucco. These are topped by a low-pitched red tile roof without eaves or gutters. The interior is lit by a combination of triple-hung sash windows, double-hung sash windows, as well as several large arched windows. Spanish colonial

⁴¹⁰ James Garrison, "El Tiradito (Wishing Shrine)," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1976, Section 8.

⁴¹¹ Ibid.

⁴¹² Ibid.

⁴¹³ Ibid, 7.

⁴¹⁴ Ibid.

⁴¹⁵ Ibid; Jeffery and Nequette, *A Guide to Tucson Architecture*, 105.

⁴¹⁶ Nequette and Jeffery, *A Guide to Tucson Architecture*, 103.

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revival detailing is visible in ornamental cast-stone balconies set into the gable ends of each pavilion. Additional detailing is found in the building's bracketed doorways and vent openings formed in the shape of barbed quatrefoils. The most modern sections of the building constructed off the rear rectangular block are largely clad in unadorned stucco with flat roofs. A thin cornice runs along the parapet of these sections while minimal fenestration is provided through arched doors and windows in the south end and a loading dock at the north end.

Since its construction, the Carrillo School has served as an important local institution educating generations of children from Los Barrios Viejos. It continues to maintain a dominant presence along South Main Avenue due to its scale and is a rare example of a style professionally applied to a building in the barrio.

CONVENT STREETScape

Stretching between West Cushing Street and West 17th Street, South Convent Avenue offers one of the most intact examples of the streetscapes that once characterized much of Mexican and early American Tucson (Figure 64). The three-block stretch is orientated north to south and is defined by a paved roadway measuring 30 feet wide which is bordered on each side by concrete sidewalks measuring between 3 and 5 feet. Reflecting Sonoran vernacular traditions, many of the buildings lining the street are placed directly against the property line with doors or stoops leading onto the sidewalk. These buildings were erected from the late-nineteenth century up to the present-day with most dating to the early-twentieth century. Many are constructed from adobe blocks placed atop a rubble basalt foundation with limited fenestration and little ornamentation apart from intermittent *canales*. Some of these buildings are examples of the vernacular Classic Sonoran with a high parapet concealing a shed roof while others exemplify the Transformed Sonoran style with a gable or hipped roof atop a Classic Sonoran style building.⁴¹⁷ The street also shows limited examples of the Transitional style, Territorial style, and Queen Anne style.

The placement of these buildings forms a continuous façade along the length of each block broken only by vacant lots, driveways, and a small number of Queen Anne and Territorial style buildings placed in the center of their parcels. Several buildings located at the street's two intersections showcase a chamfered corner entry characteristic of traditional Sonoran commercial properties. Although a considerable infill has been constructed along the streetscape, the enforcement of neighborhood design guidelines has ensured that these newer buildings are visually compatible with their surroundings. Many of the new and old buildings have been left white, however an equal number are painted in a variety of bright colors including red, pink, ochre, and blue. More limited control has been exerted over the street's landscaping leaving great variety among the placement and species of its street trees and planting boxes. Throughout the street, wooden telephone poles are placed at regular intervals along both sides of the street trailing utility wires overhead at diagonals.

ELYSIAN GROVE MARKET (400 WEST SIMPSON STREET)

The Elysian Grove Market is in the southwestern corner of the intersection created by West Simpson Street and South Samaniego Avenue (Figure 65). Based on the rhomboid shape of the building's lot, it possesses an irregular footprint and appears to be composed of two contiguous buildings since connected through their joint party wall in their east and west walls, respectively. Both buildings are constructed atop concrete foundations and rise only a single story with walls constructed from adobe

⁴¹⁷ Unfortunately, none of these Classic Sonoran buildings have survived unaltered directly from the historic period. Those that exist have been restored to this appearance or are examples of more recent compatible construction.

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blocks. Both are topped by a continuous flat parapet concealing lightly pitched shed roofs.

Although no longer a functioning market, the building retains a chamfered corner entry located in its northeastern corner and opening to the intersection. This is composed of a set of double doors each with two narrow arched lights. Two secondary entries are composed of flush wooden doors located in the north elevation, while additional entries are placed in the south elevation. Multi-light steel casement windows in the original eastern building provide light into its interior while additional light is provided through glass skylights located in the roof of each original building.

Pima County Assessor's records indicate that the Elysian Grove Market was constructed in 1929 and served as a grocery and general store for the Barrio El Hoyo for much of its existence. The building retains its original signage and is a well-preserved example of a locally owned market. The property is significant within Barrio El Hoyo as one of the landmarks signifying entry into the neighborhood from South Main Street and proved a popular meeting place and community venue until its closure in the 1960s.⁴¹⁸

LABOR TEMPLE (267 SOUTH STONE AVENUE)

The Labor Temple is a Pueblo Revival style building located on the east side of South Stone Avenue within Armory Park beneath the prominent multistory fly loft of the Temple of Music and Art (Figure 66). The 1.5 story building is positioned flush with the street edge and possesses a nearly rectangular footprint with a notched northwest corner that occupies most of its parcel. The building is constructed atop a poured concrete basement with brick masonry walls. In keeping with its style, the building possesses various roof heights giving its massing a stepped appearance. A small second story projection rises from the building's southwest corner providing roof access while the height of its north edge is positioned lower than the building's central block.

Adding to the building's affect, its masonry walls are clad in pink stucco and rise to an intentionally irregular parapet concealing a shallow vaulted roof behind. Across the building's principal west elevation, false vigas have been applied (incorrectly) across the parapets with more located on the north elevation above the notched corner and lower edge. A wide segmental arch spans the building's west elevation and is flanked by two arched wooden doors. Beneath the segmental arch, a combination of decorative leaded glass and small casement windows are placed above eye-level atop a blank wall. A mullion bisects the windows and wall showing the interior division of the building's front space into two separate rooms accessed through both entries. The notched corner is enclosed by a corrugated metal fence concealing an additional oversize entry into the building. Further multi-light steel casement windows are placed in the building's north elevation.

Research indicates that the Labor Temple was constructed in either 1922 or 1929 and has been alternatively used as an automotive showroom, a boxing ring, and a professional studio.⁴¹⁹ Remarkably, little else is known about the building's history, however historic photographs indicate that it has changed little over the intervening 80 years.⁴²⁰ The building was likely constructed as part of a broader labor movement sweeping the U.S. during the first half of the twentieth century. Across the country,

⁴¹⁸ Paul Farnsworth, Paul Rawson, and Morgan Rieder, "Barrio El Hoyo Historic District," 17.

⁴¹⁹ Collins, William S. "Amendment to the Armory Park Historic Residential District," Inventory Form #231-077A-A.

⁴²⁰ Dorothea Lange, *Labor Temple. Tucson Arizona* (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1937), photograph. Note that this appears to be the same Dorothea Lange who would become famous for her Depression-era photographs taken for the Farm Security Administration.

buildings were constructed with meeting and event spaces, and rented offices to unions and other labor organizations.

PRIMERA IGLESIA BAUTISTA (482 SOUTH STONE AVENUE)

The Primera Iglesia Bautista (First Mexican Baptist Church) is a complex of interconnected buildings located within the northwest corner of the intersection created where West Kennedy Street abuts South Stone Avenue (Figure 53). This complex consists of at least three separate buildings originally located within a multi-lot compound connected through the construction of a fourth church building and its subsequent additions. The southernmost building is a single-story residence constructed in the American Territorial style with a T-shaped plan. This is set back from the street and constructed from brick masonry topped by intersecting Dutch gables (or gambrel). The building's fenestration consists of modern windows topped by segmental relieving arches and modern flush metal doors. Since the building's construction, its brick exterior has been stuccoed to complement the Mission Revival-styled church building erected north of it. Like the southernmost building, the northernmost building is a single-story residence in the American Territorial style constructed of stuccoed brick masonry rising one story above grade. This possesses a narrow rectangular plan orientated parallel to the street and is capped by a Dutch gable. Like the southern building, the northern building's fenestration consists of modern windows and doors set beneath segmental relieving arches. The third western building is smaller and constructed against the west edge of the property line. Barely visible from the street, this possesses a rectangular footprint and rises a single story to a medium-pitched gabled roof. The building's material is unknown, however it too has been sheathed in stucco.

The central church uniting these three buildings combines features of the Mission Revival style with a more traditional northeastern ecclesiastical form. It possesses a rectangular footprint set back from the street and is fronted by a central steeple—here rendered as a vaguely Moorish tower—placed in the building's principal eastern elevation. The rectangular nave rises a single story on stuccoed brick masonry walls and is topped by a simple gable covered in terracotta tile. The tower rises above this and is capped by an octagonal belfry crowned by a low metal-clad dome. The building is entered through a set of double wooden doors located in the base of the tower and narrow six light windows are located to the doors' left and right as well as above them. Portions of the building's remaining elevations are attached to the constituent buildings of the compound. Where freestanding however, these walls are graced with a combination of multi-light arched stained glass windows and six-light stained-glass windows. The entire compound is surrounded by a combination of wrought iron fencing and chain-link fencing. Aerial imagery shows a modern block addition has been added off the rear (west) elevation of the original northernmost building.

Before the construction of the church, the compound appears to have consisted of multiple residences and outbuildings that may or may not have been originally confined to their own individual lots. In 1933, a congregation of Mexican Baptist Church members raised \$9,000 to construct the present building in the "Spanish style."⁴²¹ Newspaper articles note the building resembled "the old missions in small Mexican towns," however its original designer and builder remains unknown.⁴²² As constructed, the church was able to hold 242 worshippers and its membership has remained active over the intervening decades.⁴²³ Today, its congregation pulls from multiple neighborhoods in Tucson who attend

⁴²¹ "Mexican Baptists Dedicate Chapel," *Tucson Citizen*, 6 October 1933, 5.

⁴²² Ibid.

⁴²³ Ibid; SFA Staff, "Inside Tucson's Primera Iglesia Bautista," *Border Love*, 23 August 2017, <https://borderlore.org/inside-tucsons-primera-iglesia-bautista/>, accessed April 14, 2020.

the church's predominantly Spanish services.⁴²⁴

TEMPLE EMANU-EL (564 SOUTH STONE AVENUE)⁴²⁵

The Temple Emanu-El is located along the western side of South Stone Avenue (Figures 67 and 68). It is a freestanding building set back from the street loosely designed with an eclectic combination of Mission Revival, Romanesque, and Commercial style features. The building possesses a rectangular footprint with a stone podium and brick masonry walls. Counter to Jewish tradition, the building is orientated with its principal elevation facing east to the street leaving the ark facing away from Jerusalem. The principal elevation is flanked by two towers topped by arched belfries capped by domes. Likely inspired by the Mission Santa Barbara, an applied tetrastyle Tuscan temple front is placed between both towers with a barbed quatrefoil vent centered in its pediment. Between the four pilasters are three round-headed arched stained-glass windows and two bifora windows flanking a single fully glazed window. Pedimented double doors are located at the foot of each tower providing formal separate entries to the building for both sexes.

While the principal east elevation is covered in white stucco, the remaining elevations have exposed brick. These are divided into bays each composed of a brick relieving arch containing a double hung sash window topped by a transom. Running above these is a paneled brick parapet concealing a low pitched combination gable and hipped roof.

Constructed in 1910, the Temple Emanu-El bears the distinction of being Arizona's first synagogue and was funded by prominent local families to designs by Ely (Eli) Blount who worked for the architectural firm of Henry Jaastad.⁴²⁶ During its first years of operation, the Temple functioned as the only Jewish synagogue between San Francisco and Las Vegas, New Mexico and it remained singular in Arizona until 1935.⁴²⁷ By the late 1940s, the temple's congregation had outgrown the space and it was vacated in 1949 following the construction of a new facility.⁴²⁸ After its sale in 1951, the building served a variety of tenants until 1994 when it was restored for use as a community space and Museum of Jewish history

SAN COSME (546 WEST SIMPSON STREET)

San Cosme is a small Roman Catholic church located along West Simpson Street in Barrio El Hoyo (Figure 54). The single-story building is located away from the property line with a rectangular footprint and adobe masonry walls. These are topped by a low-pitched gable roof with minimal eaves covered predominantly in 3-tab asphalt shingles. The building's principal entry is through a set of double wooden doors centered in its southern elevation. Multiplane round-headed arched windows are in the east and west elevations providing light to the interior while the primary entry is covered by a toldo. The building's design employs elements of the Mission Revival style including an *espadaña* (bell wall) at its southwest corner, white stucco cladding, and red clay roof tiles atop the toldo.

Local tradition holds that the church was constructed by members of the local Catholic community to use as a place of worship for neighborhood services. A precise date of construction for San Cosme has not been determined and the degree to which it was originally sanctioned by church authorities remains unclear. The building's style, construction materials, and subsequent usage make it indicative of the

⁴²⁴ SFA Staff, "Inside Tucson's Primera Iglesia Bautista."

⁴²⁵ Also historically referred to as the Stone Avenue Temple.

⁴²⁶ R. Brooks Jeffery, "Arizona's First Synagogue: A Story of Birth and Renewal at the Stone Avenue Temple," *Heritage Matters*, December (2003):14, 14.

⁴²⁷ Ibid.

⁴²⁸ Ibid.

surrounding Tucsonenses community and traditional forms of folk Catholicism. Although its usage has lessened in recent years, today San Cosme continues to serve both in its original function and to its same local congregation.

TEATRO CARMEN (380 SOUTH SIMPSON STREET)

The Teatro Carmen is a 1.5 story brick masonry building with an elongated irregular footprint located on along South Meyer Street (Figure 69). The nearly rectangular the western rear two-thirds of the footprint have been slightly widened giving it a rough approximation of an “L” shape. The building is constructed flush against the property line maintaining the continuous street façades of the rowhouses originally constructed to its north. These have since been replaced and today the building shares a party wall with a commercial office complex to the north and a vacated social club to the south. Its rear west elevation is clad in corrugated metal panels with a small single-story wood-frame shed-roofed addition constructed off its northwest corner.

The building’s primary street-facing east elevation is composed of a central arched entry portal flanked by arched apertures. Inset into the portal is a set of double flush metal doors while both apertures are glazed in glass block up to the springing line of the arch which is thereafter filled solid. A plain belt course supported by brick corbeling demarcates the beginning of the building’s upper mezzanine floor. This acts as a sill course for two smaller arched apertures glazed by square four-light fixed wooden windows topped by a similarly solid filled arch. Capping both windows is a rounded parapet flanked by merlons. Additional visual interest is added to the façade by another plain belt course intersecting both mezzanine windows which are surrounded by simple raised borders. The entire elevation has been stuccoed with painted borders added to the lower two apertures and entry portal. Topping this is a hipped roof with exposed eaves covered in unpainted corrugated metal panels. This runs into a wider gable covering the building’s wider western two-thirds and terminates in a gable end covered also in corrugated metal panels.

The Teatro Carmen remains a prominent landmark in Los Barrios Viejos despite its long vacancy and incomplete history. The building was commissioned by prominent Tucson resident Carmen de Soto and constructed by master craftsman Manuel Flores in 1914-1915.⁴²⁹ Under Soto’s management, the theater became an important Latinx cultural center drawing Mexican and Spanish theatre troupes as well as prominent Spanish-language actors.⁴³⁰ By the 1920s, the theatre transitioned to presenting films and boxing matches before Soto eventually sold it in 1926.⁴³¹ Thereafter it became an auto garage and was eventually incorporated into the Pilgrim Rest Elks Lodge #601 in 1937.⁴³² Between 1937 and 1949, the Elks extended the facility with a similarly scaled building immediately to the theatre’s south. It is unknown whether this new building was internally connected to the theatre or whether both remain separate.

⁴²⁹ Jan Cleere, “Western Women: Carmen Soto’s theater was cultural center,” *Tucson.com*, 6 November 2015, https://tucson.com/news/local/western-women-carmen-soto-s-theater-was-cultural-center/article_72d4b486-67ee-5a78-b6c5-40cc9aa4feac.html, accessed January 14, 2020.

