1. Name of Property
Historic name: <u>Barrio San Antonio</u>
Other names/site number: Manlove Addition
Name of related multiple property listing:
N/A
Enter "N/A" if property is not part of a multiple property listing
2. Location
Street & number: Manlove Street, Arroyo Chico, Park Avenue, Aviation Highway, and
Santa Rita Ave
City on terror Theorem States AZ Country Direct
City or town: Tucson State: AZ County: Pima

3. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended,

I hereby certify that this <u>nomination</u> request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60.

In my opinion, the property ____ meets ____ does not meet the National Register Criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant at the following level(s) of significance:

<u>national</u>	<u></u> statewide	<u> </u>
Applicable National Re	egister Criteria:	

				T
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Signature of certifying official/Title:	Date
State or Federal agency/bureau or Tribal	Government
In my opinion, the property meets of the terms.	loes not meet the National Register
Signature of commenting official:	Date
Title :	State or Federal agency/burea or Tribal Government

Barrio San Antonio Name of Property

4. National Park Service Certification

I hereby certify that this property is:

- ____ entered in the National Register
- ____ determined eligible for the National Register
- ____ determined not eligible for the National Register
- ____ removed from the National Register
- ____ other (explain:) ______

Signature of the Keeper

Date of Action

5. Classification

Ownership of Property

(Check as many boxes as	app	ly.)
Private:	Х	
Public – Local		

Public – State		

Public	- Fede	ral

Category of Property

(Check only **one** box.)

Building(s)	
District	X
Site	
Structure	
Object	

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Number of Resources within Property

(Do not include previously listed resources in the count)

Contributing38	Noncontributing24	buildings
	<u> 1 </u>	sites
		structures
		objects
38	25 Total	

Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register <u>N/A</u>

6. Function or Use Historic Functions (Enter categories from instructions.) DOMESTIC/single-dwelling and multiple dwelling LANDSCAPE/Park

Current Functions

(Enter categories from instructions.) <u>DOMESTIC/single-dwelling and multiple dwelling</u> <u>LANDSCAPE/Park</u>

7. Description

Architectural Classification

(Enter categories from instructions.) Late 19th and 20th Century Revivals Late 19th and 20th Century American Movements Modern Movement Other/Vernacular

Materials: (enter categories from instructions.) Principal exterior materials of the property: <u>EARTH, BRICK, STONE, METAL</u>

Barrio San Antonio	
Name of Property	

Narrative Description

(Describe the historic and current physical appearance and condition of the property. Describe contributing and noncontributing resources if applicable. Begin with **a summary paragraph** that briefly describes the general characteristics of the property, such as its location, type, style, method of construction, setting, size, and significant features. Indicate whether the property has historic integrity.)

Summary Paragraph

Barrio San Antonio is a moderately sized early-through-late twentieth century residential neighborhood located just over 1 mile southeast of Tucson's downtown commercial core and south of the University of Arizona (Figures 1 and 2). Originally platted to serve both railroad workers and faculty, staff, and students at the University of Arizona, it was constructed with a street network placed on a standard coordinate grid, with the neighborhood's form extending diagonally from the northwest to the southeast and today is defined by hard geographic and constructed boundaries with a hybridization of both Mexican American and Anglo-American development and planning influences. From its establishment through the 1970s, the neighborhood has retained its cultural associations and is characterized by modest single-story homes featuring a variety of early-to-late twentieth century vernacular forms and architectural styles interspersed with Mexican American influences (shrines, walls, lot placement, Sonoran vernacular architecture, and additive growth). Overall, the homes within the district exhibit the requisite integrity of location, setting, design, materials, workmanship, and association and readily convey their historic association as Tucson's earliest Mexican American suburb outside the central business district.

Narrative Description

Barrio San Antonio is located in Tucson, Pima County, Arizona, wholly within Section 18 of Township 14 South, Range 14 East, as depicted on the USGS Tucson (2002) 7.5' topographic quadrangle, G&SRB&M (see Figures 1 and 2). The location of Barrio San Antonio has remained unchanged since the end of the historic period.

Barrio San Antonio is situated approximately one mile southeast of Tucson's downtown commercial core between the Arroyo Chico waterway to the northeast, East Aviation Parkway (Arizona State Route 210; also called Barraza-Aviation Highway) to the southwest, South Kino Parkway to the east, and the Central City Business Park (305-275 South Euclid Avenue) to the west. While these features form a comparatively hard, urbanized boundary to the neighborhood, its single-story construction and gridiron streets allow views to nearby mountain ranges including the Santa Catalina Mountains to the north, the Rincon Mountains the west, the Santa Rita Mountains to the south, and the Tucson Mountains to the east.

North of the barrio, across the Arroyo Chico, is the Miles Neighborhood and the Broadway commercial corridor (recently designated the Sunshine Mile Historic District; Clinco and Herr-Cardillo 2020). South across East Aviation Parkway and the Union Pacific Railroad tracks is

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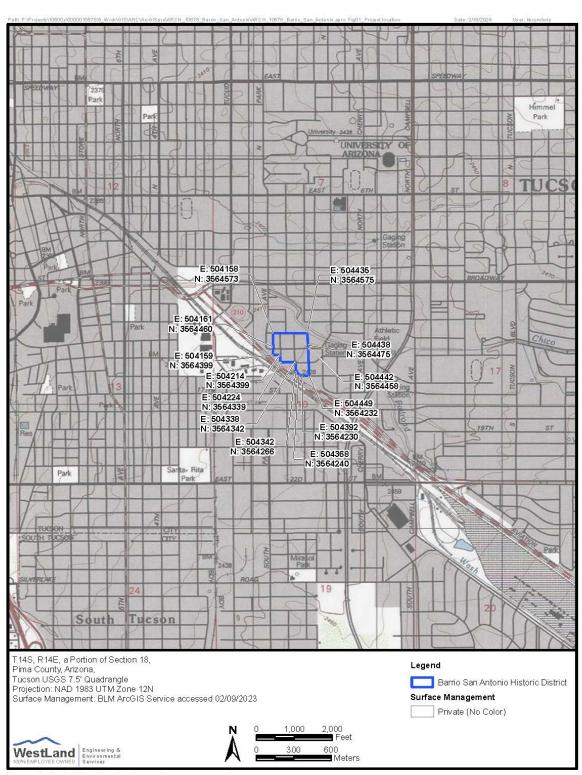


Figure 1. Project location map

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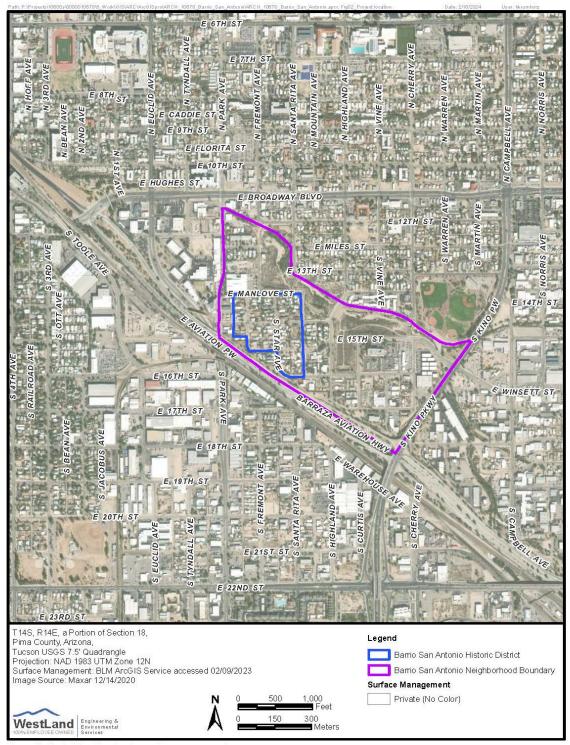


Figure 2. Barrio San Antonio Historic District and Barrio San Antonio Neighborhood boundaries

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the semi-industrial Millville neighborhood. To the barrio's east is an unnamed industrial district and to its west is the Central City Business Park (305-375 South Euclid Avenue).

Development of the neighborhood is restricted to the area south of Arroyo Chico and is defined by detached residences placed at the front of, or in the middle of, their lots and often surrounded by low fences and landscaped yards. Mixed within these residences are various commercial and industrial properties, giving the neighborhood a mixed-use character. With limited exceptions, this development does not rise above single-story, giving the neighborhood a comparatively intimate and domestic setting. The main commercial corridor—Lost Barrio—is found along South Park Avenue, which acts as one of the primary entries to the neighborhood from the city center.

The barrio's gridiron streets are fully paved and overlain by overhead powerlines and cobra head-style streetlights. The roadways are only intermittently lined by concrete sidewalks, which, when present, are placed flush against the vertical curb without road verges and sometimes terminate before reaching a street corner. Several of the neighborhood's roads have been improved with curb extensions (sometimes called "chicanes") that enclose vegetated swales for stormwater retention, and many street corners have been cut to form Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA)– accessible pedestrian ramps—some without adjoining sidewalks. Placed throughout the barrio is vegetation typical of the Sonoran Desert ecoregion; however, many near-native and non-native species have been propagated in residential yards and along sidewalks and roadways.

Where it is bounded by the Arroyo Chico, the neighborhood's northeastern edge descends in elevation and shows substantial improvements, including vegetated stormwater retention basins, as well as recreation areas and urban trails. While many of the changes to the Arroyo Chico took place within the last two decades, the alignment of the greenway has remained consistent over time, reflecting that of the same alignment in the 1920s when the neighborhood first began to be built out. Portions of the Arroyo Chico wind through other neighborhoods along the Broadway corridor. Owing to the lack of development, this portion of the neighborhood boundary possesses largely unobstructed views of the Santa Catalina Mountain range to the north of the city, as well as the Rincon Mountain range to the east. In more limited areas, the peaks of the Tucson Mountains are visible above existing development and vegetation to the west (**Photo 1**).