⁴³⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴³¹ *Ibid.*

⁴³² Wall plaque, *Teatro Carmen*, Tucson-Pima County Historical Commission and the Arizona Historical Society, Tucson, Arizona.

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Previous documentation on file (NPS):

- Previously listed in the National Register (fill in 1 through 6 below)
Not previously listed in the National Register (fill in only 4, 5, and 6 below)

El Tiradito

- 1. NR #: 71000115
2. Date of listing: November 19th, 1971
3. Level of significance: State
4. Applicable National Register Criteria: N/A433 A B C D
5. Criteria Considerations (Exceptions): N/A434 A B C D E F G
6. Areas of Significance: Religion, Other: Folklore

- Previously Determined Eligible for the National Register: Date of determination:
Designated a National Historic Landmark: Date of designation:
Recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey: HABS No.
Recorded by Historic American Engineering Record: HAER No.
Recorded by Historic American Landscapes Survey: HALS No. AZ-8

Velasco House

- 1. NR #: 74000460
2. Date of listing: March 5th, 1974
3. Level of significance: National
4. Applicable National Register Criteria: N/A435 A B C D
5. Criteria Considerations (Exceptions): N/A436 A B C D E F G
6. Areas of Significance: Architecture, Communications, Political

- Previously Determined Eligible for the National Register: Date of determination:
Designated a National Historic Landmark: Date of designation:
Recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey: HABS No.
Recorded by Historic American Engineering Record: HAER No.

433 Nomination predates this system of classification.
434 Nomination predates this system of classification.
435 Nomination predates this system of classification.
436 Nomination predates this system of classification.

NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK NOMINATION

LOS BARRIOS VIEJOS

Recorded by Historic American Landscapes Survey: HALS No.

Armory Park Historic Residential District

- 1. NR #: 76000378
2. Date of listing: July 30th, 1976
3. Level of significance: National
4. Applicable National Register Criteria: N/A437 A B C D
5. Criteria Considerations (Exceptions): N/A438 A B C D E F G
6. Areas of Significance: Architecture, Transportation

Previously Determined Eligible for the National Register: Date of determination:
Designated a National Historic Landmark: Date of designation:
Recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey: HABS No.
Recorded by Historic American Engineering Record: HAER No.
Recorded by Historic American Landscapes Survey: HALS No.

Barrio Libre

- 1. NR #: 78000565
2. Date of listing: October 18th, 1978
3. Level of significance: Local
4. Applicable National Register Criteria: N/A439 A B C D
5. Criteria Considerations (Exceptions): N/A440 A B C D E F G
6. Areas of Significance: Architecture, Other: Urban Form

Previously Determined Eligible for the National Register: Date of determination:
Designated a National Historic Landmark: Date of designation:
Recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey: HABS No. AZ-73
Recorded by Historic American Engineering Record: HAER No.
Recorded by Historic American Landscapes Survey: HALS No.

Barrio El Hoyo

- 1. NR #: 08000763
2. Date of listing: August 13th, 2008
3. Level of significance: Local
4. Applicable National Register Criteria: A B C D
5. Criteria Considerations (Exceptions): A B C D E F G
6. Areas of Significance: Architecture, Community Planning and Development

Previously Determined Eligible for the National Register: Date of determination:
Designated a National Historic Landmark: Date of designation:
Recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey: HABS No.
Recorded by Historic American Engineering Record: HAER No.

437 Nomination predates this system of classification.
438 Nomination predates this system of classification.
439 Nomination predates this system of classification.
440 Nomination predates this system of classification.

NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK NOMINATION

LOS BARRIOS VIEJOS

Recorded by Historic American Landscapes Survey: HALS No.

Barrio Santa Rosa

- 1. NR #: 11000683
2. Date of listing: September 23rd, 2011
3. Level of significance: Local
7. Applicable National Register Criteria: A [checked] B C [checked] D
4. Criteria Considerations (Exceptions): A B C D E F G
5. Areas of Significance: Architecture, Community Planning and Development

Previously Determined Eligible for the National Register: Date of determination:
Designated a National Historic Landmark: Date of designation:
Recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey: HABS No.
Recorded by Historic American Engineering Record: HAER No.
Recorded by Historic American Landscapes Survey: HALS No.

Amendment to the Armory Park Historic Residential District

- 1. NR #: 96000754
2. Date of listing: July 5th, 1996
3. Level of significance: Local
4. Applicable National Register Criteria: A [checked] B C [checked] D
5. Criteria Considerations (Exceptions): A B C D E F G
6. Areas of Significance: Architecture, Community Planning and Development

Previously Determined Eligible for the National Register: Date of determination:
Designated a National Historic Landmark: Date of designation:
Recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey: HABS No.
Recorded by Historic American Engineering Record: HAER No.
Recorded by Historic American Landscapes Survey: HALS No.

Location of additional data:

State Historic Preservation Office: Arizona State Historic Preservation Office
Other State Agency:
Federal Agency: National Park Service (Keeper of the Register), Library of Congress (HABS/HAER/HALS Collection)
Local Government:
University:
Other (Specify Repository):

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63 E. 13th Street	Armory Park	Contributor	1910
69 E. 13th Street	Armory Park	Contributor	1910
71-79 E. 13th Street	Armory Park	Contributor	1923
25 E. McCormick Street	Armory Park	Contributor	1898
31-33 E. McCormick Street	Armory Park	Contributor	1900
38-40 W. Cushing Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1882
42 W. Cushing Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1930
58 W. Cushing Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1919
70 W. Cushing Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1886
78 W. Cushing Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1914
80 W. Cushing Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1883
88 W. Cushing Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1883
100-116 W. Cushing Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1870/1890
122-124 W. Cushing Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	c. 1878
201-205 W. Cushing Street	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	1975
40 E. 14th Street	Armory Park	Contributor	1915
81-83 E. 14th Street	Armory Park	Contributor	1933
409 W. Rosales Street	El Hoyo	Contributor	1927
410 W. Rosales Street	El Hoyo	Contributor	1925
411 W. Rosales Street	El Hoyo	Contributor	1925
412 W. Rosales Street	El Hoyo	Contributor	1929
414 W. Rosales Street	El Hoyo	Non-contributor	2001
427 W. Rosales Street	El Hoyo	Contributor	1940
428 W. Rosales Street	El Hoyo	Non-contributor	1944
429 W. Rosales Street	El Hoyo	Non-contributor	1925
433 W. Rosales Street	El Hoyo	Contributor	1925
448 W. Rosales Street	El Hoyo	Contributor	1927
24 W. Simpson Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1883
25 W. Simpson Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1910
38 W. Simpson Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1901
43 W. Simpson Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1901
46 W. Simpson Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1904
51 W. Simpson Street	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	2001
53 W. Simpson Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1901
58 W. Simpson Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1883
63 W. Simpson Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1904
69-71 W. Simpson Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1928
73-75 W. Simpson Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1928
77-79 W. Simpson Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	c. 1924-1948
84 W. Simpson Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1927
91-93 W. Simpson Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1886
92 W. Simpson Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1883
135-139 W. Simpson Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1886
136 W. Simpson Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1909

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141-147 W. Simpson Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1886
150 W. Simpson Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1909
196 W. Simpson Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1900
207-211 W. Simpson Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1919
319 W. Simpson Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1909
340 W. Simpson Street	El Hoyo	Contributor	1920
344 W. Simpson Street	El Hoyo	Non-contributor	2000
350 W. Simpson Street	El Hoyo	Contributor	1925
357 W. Simpson Street	El Hoyo	Contributor	1909
400 W. Simpson Street	El Hoyo	Contributor	1929
402 W. Simpson Street	El Hoyo	Non-contributor	1940
408 W. Simpson Street	El Hoyo	Contributor	1935
410 W. Simpson Street	El Hoyo	Non-contributor	1949
416 W. Simpson Street	El Hoyo	Non-contributor	1949
426 W. Simpson Street	El Hoyo	Contributor	1937
430 W. Simpson Street	El Hoyo	Non-contributor	1947
438 W. Simpson Street	El Hoyo	Non-contributor	1949
440 W. Simpson Street	El Hoyo	Contributor	1931
445 W. Simpson Street	El Hoyo	Contributor	1931
455 W. Simpson Street	El Hoyo	Non-contributor	1918
546 W. Simpson Street	El Hoyo	Contributor	1931
16 E. 15th Street	Armory Park	Contributor	1925
19 E. 15th Street	Armory Park	Contributor	1880, 1915
23 E. 15th Street	Armory Park	Contributor	Pre-1909
24 E. 15th Street	Armory Park	Contributor	1880, 1905 Queen Anne Add.
25 E. 15th Street	Armory Park	Contributor	1909
28 E. 15th Street	Armory Park	Contributor	1917
29 W. Kennedy Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1901
36 W. Kennedy Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1917
42 W. Kennedy Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1927
46 W. Kennedy Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1919
49 W. Kennedy Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1904
53 W. Kennedy Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1904
56 W. Kennedy Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	c. 1919-1924
59 W. Kennedy Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1920
60 W. Kennedy Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Between 1924 and 1941
61 W. Kennedy Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1938
74 W. Kennedy Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1926
78 W. Kennedy Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1913
86-92 W. Kennedy Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1901
89 W. Kennedy Street	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	1948
136 W. Kennedy Street	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	1985

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140 W. Kennedy Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1900
145 W. Kennedy Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1910-1914
147 W. Kennedy Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1906-1907
150 W. Kennedy Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1906
155 W. Kennedy Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1880-1890
221 W. Kennedy Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1919
30 E. 16th Street	Armory Park	Contributor	1905
36 E. 16th Street	Armory Park	Non-contributor	1913
407 W. Carrillo Street	El Hoyo	Contributor	1922
415 W. Carrillo Street	El Hoyo	Non-contributor	1955
431 W. Carrillo Street	El Hoyo	Non-contributor	1992
435 W. Carrillo Street	El Hoyo	Non-contributor	1948
503 W. Carrillo Street	El Hoyo	Contributor	1923
521 W. Carrillo Street	El Hoyo	Contributor	1923
525 W. Carrillo Street	El Hoyo	Contributor	1919
537 W. Carrillo Street	El Hoyo	Contributor	1939
545 W. Carrillo Street	El Hoyo	Non-contributor	1959
19 W. 17th Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1909
23 W. 17th Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1908
27 W. 17th Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1908
44 W. 17th Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1906/1908
121 W. 17th Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1909
127 W. 17th Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1909
128 W. 17th Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1910
129 W. 17th Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1909
130 W. 17th Street, 101	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	2004
130 W. 17th Street, 102	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	2004
135 W. 17th Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1909
141 W. 17th Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1909
180 W. 17th Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1919
209-219 W. 17th Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1900-1909
300 W. 17th Street	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	c. 1992-1996
420 W. 17th Street	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	1967
449 W. 17th Street	El Hoyo	Contributor	1930
457 W. 17th Street	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	2003
460 W. 17th Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1930
463 W. 17th Street	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	2004
502 W. 17th Street	El Hoyo	Contributor	1924
505 W. 17th Street	El Hoyo	Contributor	1920
508 W. 17th Street	El Hoyo	Contributor	1930
510 W. 17th Street	El Hoyo	Contributor	1930
514 W. 17th Street	El Hoyo	Contributor	1923
516 W. 17th Street	El Hoyo	Contributor	1920
518 W. 17th Street	El Hoyo	Contributor	1922

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520 W. 17th Street	El Hoyo	Contributor	1937
522 W. 17th Street	El Hoyo	Contributor	1920
534 W. 17th Street	El Hoyo	Contributor	1941
536 W. 17th Street	El Hoyo	Contributor	1938
538 W. 17th Street	El Hoyo	Contributor	1918
18 W. 18th Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1920
25 W. 18th Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1915
28 W. 18th Street	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	c. 1949-1963
33 W. 18th Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1906/1908
39 W. 18th Street	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	1998
45 W. 18th Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1909
124 W. 18th Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1902
127 W. 18th Street	Barrio Santa Rosa	Contributor	1915
145 W. 18th Street	Barrio Santa Rosa	Non-contributor	1955
265 W. 18th Street	Not previously listed (Barrio Santa Rosa)	Non-contributor	1992
285 W. 18th Street	Not previously listed (Barrio Santa Rosa)	Non-contributor	1993
315 W. 18th Street	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	2001
326 W. 18th Street	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	2002
334 W. 18th Street	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	2008
350 W. 18th Street	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	2017
356 W. 18th Street	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	2015
372 W. 18th Street	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	c. 1953-1963
414 W. 18th Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1919
416 W. 18th Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1919
418 W. 18th Street	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	1949
431 W. 18th Street	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	2000
438 W. 18th Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1928
485 W. 18th Street	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	2020
508 W. 18th Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1920
23 W. 19th Street	Barrio Santa Rosa	Contributor	1930-1932
31 W. 19th Street	Barrio Santa Rosa	Non-contributor	1947
37 W. 19th Street	Barrio Santa Rosa	Contributor	1930
117 W. 19th Street	Barrio Santa Rosa	Non-contributor	1993
121 W. 19th Street	Barrio Santa Rosa	Contributor	1905
123 W. 19th Street	Barrio Santa Rosa	Non-contributor	2007
125 W. 19th Street	Barrio Santa Rosa	Contributor	c. 1915
127 W. 19th Street	Barrio Santa Rosa	Non-contributor	1985
131 W. 19th Street	Barrio Santa Rosa	Non-contributor	1945
421-438 W. 19th Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1924
424 W. 19th Street	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	2004
436 W. 19th Street	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	2004
460 W. 19th Street	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	2002

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474 W. 19th Street	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	2002
114 W. Armijo Street	Barrio Santa Rosa	Non-contributor	1905
115 W. Armijo Street	Barrio Santa Rosa	Non-contributor	1950
122 W. Armijo Street	Barrio Santa Rosa	Contributor	1910
123 W. Armijo Street	Barrio Santa Rosa	Non-contributor	1951
126 W. Armijo Street	Barrio Santa Rosa	Contributor	1930
130 W. Armijo Street	Barrio Santa Rosa	Contributor	1925
131 W. Armijo Street	Barrio Santa Rosa	Non-contributor	1975
22 W. 20th Street	Not previously listed (Barrio Santa Rosa)	Non-contributor	1972
26 W. 20th	Not previously listed (Barrio Santa Rosa)	Non-contributor	1973
102 W. 20th Street	Barrio Santa Rosa	Non-contributor	2016
115-117 W. 20th Street	Barrio Santa Rosa	Contributor	1917
118 W. 20th Street	Barrio Santa Rosa	Contributor	1930
124 W. 20th Street	Barrio Santa Rosa	Contributor	1935
127 W. 20th Street	Barrio Santa Rosa	Contributor	1920
130 W. 20th Street	Barrio Santa Rosa	Non-contributor	2016
138 W. 20th Street	Barrio Santa Rosa	Non-contributor	1956
140-142 W. 20th Street	Barrio Santa Rosa	Contributor	1930
177 W. 20th Street	Barrio Santa Rosa	Non-contributor	1990
26 W. 21st Street	Barrio Santa Rosa	Contributor	1930
28 W. 21st Street	Barrio Santa Rosa	Contributor	1940
70 W. 21st Street	Barrio Santa Rosa	Non-contributor	2016
102 W. 21st Street	Barrio Santa Rosa	Contributor	1915
110 W. 21st Street	Barrio Santa Rosa	Contributor	1929
126 W. 21st Street	Barrio Santa Rosa	Non-contributor	1970
230-242 W. 21st Street	Not previously listed (Barrio Santa Rosa)	Non-contributor	2015
426-430 S. Otero Avenue	El Hoyo	Contributor	1936
431 S. Otero Avenue	El Hoyo	Non-contributor	1949
435 S. Otero Avenue	El Hoyo	Non-contributor	1949
438 S. Otero Avenue	El Hoyo	Contributor	1938
439 S. Otero Avenue	El Hoyo	Non-contributor	1953
445 S. Otero Avenue	El Hoyo	Non-contributor	1946
452 S. Otero Avenue	El Hoyo	Contributor	1940
456 S. Otero Avenue	El Hoyo	Non-contributor	1997
460 S. Otero Avenue	El Hoyo	Non-contributor	1946
505 S. Otero Avenue	El Hoyo	Contributor	1919
511 S. Otero Avenue	El Hoyo	Non-contributor	1995
515 S. Otero Avenue	El Hoyo	Non-contributor	2000
529 S. Otero Avenue	El Hoyo	Contributor	1915
715 S. 11th Avenue	El Hoyo	Contributor	1920
719 S. 11th Avenue	El Hoyo	Contributor	1911

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412 S. Elias Avenue	El Hoyo	Non-contributor	1986
416 S. Elias Avenue	El Hoyo	Contributor	1922
419 S. Elias Avenue	El Hoyo	Non-contributor	2008
423 S. Elias Avenue	El Hoyo	Non-contributor	1953
427 S. Elias Avenue	El Hoyo	Contributor	1928
431 S. Elias Avenue	El Hoyo	Non-contributor	1984
432 S. Elias Avenue	El Hoyo	Contributor	1925
434 S. Elias Avenue	El Hoyo	Contributor	1920
436 S. Elias Avenue	El Hoyo	Contributor	1925
438 S. Elias Avenue	El Hoyo	Contributor	1924
441 S. Elias Avenue	El Hoyo	Non-contributor	1982
445 S. Elias Avenue	El Hoyo	Non-contributor	1950
446 S. Elias Avenue	El Hoyo	Contributor	1927
449 S. Elias Avenue	El Hoyo	Non-contributor	1984
521 S. Elias Avenue	El Hoyo	Contributor	1930
420 S. Samaniego Avenue	El Hoyo	Contributor	1918
428 S. Samaniego Avenue	El Hoyo	Contributor	1919
550 S. Samaniego Avenue	El Hoyo	Contributor	1925
552 S. Samaniego Avenue	El Hoyo	Non-contributor	1994
560 S. Samaniego Avenue	El Hoyo	Non-contributor	1991
570 S. Samaniego Avenue	El Hoyo	Non-contributor	1981
400 S. El Paso Avenue	El Hoyo	Contributor	1927
403 S. El Paso Avenue	El Hoyo	Contributor	1924
421 S. El Paso Avenue	El Hoyo	Non-contributor	1930
437 S. El Paso Avenue	El Hoyo	Contributor	1925
442 S. El Paso Avenue	El Hoyo	Contributor	1927
701 S. Osborne Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	2000
704 S. Osborne Avenue	El Hoyo	Contributor	1915
706 S. Osborne Avenue	El Hoyo	Non-contributor	1991
708 S. Osborne Avenue	El Hoyo	Contributor	Pre-1919
709 S. Osborne Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	2000
715 S. Osborne Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	2000
725 S. Osborne Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	2000
729 S. Osborne Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	2008
730 S. Osborne Avenue	El Hoyo	Contributor	Pre-1919
732 S. Osborne Avenue	El Hoyo	Contributor	1919
733 S. Osborne Avenue	El Hoyo	Contributor	1939
734 S. Osborne Avenue	El Hoyo	Contributor	1942
740 S. Osborne Avenue	El Hoyo	Contributor	Pre-1930
825-837 S. Osborne Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	2004
849 S. Osborne Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	2004
861 S. Osborne Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	2004
873 S. Osborne Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	2004

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885 S. Osborne Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	2004
805 S. 10th Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	2001
810 S. 10th Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	2000
817 S. 10th Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1916
820 S. 10th Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	2000
823 S. 10th Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1917
825 S. 10th Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	1992
830 S. 10th Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1919
837 S. 10th Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	1997
840 S. 10th Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	c. 1925
850 S. 10th Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	c. 1919-1924
860-870 S. 10th Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1919
880 S. 10th Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	2000
351 S. Main Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1900
354 S. Main Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	1948
361 S. Main Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1915
373 S. Main Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1909
418 S. Main Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1927
420 S. Main Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	1945
424 S. Main Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	Unknown
440 S. Main Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1930
440b S. Main Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1927
448 S. Main Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1947
485 S. Main Avenue, Building 1	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1882
485 S. Main Avenue, Building 2	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Mid-1920s
485 S. Main Avenue, Building 3	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1901
517 S. Main Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1919
517 S. Main Avenue, Apartment 3	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	c. 1950
530 S. Main Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1919 (rear: Pre-1947)
531 S. Main Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1901
537 S. Main Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1928
541 S. Main Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1919
562 S. Main Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1947
570 S. Main Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1919, possibly 1880s or 1890s
575 S. Main Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1919
580 S. Main Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1916
582 S. Main Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1919
584 S. Main Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1919

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585 S. Main Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	1999
586 S. Main Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1919
589 S. Main Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	1995
618 S. Main Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	2003
621 S. Main Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1919
623 S. Main Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1919
630 S. Main Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1919
634 S. Main Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	2003
638 S. Main Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	2004
661 S. Main Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1919
663 S. Main Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	2010
664 S. Main Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1919
668 S. Main Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1929
671 S. Main Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	2017
695 S. Main Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	2014
801 S. Main Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1919
808 S. Main Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1919
809 S. Main Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1930
812 S. Main Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1925
821 S. Main Avenue	Not previously listed (Barrio Santa Rosa)	Non-contributor	1998
830 S. Main Avenue	Not previously listed (Barrio Libre)	Non-contributor	c. 1998-2002
831 S. Main Avenue	Not previously listed (Barrio Santa Rosa)	Non-contributor	1998
526 S. 9th Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1919
530 S. 9th Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1919
534 S. 9th Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1901
560 S. 9th Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	1985
570 S. 9th Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	1943
580 S. 9th Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	2002
590 S. 9th Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	1985
596 S. 9th Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	1994
600 S. 9th Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	2002
601 S. 9th Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	1985
627 S. 9th Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	2007
629 S. 9th Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	2001
631 S. 9th Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	1985
635 S. 9th Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	2001
651 S. 9th Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	1985
671 S. 9th Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	1985
691 S. 9th Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	1997
704 S. 9th Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	1996
762 S. 9th Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	2002

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775 S. 9th Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	2002
776 S. 9th Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	2002
780 S. 9th Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	1998
788 S. 9th Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	2002
803 S. 9th Avenue	Not previously listed (Barrio Santa Rosa)	Non-contributor	2000
810 S. 9th Avenue	Not previously listed (Barrio Santa Rosa)	Contributor	1921-1927
811 S. 9th Avenue	Not previously listed (Barrio Santa Rosa)	Non-contributor	2000
820 S. 9th Avenue	Not previously listed (Barrio Santa Rosa)	Non-contributor	1998
821 S. 9th Avenue	Not previously listed (Barrio Santa Rosa)	Non-contributor	1997
830 S. 9th Avenue	Not previously listed (Barrio Santa Rosa)	Non-contributor	1998
840 S. 9th Avenue	Not previously listed (Barrio Santa Rosa)	Non-contributor	1998
841 S. 9th Avenue	Not previously listed (Barrio Santa Rosa)	Non-contributor	1993
850 S. 9th Avenue	Not previously listed (Barrio Santa Rosa)	Non-contributor	1986
851 S. 9th Avenue	Not previously listed (Barrio Santa Rosa)	Non-contributor	1993
863 S. 9th Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Contributor	1936
343 S. Meyer Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	c. 1860-1880
363 S. Meyer Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	c. 1860
379 S. Meyer Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1909
384 S. Meyer Avenue (Teatro Carmen)	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1914
384 S. Meyer Avenue (Elks Lodge extension)	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	Between 1947-1963
415 S. Meyer Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Mid-1920s
417 S. Meyer Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	Pre-1948
447 S. Meyer Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1909
486 S. Meyer Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1890-1897
488 S. Meyer Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1890-1897
501 S. Meyer Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1880
505 S. Meyer Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1909-1914
507 S. Meyer Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1897
508 S. Meyer Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1880
513 S. Meyer Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1908
522 S. Meyer Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1900-1902
524 S. Meyer Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1920

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525 S. Meyer Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1908-1909
529 S. Meyer Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1907-1908
551 S. Meyer Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1907-1908
555 S. Meyer Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1909, 2014
558-562 S. Meyer Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1919
571 S. Meyer Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1908-1910
575 S. Meyer Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1909
575r S. Meyer Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1871-1909
600 S. Meyer Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	c. 1900
601 S. Meyer Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1890-1897
611 S. Meyer Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1919
614 S. Meyer Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1900
626, 630 S. Meyer Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	2007
633 S. Meyer Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1919
641 S. Meyer Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1919
652 S. Meyer Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	2001
657 S. Meyer Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	2015
669 S. Meyer Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1930
677-685 S. Meyer Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1909
784 S. Meyer Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Between 1919 and 1923
768-776 S. Meyer Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	2002
801 S. Meyer Avenue	Not previously listed (Barrio Santa Rosa)	Non-contributor	2012
808 S. Meyer Avenue	Not previously listed (Barrio Santa Rosa)	Non-contributor	1999
809 S. Meyer Avenue	Not previously listed (Barrio Santa Rosa)	Non-contributor	1996
814 S. Meyer Avenue	Not previously listed (Barrio Santa Rosa)	Non-contributor	1999
820 S. Meyer Avenue	Not previously listed (Barrio Santa Rosa)	Non-contributor	2007
821 S. Meyer Avenue	Not previously listed (Barrio Santa Rosa)	Non-contributor	1992
830 S. Meyer Avenue	Not previously listed (Barrio Santa Rosa)	Non-contributor	1991
840 S. Meyer Avenue	Not previously listed (Barrio Santa Rosa)	Non-contributor	2004
841 S. Meyer Avenue	Not previously listed (Barrio Santa Rosa)	Non-contributor	2004
850 S. Meyer Avenue	Not previously listed (Barrio Santa Rosa)	Non-contributor	1991
851 S. Meyer Avenue	Not previously listed (Barrio Santa Rosa)	Non-contributor	1994

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860 S. Meyer Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Non-contributor	2004
870 S. Meyer Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Non-contributor	2004
871 S. Meyer Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Non-contributor	2002
901 S. Meyer Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Contributor	1902
903 S. Meyer Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Non-contributor	1999
905 S. Meyer Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Contributor	c. 1915
911 S. Meyer Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Contributor	1921
915 S. Meyer Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Non-contributor	2005
921 S. Meyer Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Non-contributor	2005
935 S. Meyer Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Contributor	1915
937 S. Meyer Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Contributor	1915
1015-1019 S. Meyer Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Contributor	1915
1023 S. Meyer Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Contributor	c. 1935
1031 S. Meyer Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Non-contributor	2015
1037 S. Meyer Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Non-contributor	1951
307 S. Convent Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1883
310-312 S. Convent Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	c. 1870
313 S. Convent Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1883
314-318 S. Convent Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1886
317 S. Convent Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1921
330 S. Convent Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1883
333-337 S. Convent Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	c. 1924-1942
340 S. Convent Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	Pre-1924
343-345 S. Convent Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1886
349-351 S. Convent Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1882
350 S. Convent/101 W. Simpson Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1882
370 S. Convent/116 W. Simpson Street	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1882
382 S. Convent Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1896
387 S. Convent Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1904
388 S. Convent Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	1988
392 S. Convent Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	1988
395 S. Convent Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1914
396 S. Convent Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1882
408 S. Convent Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1901
413 S. Convent Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	1988
418 S. Convent Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	c. 1900

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436 S. Convent Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	c. 1900
441 S. Convent Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1897
446 S. Convent Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	c. 1908-1911
451 S. Convent Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	c. 1896
459 S. Convent Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1882
469 S. Convent Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	Pre-1897
471 S. Convent Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1905-1909
479 S. Convent Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	c. 1900
481 S. Convent Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	1997
483 S. Convent Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	c. 1920
484 S. Convent Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	c. 1900
494 S. Convent Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	c. 1900
496 S. Convent Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1900
500 S. Convent Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1911
501 S. Convent Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	1980
504 S. Convent Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1910-1913
510 S. Convent Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1880
515 S. Convent Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	2009
517 S. Convent Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	c. 1921
519 S. Convent Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1929
531 S. Convent Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1912
560-576 S. Convent Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1900-1909
567 S. Convent Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1913
594 S. Convent Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	2002
600-614 S. Convent Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1909
750 S. Convent Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	2010
802 S. 8th Avenue	Not previously listed (Barrio Santa Rosa)	Non-contributor	2001
806 S. 8th Avenue	Not previously listed (Barrio Santa Rosa)	Non-contributor	2000
812 S. 8th Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Non-contributor	1954
820 S. 8th Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Non-contributor	1994
821 S. 8th Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Contributor	1920
825 S. 8th Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Contributor	1912
827-835 S. 8th Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Contributor	c. 1895
830 S. 8th Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Non-contributor	1994
837-843 S. 8th Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Contributor	c. 1900
840 S. 8th Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Contributor	1930
901 S. 8th Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Contributor	1890
902-904 S. 8th Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Contributor	1890
915-917 S. 8th Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Contributor	1890
916 S. 8th Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Contributor	c. 1910

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918 S. 8th Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Contributor	c. 1910
920 S. 8th Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Contributor	c. 1910
921 S. 8th Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Contributor	1925
925 S. 8th Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Contributor	1915
928 S. 8th Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Contributor	c. 1920
930 S. 8th Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Contributor	1925
933 S. 8th Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Contributor	1930
934 S. 8th Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Non-contributor	1993
949 S. 8th Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Non-contributor	1964
950 S. 8th Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Non-contributor	1925
1002 S. 8th Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Contributor	1930
1009 S. 8th Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Contributor	1921
1011 S. 8th Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Contributor	1921
1012 S. 8th Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Contributor	c. 1920
1016 S. 8th Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Contributor	1925
1019 S. 8th Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Contributor	1920
1021 S. 8th Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Contributor	1925
1022 S. 8th Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Contributor	c. 1920
1034 S. 8th Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Non-contributor	2015
400 S. Rubio Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	1997
560 S. Rubio Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1916
570 S. Rubio Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1908
580 S. Rubio Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1908
600 S. Rubio Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	c. 1992-1996
624-630 S. Rubio Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	2001
708 S. Rubio Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1908
821 S. Rubio Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Contributor	1930
826 S. Rubio Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Contributor	1910
838 S. Rubio Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Non-contributor	1915
1010 S. Rubio Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Contributor	c. 1920-1924
1013 S. Rubio Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Contributor	1915
1016 S. Rubio Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Contributor	c. 1920-1924
1019 S. Rubio Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Non-contributor	c. 1915
626 S. Mordasini Place	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	2018
638 S. Mordasini Place	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	2018
650 S. Mordasini Place	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	2018
710 S. 7th Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1917
715 S. 7th Avenue	Not previously listed (Barrio Libre)	Non-contributor	1983
718 S. 7th Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	1986
721-723 S. 7th Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1923
725 S. 7th Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1920-1930
726 S. 7th Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1903
827 S. 7th Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Contributor	c. 1940

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835-845 S. 7th Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	c. 1990
848 S. 7th Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Non-contributor	1946
908 S. 7th Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Non-contributor	1993
921 S. 7th Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Non-contributor	1953
922a S. 7th Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Non-contributor	2007
922b S. 7th Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Contributor	1905
927-929 S. 7th Avenue	Not previously listed (Barrio Santa Rosa)	Non-contributor	1980
928 S. 7th Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Contributor	1905
932 S. 7th Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Contributor	1930
937 S. 7th Avenue	Not previously listed (Barrio Santa Rosa)	Non-contributor	1975
938 S. 7th Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Non-contributor	1953
946 S. 7th Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Non-contributor	1950
1006 S. 7th Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Non-contributor	1953
1012 S. 7th Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Non-contributor	1940
1018 S. 7th Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Non-contributor	1925
1026 S. 7th Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Contributor	1930
1027 S. 7th Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Non-contributor	1930
1029-1031 S. 7th Avenue	Barrio Santa Rosa	Contributor	c. 1919-1924
1015 S. 7th Avenue	Not previously listed (Barrio Santa Rosa)	Non-contributor	1915
255 S. Stone Avenue	Armory Park	Contributor	1923
267 S. Stone Avenue	Armory Park	Contributor	1929
321 S. Stone Avenue	Armory Park	Contributor	1931
340 S. Stone Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	1972
375r S. Stone Avenue	Armory Park	Contributor	1935
376 S. Stone Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1901
383 S. Stone Avenue	Armory Park	Non-contributor	1942
385 S. Stone Avenue	Armory Park	Contributor	1903
388 S. Stone Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1909
396 S. Stone Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1903
417 S. Stone Avenue	Armory Park	Contributor	1900
419 S. Stone Avenue	Armory Park	Contributor	1900
428 S. Stone Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1898
443 S. Stone Avenue	Armory Park	Contributor	1880, 1887, 1925-1947
447 S. Stone Avenue	Armory Park	Contributor	1918
447a S. Stone Avenue	Armory Park	More information needed to evaluate	1919
447b S. Stone Avenue	Armory Park	Contributor	1925
452 S. Stone Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	1962
475 S. Stone Avenue	Armory Park	Contributor	1878
482 S. Stone Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	c. 1901
485-487 S. Stone Avenue	Armory Park	Non-contributor	1947