Throughout its history the neighborhood has served as both a residential, commercial, and industrial area, catering to businesses associated with the railroad and the central business district while simultaneously housing many of the individuals who worked in these industries. Before the advent and popularity of the automobile, people lived near their places of employment, and until East Aviation Parkway (also called Barraza-Aviation Highway) cut the neighborhood off from direct access to the central business district, many of the Barrio's residents were within walking distance of their jobs. As such, the neighborhood presents itself as a working-class suburban neighborhood bounded by commercial and industrial functions that are common to many peripheral areas where minority communities are frequently found in urban centers throughout the United States.

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Photo 1. Looking out to the Arroyo Chico from E. Manlove Street, view facing north-northeast. (WestLand Engineering & Environmental Services [WestLand], January 2023 [AZ_PimaCounty_BarrioSanAntonio_0001])

In addition, within Barrio San Antonio there are a wide variety of architectural styles and forms, many of which showcase the intermingling of Anglo-influenced architectural styles and traditional street grid with Mexican American cultural connections that include building additions, fencing, and other visible components. As will be discussed throughout Sections 7 and 8, the neighborhood's architectural transformation and transition from an Anglo American platted neighborhood to a Mexican American suburb is evidenced in several stages and is similar to but the reverse of what was happening to Tucson's historically *Tucsonenses* barrios (a self-identifier for Tucson's long-standing Mexican community) in downtown.

After the arrival of the railroad in 1880, coupled with the increasing ubiquity of Anglo-American urban forms and buildings, Tucson's barrios experienced a period of evolution. 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 (Nequette 2005:44).

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While Barrio San Antonio was not originally platted to serve a Tucsonenses population, its residents had to negotiate some of the same changes as were happening in their own neighborhoods where Anglo-American residents were moving. In the case of Barrio San Antonio, however, when Tucsonenses made these transformations, it was not to their own architecture, but rather to the existing Anglo American building styles and forms. This is manifested in both the assimilation of Anglo-American building styles and forms and hybridization of elements from each cultural group. For example, throughout the neighborhood these patterns are evidenced by Craftsman Bungalows with enclosed front yards (referencing what would have been an interior courtyard space in one of downtown's Sonoran rowhouses) or a Ranch-style brick home with a matching brick religious shrine next to the front door. A full discussion of these cultural components is touched on in Section 7 and presented fully in Section 8 under Ethnic Heritage (pages 44-49).

Architecture of Barrio San Antonio

Most residences are single-story, small and/or medium-scaled, and have several rear additions or detached outbuildings located on their lots. Setbacks and lot placement varies from parcel to parcel, as do construction materials; most buildings are constructed of adobe, brick, frame, or concrete. Many homes are also fronted by fences, walls, or vegetation.

The neighborhood exhibits both formal architectural styles and local iterations of popular architectural styles. The four formal historic-age architectural styles—American Territorial, Mission Revival, Bungalow, and Ranch—identified within the barrio are each found only in their most modest iterations. Local forms or variations on academic styles include Sonoran Bungalow, Eclectic, and Contemporary (**Table 1, Figure 3**). Many of the non-contributing properties are not yet 50 years old or have incompatible alterations.

Address	Date of Construction	Architectural Style	Status
1116-1-1116-2 East 14th Street	1940	Eclectic, including Craftsman and Mission Revival detailing	Contributing
1142 East 14th Street/502 S. Star Avenue	1998	Contemporary Sonoran	Non-contributing (Age)
1202 East 14th Street	1925–1926	Mission Revival	Contributing
1215 East 14th Street	c. 2016–2019	Contemporary	Non-contributing (Age)
1216 East 14th Street	1931	Spanish eclectic	Non-contributing (Alterations)
1230 East 14th Street, San Antonio Park	2005–2007	N/A, Park	Non-contributing (Age)
1233-1235 East 14th Street	2004	Contemporary	Non-contributing (Age)
1211 E. 15th Street	c. 1949–1974	Vernacular	Contributing
1207-1 and 2 East 16th Street	1999	Contemporary	Non-contributing (Age)
402 South Fremont Avenue	1925	Craftsman Bungalow	Contributing
403 South Fremont Avenue	1929	American Territorial	Contributing

Table 1. List of contributing and non-contributing Resources within Barrio San Antonio

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Barrio	San	Antonio	

Name of Property

Address	Date of Construction	Architectural Style	Status
414-416 South Fremont Avenue	1918	American Territorial	Contributing
415 South Fremont Avenue	1916	Craftsman Bungalow	Non-contributing (Obstructed view)
418-420 South Fremont Avenue	Pre-1924	American Territorial	Contributing
422 South Fremont Avenue	2018	Contemporary Sonoran	Non-contributing (Age)
423 South Fremont Avenue	1920	Craftsman Bungalow	Contributing
424-426 South Fremont Avenue	1924	Craftsman Bungalow	Contributing
425 South Fremont Avenue	1920	Craftsman Bungalow	Contributing
435 South Fremont Avenue	1929	Mission Revival	Contributing
437-439 South Fremont Avenue	1939	Craftsman Bungalow	Contributing
501 South Fremont Avenue	2005	Contemporary	Non-contributing (Age)
502 South Fremont Avenue	1925	American Territorial	Contributing
504 South Fremont Avenue	1924	Craftsman Bungalow	Contributing
505 South Fremont Avenue	1927	Spanish eclectic	Contributing
506 South Fremont Avenue	1946	Vernacular	Contributing
507 South Fremont Avenue	1927	Craftsman Bungalow	Contributing
509 South Fremont Avenue	1942	Vernacular Bungalow	Contributing
1104 East Manlove Street	Pre-1924	Vernacular	Non-contributing (Alterations)
1116 East Manlove Street	1946	Mission Revival	Non-contributing (Obstructed view)
1208 East Manlove Street	1933 (property record card)	Transitional Sonoran	Contributing
1216 East Manlove Street	1928	American Territorial	Contributing
1250 East Manlove Street	1988	Contemporary	Non-contributing (Age)
422 South Santa Rita Avenue	1948	Early Ranch	Contributing
428 South Santa Rita Avenue	1960	Early Ranch	Contributing
536-538 South Santa Rita Avenue	1981	Contemporary	Non-contributing (Age)
546 South Santa Rita Avenue	1984	Ranch	Non-contributing
604 South Santa Rita Avenue	1927	Vernacular	Non-contributing (Alterations)
630 South Santa Rita Avenue	1961	Ranch	Contributing
632 South Santa Rita Avenue	1965	Ranch	Contributing
634 South Santa Rita Avenue	1957	Ranch	Contributing
402 South Star Avenue	1918	Mission Revival	Contributing
412 South Star Avenue	1919	Craftsman Bungalow	Contributing
420 South Star Avenue	1922	Craftsman Bungalow	Non-contributing (Obstructed view)

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Name of Property

Address	Date of Construction	Architectural Style	Status
Auuress	Date of Construction	č	
424 South Star Avenue	1999	Contemporary Craftsman Bungalow	Non-contributing
		, ,	(Age)
425 South Star Avenue	1983	Contemporary Craftsman Bungalow	Non-contributing (Age)
427 South Star Avenue	1937	Craftsman Bungalow	Contributing
427 South Star Avenue	1757	Clatisinan Bungalow	Non-contributing
428 South Star Avenue	1998	Contemporary	(Age)
433 South Star Avenue	1924	Craftsman Bungalow	Contributing
438-440 South Star Avenue	1920	Craftsman Bungalow	Contributing
446 South Star Avenue	1931	Craftsman Bungalow	Contributing
505 South Star Avenue	1937	Mission Revival	Non-contributing (Alterations)
508 South Star Avenue	1982	Contemporary	Non-contributing (Age)
517 South Star Avenue	1983	Mission Revival	Non-contributing (Age)
521 South Star Avenue	1942	Sonoran Revival	Contributing
526 South Star Avenue	1928	Craftsman Bungalow	Non-contributing (Alterations)
530/530-A South Star Avenue	1922	Craftsman Bungalow	Contributing
531 South Star Avenue	1934	Vernacular	Contributing
545 South Star Avenue	1944	Early Ranch	Contributing
546 South Star Avenue	1921	American Territorial	Contributing
605 South Star Avenue	1947	Vernacular	Contributing
609 South Star Avenue	2002	Contemporary Craftsman	Non-contributing
(15 Courth Stor Account	1029	Bungalow	(Age)
615 South Star Avenue	1928	Sonoran (Vernacular)	Contributing
623 South Star Avenue	1999	Contemporary	Non-contributing (Age)

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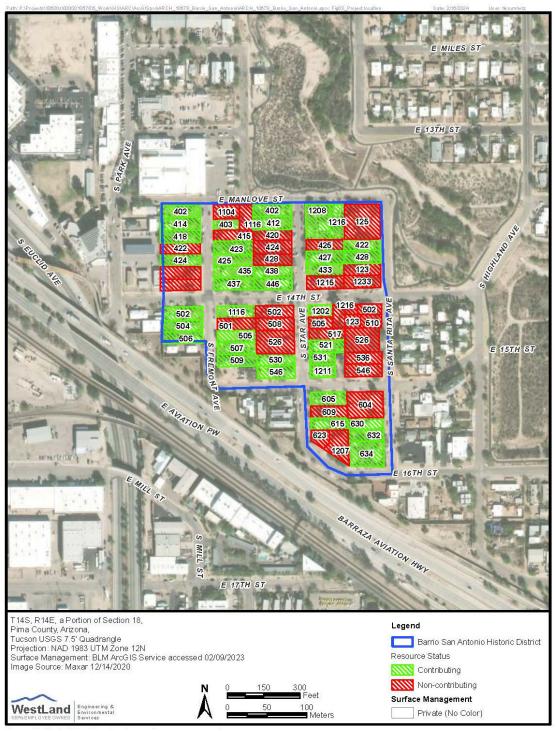


Figure 3. Contributing and non-contributing resources in the Barrio San Antonio Historic District (note parcels with no address on S. Fremont Avenue are modular buildings associated with commercial buildings fronting S. Park Avenue)

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Residential Building Styles and Forms

The following discussion presents a historic context of each architectural style and form within the district in order the frame the style in the larger setting of what was occurring historically in Tucson and the nation at large, and how the histories of these styles came to be popular forms seen in Barrio San Antonio.

Sonoran Vernacular (c. 1910-c. 1990)

The post-conquest architectural development of Tucson was defined by a vernacular architectural form retrospectively termed the Sonoran style (Nequette and Jeffery 2002:271; Sobin 1975:358). The Sonoran style was one of many "additive dwellings" defined by Jackson that stemmed from a long tradition of both Spanish Colonial and Indigenous architectural forms (Jackson 1959–1960; Wilson 1997). These traditions combined and solidified into building conventions that defined the built environment of the northern frontier of the Spanish and, later, Mexican empires.

As found throughout Southern Arizona, the Sonoran style is defined by its elongated, single-story construction with a flat roof, high parapet, and projecting drainpipes called *canales* (Nequette and Jeffery 2002:271; Sobin 1975:358). In keeping with the idealized courtyard house and the colonial Laws of the Indies, Sonoran-style buildings in an urban setting are constructed flush with the street edge and form a continuous running façade with neighboring buildings. The style is almost universally constructed from adobe masonry, and most extant examples have been continuously modified for purposes of expansion, to follow stylistic fashions, or in response to newer building technologies.

The late nineteenth and early twentieth century evolution of the Sonoran style into more socially current Anglo-American styles is well documented (Nequette and Jeffery 2002; Sobin 1975). The austere, street-edged style was adapted into the Transitional Sonoran style with its pitched roof and street-edged buildings that later became the Territorial style with its fully detached dwellings and imported construction materials (Figure 4) (Nequette and Jeffery 2002; Sobin 1975).

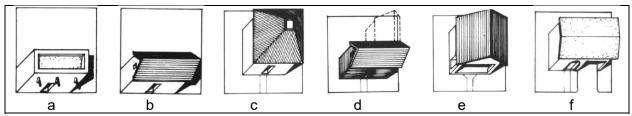


Figure 4. Conventional narrative showing transformation of Sonoran style into Anglo-American architectural styles: a) Sonoran style (1850–1890); b) Transitional Sonoran style (c. 1880–1900); c) American Territorial style (c. 1880–1910); d) American-Victorian (Queen Anne) style (1890–1910); e) Bungalow (1900-1940); f) Ranch/Contemporary (1935–c. 1970). Drawings by Harris J. Sobin, 1975. *The Journal of Arizona History* 61(4):357–382.

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This narrative prioritizes the emergence of dominant Anglo-American styles at the expense of established Hispanic and Mexican styles that were assumed would become archaic and eventually abandoned. In fact, the Sonoran style and the tradition underlying it remained vital even as it was adapted to suit Anglo-American urbanization. Throughout the twentieth century, a vernacular tradition developed out of the Sonoran style and incorporated elements of the Anglo-American Bungalow and later midcentury Ranch House into its form. The resulting buildings represent a continuation of a Sonoran vernacular tradition among the Latino residents of Southern Arizona that is repeatedly found in Tucson's barrios and within Barrio San Antonio.

From the Transitional Sonoran style of the late nineteenth century, Sonoran Vernacular architecture slowly adapted portions of the American Territorial style by creating a setback between the street edge and the building and eventually detaching entirely from adjacent buildings for a centered lot location. Rather than conforming to the traditional form of the additive rowhouses, these new building forms were the Sonoran response to the detached residences of Anglo-American streetcar suburbs. Like the contemporaneous bungalow, the detached Sonoran Vernacular residence possessed a compact floorplan that often consisted of four rooms arranged in a two-by-two grid. This created an asymmetrical principal elevation with two double-hung sash windows flanking an entry door offset to the left or right. The building's material generally remained adobe masonry that rose to a parapet along the principal elevation. This disguised the nearly flat shed roof that drained water to the rear. Within Barrio San Antonio, there are seven examples of Sonoran vernacular (others noted as vernacular were included in this category) or homes with Sonoran characteristics, many of which are of adobe construction, have low-sloped or nearly flat roofs, parapets, and stucco walls. Further, many feature additions to the rear of the home **(Photo 2)**.

With the rise of the Ranch-style house after midcentury, the Sonoran tradition adapted again to incorporate new expectations for modern living. Adobe masonry, still used through the 1950s, was substituted with hollow concrete block and, later, slump block that came into common usage in the late 1960s and 1970s. These homes retained the earlier four-room footprint but were topped with a low-pitched gable-ended roof and frequently featured an attached carport inset beneath the roofline.

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Photo 2. 615 South Star Avenue, view facing east (WestLand Engineering & Environmental Services [WestLand], January 2023 [AZ PimaCounty BarrioSanAntonio 0002])

American Territorial (c. 1880–1955)

The American Territorial style (also known as 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. The style was instead a vernacular iteration of the National Folk style found across the United States in the wake of widespread railroad expansions (McAlester 2017). 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.

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. 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. 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 (Nequette and Jeffery 2002)

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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 Eastern America. These efforts raised brick and stone construction to the peak of the "modern style," while denigrating adobe buildings as "mud and straw." Because of this changing attitude, numerous buildings in the American Territorial style were constructed throughout the city, despite their apparent shortcomings in response to Tucson's climate. Adobe buildings possessed substantial thermal mass to insulate them from outside temperatures, but brick provided few such benefits. Nonetheless, the style persisted until it was ultimately replaced by the Craftsman Bungalow and other revivalist styles of the early twentieth century. Within Barrio San Antonio, there are six American Territorial residences, and feature a typical side entry and porch with wide pyramidal roofs, many of which are constructed of metal. Further many have fences and walls around their front yards and a rear addition (**Photo 3**).



Photo 3. 546 South Star Avenue, view facing northwest (WestLand, January 2023 [AZ_PimaCounty_BarrioSanAntonio_0003])

Bungalow (1900–1940)

The American Bungalow was developed in Southern California. The term "bungalow" has its origin in the Bengalese word "banggolo," denoting a modest mud, thatch, and bamboo building type (Craig 2015). 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

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imported to England in the 1870s and appeared in modified form in Massachusetts in 1880 (Faragher 2001:151).

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. Artistically, the Craftsman Bungalow reached its zenith in the early 1900s with the "ultimate bungalows" of Pasadena architects Charles and Henry Greene (Craig 2015). The Bungalow, however, was far more influential as a residential typology for the burgeoning middle class in expanding American cities. To this public, the Craftsman Bungalow embodied an idealized vision of informal domestic life (Craig 2015). Homebuilders distilled the style's aesthetic into a simplified and cost-effective form. This was typically a 1- to 1.5-story residence 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 (Faragher 2001:153). This resulted in open plans that combined domestic functions into a single great room (Faragher 2001:153). These residences were popularized through journals including Gustav(e) Stickley's *Craftsman Magazine* (1901–1916), *Sunset, House Beautiful*, and *Ladies' Home Journal* (Craig 2015; Faragher 2001:153; McAlester 2017:578).

Although initially Craftsman in style, the characteristics of the Bungalow type were adapted into numerous other styles. Variations included the California, Sullivanesque, Art Deco, and 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.

In response to public demand, numerous patterns or "bungalow books" were published offering detailed plans for local builders (Faragher 2001:156). Aspiring homeowners could order a "Ready Cut House" from mail order catalogues published by companies including Sears and Montgomery Ward (Faragher 2001:156). Through these manufacturers, 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 and narrow side yards (McAlester 2017:67).

The popularity of the bungalow throughout the country has been credited with the doubling in national home ownership between 1880 and 1920 (Faragher 2001:161). Its affordability and accessibility gave it broad appeal in every region of the United States (Faragher 2001:161). With the dramatic rise in bungalow construction, contemporary detractors deplored the quality of these buildings and described their rustic simplicity as "uncouth and primitive" (qtd. in Faragher 2001:154; Faragher 2001:156). However, despite its detractors, the style had widespread appeal in Arizona's urban areas, including Phoenix and Tucson, as the Southern California roots of the building type were well suited to the desert climate of the southwestern United States. The Bungalow's wide porches, overhanging eaves, and slatted attic vents all aided in reducing temperatures during warm summer months (Nequette and Jeffery 2002:284).

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Numerous examples of the Bungalow's versatility can be found throughout Tucson. Ready-cut homes are found in some of the city's traditionally Anglo-American neighborhoods, while adobe examples exist in the traditionally Latino barrios (Nequette and Jeffery 2002:284). Within the neighborhood, the Craftsman-style dominates with 16 examples identified. Like many of Barrio San Antonio's residences, its bungalows are modest examples, and most include a single story, have boxy massing, wide front porches, and Spanish Eclectic details (**Photo 4**). The examples of the form are identifiable through their front-facing gables and projecting porches. Many have been reconfigured through additions, but their overall form remains intact, as do elements of their detailing including exposed rafter tails or slated gable vents. Similarly, many feature walls and fencing around their primary façade.



Photo 4. 427 South Star Avenue, view facing east (WestLand, January 2023 [AZ_PimaCounty_BarrioSanAntonio_0004])

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 revived colonial styles. In both regions, architects looked to local historic buildings as a source of inspiration and legitimacy for new building forms and ornamental motifs. While practitioners of the Georgian Revival style looked to the English Georgian buildings of eighteenth century, California architects turned to their own colonial architecture in the form of Spanish missions. Although architects first began looking to these historical sources in the late 1880s, they gained widespread publicity following Chicago's 1893

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World Columbian Exposition. Here, California's own pavilion was constructed in the Mission Revival style with massive stucco walls, opposing bell towers, decorative parapets, and a low-pitched red tile roof. These features came to subsequently define the style, which freely interpreted elements of authentic Spanish missions for use in a wide variety of public, domestic, and commercial buildings. Additional characteristic attributes include the extensive use of arches without molding, overhanging eaves with exposed rafter tails, and balconies and verandahs (Nequette and Jeffery 2002).

While the Mission Revival style was initially confined to California, it quickly spread eastwards in the first decades of the twentieth century (McAlester 2017:518). The style was promoted by numerous journals and magazines and was adopted by both the Santa Fe and Southern Pacific railroads for their Southwestern depots and hotels. Over time, 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.

With its own ruined *visitá* mission, as well as San Xavier del Bac only eight 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 1899 designs for the Owl's Club in the El Presidio neighborhood. Within Barrio San Antonio there are six Mission Revival residences (and three Eclectic residences with Mission Revival details), most of which contain the characteristic arched parapet, stucco, and modest brick detailing, while also being enclosed by a fence, wall, or vegetation (Photo 5).