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504 S. Stone Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1901
526 S. Stone Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	2003
537 S. Stone Avenue	Armory Park	Contributor	1873
550 S. Stone Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	Pre-1901
553 S. Stone Avenue	Armory Park	Contributor	1898
555 S. Stone Avenue	Armory Park	Contributor	1907
564 S. Stone Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1910
583 S. Stone Avenue	Armory Park	Contributor	1908
591 S. Stone Avenue	Armory Park	Contributor	1894
602 S. Stone Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1941
702-709 S. Stone Avenue	Not previously listed (Barrio Libre)	Non-contributor	Post-1963
733 S. Stone Avenue	Armory Park	Contributor	1930
750 S. Stone Avenue	Barrio Libre	Non-contributor	1972
756-760 S. Stone Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1928
260 S. Scott Avenue	Armory Park	Non-contributor	1950
273 S. Scott Avenue	Armory Park	Contributor	1903
277 S. Scott Avenue	Armory Park	Contributor	1908
281 S. Scott Avenue	Armory Park	Contributor	1923
283 S. Scott Avenue	Armory Park	Contributor	1923
285 S. Scott Avenue	Armory Park	Contributor	1928
287 S. Scott Avenue	Armory Park	Contributor	1928
330 S. Scott Avenue	Armory Park	Contributor	1927
336 S. Scott Avenue	Armory Park	Contributor	1926
340 S. Scott Avenue	Armory Park	Contributor	1910
343 S. Scott Avenue	Armory Park	Contributor	1908
344 S. Scott Avenue	Armory Park	Contributor	1916
346 S. Scott Avenue	Armory Park	Contributor	1916
511 S. Russell Avenue	Armory Park	Non-contributor	1994
512 S. Russell Avenue	Armory Park	Contributor	1900
516 S. Russell Avenue	Armory Park	Contributor	c. 1880-1890
519 S. Russell Avenue	Armory Park	Contributor	Pre-1901
522 S. Russell Avenue	Armory Park	Contributor	1915
527 S. Russell Avenue	Armory Park	Contributor	c. 1901-1909
531 S. Russell Avenue	Armory Park	Contributor	1888
535 S. Russell Avenue	Armory Park	Non-contributor	1993
545 S. Russell Avenue	Armory Park	Contributor	Pre-1901
724-728 S. Russell Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1926
730 S. Russell Avenue	Barrio Libre	Contributor	1940
828 S. Russell Avenue	Not previously listed (Barrio Santa Rosa)	Non-contributor	1996
1016 S. Russell Avenue	Not previously listed (Barrio Santa Rosa)	Non-contributor	2018
1032-1034 S. Russell	Barrio Santa Rosa	Non-contributor	1930

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Address	Historic District (Neighborhood)	Status	Construction Date(s)
Avenue			
314 S. 6th Avenue	Armory Park	Contributor	1906
324 S. 6th Avenue	Armory Park	Contributor	1902
324r S. 6th Avenue	Armory Park	Contributor	Pre-1942
334 S. 6th Avenue	Armory Park	Contributor	1904
344 S. 6th Avenue	Armory Park	Contributor	1903
346-348 S. 6th Avenue	Armory Park	Contributor	1919
408 S. 6th Avenue	Armory Park	Non-contributor	1921
410 S. 6th Avenue	Armory Park	Contributor	1920
420 S. 6th Avenue (Dormitory)	Armory Park	Non-contributor	1956
502 S. 6th Avenue	Armory Park	Contributor	1898
512-514 S. 6th Avenue	Armory Park	Contributor	1907
522 S. 6th Avenue	Armory Park	Non-contributor	1895
526-536 S. 6th Avenue	Armory Park	Contributor	1937
538 S. 6th Avenue	Armory Park	Non-contributor	1992
544 S. 6th Avenue	Armory Park	Contributor	1907
604 S. 6th Avenue	Armory Park	Contributor	1906
612 S. 6th Avenue	Armory Park	Contributor	1913
620 S. 6th Avenue	Armory Park	Non-contributor	1947
638 S. 6th Avenue	Armory Park	Contributor	1929
646 S. 6th Avenue	Armory Park	Contributor	1906
702 S. 6th Avenue	Armory Park	Non-contributor	1975
710 S. 6th Avenue	Armory Park	Non-contributor	1989
720 S. 6th Avenue	Armory Park	Contributor	1906

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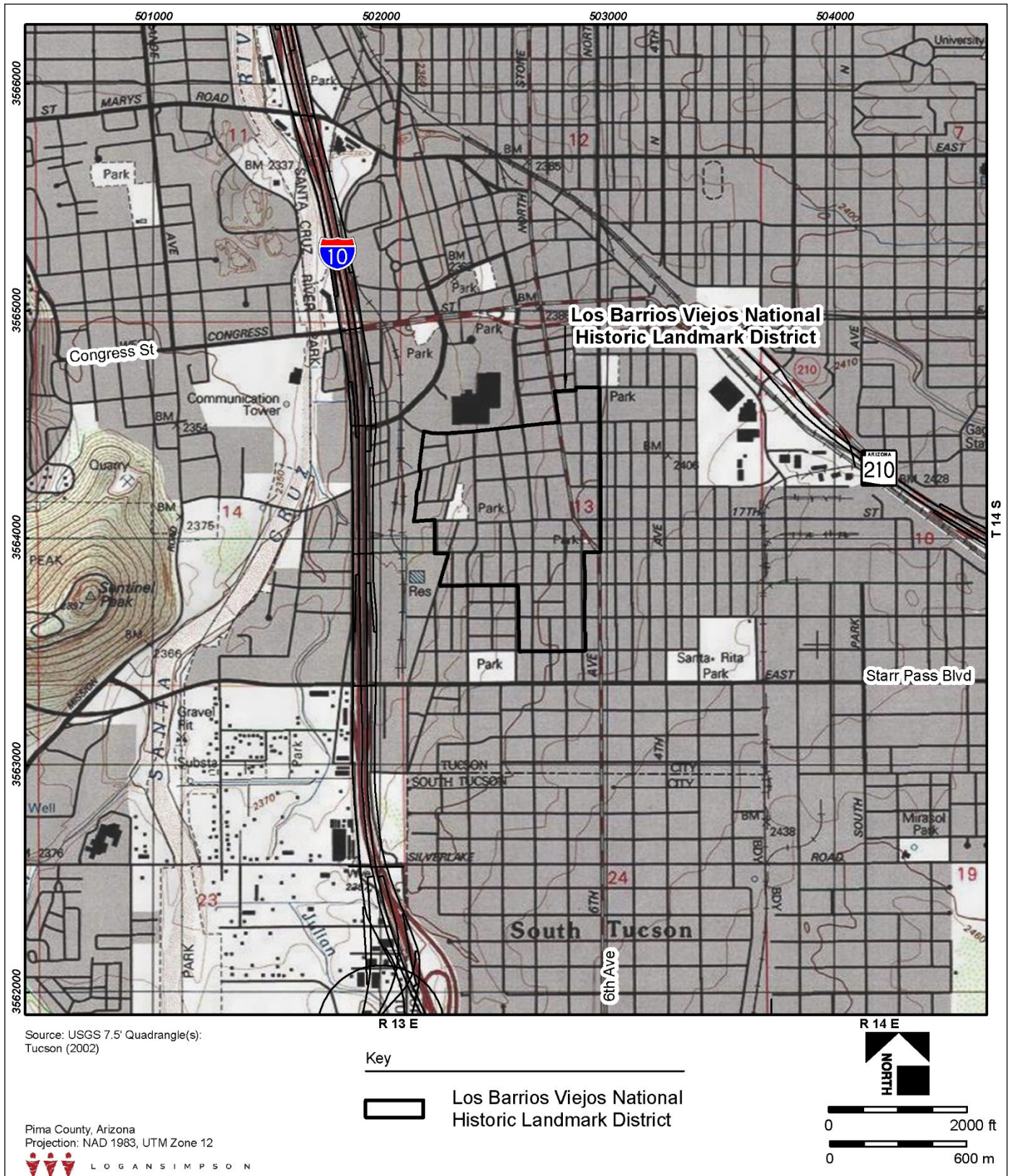


Figure 1. USGS topographical map showing Los Barrios Viejos National Historic Landmark District. USGS, 2002

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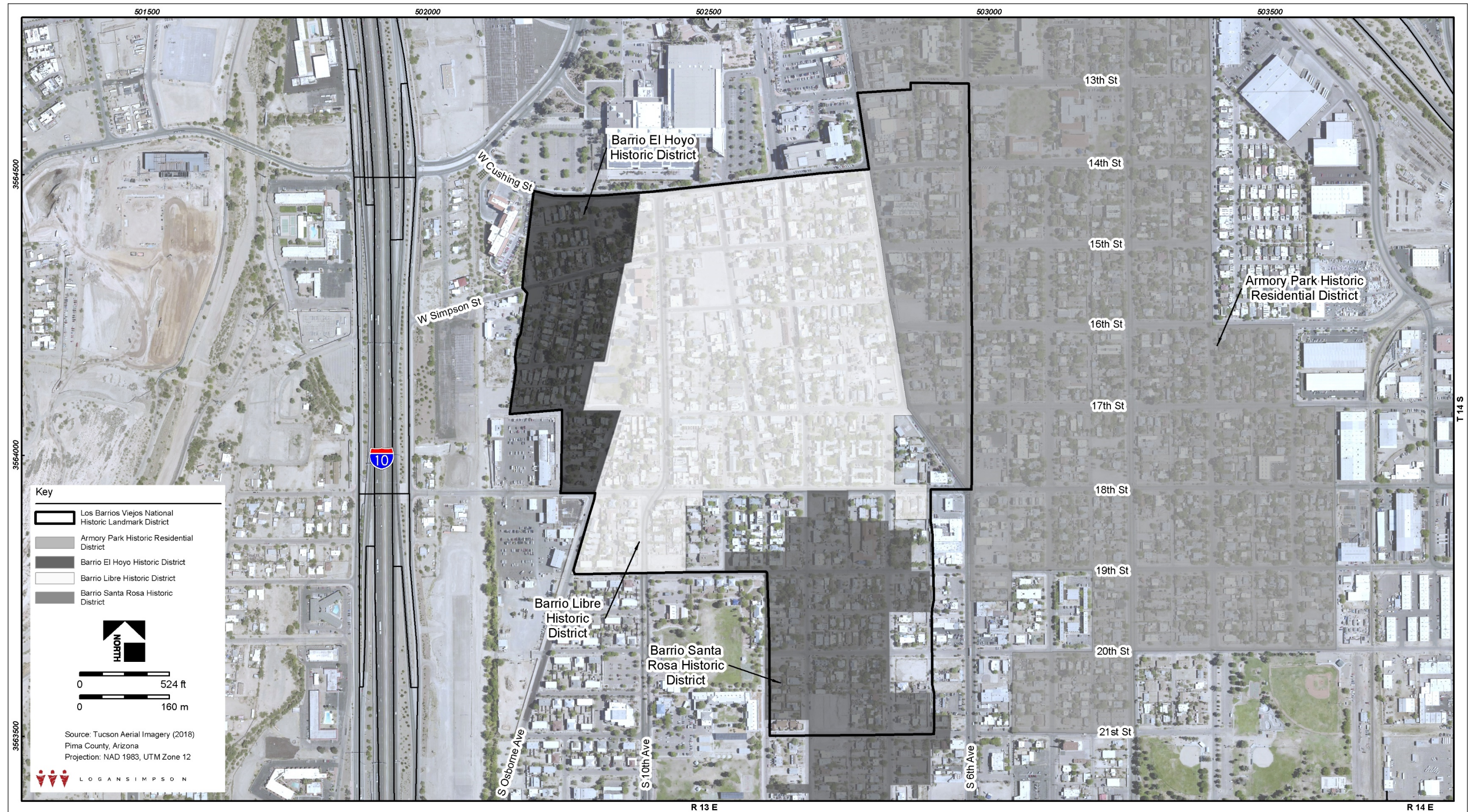


Figure 2. Aerial showing designated historic districts within the Los Barrios Viejos National Historic Landmark District. Logan Simpson, 2020.

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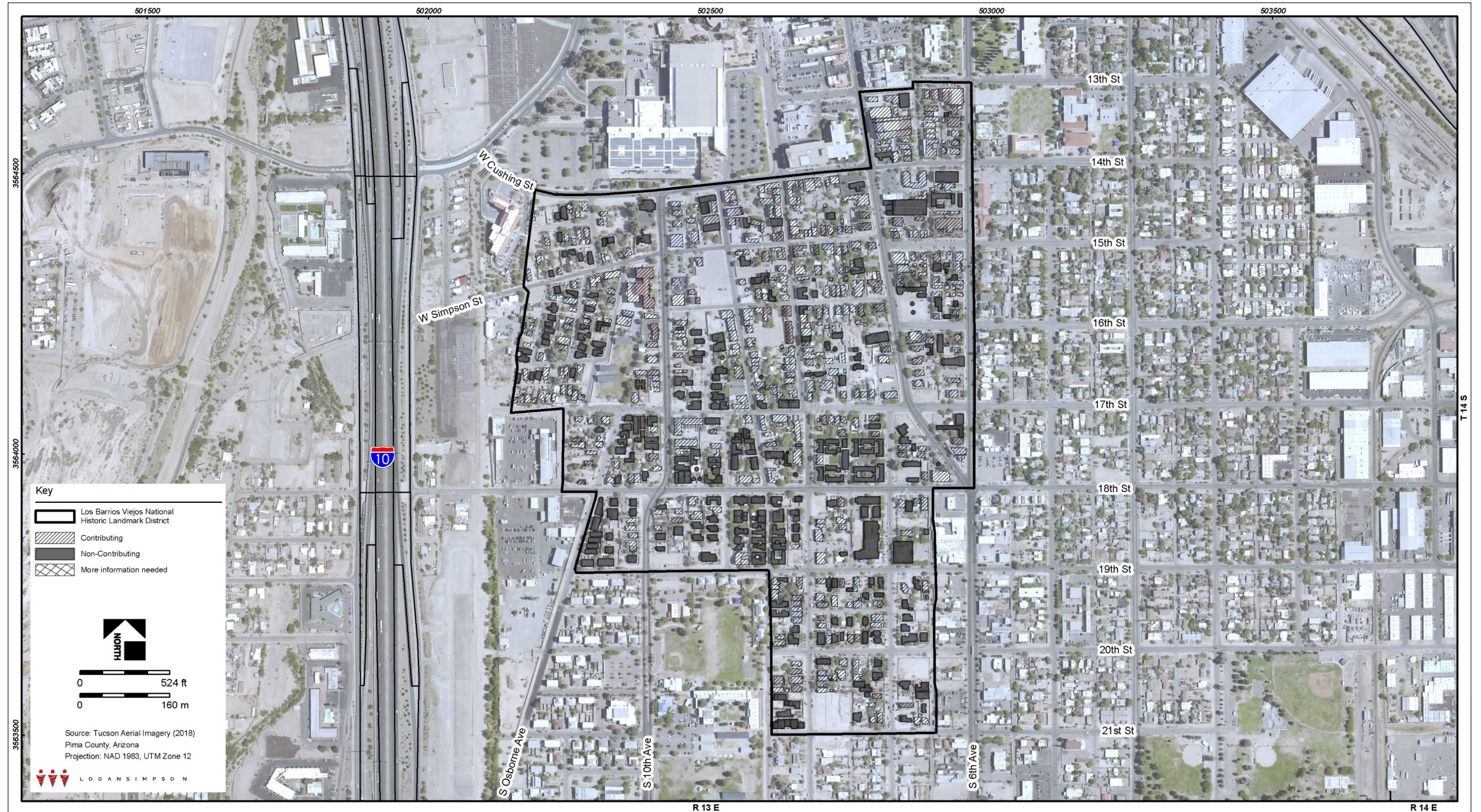


Figure 3. Aerial showing contributing and non-contributing resources within Los Barrios Viejos National Historic Landmark District. Logan Simpson, 2020. Note that one resource was inaccessible to surveyors so is classified as “More information needed to evaluate.”