Photo 5. 402 South Star Avenue, view facing west (WestLand, January 2023 [AZ_PimaCounty_BarrioSanAntonio_0005])

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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—both often found in the form of the colonial Spanish courtyard house (i.e., the inner courtyard house). Drawing from these sources, the firm's 1903 Bandini House was a single-story, U-shaped residence surrounding a central courtyard. The building successfully evoked a heavily romanticized vision of California's colonial past and inaugurated a low-slung horizontality that would be the style's most defining feature (Bandini, Arthuro, House, Pasadena, CA n.d.) (Photo 6).



Photo 6. 630 South Santa Rita Avenue, view facing northwest (WestLand, January 2023 [AZ_PimaCounty_BarrioSanAntonio_0006])

From these beginnings, the Ranch House was further developed in the 1930s by local designers, most notably Cliff May (Faragher 2001:165). Although not trained as an architect, May—"the father of the ranch house"—helped to pioneer the rise of the style through a variety of custom homes in San Diego and Los Angeles (Giovannini 1986:C1; Van Balgooy 2004:13–137). May's earliest residence drew similar inspiration from Spanish colonial "ranch" houses found in his native San Diego and adopted a similar material and ornamental palette. As May's modern Ranch House continued to develop, the style became consciously ahistorical, and its layout marked a sharp deviation from the compact form and small rooms that characterized turn-of-the-century residences (Faragher 2001:165–166; McAlester 2017:479). Instead, May's designs were distinguished by "rambling" floorplans with wings that surrounded small courtyards, utilized

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cross-ventilation, and "welded" the indoors and outdoors through skylights and sliding-glass doors (May 1946:dust jacket, 68; Faragher 2001:165). The large lots required for these designs reflected the country's increasing reliance on the automobile, and the houses often featured attached garages or carports to further elongate their street-facing façades (McAlester 2017:603).

Although the Ranch House 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 (Van Balgooy 2004:136). As the style matured, May and others adapted its form to thenpopular modernist and western vernacular styles (Bricker 2000:2.118; Van Balgooy 2004:137). 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" (Faragher 2001:172; Van Balgooy 2004:137). In tandem with its critical success, the form was also one of several architectural modes approved by the Federal Housing Administration for subsidized low-interest loans. For these reasons, of the 1.65 million residences begun in 1955 and the 1.5 million begun in the following five years, approximately 90 percent could be termed a "ranch house" (Kviklys 2011:1).

In Tucson, the construction boom would result in the creation of more than 50,000 houses between 1945 and 1975 (Evans et al. 2016:11). Many of these were in pre-planned suburbs and designed as ranch houses that had likely been introduced to the city in the late 1940s through a Phoenix developer of tract housing (Nequette and Jeffery 2002:293). The popularity of the form led property owners to utilize it on most new residential construction within Tucson's older neighborhoods, including *Tucsonenses* barrios. In Barrio San Antonio there are seven ranch-style homes, and all are modest in scale, lack ornamentation, and are not oriented to face the street as is typical in most post-World War II-era suburban neighborhoods.

Contemporary (1980–present)

Contemporary architecture refers to the current style of architecture, most notably architecture from the twenty-first century. No single style is dominant; Contemporary architecture instead encompasses several different styles, from postmodernism to new interpretations of traditional architecture. Some of these styles and approaches make use of highly advanced technology and modern building materials. There are nine contemporary residences, and five contemporary residences featuring historic elements such as Sonoran and Craftsman details. None of the Contemporary buildings within the boundaries of the proposed historic district are contributing to the district (*for example, refer to Historic Property Inventory Forms for 1215 E. 14th Street, 501 E. Fremont Avenue, and 1250 E. Manlove Street*).

Integrity of Barrio San Antonio

Barrio San Antonio is associated with the history and development of Tucsonenses in the Tucson Basin. In particular, the barrio represents the migration of Tucsonenses from Mexican American enclaves in and around the downtown core eastward into newly established suburbs, while also offering employment to neighborhood residents. These associations are readily communicated in the built fabric of the barrio—notably the wide variety of Anglo-influenced architectural styles and the traditional street grid, intermixed with Tucsonenses cultural connections that include 24

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building additions (Photo 7), 51 walls and fencing (Photo 8), three shrines (Photo 9), and other visible components such as stucco, bright colors or lot placement.

Collectively, these resources meet the NRHP classification of a *District*, which is defined as "a significant concentration, linkage, or continuity of sites, buildings, structures, or objects united historically or aesthetically by plan or physical development" (National Park Service [NPS] 1997b:5). Barrio San Antonio embodies this description as a collection of buildings and structures unified by their shared Tucsonenses heritage, specifically through the use of shrines, lot placement, fencing and walls, and additions to the rear of buildings (see Section 8 Ethnic Heritage, pages 44-49).



Photo 7. Example of building additions to the rear of 506 S. Fremont Avenue, view facing southwest (WestLand, January 2023 [AZ_PimaCounty_BarrioSanAntonio_0006])

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Photo 8. Example of fencing at 416 S. Fremont Avenue, view facing west (WestLand, January 2023 [AZ_PimaCounty_BarrioSanAntonio_0008])



Photo 9. Example of a yard shrine at 546 S. Santa Rita Avenue (WestLand, January 2023 [AZ_PimaCounty_BarrioSanAntonio_0009])

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The barrio's historic integrity is complicated by the changes that have affected its resources before and since the end of the historic period (1916-1973). Although alterations constructed before this date may be included as part of its significance, those made after are problematic because they occurred within the most recent 50-year period. However, the difficulties engendered by these modern additions are eased when they are understood in the context of the additive dwellings and front yard fencing that are character-defining features of the barrio. Since its inception, Tucsonenses have been intentionally modifying their residences as needed or as financing has allowed, and they continue to do so to the present day. Because of this, modern alterations conducted by existing Tucsonenses barrios are readily contained within what *National Register Bulletin 15* describes as the "[u]ltimat[e]...question of integrity," which is "whether or not the property retains the **identity** for which it is significant" (NPS 1997b:45; emphasis original).

These alterations are very much an element of the barrio's identity and are a living tradition connecting the built environment of the barrio's past and its present. As NPS officials explain in the 1998 *Cultural Resource Management Guideline;* "resources may be cherished for their beauty or utility or a host of other reasons. But it is the ability to connect one generation to another that gives them their most valued attribute: an inherent capacity to mold and reinforce our identities as social creatures" (NPS 1998:1, A.1).

Specifically, NPS historian Linda Flint McClelland presents the nuances of recent alterations to historic resources in her NRHP white paper "Evaluating the Significance of Additions and Accretions" (McClelland 2008). McClelland explains that "[a]n assessment of the effect of the addition on the property's historic integrity is an important step in evaluation" and continues that "[f]or new nominations, the evaluation of later additions will directly relate to 1) the approval of a period of significance for the property, and 2) the contribution the addition makes to the significance of the property" (McClelland 2008:1). A recent addition is acceptable in differing circumstances dependent on the appropriate criteria but may be subject to Criterion Consideration G ("Properties that have achieved significance within the last fifty years") if it has "dramatically transformed a property's appearance" (McClelland 2008:2):

Significant additions and alterations are recognized by additional periods of significance... [which] means that in order to be contributing a later addition must not only be compatible but also have design significance (either by contributing to the significance of the earlier design or in its own right). Less-than-fifty-year-old additions will need to demonstrate strong architectural character that ties it to the historic building and, in many cases, qualifies as exceptionally important under Criterion Consideration G. Because integrity requirements for materials, design, and workmanship may be higher for properties having design significance, the evaluation of additions are more often likely to require a critical examination of historic integrity; this will likely mean assessing the effect of the addition on the property's overall design (McClelland 2008:2).

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In the case of Barrio San Antonio, the additions made beyond the historic period retain their significance because of their cultural association. This evaluation is based on communication with neighborhood residents whose Tucsonenses family members made rear additions to their homes over time. With few exceptions, these additions are inherently compatible and are not dramatic transformations but appropriate changes in keeping with the barrio's historic-age architectural character and its existing scale, design, and materials. For this reason, the alterations are not subject to Criterion Consideration G and instead are recommended as neutral elements that neither add nor subtract to the individual resource's significance until they become historic in age. Thus, the upper bound of the period of significance may remain 1973 and all resources associated with the Tucsonenses occupation of the barrio may retain sufficient integrity to act as contributing resources.

Per consultation with the Arizona State Historic Preservation Office and the Historic Sites Review Committee (November 18, 2022), appropriate changes to the district over time would allow for additions to the rear of buildings that are similar in scale to the home (i.e., not two-story additions for a single-story home) and front-facing yards with fences, hedges, and walls in which some, if not most, of the front of the building is visible, but would limit changes to rooflines and roofing materials, windows, and additions such as rooms, porches, or enclosures to the primary elevation. At present only six homes have incompatible additions and those are defined as additions that have been made to the front of the house or infill of an existing porch (i.e., the porch was historically a social gathering place in Mexican American communities and infill would constitute a removal of that cultural feature). Further information regarding incompatible additions can be found in the attached Historic Property Inventory Forms and in Table 1; please note that the construction dates for additions are unknown.

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8. Statement of Significance

Applicable National Register Criteria

(Mark "x" in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the property for National Register listing.)

A. Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.

Х

- B. Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.
- C. Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.
- D. Property has yielded, or is likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Criteria Considerations

(Mark "x" in all the boxes that apply.)

- A. Owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes
- B. Removed from its original location
- C. A birthplace or grave
- D. A cemetery

E. A reconstructed building, object, or structure

- F. A commemorative property
- G. Less than 50 years old or achieving significance within the past 50 years

Areas of Significance

(Enter categories from instructions.) Planning and Community Development

Ethnic Heritage/Hispanic

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Period of Significance 1916–1973

Significant Dates

Significant Person (Complete only if Criterion B is marked above.)

Cultural Affiliation Mexican American

Architect/Builder

Statement of Significance Summary Paragraph (Provide a summary paragraph that includes level of significance, applicable criteria, justification for the period of significance, and any applicable criteria considerations.)