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Figure 4. La Calle Meyer looking south. 1880s. Courtesy of the Arizona Historical Society.

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Figure 5. Aerial photograph showing the intersection of Congress Street and Meyer Avenue, looking southeast with St. Augustine Cathedral and Marist College in background. C. 1960s. Courtesy of Barrio Stories.

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Figure 6. 84-year-old Charley Embers in 1933. James Walter Yancy, “The Negro of Tucson, Past and Present” (Master’s thesis, University of Arizona, 1933), page 16.

Types of Occupations and No. of Persons per Occupation	
Types of Occupations	No. of Persons per Occupation
Cooks	59
Maids	50
Common Laborers	46
Porters	40
Janitors	40
Chauffeurs	15
Table Waiters	15
Bootblacks	11
Teachers	7
Auto Mechanics	5
Barbers	4
Bakers	3
Proprietors of Service Stations	3
Preachers	3

Figure 7. This list provides insight into the top African Americans occupations in 1930. James Walter Yancy, “The Negro of Tucson, Past and Present” (Master’s thesis, University of Arizona, 1933), page 14.

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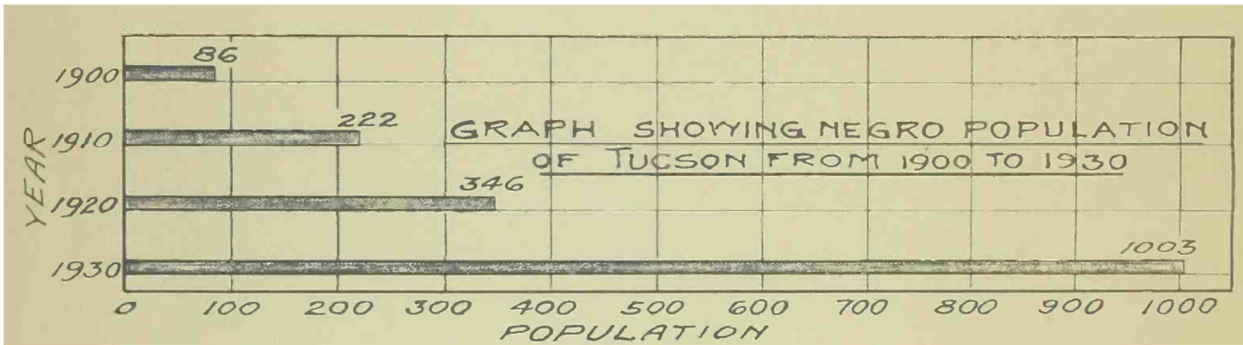


Figure 8. Population growth of African Americans between 1900-1930. James Walter Yancy, "The Negro of Tucson, Past and Present" (Master's thesis, University of Arizona, 1933), page 42.



Figure 9. Old Prince Chapel African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church. 531 South Convent Street showing west and south elevations. January, 2020.

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Figure 10. *Arizona Daily Star*, February 14, 1933, page 2.



Dressed in their Sunday best, the congregation of the Prince Chapel African Methodist Episcopal Church poses for the camera around 1941. Organized in 1905, when the African American community in Tucson was estimated to be less than 100, the church was formed in the kitchen of the church's first minister, Rev. W.A. Ratcliffe. Under the direction and planning of Rev. Jessie Carter (first row, third from left), this building at Seventeenth Street and Stone Avenue was built by well-known Tucson architect Henry O. Jaastad and dedicated in the early 1940s. (AHS 78499.)

Figure 11. Pima County and the Arizona Historical Society, *Pima County* (Mount Pleasant: Arcadia Publishing, 2012), page 39.

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Figure 12. *Arizona Daily Star*, December 6, 1975, page 43.



Figure 13. "Proposed New Prince Chapel Building," *Arizona Daily Star*, May 23, 1930, page 7. Note that as built, the completed church looks somewhat different from the rendering published in the paper.

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Figure 14. Prince Chapel African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church. 602 South Stone Avenue showing east and north elevations. January 2020.

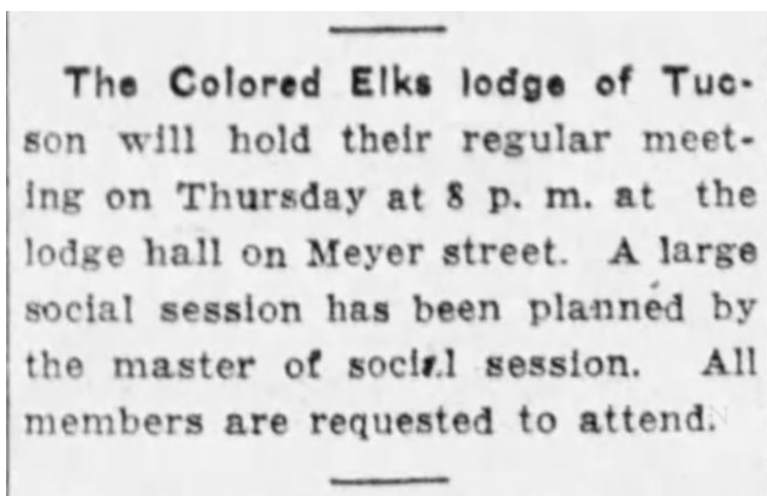


Figure 15. Newspaper advertisement for the Elks Club. *Arizona Daily Star*, August 27, 1931, page 3.

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A.E. Arizo. The Arizona Daily Star

Figure 16. The former Teatro Carmen at located at 380 South Meyer Avenue. *Arizona Daily Star*, March 10, 1986, page 31.

FRI. NITE
Aug. 4
 9 p.m.-1 a.m.



Pee Wee Crayton
 PLUS
Dick Sanford
 and His Orchestra
 WITH
BETTIE WASHINGTON
 in Battle of Blues vs.
SMOKEY LYNN
 ALL ON SAME PROGRAM **\$1.50** Adm.

Everybody Invited—ELKS HALL—380 S. Meyer

Figure 17. Newspaper advertisement for music at the Elks Club. *Arizona Daily Star*, August 4, 1950, page 20.

JOE LIGGINS' ORCHESTRA TO PLAY



Joe Liggins and his Honeydrippers will play for a dance at 9 p.m. Wednesday at the I. B. P. O. E. & W., Negro, 380 South Meyer street. Tickets are on sale at Jimmy's Chicken Shack and Charles Young Post, American Legion.

Figure 18. Newspaper description of music at Elks Club. *Arizona Daily Star*, February 24, 1948, page 8.

Gives Recital



ULYSSES KAY

Figure 19 "Youthful Negro will Entertain: Full Recital from Memory is Achievement of Young Ulysses S. Kay," *Arizona Daily Star*, June 1, 1930, page 4.

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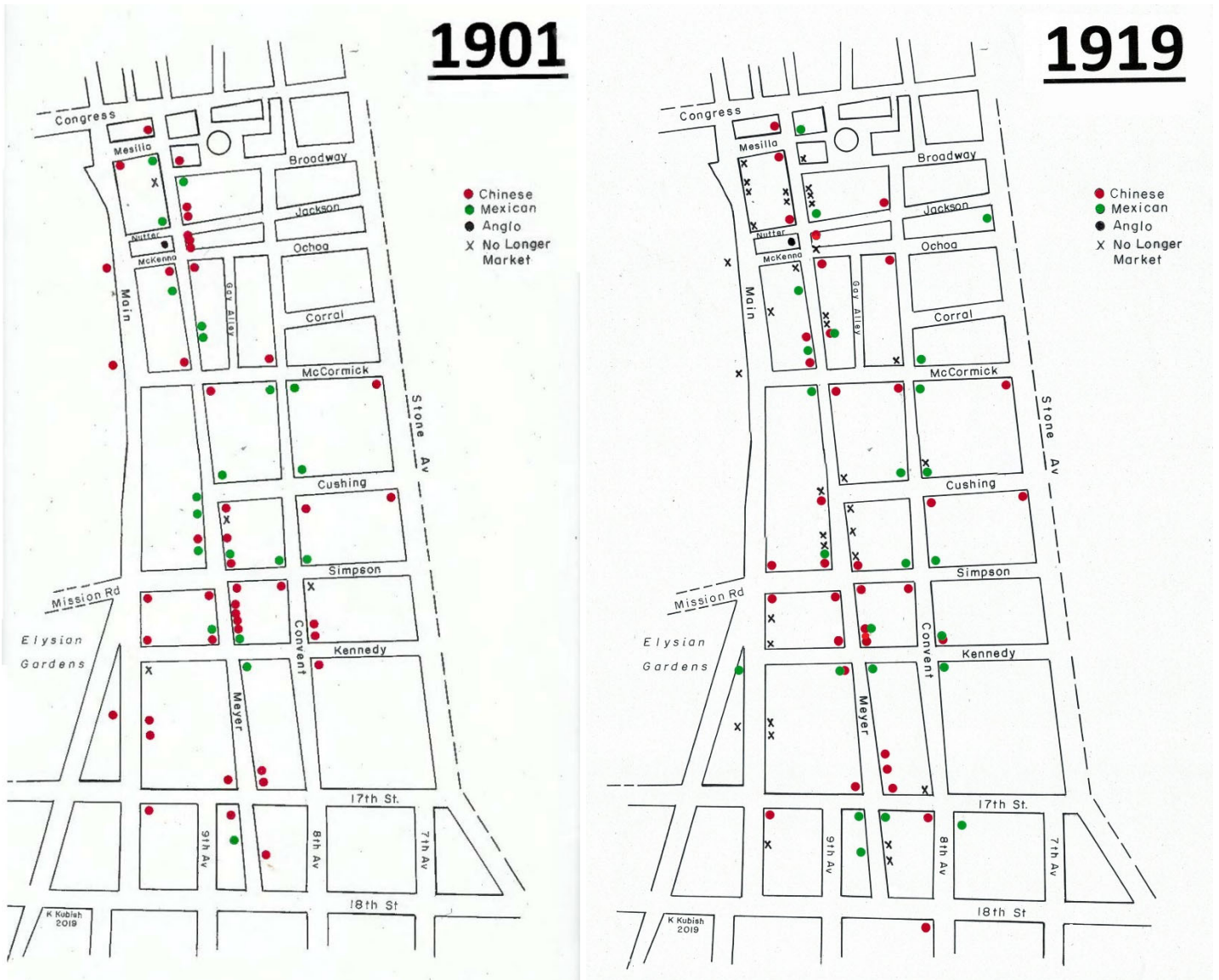


Figure 20a-b. Maps showing the location of grocers within Los Barrios Viejos between 1901 and 1919. Courtesy of Kathy Kubish, 2019.

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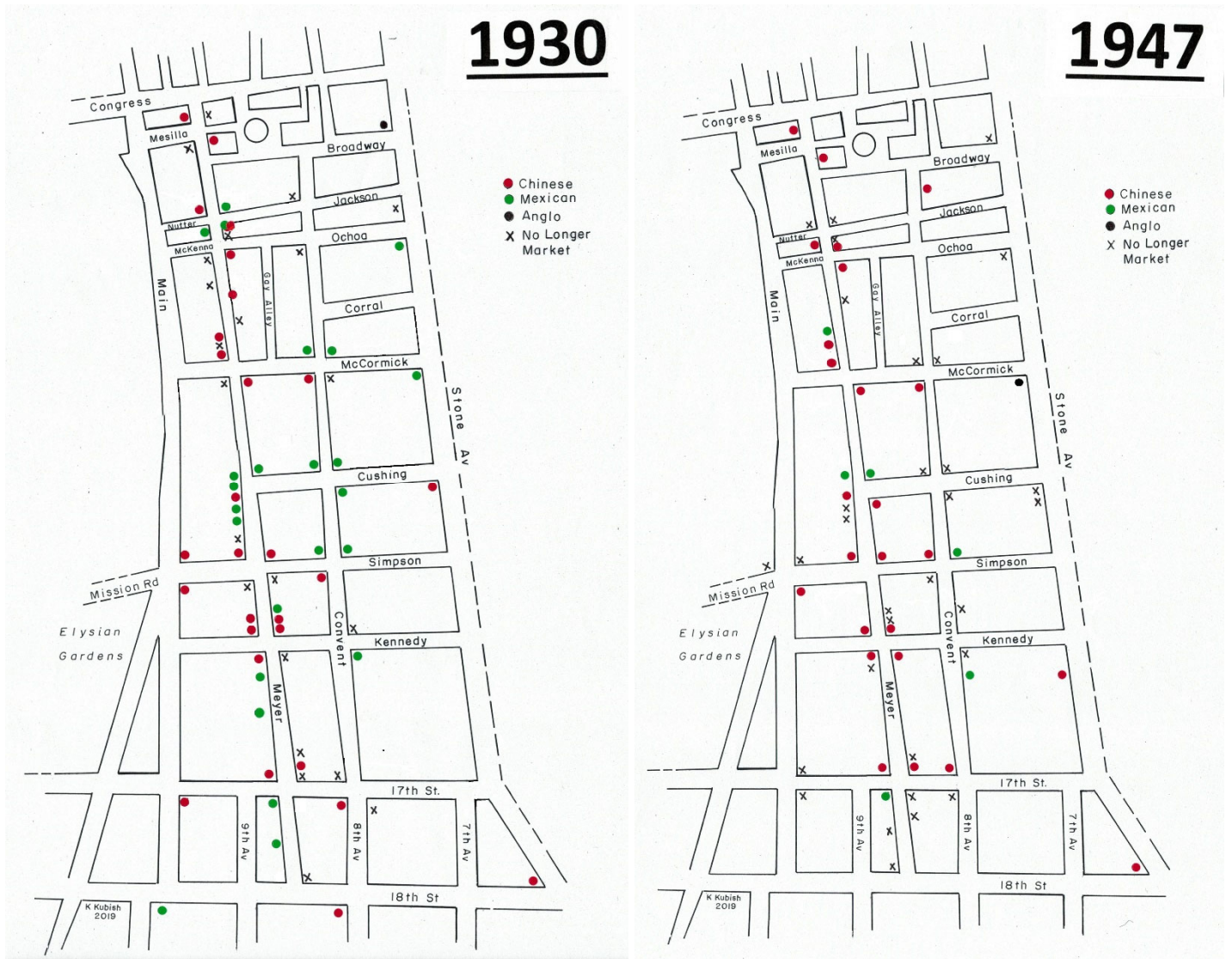


Figure 20c-d. Maps showing the location of grocers within Los Barrios Viejos between 1901 and 1919. Courtesy of Kathy Kubish, 2019.