Barrio San Antonio is the earliest known Mexican American suburb outside Tucson's central business district and is a distinctive example of a transitional Tucsonenses neighborhood. The neighborhood is recommended eligible to the NRHP at a local level of significance under Criterion A in the areas of Community Planning and Development and Ethnic Heritage (Hispanic). Barrio San Antonio expresses an intermingling of both Anglo-American planning and development influences (orthogonal grid and American architectural styles) and Tucsonenses cultural markers (Sonoran vernacular architecture, fencing, shrines, additive growth, and lot placement). Barrio San Antonio has retained its transitional organization and architecture from its origins as an Anglo-American neighborhood in the early 1900s to a Mexican American enclave through the 1940s. Throughout that transition into the present day, it has retained its cultural associations in its built environment. The period of significance extends from its earliest occupation in 1916 through its transition to a Tucsonenses community in the 1920s to the end of the historic period in 1973.

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Narrative Statement of Significance (Provide at least **one** paragraph for each area of significance.)

Criterion A: Community Planning and Development

Early History

The Santa Cruz Valley is among the oldest continuously inhabited regions in the present-day United States, with an archaeological record dating back to the Paleoindian period, some 13,000 years ago (c. 11,500–11,000 BCE) (Wallace 2016:11). Since that time, the presence of various groups has been noted in the region, all drawn to the area by the once-flowing Santa Cruz River (Rosen et al. 2013:51), which was defined by a rich riparian environment with a wide diversity of flora and fauna and created one of the largest and most habitable environments west of the lower Rio Grande (Rosen et al. 2013:51). Prior to European colonization, this oasis was occupied by members of the Tohono O'Odham and Sobaipuri peoples, who shared the O'Odham language and lived in oval jacal surface dwellings (Wallace 2016:14). Settlements developed along the Santa Cruz and other perennial water sources, including at the base of Chuk Shon (sometimes "Ts-iukshan"), a landform now formally known as Sentinel Peak (Nequette and Jeffery 2002:10).

Traditional lifeways of these people were disrupted by the arrival of Spanish Jesuit missionaries in 1694 (Dobyns 1976; Wallace 2016:14). Led by Padre Eusebio Francisco Kino, the Spanish began colonization efforts through the establishment of missions placed adjacent to existing population centers (Dobyns 1976; Nequette and Jeffery 2002:10). This included a large mission complex at Bac named for San Xavier, as well as a smaller *visitá* (visiting) mission at Tucson named for San Cosmé (Dobyns 1976; Nequette and Jeffery 2002:10).

After 1775, the Spanish established a military presidio at Tucson that, over subsequent generations, fomented a small frontier settlement like many found across northern Sonora (Sheridan 1986:14; Nequette and Jeffery 2002:12–13). Following the Mexican War of Independence (*Guerra de Independencia de México*; 1810–1821), control of this outpost was transferred to the nascent Mexican government, which proved unable to devote substantial attention to Tucson or the wider northern frontier (Sheridan 1986:17). While other former Spanish settlements collapsed across northern Sonora, Tucson's small multiethnic population held fast within the fertile Santa Cruz Valley (Sheridan 1986:18). Here, a unique culture was forged by the exigencies of Tucson's geographic location and desert environment. As historian and anthropologist Thomas Sheridan notes:

The society these pioneers created along the banks of the Santa Cruz represented the extension of a way of life that had evolved over the course of more than two centuries in northern New Spain [contemporary southern Arizona]. Unliked their Anglo successors, Sonorans colonized the Sonoran Desert as desert dwellers themselves. Their settlement patterns, building materials, irrigation practices, and farming techniques had already been forged in the crucible of the *Gran chichimeca*, as the arid frontier north of Mexico City was called... Isolated on the far northern

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reaches of Spain's New World empire, the Sonorans learned how to adapt—to the desert, to the Indians, to isolation itself. (Sheridan 1986:12)

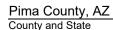
This relative isolation remained intact through the mid-nineteenth century, when the events of the California Gold Rush (1848–1855) pulled Anglo Americans across the Rocky Mountains from their easterly farms and cities (Nequette and Jeffery 2002:13–14). As they traveled westwards, small numbers of these migrant prospectors—termed "49ers"—passed through Tucson, and even smaller numbers stayed or returned to settle (Nequette and Jeffery 2002:13). Anglo Americans became a new minority population in the city and adapted to existing Sonoran culture, often marrying into established local families (Nequette and Jeffery 2002:13).

In 1848, under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the United States acquired nearly all of present-day Arizona north of the Gila River but not the southern and most densely populated quarter, which remained part of Mexico's northern state of Sonora. Five years later, under the terms of the Gadsden Purchase, the United States annexed this area, which was inhabited by Native Americans and Mexicans who called themselves Tucsonenses—a self-identifier for Tucson's long-standing Mexican community. Incoming Anglo Americans were keenly aware of Tucson's comparatively foreign atmosphere and disparaged it frequently in their communications (Nequette and Jeffery 2002:16; Sheridan 1986:31–32). Nonetheless, the settlement's size and location made it an important component of a budding national transportation network that included overland stagecoach and freight lines (Nequette and Jeffery 2002:15). While slow, these links helped Tucson to develop a varied mercantile economy run by and serving its increasingly diverse population (Nequette and Jeffery 2002:18), which included recent immigrants from countries across Europe, mobile Anglo Americans and Sonorans, and a substantial contingent of Arizona-born residents (United States Census Office 1870).

Unlike other formerly Mexican settlements that were subsumed by rapid "Americanization," Tucson remained unique in the power of its established Mexican residents and the ways in which the city reflected their contributions (Sheridan 1986:2). The slow pace of the changes occurring and Tucson's continued geographic remoteness allowed the settlement's established Mexican residents to develop into a thriving middle class with considerable economic and political influence (Sheridan 1986:2). The city was formally incorporated in June 1872 with a formal gridiron plat laid across two square miles of desert around the settlement's Sonoran core (Figure 5).

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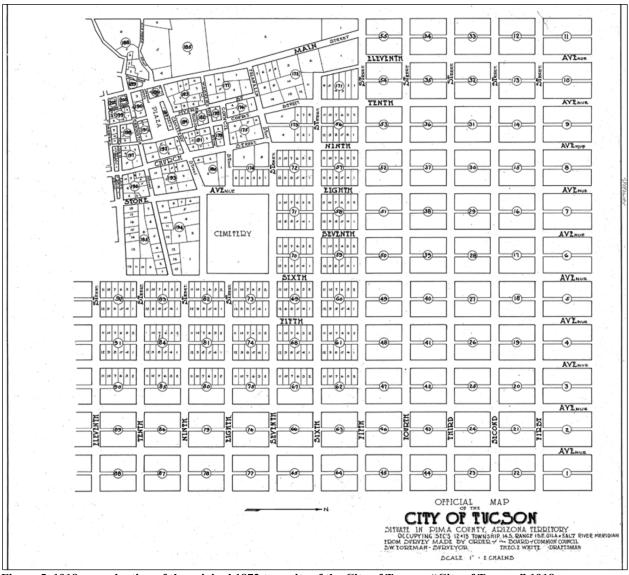


Figure 5. 1918 reproduction of the original 1872 townsite of the City of Tucson. "City of Tucson," 1918 (MP# MP-03-070 [Part 2 of 2]; courtesy of the City of Tucson, Department of Transportation)

Arrival of the Railroad

Tucson's geographic isolation ended in 1880 when the Southern Pacific Railroad reached Tucson, connecting it westward to California (Garrison et al. 1989:9). By 1881, the railroad had laid trackage across southern Arizona that connected to its eastern arm, which extended west from El Paso (Garrison et al. 1989:9). These connections not only linked Tucson to a national rail network stretching from coast to coast but also established it as a key stopover on the southernmost transcontinental line (Garrison et al. 1989:9). The arrival of the railroad would eventually affect nearly every aspect of life in Tucson, including providing easy access to imported goods and facilitating burgeoning population growth.

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For most Anglo Americans and some Tucsonenses, this event was celebrated as the gateway to a prosperous future. Prominent resident Ben Morgan spoke for many when, at a celebration of the first train's arrival, he remarked "I prophesy that Tucson, the mud town on the banks of the Santa Cruz, will be Tucson the magnificent... The rude and unattractive mud front will give place to the stately mansion with pedestal and column, frieze and architecture; inconveniences and annoyances of to-day to the comfort, ease and luxury of to-morrow" (Arizona Daily Star [ADS], 21 March 1880:2). At Morgan's speech, however, only seven of the 105 attendees were Tucsonenses and, as Sheridan explains, "[l]urking just beneath the surface of Morgan's extravagant images were Anglo America's Victorian notions of racial and cultural superiority... The 'mud town,' after all, had been built by Mexicans. Anglos, on the other hand, were the railroad builders, the architects of the new age" (Sheridan 1986:56).

Almost overnight, the railroad's arrival disrupted many of Tucson's established economic and social structures, as access to the settlement was rapidly transformed. Anglo immigration was now possible on an unprecedented scale, and durable goods could be imported with an unmatched ease and efficiency (Sonnichsen 1982:107). An established overland freight network owned and operated by prominent Tucsonenses rapidly began to collapse with new corporate competition funded through federal land grants (Otero 2003:48–49). Not only was consumer spending redirected from Tucsonenses merchants, the railroad also re-oriented Tucson's principal trade routes to California and the East, rather than the Mexican south (Otero 2003:48). For most Tucsonenses, the arrival of the Southern Pacific Railroad marked the beginning of a protracted spiral of downward mobility, and a visible gulf appeared between them and their ascendant Anglo-American neighbors (Otero 2003:48–49).

As Morgan predicted, the railroad also spelled tremendous changes to Tucson's physical character. The alignment of the tracks located north and east of the settlement's old presidio core pulled development northward, creating a new commercial corridor—Congress Street—that connected to the new railroad depot (Bufkin 1981:72; Nequette and Jeffery 2002:19). Individual buildings also changed as Anglo Americans gained access to imported materials and an awareness seen throughout the Southwest of American architectural trends. Increasingly, the low-slung Sonoran vernacular buildings fell out of favor and were constructed only by Tucsonenses and those who could not afford otherwise. This style, well suited to the Sonoran Desert, featured plain adobe rowhouses placed flush against the street around a shared interior courtyard. In their stead, new Anglo-American buildings were built in the center of their lots and constructed from imported brick and lumber, with pitched roofs, gingerbread ornamentation, and water-intensive lawns (Nequette and Jeffery 2002:20; Sonnichsen 1982:107). These new buildings were both spatially and thermally less efficient than their practical and inexpensive Sonoran predecessors, but for Anglo Americans they were important markers of Tucson's progress as a modern North American city (Nequette and Jeffery 2002:20; Sonnichsen 1982:107–108).

This American city was reflective of others in more than its architecture. Nascent segregation developing since the 1850s was hardening as Tucsonenses settled south of the commercial core in developing barrios and Anglo Americans settled north and east of it in parceled neighborhoods (Otero 2003:55; Sheridan1986:186; Sonnichsen 1982:108). These areas

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developed markedly different characters, with the barrios perpetuating the Sonoran vernacular tradition and the neighborhoods reflecting revivalist American tastes (Sonnichsen 1982:108; Stewart 1979; Veregge 1993:427).

While the "Mansions of Main Street" remained west of the railroad along Tucson's original Camino Real, in 1891, the University of Arizona opened a half-mile northeast of the tracks, drawing Anglo-American development with it (Stewart 1979; Sonnichsen 1982:108; Veregge 1993:427 Nequette and Jeffery 2002:21). Over the following two decades, a commercial corridor formed between the university's main gates and the expanding downtown area, complemented in 1898 by a mule-drawn street railway (Bufkin 1981:73; Sonnichsen 1982:162–163). While residential growth had remained largely within the original Tucson townsite through the turn of the century, by the early 1900s, development was beginning to press against the plat's boundary and beyond it, with landowners eagerly subdividing their holdings for expected buyers. In 1900, the city made its first annexation and in 1905, it added a quarter-mile strip to each of its original boundaries (Bufkin 1981:73, 75) (Figure 6).

Prior to World War I, development and land speculation progressed apace as Tucson continued to grow. The city received its second railroad link with the 1912 arrival of the El Paso and Southwestern Railroad, and additional land was platted as the streetcar was expanded and upgraded from mules to electricity (Bufkin 1981:75; Sonnichsen 1982:164). Although the railroads remained Tucson's largest and most important industry, in the immediate postwar years tourism and the rise of a restorative sanatoriums helped fuel a population boom (Bufkin 1981:75). Two more square miles including the city's newest subdivisions were annexed in 1919, and the rise of the automobile was making increasingly distant parts of the city both accessible and attractive to wealthy residents (Bufkin 1981:75).

While Tucson's downtown core continued to possess the largest and oldest Tucsonenses barrios (today, Los Barrios Viejos), it was in the booming environment of the 1910s and 1920s that many of the surrounding barrios were developed and first occupied (Otero 2003:12). Generally platted by Anglo Americans, these barrios were often situated in less-desirable locations along railroad corridors or within hazardous floodplains and generally spread to the south and west (Sheridan 1986:186). Here, land was cheaper and readily afforded by Tucsonenses and other minority populations; however, the development of such areas reinforced continued geographic segregation as wealthier populations spread to the north and east (Sheridan 1986:186).

Sheridan (1986:186) notes that:

Most Tucsonenses moved within the world of the barrios, attending barrio schools, patronizing barrio businesses, listening to barrio musical groups, and entertaining themselves in barrio clubs and theaters.... Out of these barrios a vital urban culture continued to evolve. Tucson was the largest and most sophisticated center of Mexican population between Los Angeles and El Paso. As such, it became a mecca for Mexican artists, intellectuals, and businessmen throughout southern Arizona and northern Sonora.

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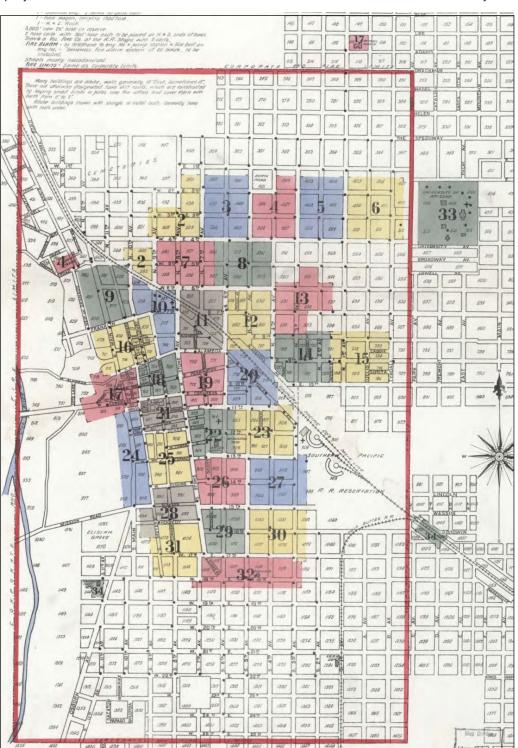


Figure 6. 1919 Sanborn Map showing the diagonal cut of the Southern Pacific Railroad, the city's corporate boundary (red), and areas of substantial development (numbered/colored squares). Note the presence of development between the Southern Pacific Railroad Depot (Square 20) and the University of Arizona (Square 33). Barrio San Antonio is outside city limits and where the north arrow is ([Sanborn Map Company 1909]; courtesy of the Library of Congress)

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The Development of Barrio San Antonio

Although Barrio San Antonio was a product of Tucson's twentieth-century growth, the land encompassing the neighborhood was initially platted in the late nineteenth century. Most of the barrio's land base was purchased as a cash entry by Samuel Adams Manlove in August 1883 (General Land Office [GLO] 1883).

Born in Illinois in 1838, Manlove spent much of his life in Kansas and California before arriving in Tucson around 1879 and establishing a homestead along the Arroyo Chico (*Tucson Citizen* [TC], 1 August 1887:4). At this time, local newspapers report that Manlove was paid \$100 for the railroad right-of-way through his property and was later contracted to construct the depot's wooden roundhouse (ADS, 11 July 1879:3; TC, 8 December 1880:3). Like many early pioneers in Tucson, Manlove practiced a variety of professions. He was a miner, a census enumerator, and the owner of the *Tucson Citizen* (ADS, 20 February 1884:2; Leighton 2013; United States Census Office 1880), and additionally, he led multiple roadbuilding projects for Pima County. Along with his wife, Grace Manlove (née Hoyle), Manlove became a prominent local citizen, socializing with other leading Anglo-American families including the Mansfields and Hughes (ADS, 18 June 1885:4, 24 February 1886a:1, 12 October 1886b:4).

The ways in which Manlove utilized his property remains unclear. However, because he ultimately purchased the land, rather than "proved up" under the authority of the Homestead Act (1862), it is likely that he held the property for later commercial development and may have used it for grazing, storage, or other local commercial enterprises, rather than permanent residency. In later years, Manlove's chronic tuberculosis was aggravated by a period of illness, and he departed Tucson in 1886 "for a trip through the southern states in [a] quest for health" (ADS, 17 November 1886c:4). This quest, however, was ultimately unsuccessful, and, after briefly settling in Birmingham, Alabama, Manlove died in August 1887 (ADS, 11 December 1886d:4; TC 1 August 1887:4).

Like Manlove, other settlers to the city claimed land that bordered or included parts of the future Barrio San Antonio. These individuals were John Bruckner, Philip M. Thurmond, Paul Riecker, and Louis Mueller (GLO 1882a, 1882b, 1885, 1889). Of these patents, only Mueller received his land under the authority of the Homestead Act; the remaining three men purchased their holdings outright, likely to secure their land where it bordered or was crossed by the railroad alignment.

Based on their proximity to the railroad and Tucson's continued expansion, these properties were becoming increasingly valuable by the turn of the twentieth century. To capitalize on this value, in December 1900 a portion of Manlove's land was sold and platted as the "Manlove Addition" (ADS, 7 December 1900:4). It remains unclear who initially proposed the addition or even owned the land, as the plat was signed by lawyer Owen T. Rouse and its lots advertised by Francis A. ("F. A.") Drake (City of Tucson 1901; TC, 30 August 1900a:4). Born in Missouri in 1845, Rouse had successfully practiced law throughout his home state before requesting and receiving an appointment as a federal judge to the Arizona Territory in 1885 (Goff 1968). After successfully becoming a member of the territorial Supreme Court, Rouse retired to Tucson in 1897, where he ran a private law practice among other business interests (ADS, 14 March 1901b:3, 28 June 1901d:4; McFarland & Poole 1896:538) (**Figure 7**).

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Figure 7. Manlove Addition Plat. Note that street names have since been changed: First Street (running north-south) is now called Park Avenue, Wasson Street is now called 15th Street, and Goodwin Street is now 16th Street. 1901. MP# MP-01-012. Courtesy of the City of Tucson.

Drake was born in New York in 1838. His presence in Tucson is first documented in 1876 (Arizona Weekly Citizen, 16 September 1876:1). Like Manlove, Drake followed a variety of professional pursuits, alternatively working as a builder and miner before eventually becoming a real estate broker, as indicated by the 1900 census (United States Census Office 1880, 1900). The extent of Rouse's involvement in the Manlove Addition remains unclear; however, by August 1900, Drake was placing regular notices in local newspapers advertising the sale of lots. The projected appeal of the Manlove Addition was its proximity to the railroad and promise of rising value. Later

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statements by Drake indicate that he personally may have surveyed the addition (inaccurately, according to some), whose design shows standard gridiron network of streets and blocks intersected by the diagonal alignment of the Southern Pacific Railroad (Drake 1901:4). Here, Drake laid out a series of frontage lots intended for industrial development that would benefit from access to the rails. By December 1900, Drake had altered his newspaper advertisements to note further that "[t]hese blocks and lots will be sold very cheap compared with other property in the vicinity" (TC, 6 December 1900b:4). He elaborated further in January 1901, stating that the Manlove Addition "[i]s where you should invest. Everything is going up there towards the railroad. The property is very near the shops and houses [of the railroad] and can be rented as soon as built. No city taxes..." (TC, 15 January 1901a:2). In 1901, prices in the Addition had been set between \$75.00 and \$150.00 as a result of significant appreciation and cash entry land that was acquired at \$1.25 per acre (TC, 6 December 1900b:4; ADS, 2 March 1901a:4).