Something New Under the Sun

Chinese Chain Stores

TRY THEM FOR PRICES

Low Hoy Co.	Wong You Co.	Lee Yen Co.
U. of A. Provision Co.	Don Kim Co.	Yan Lee Hing Co.
L. Henry Co.	Don You Co.	
Gin Lun Co.	Don Wah Co.	Gee Hung Co.
Lee Tan Co.	Don Hing Co.	Lim You Co.
Chan Lim Yuen Co.	Sang Lee Co.	Suey Lung Co.
Lee Sang Co.	Don Lee Co.	Lou You Co.
Lee Ho Co.	Lee Hop Co.	Lee Look Co.
Low Eng Co.	Sang Chong Wo Co.	Gee Suey Co.
Lee Wee Kwon Co.	Lee King Co.	Lee Soon Co.
Lee Kim Co.	Gee Wah Co.	O. T. Bing Co.
Gin Ngok Co.	Don Suey Co.	Tom Ly Co.
Lee Joe Co.	Lee Foo Co.	Suey Yuen Co.
Lee Sing Lung Co.	Wah Lung Co.	Don Sen Lee Co.
Gin Hing Co.	Gin Fong Co.	Lim Joe Co.
G. F. Quong Co.	Sun Hing Co.	Tom Chuey Co.
	Him Kee Co.	Boston Meat Market

ASK THEM ABOUT THESE SPECIALS

Large Can Milk10c	Karo, 1½ lbs.....9c
Eagle Brand Milk19c	Karo, 2½ lbs.....14c
Tomatoes, can14c	Karo, 5 lbs.....27c
Campbell Soup10c	Spuds, 100 lbs.....\$2.70
Campbell's Pork and Beans12c	Pink Beans, 15 lbs.....\$1.00
Hill's Red Coffee43c	Pure Lard, 5 lbs.....90c
Hill's Red, 2 lbs80c	Pure Lard, 10 lbs.....\$1.70
Hill's Blue, 1 lb.....32c	Good Butter, 1 lb.....39c
Hill's Blue, 3 lbs.....90c	Golden State.....57c
Sugar, 15 lbs.....\$1.00	Crystal White Soap, 6 bars.....25c
Fresh Eggs, 1 dozen.....30c	Tall Salmon, pink.....15c
Corn, per can13c	Good Bacon, 1 lb.....25c

Go To the Chinese Merchant in Your Neighborhood for Rock-Bottom Prices

Figure 21. Advertisement in the *Star*, February 22, 1922, page 7.

Get these Star VALUES

- ★ **6 Original Rogers Silverplate TEASPOONS** (Lovely "Allice" Pattern) FOR ONLY **50¢** AND THE TOP OF A LARGE LUX BOX — ASK US ABOUT THIS OFFER
- ★ **THREE VANADIUM STEEL KNIVES** \$1.50 VALUE FOR ONLY **50¢** — Ask dealers listed about this offer AND THE LARD DISC FROM A CAN OF SWT
- ★ **GET THIS BEAUTIFUL LACQUERED FITTED SEWING CASE** For Only **25¢** AND 3 LIFEBOUY BOX FRONTS — ASK US HOW
- ★ **Exclusive \$1.00 Value Double Compact** This model, herringbone pattern finished in gold effect and trimmed with gleaming black enamel FOR **25¢** AND 1 LEE TOILET ONLY **25¢** — Ask your dealer
- ★ **2-quart Covered Aluminum SAUCE PAN** Ask Your Dealer **50c** And One Big Top from Large Star Package (KEND)

A. B. C. Market 100 South Meyer	Food Mart 100 South Meyer	Lee Ho Grocery 100 South Meyer	NuWay Market 100 South Meyer	Sunshine Grocery 100 South Meyer
Don Kim Grocery 100 South Meyer	George's Market 100 South Meyer	Lim You Market 100 South Meyer	O. K. Market 100 South Meyer	T & T Market 100 South Meyer
Dunn's Market 100 South Meyer	Grand Central Mkt. 100 South Meyer	Lim and Lim 100 South Meyer	Pay'n Takit Stores 100 South Meyer	Joe W. Tang's Mkt. 100 South Meyer
Eagle Grocery 100 South Meyer	Grand Grocery 100 South Meyer	Market Spot 100 South Meyer	Star Mercantile Co. 100 South Meyer	Time Market 100 South Meyer
Farmer's Market 100 South Meyer	Joe Wee Market 100 South Meyer	Market Wholesale 100 South Meyer	Steinfeld's Grocery 100 South Meyer	Three Star Market 100 South Meyer
Foodland 100 South Meyer	Lee's Market 100 South Meyer		Sunny Corner Gro. 100 South Meyer	Tom's Market 100 South Meyer

Figure 22. Advertisement, *Arizona Daily Star*, May 13, 1938, page 6.

CONGRATULATIONS TO JERRY LEE
 Upon Completion of His Beautifully Re-Modeled Store
 Visit the **GALA OPENING** of Tucson's Newest **A. G. Food Center**
 Serving Tucson for Three Generations . . . !
JERRY'S LEE HO MARKET
 600 South Meyer St.

Figure 23. Advertisement in the *Star*, May 5, 1950, page 16.

KVOA-NBC

Today — in Person
Don Jacinto Orozco & Co.
 TODAY—3 to 4 P. M.—TODAY
 Jerry Lee Ho Market — 600 S. Meyer

SEE DIAL BELOW

VISITING HOURS—10:30 AM—KVOA
 A Daily Program for Sun-Seekers

Figure 24. Advertisement in the *Star*, August 6, 1949, page 5.

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A History-Making Real Estate
AUCTION
BARRIO HISTORICO - Tucson, Arizona
FRIDAY, DECEMBER 6TH

HIGH NOON Jerry's Lee Ho Market 600 S. MEYER (ZONED HC-3)	3:00 P.M. S & W Market 849 S. 9th Ave. - 4 Dwellings
---	--

THESE TWO HISTORIC PROPERTIES TO BE SOLD ON-SITE

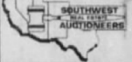
 **Call for Color Brochure & Information**
AUCTION HOTLINE (520) 298-3010

Figure 25. Advertisement in the *Star*, November 17, 2002, page 17



Figure 26. David J. Kaminsky, "View showing west (front) façade, west side of avenue – Lee Lung Sing Market, 600 South Meyer, Tucson, Pima County, AZ," Photograph, Washington, D.C.: Historic American Buildings Survey, HABS ARIZ,10-TUCSO,30/25-. From Library of Congress, *Historic American Buildings Survey/Historic American Engineering Record/Historic American Landscapes Survey* September 1980. Photograph. Historic American Building Survey. <https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/az0091/> (accessed July 14, 2020).

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Figure 27. Jerry's Lee Ho Market after a period of vacancy. S. Halversen, "600 S. Meyer St.," Photograph. Tucson: Halversen.com [(personal website)], 20 December, 2002.

<http://www.tucson.halversen.com/thenow/meyer600s.html> (accessed July 14, 2002).

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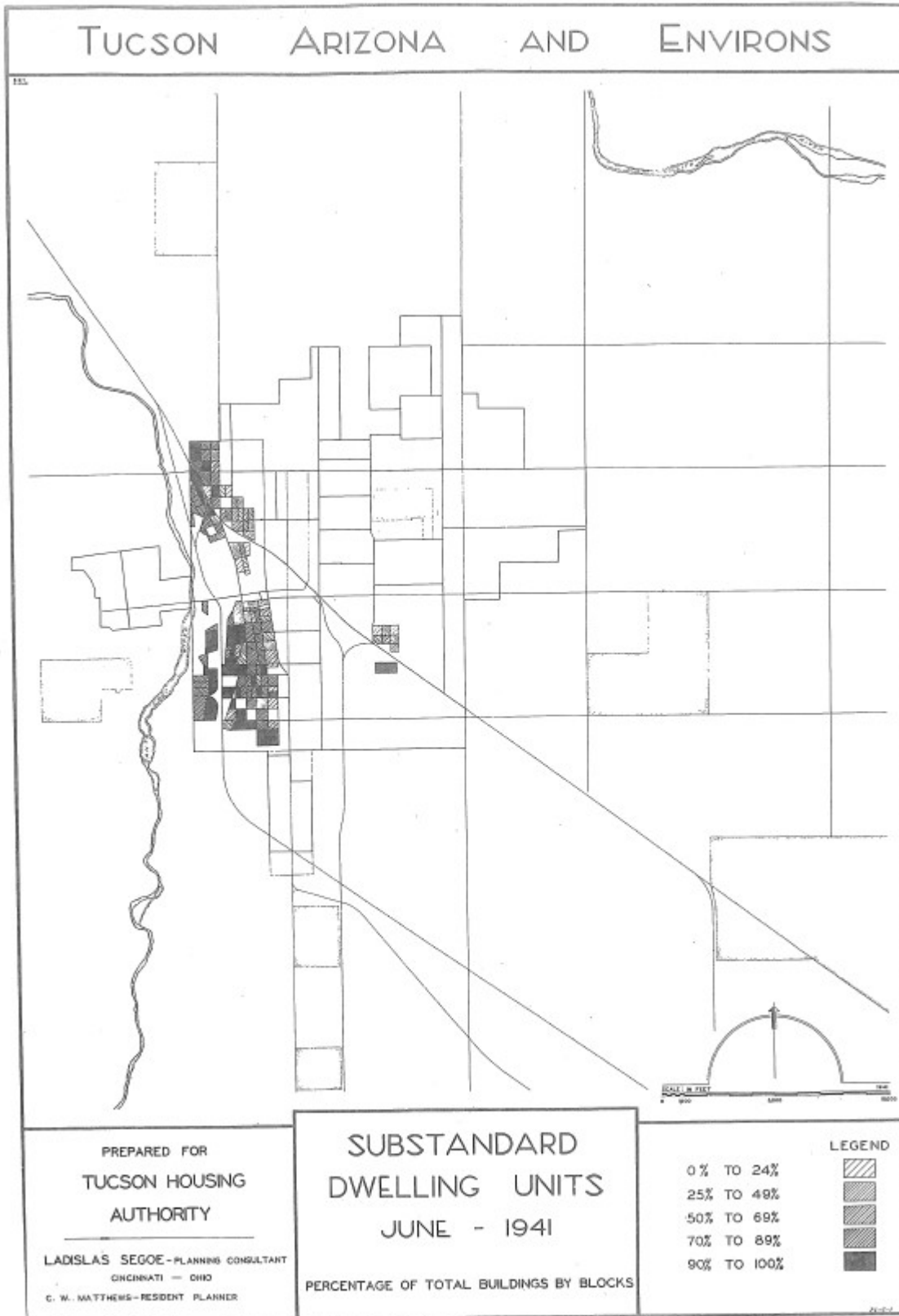


Figure 28. Map showing the presence of “Substandard Dwelling Units” used to justify urban renewal. Ladislav Segoe and C.W. Matthews, *Tentative Report on Survey of Low-Rent Housing Needs: Tucson, Arizona* (Tucson: Tucson Housing Authority, 1941), MS 1173, File 48, Box 4, Arizona Historical Society, Tucson.

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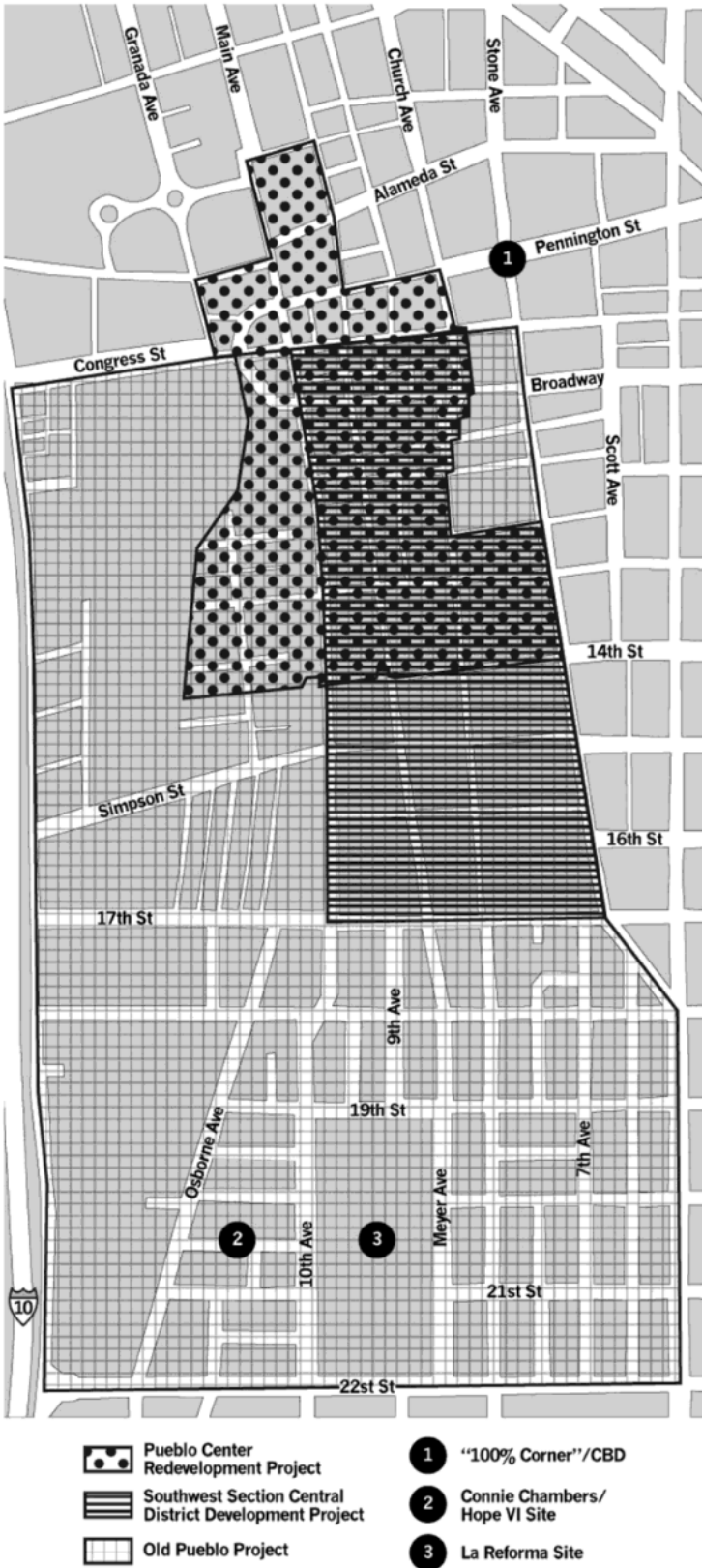


Figure 29. "Three Versions of Tucson's Urban Renewal." Lawrence J. Vale, *After the Projects: Public Housing Redevelopment and the Governance of the Poorest Americans* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), page 238.