The San Antonio Connection

As Drake worked to sell lots, Rouse was engaged in developing the area in other ways and in 1901 helped to form the Tucson Milling Company on land located south of the railroad tracks across from the Manlove Addition (ADS, 14 March 1901b:3, 28 June 1901d:4). The site would form the center of a growing district called "Millville" after the company's three-story flour mill constructed along a 1,000-foot siding along the trackage (ADS, 14 March 1901b:3, 28 June 1901d:4) (**Figure 8**). In addition to the flour mill, local reports noted that Millville would soon become the site of the Texas-based San Antonio Brewing Association (SABA), which had plans to construct a new ice plant adjacent to the mill site (ADS, 28 June 1901d:4).

At the time of the article's publication, the idea of constructing the ice plant was still relatively recent and sprung on the heels of a multi-week "Beer War" that occurred in Tucson during June 1901 (TC, 24 June 1901c:1). Prior to 1901, the beer industry had been led by the Anheuser-Busch Brewing Association (ABBA)—purveyors of a light and popular (then, as now) lager known as Budweiser. ABBA pioneered techniques for the largescale distribution of its product, including pasteurization, bottling, and artificial refrigeration (United States Department of Labor n.d.). This distribution network included refrigerated boxcars and cold storage facilities cooled by machinemade ice that was produced by company-affiliated ice plants located throughout the country (United States Department of Labor n.d.). Among these facilities was the Tucson Ice & Cold Storage Company (Tucson Ice), which had been purchased for the company by distributor Adolf Bail (TC, 18 June 1901b:1). While Tucson Ice continued to supply the city's refrigeration needs, its principal client remained ABBA, who had stipulated in an "ironclad" contract that the company "would refuse to sell ice to any new agent for beer who might appear to compete" with Budweiser and ABBA (TC, 18 June 1901b:1).

The Beer War was started with another large brewing company, SABA, who sought to expand to the Tucson market under the leadership of distributor H. P. Kauffman (TC, 18 June 1901b:1). As per its contract, Tucson Ice would not supply its product or storage space to SABA and cut off prominent saloons who had begun serving the product, but Kauffman, citing similar troubles in Nogales, was undeterred and entered the Tucson beer market prepared with 60 tons of ice that he used both to cool imported SABA beer and to distribute to local saloons (TC, 18 June 1901b:1, 24

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June 1901c:1). Meanwhile, ABBA and Bail's tactics had backfired, producing substantial ire from bar patrons all the way up to Tucson's mayor (TC, 18 June 1901b:1).

Within weeks, Kauffman was successful in raising local funds supplemented by SABA to construct a new ice plant that opened as the Consumers' Ice Company in September 1902 (TC, 1 September 1902:5). Although the new ice plant was located north of Tucson's downtown at 6th Street and Court Avenue, SABA retained its cold storage facility in Millville (ADS, 7 June 1902b:8). Here, SABA sold "the famous San Antonio Beer... doing business at the old stand, near the Tucson Milling company" (ADS, 1 January 1903:5). Notably, as late as 1905, the San Antonio Beer was also advertised in Tucson's Spanish language newspapers including *El Fronterizo* (EF). The "San Antonio Beer Saloon" on Meyer Street served "la major Cerveza" ("the best beer") to patrons, in addition to wines and liquors (EF, 1905:4).

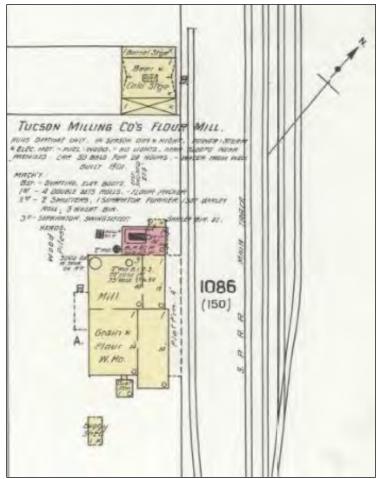


Figure 8. Tucson Milling Company's flour mill and San Antonio Brewing Association's cold storage facility (May 1909). Detail from *Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, Tucson, Pima County, Arizona* ([Sanborn Map Company 1909]; courtesy of the Library of Congress).

By the end of 1901, Millville had grown large enough to seek admission to "all the rights and privileges of the city" and was annexed into the Tucson city limits (ADS 28 June 1901d:4). The

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residents of the Manlove Addition, meanwhile, found ready employment in Millville's varied industries, but the Manlove Addition itself remained just beyond the city boundary and was sometimes referred to as "North Millville" (Kelley and Warmbrand 1999:8).

The name "Barrio San Antonio" was not granted in reference to the Manlove Addition in the early 1900s and is not found in public records until 1920 (*El Mosquito*, 1920:5) Although the name may have first come into usage around that time, it more likely arose during a period in the 1970s when the City of Tucson proposed the Butterfield Expressway (Interstate 710 [replaced by Kino Parkway now on the eastern edge of the larger Barrio San Antonio Neighborhood])—a direct route leading to the Davis Monthan Air Force Base that would have bulldozed many of the neighborhood homes (Ana Acuña, electronic correspondence 2022). In response to the proposal, local neighborhood residents Mario and Stella Cota-Robles organized a group from the neighborhood to discuss what they could do in opposition to the proposed route, subsequently establishing the neighborhood association (Ana Acuña, electronic correspondence 2022). Meetings were first held at The Chapel (now the Highland Free School), leading to discussions about the proposed route at City Council meetings (Ana Acuña, electronic correspondence 2022). As a result of these meetings, the neighborhood, predominately Catholic Mexican American at the time, began referring to themselves as "San Antonio," a reference to San Antonio, or Saint Anthony of Padua, a Portuguese saint known to be the patron saint of lost causes, with "barrio"-the Spanish word for "neighborhood"—appearing in later years (Ana Acuña, electronic correspondence 2022).

During the early 1980s, the original Saint Anthony letterhead for the neighborhood's fliers was designed by neighborhood resident Peter McCallum and included Saint Anthony holding a beer can. The neighborhood rejected this logo, and the letterhead was changed to Saint Anthony holding a flower. The revised image remains the neighborhood's logo today (Ana Acuña, electronic correspondence 2022; Ted Warmbrand, electronic correspondence 2022). Furthermore, the present-day "Lost Barrio"—a shopping district consisting of several warehouse shops located along S. Park Avenue—takes its name from the neighborhood. According to one anecdote, when two sisters, Lupe and Soledad Perez, were asked by a neighbor if they lived in "Barrio San Antonio," they jokingly replied that they lived in what was more like the "Lost Barrio," because the area around E. 12th Street between S. Park Avenue and S. Fremont Street had not been included in the neighborhood boundaries at that time (Ana Acuña, electronic correspondence 2022). The neighbor mentioned in this anecdote later was associated with the warehouse shops that are present today on S. Park Avenue, and it is believed that he was involved with the shops currently known as "The Lost Barrio" (Ana Acuña, electronic correspondence 2022).

Continued Growth

As Millville developed to the south, the future Barrio San Antonio continued to grow. In 1906, the Montclair Addition was platted east of the Manlove Addition, covering the area between contemporary South Cherry Avenue and the alleyway east of South Highland Avenue. The addition was made by the Syndicate Realty Company, which was co-owned by prominent businessman and real estate investor Mose Drachman (Arizona Historical Society 2020).

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Like F. A. Drake before, the Syndicate Realty Company advertised the addition's proximity to the railroad, while also noting that the land occupied "the highest ground adjoining Tucson" and that a prohibition would be maintained on the erection of "tents" and "shacks" within the addition (TC, 12 May 1906:8). The reference implies a bias against traditional Sonoran architecture; newspapers during this time referred to local architecture in derogatory terms. The Manlove Addition, to the northeast of Millville, remained outside City of Tucson boundaries until 1919, when City Ordinance No. 486 annexed "all in Township 14 South, Range 14 East" (City of Tucson 1919). In 1902, an advertisement had announced that "Manlove's addition to Tucson" had soil 27 feet deep, with high quality water and that "the street car [sic] line will be extended to this part of the city at once" (TC, 20 September 1902:5). The streetcar, however, never continued beyond the suburbs immediately adjacent to the university and north of Broadway Boulevard (**Figure 9**).

The other tracts of the barrio's future footprint would not be recorded until after Arizona gained statehood. University Heights was platted in 1920 and included the easternmost boundary of the barrio at Fremont Avenue, contained in Blocks 53, 56, and 56 (Kelley and Warmbrand 1999:6). The subdivision was platted by Walter Murphey, a prominent local real estate developer and father of John Murphey, also a prolific real estate developer credited with bringing Swiss architect Josias Joesler, who designed homes in the adjacent Miles Neighborhood, to Tucson.

The University Heights tract was a strategic move by Murphey to purchase land outside the central business district eastward toward the University of Arizona, where the city was expanding. Additionally, he helped push for the creation of "subways" (underpasses) at Broadway Boulevard and Fourth Avenue to open access below the railroad to further residential and commercial development in newly burgeoning suburbs. In conjunction with the development of the Broadway "subway," the University Heights subdivision (now Rincon Heights Historic District, north of Broadway, and the Miles Neighborhood, south of Broadway) was heavily marketed. An example of this marketing material from 1926 states: "These lots are on elevated ground, close to business district, and in the center of attractive surroundings, all of which attract real homes, namely State University [University of Arizona], six blocks distant....and University Heights is restricted and all American" (cited in Poster et al. 2017), and a later advertisement stated: "WORK TO START AT ONCE ON GREAT BROADWAY SUBWAY! ONLY 3 BLOCKS TO HIGHLY RESTRICTED UNIVERSITY HEIGHTS ADDITION" (cited in Poster et al. 2017).