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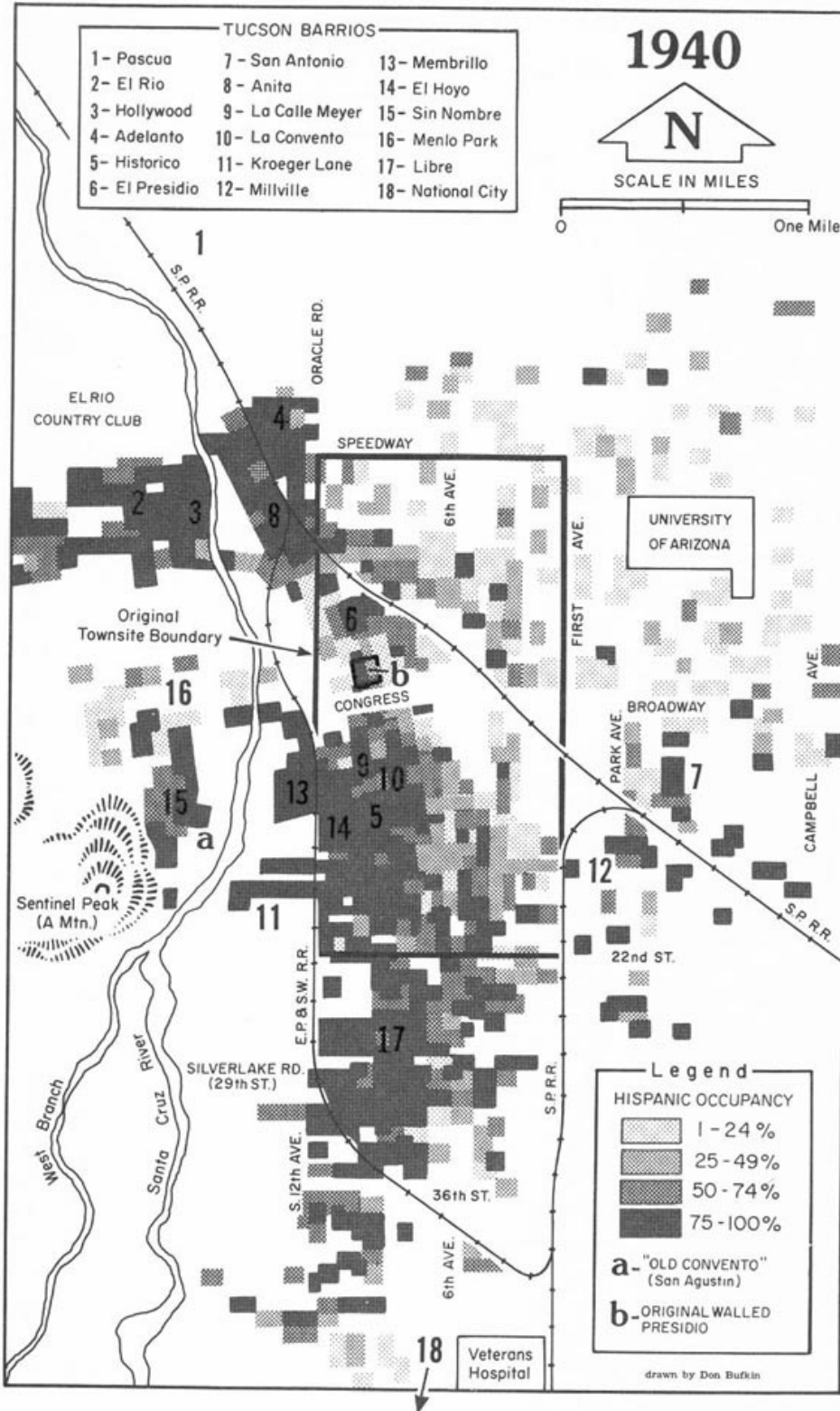
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Mexican Settlement in Tucson, 1940

Figure 30. "Mexican Settlement in Tucson, 1940." Thomas E. Sheridan, *Los Tucsonenses: The Mexican Community in Tucson, 1854-1941* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1986), page 238.

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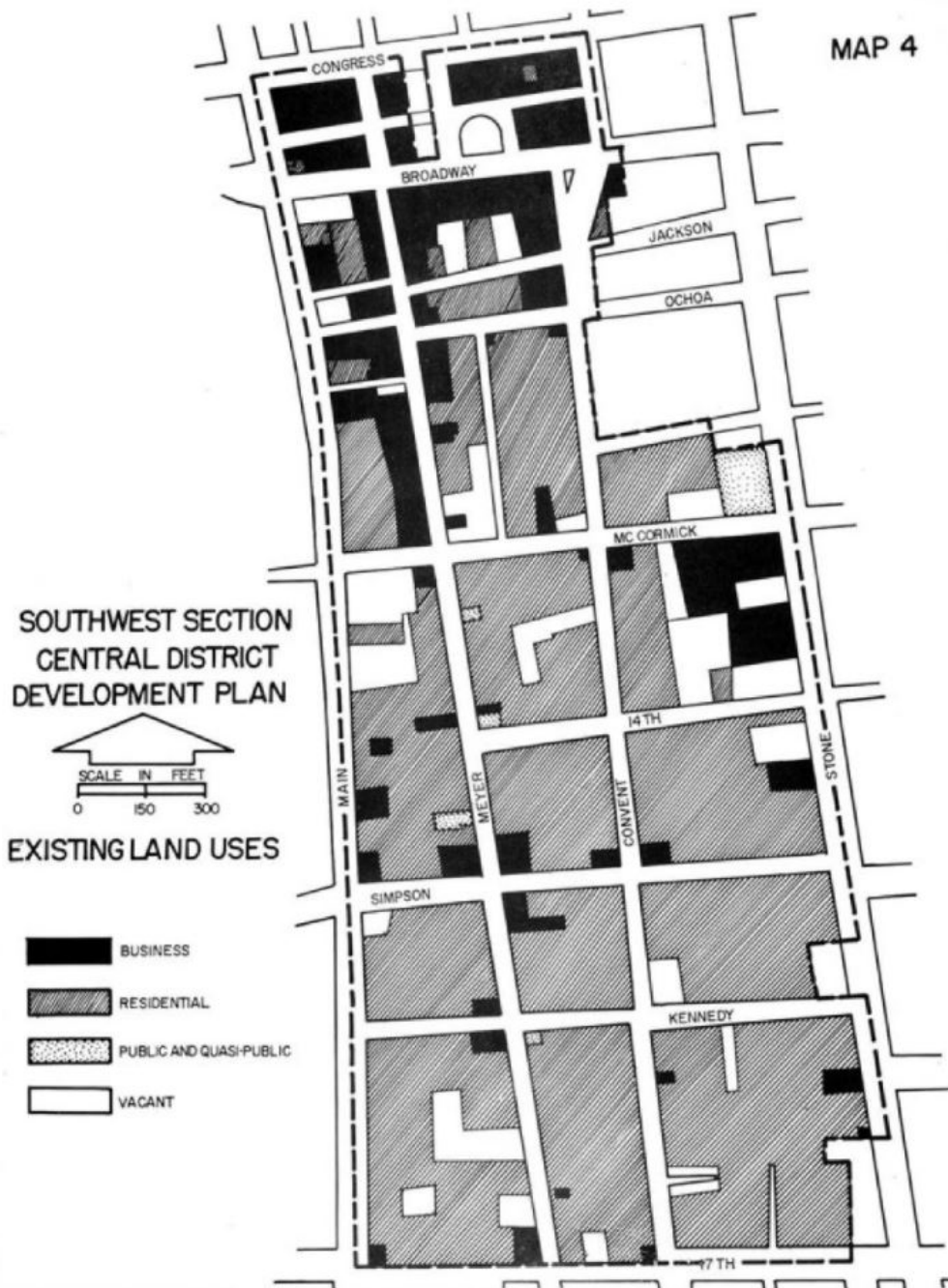


Figure 31. "Southwest Section Central District Development Plan." City of Tucson, *Redevelopment Plan*, (Tucson: City of Tucson, 1962) pt. 2, map 4.

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Figure 32. View of Tucson's commercial core, looking northeast, circa 1945. Note the prominent two-tone cladding of the eleven-story Consolidated Bank of Tucson building in the left of the middle ground. Lydia R. Otero, *La Calle: Spatial Conflicts and Urban Renewal in a Southwest City* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2010), page 5.

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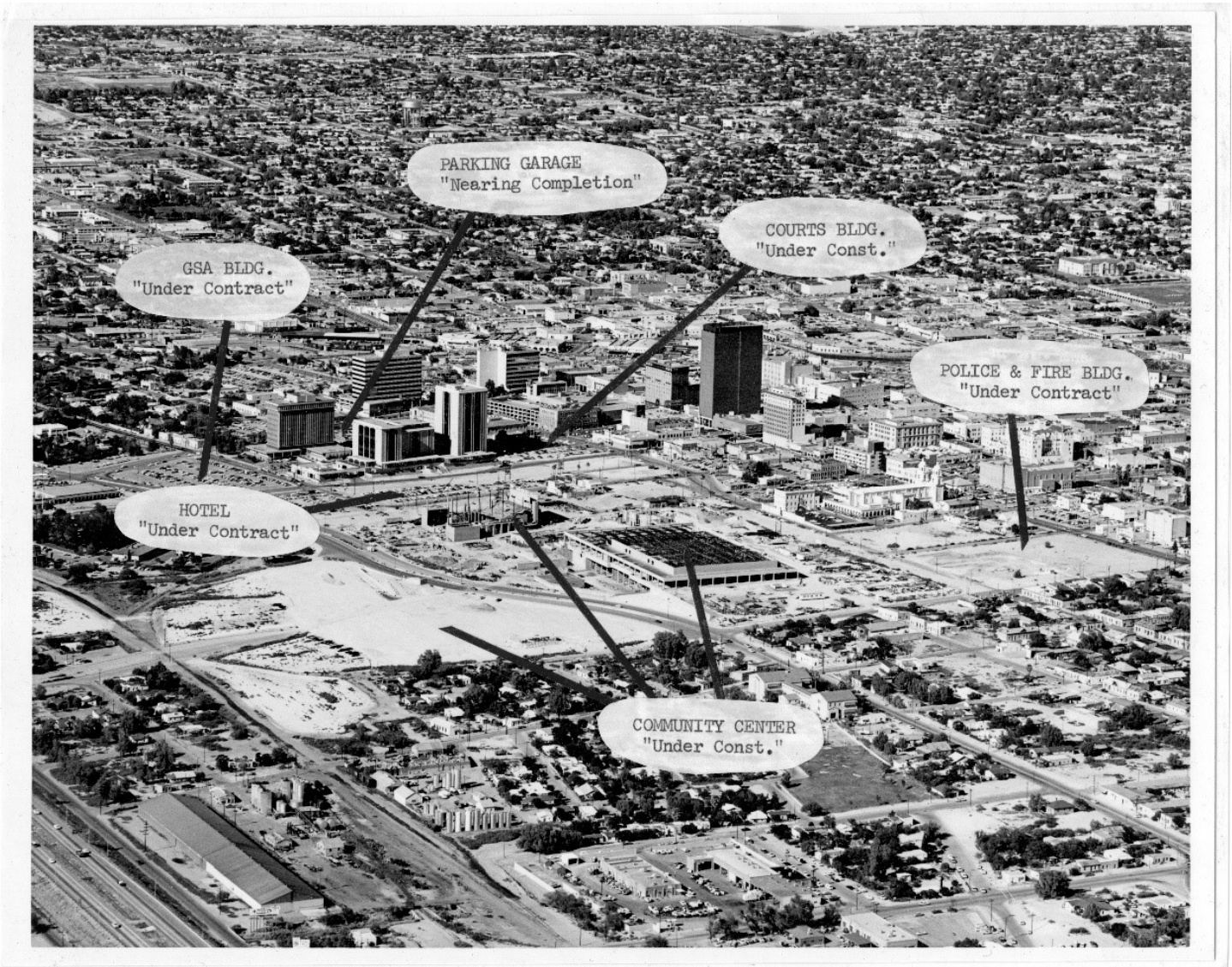


Figure 33. View of Tucson's commercial core, looking northeast, circa 1970. Showing structures under construction as part of "The Pueblo Center Redevelopment Project." Note the urban renewal boundary along 14th street which forms the present day northern border of Los Barrios Viejos. Note as well the continued presence of the two-tone cladding of the eleven-story Consolidated Bank of Tucson building slightly right of center in the middle ground. Lydia R. Otero, *La Calle: Spatial Conflicts and Urban Renewal in a Southwest City* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2010), page 123.

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Figure 34. Photograph showing the intersection of Congress Street and Court Avenue during the early phases of urban renewal, looking southwest. C. 1969. Courtesy of Barrio Stories.

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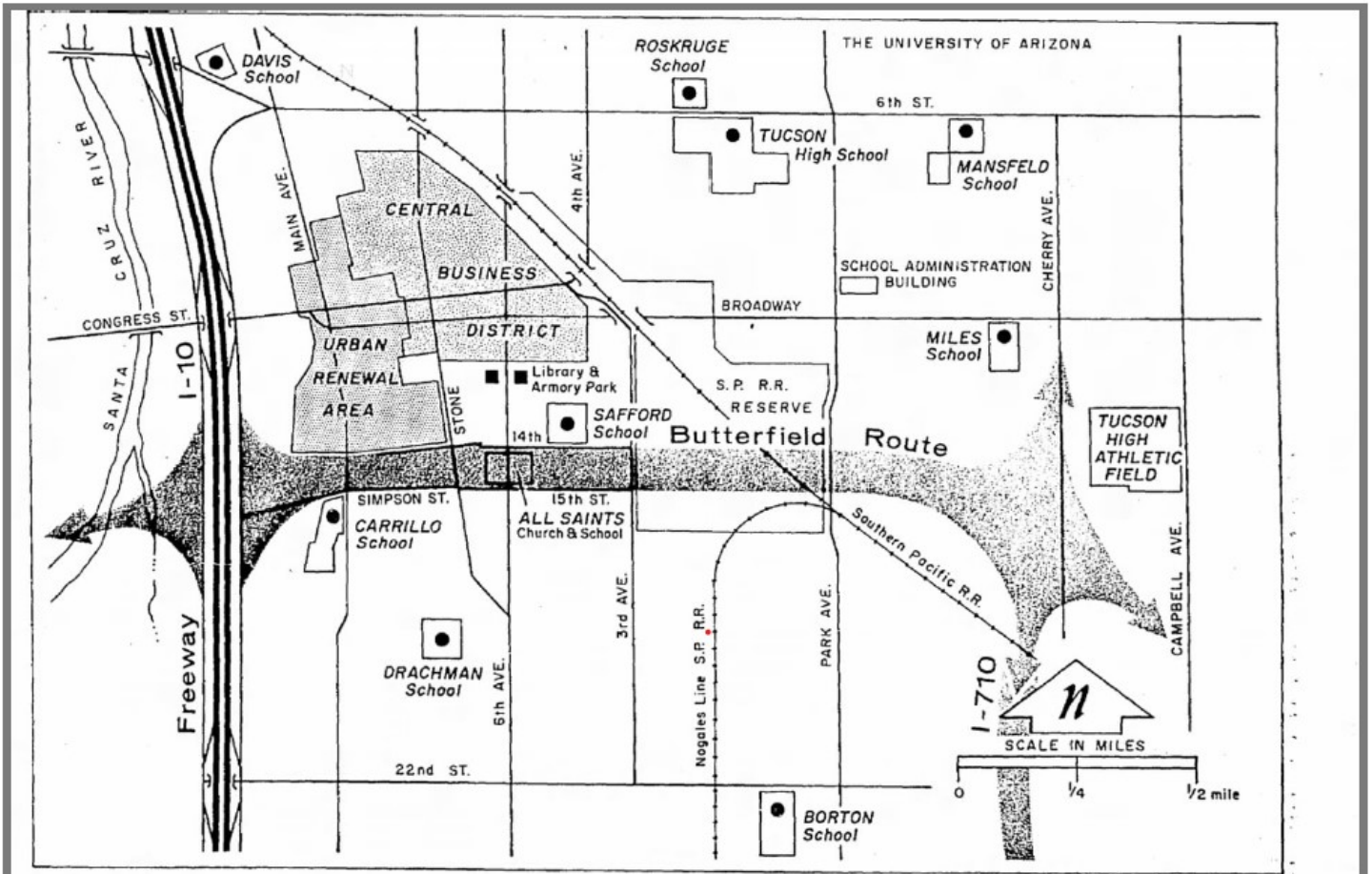
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Butterfield Freeway Corridor

This is the approximate location of the proposed Butterfield Freeway, which will cut a block-wide swath through the city. State Highway Department design consultants say there are six alternative designs under consideration. Carrillo School may be in the

way of the Butterfield-Interstate 10 interchange, they said. School District 1 officials fear the Tucson High School athletic field also may be in jeopardy because of a planned Butterfield-Interstate 710 interchange. (Map by Don Bufkin)

Figure 35. Newspaper clipping showing the proposed Butterfield Freeway which would have required the demolition of “a block-wide swath” at the northern extremity of Los Barrios Viejos. “Butterfield Freeway Corridor,” *Tucson Daily Citizen*, October 5, 1967, page 26.

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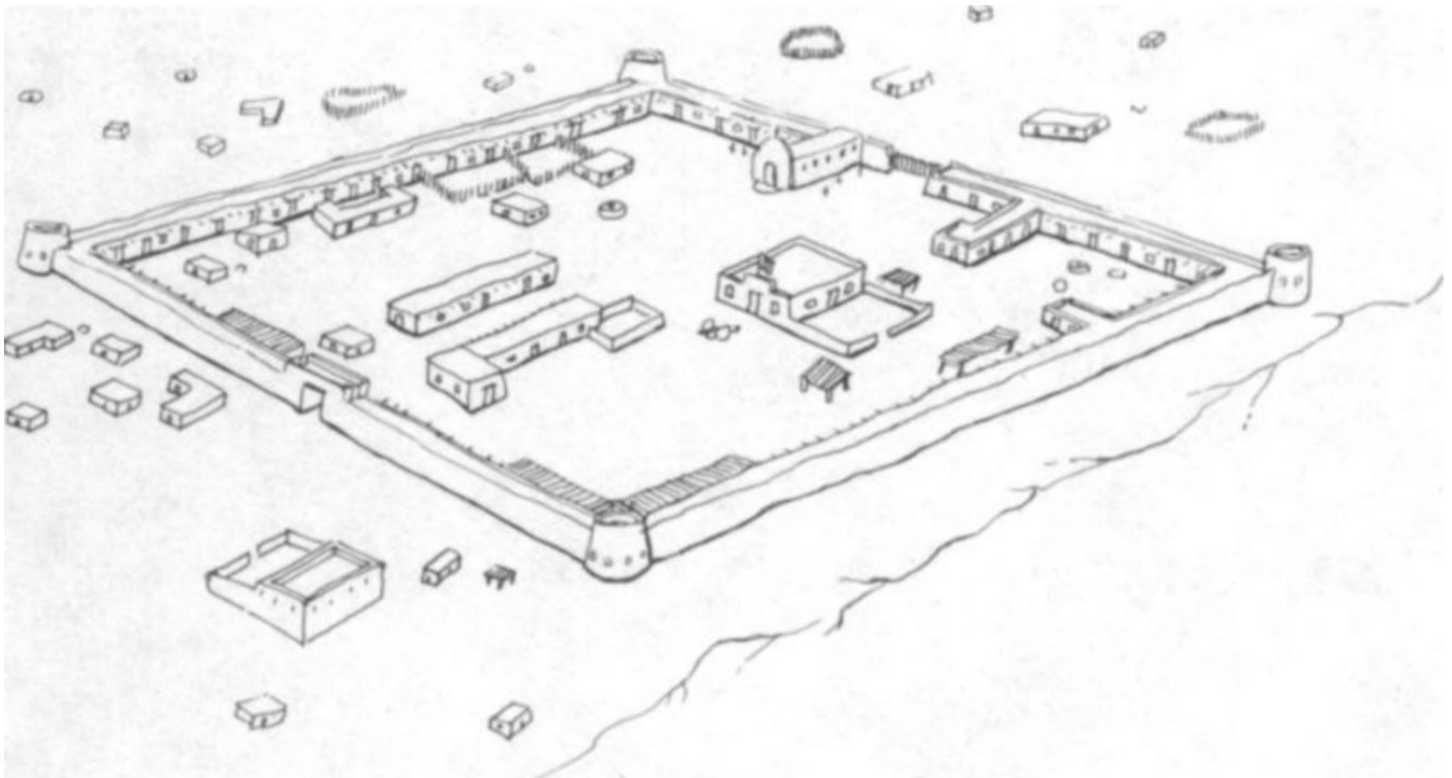


Figure 36. Conjectural reconstruction of the Tucson Presidio c. 1848. Courtesy of Jack S. Williams.

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Figure 37. The 1862 “Fergusson Map” commissioned by Major David Fergusson, drawn J.B. Mills, Jr. and later recorded by Samuel Hughes with the Tucson City Clerk in 1899. Courtesy of the Arizona Historical Society and Pima County Public Library.

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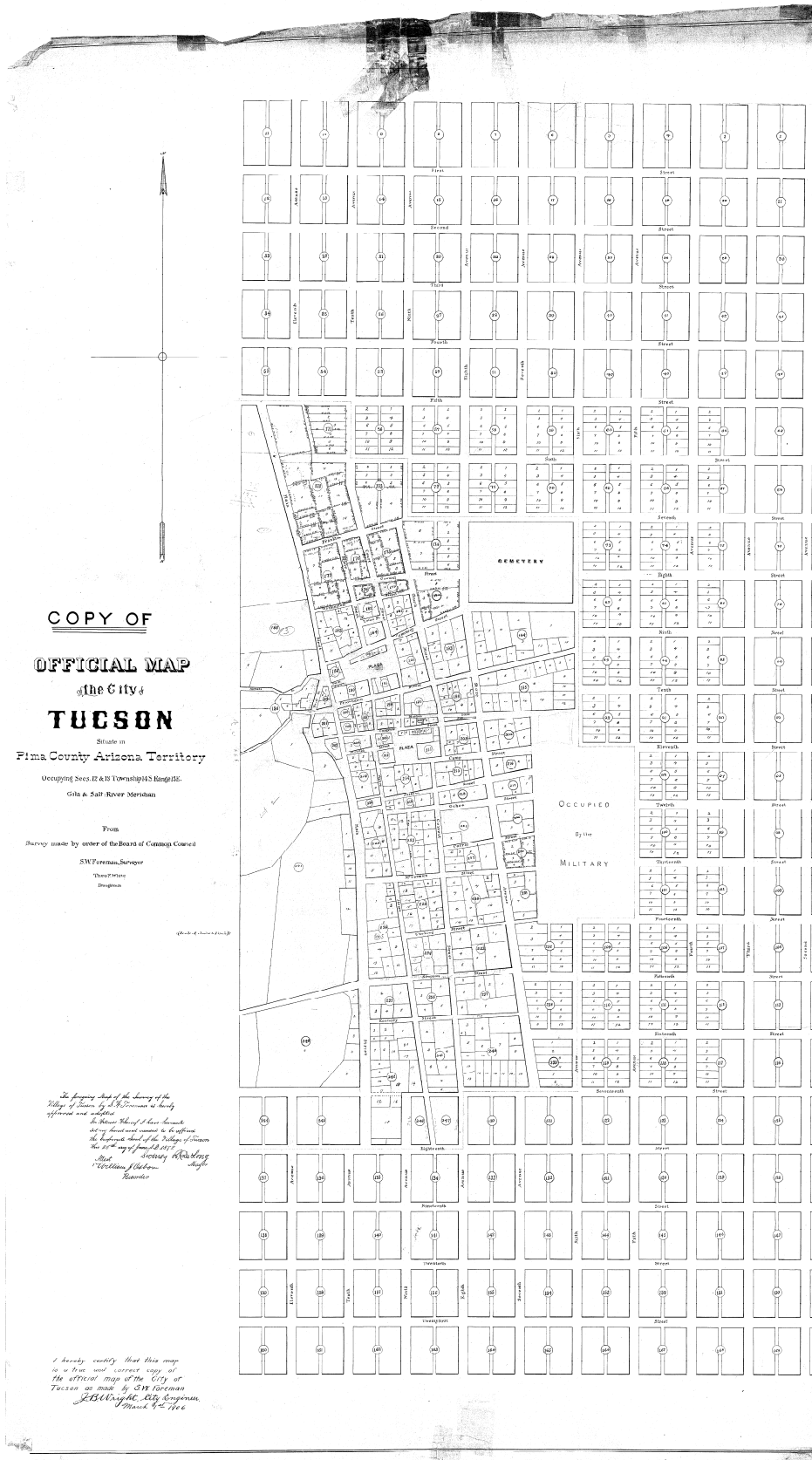


Figure 38. The 1872 S.W. Foreman Old City Map (Copy). Courtesy of the City of Tucson (B-002).

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Figure 39. South Meyer Avenue looking south showing a typical street in Barrio Calle Meyer and Convento. January 2020.



Figure 40. South 8th Avenue looking north showing a typical street in the western portion of Barrio Santa Rosa. May 2020.

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Figure 41. South Otero Avenue looking south showing a typical street in the northern portion of Barrio El Hoyo. January 2020.



Figure 42. South Stone Avenue looking south showing one of Armory Park's wide mixed-use boulevards. May 2020.

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Figure 43. South Scott Avenue looking north showing one of Armory Park's narrow service alleys. May 2020.

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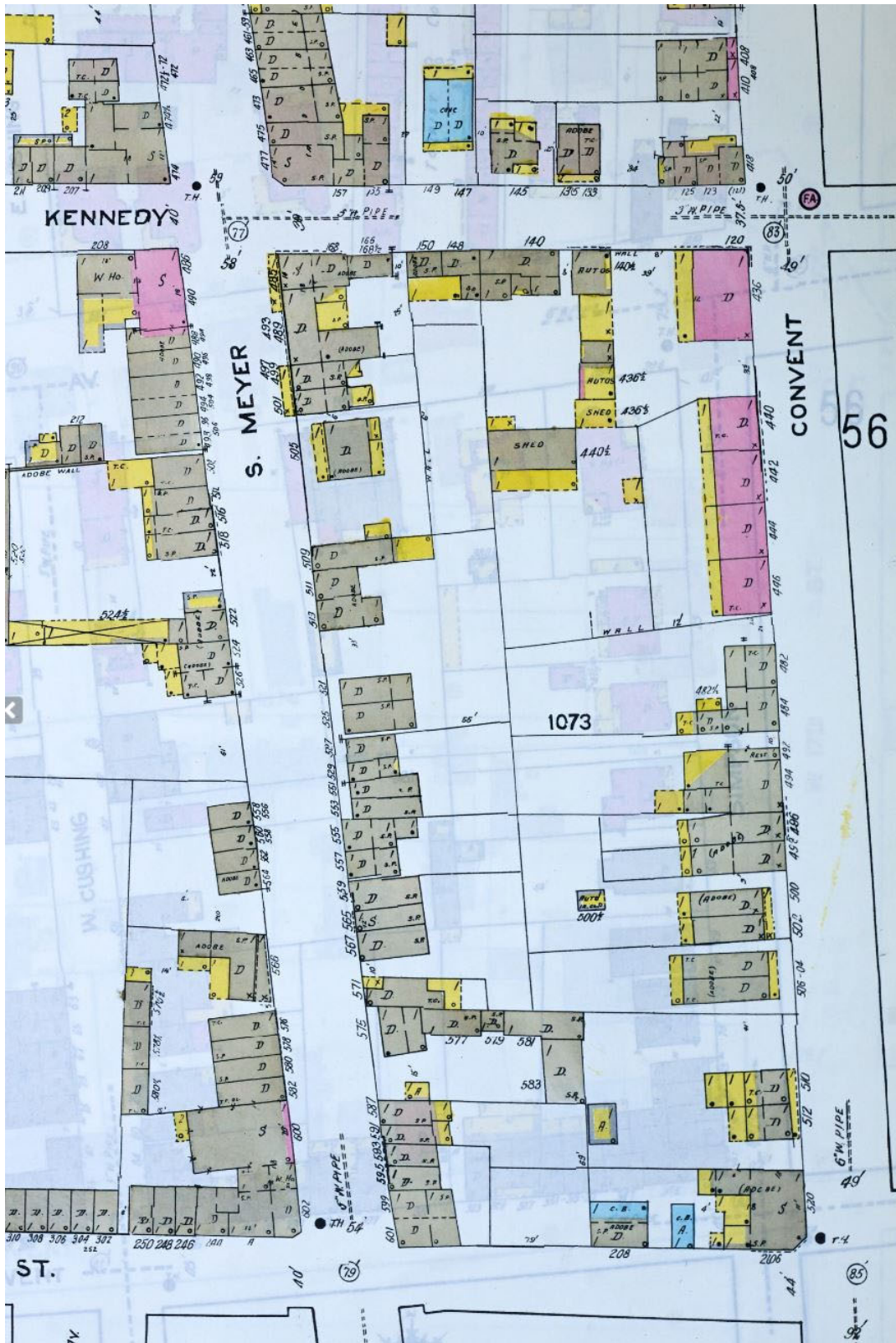


Figure 44. The 1919-1947 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map of Tucson showing Block 1073 bordered by South Meyer Avenue to the west, Kennedy Street to the north, South Convent Avenue to the east, and West 17th Street to the south. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

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Figure 45. 685 South Meyer Avenue showing a modified example of a Classic Sonoran building with the characteristic chamfered entry of a commercial property. January 2020.



Figure 46. Velasco House (NRHP# 74000460). 475 South Stone Avenue showing an example of a Transformed Sonoran residence. January 2020.

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Figure 47. 63-65 West Simpson Street showing an example of a late Transitional Sonoran residence. January 2020.



Figure 48. 36 West Kennedy Street showing an American Territorial style residence. May 2020.

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Figure 49. 396 South Stone Avenue showing a Queen Anne style residence. January 2020.

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Figure 50. 506-512 South Meyer Avenue showing elements of the Italianate style on a Transformed Sonoran row house. The Italianate is most evident in the building's doors which show the use of paired glass panes and simplified classical surrounds. The style's influence is also evident in the two over two double hung sash windows. Note that this building has been heavily restored within the last decade and some of these elements may not be original. May 2020.

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Figure 51. 484 South Convent Avenue showing elements of the Neoclassical style on a vernacular Transformed Sonoran residence. The style is most obvious in the peaked molding that caps all three apertures which is suggestive of a classical pediment. May 2020.



Figure 52. 827-829 South 8th Avenue showing several row houses incorporating elements of the Mission Revival style including a decorative parapet and white walls. May 2020.

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Figure53. Primeria Iglesia Bautista. 482 South Stone Avenue showing east elevation. January 2020.



Figure 54. San Cosme showing north and east elevations. January 2020.

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Figure 55. Carrillo School. 440 South Main Avenue showing Spanish Colonial Revival style building. January 2020.



Figure 56. The Labor Temple. 267 South Stone Avenue showing a Pueblo Revival style building. May 2020.

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Figure 57. 930 South 8th Avenue showing an example of a front-gabled craftsman bungalow constructed from adobe masonry. May 2020.



Figure 58. 537 South Main Avenue showing a vernacular residence with elements of the Mission Revival style. Due to the wide porch, this includes elements of a “California Bungalow.” January 2020.

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Figure 59. 921 South 7th Avenue showing an example of a ranch house. January 2020.



Figure 60. 756-760 South Stone Avenue showing an example of a one-part commercial block constructed from brick masonry. January 2020.

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Figure 61. Former Gee Lung's Market. 863 South 9th Street showing an example of a one-part commercial block constructed from adobe masonry likely in the mid-1930s. January 2020.



Figure 62. All Saints Church. 408 South 6th Avenue showing north and east elevations. May 2020.

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Figure 63. El Tiradito. 418 South Main Avenue looking west from street. January 2020.



Figure 64. South Convent Avenue looking south from its intersection with West Kennedy Street. May 2020.

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Figure 65. Elysian Grove Market. 400 West Simpson Street showing north and west elevations. January 2020.



Figure 66. Labor Temple. 267 South Stone Avenue showing west elevation. Note the decorative ladder connecting the roof of the second and third story. See also Figure 56. May 2020.

NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK NOMINATION

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Figure 67. Temple Emanu-El (Stone Avenue Temple). 564 South Stone Avenue showing south and east elevations. May 2020.



Figure 68. Temple Emanu-El (Stone Avenue Temple). 564 South Stone Avenue showing portion of east elevation. May 2020.

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Figure 69. Teatro Carmen showing east elevation. May 2020.