While Murphey envisioned a racially and socially restricted suburb, as indicated by his marketing tactics, his vision was only manifested so far as the Miles Neighborhood was concerned. Barrio San Antonio, included in his original subdivision tract, did not follow this model and over time became a comparatively diverse neighborhood populated with Tucsonenses, African Americans, Asians, and Jews. The remainder of the barrio's eventual footprint was incomplete until 1929, when the section extending west to Cherry Avenue and north to Manlove Street was platted as the Randolph Addition by the Syndicate Reality Company. Within the map of the Randolph Addition, it is notable that in 1929 the seasonal wash now called Arroyo Chico was originally labelled as "Arroyo Street." The arroyo remains dry for much of the year and thus did not likely differ much from other streets in the barrio at the time, as the barrio remained largely unpaved until the late 1940s (Tucson Daily Citizen [TDC], 2 December 1947:2) (see **Figure 9**).

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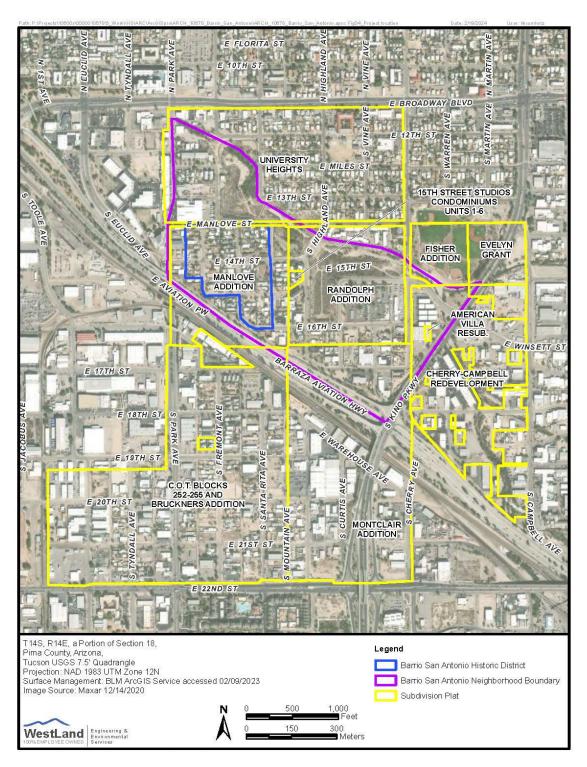


Figure 9. Map showing subdivision plats within and adjacent to Barrio San Antonio Historic District and Neighborhood Boundaries.

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Economic Boom

The Randolph and University Heights additions were part of a larger trend of city expansion during the 1920s, when an economic boom in tourism prompted land speculators to subdivide large portions of the desert to the north and east of the city (Bufkin 1981:78). A local tourism booster committee, the Tucson Sunshine Climate Club (TSCC), was established in 1922 by the Tucson Chamber of Commerce to promote the attractions and livability of southern Arizona and Tucson (TC, 27 October 1922:3). Tucson's promotional publicity had underscored the health benefits of the Sonoran climate since shortly after the town's incorporation (ADS, 7 January 1889:3); similarly, TSCC's campaign sought to publish advertisements in well-read publications across the country, emphasizing the recreation and health benefits of the local climate and boasting that "[t]housands of revitalized, permanent residents of Tucson originally sought health here. They remain, contented, vigorous, rebuilt physically" (Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, 6 December 1922:9; emphasis is original). The newspaper advertisements included a coupon that readers were encouraged to fill in and mail to receive the club's booklet, called "Man-Building in the Sunshine Climate." The forward to the booklet professes that Tucson welcomes and cordially accepts "in business and social life" every man or woman "who possesses the simple requirements of honesty, good citizenship, and a regard for decent living" and concludes with the proposition to "Read [the booklet]. Then accept our invitation and Come" (TSCC 1922). While the promotion of Tucson helped propel the eastward and northward expansion of the city away from the central business district, Tucson was still a small community, and residential development in the area of Barrio San Antonio was relatively sparse (Figure 10). By 1921, only three addresses along Fremont Avenue were listed for the neighborhood; by 1925, at least 11 residences were listed in the local telephone directory along Star, Fremont, and Park avenues; and by 1930, residential development occurred along Manlove Street (then 13th Street) and Santa Rita Avenue (University of Arizona 1984).

When the financial crisis of 1929 spurred the Great Depression, the market for urban land parcels in Tucson collapsed and remained stagnant for years until a new wave of economic revitalization arrived in the wake of World War II (Bufkin 1981:78). During the Great Depression, most development within the neighborhood was related to upgrading local infrastructure but also to opening the neighborhood for future encroachment for industrial uses. In 1933, for example, the local zoning board (Board of Adjustment and Appeals established under the Tucson zoning ordinance) had its first meeting and approved a change in zoning of Block 15 from Class "C" residence to Class "A" industrial (ADS, 7 April 1933:2). Five years later, the Manlove Addition was approved for a project to pave streets and alleys; at the time, few streets were paved within the city (ADS, 9 October 1938:11). In 1937, a wood bridge was built across Arroyo Chico by neighborhood residents, including enlisting the help of neighborhood children Carlos Sanchez and Andy Solano (Barrio San Antonio 1999). By 1940, a new steel bridge (Figure 11) was planned to cross Arroyo Chico on Manlove Street after the wood bridge had washed away during monsoon season (ADS, 17 April 1940:14), and in 1947, "Glenton Sykes, city engineer, advised city administrators that street signs are being made for Manlove addition in view of a survey made by his department which indicates the subdivision streets are not marked as well as most other sections of the city" (TC, 2 December 1947:2).

It was also during this time that the demographics of the neighborhood changed. By 1930, only about 30 percent of the neighborhood was made up of Tucsonenses; by the 1940s, the demographics had

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Figure 10. Aerial photograph (1924) (Courtesy City of Tucson GIS).

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Figure 11. Image of the first steel bridge across Arroyo Chico. Unknown date. Image courtesy of Barrio San Antonio Neighborhood Association.

shifted such that over half the population was of Mexican American descent (University of Arizona 1984). Acquiring census data prior to the 1960s for the neighborhood has been challenging, as Mexican Americans were classified as "white" in the census rolls and while surnames provide some information about who lived in Barrio San Antonio, it does not account for intermarriages or Anglicized last names. Recent subdivision mapping of Tucson's codes, covenants, and restrictions, reveals that until 1968, the Manlove Addition in which Barrio San Antonio resides did not have any restrictions put in place, and those that were in place did not bar non-Caucasian races from residing in the neighborhood. Conversely, beginning in 1932, the University Heights subdivision that includes portions of both Miles Neighborhood and Barrio San Antonio had restrictions barring ownership or rental of properties to those not of the Caucasian race (accessed at Mapping Racist Covenants (arcgis.com)).

Several descendant Tucsoneses families that continue to reside in the neighborhood today, moved into the neighborhood during this period, and were part of the migration of Tucsonenses from Mexican American enclaves in and around the downtown core eastward into newly established suburbs. Some of the new suburbs, including Barrio San Antonio, offered nearby employment to neighborhood residents and an opportunity for home ownership. For Barrio San Antonio, employment within walking distance included the Southern Pacific Railroad, Pacific Fruit Express, and the Arizona Ice House (referred communally as Little Alaska [Barrio San Antonio 1999]).

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Additionally, many of the restrictive covenants in other neighborhoods were not enforced in Barrio San Antonio, nor the nearby Rincon Heights Neighborhood (north of Broadway Boulevard adjacent to the University of Arizona). Together these downtown adjacent (but downtown removed) neighborhoods encouraged mobility beyond the traditionally racialized neighborhood divides that had long encouraged Tucsonenses to stay in barrios in downtown, while Anglos moved out of and east of downtown.

During the post-war period, the architectural character of the neighborhood began to change as well, and more light industrial development began encroaching on the eastern and southeastern edges of the neighborhood. In part, the neighborhood had been rezoned in the 1930s to allow for such uses; proximity to the neighborhood housing potential workers, along with a large number of vacant lots available for development, made it an appealing location. This type of industrial and commercial encroachment during the 1950s through 1970s is seen in other Tucsonenses communities, most notably Barrio Kroeger Lane on the west side of downtown along Interstate 10 (Guettinger et al. 2021). The character of the neighborhood was dealt another blow when in 1983 plans for State Route 210 (now East Aviation Parkway, also called Barraza-Aviation Highway) finally materialized after years of speculation, as documented in a letter in the local newspaper,

You know which is the most forgotten neighborhood in Tucson? Well, it's Manlove Addition by all means. I've lived in this area for 46 years. Because I own property, I don't move someplace else. We don't have a store, gasoline station, drugstore, mailbox, restaurant, bus line, park, barbershop, tortilla factory, and we are lucky to have a Catholic chapel and a lumberyard. Some houses need repair, but we don't want to spend any money to repair them because they have been saying that the Freeway will pass this way. (TDC, 5 September 1966:19)

The neighborhood's southern boundary was to be cut off from the adjacent railroad with a highway linking the east side of town with Interstate 10. As the *Tucson Citizen* noted, "Drivers will zoom... through Barrio San Antonio and the old businesses and warehouse district next to the tracks. The city estimates that three or four San Antonio homes probably will be demolished in deference to the parkway" (Cornelius 1983) (Figure 12).

After wide public disapproval of the planned route, only portions of the proposed highway materialized, and the sections of the route traveling from David-Monthan Air Force Base through the southern edge of Barrio San Antonio to Broadway Boulevard were built. In a rather ironic twist, in 1995, the route was named Barraza-Aviation Highway to honor Union leader, Maclovio "Mac" Barraza. Barraza was a tireless champion for worker's rights, particularly those of minorities and Mexican Americans, and it is unknown if he would have supported his name on a route that negatively impacted a Tucsonenses neighborhood (Artsfoundtucson.org 2022).

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, the demographic and physical characteristics of the neighborhood changed very little. In the 2000s, several low-income housing projects were completed in vacant lots, including projects featuring modernist designs by architecture students with the University of Arizona. These projects have been followed by a rebounding real estate

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market, adjacency to a newly revitalized and vibrant downtown and University of Arizona, and a renewed interest in historic-age homes, that together have led to increasing gentrification of the neighborhood.

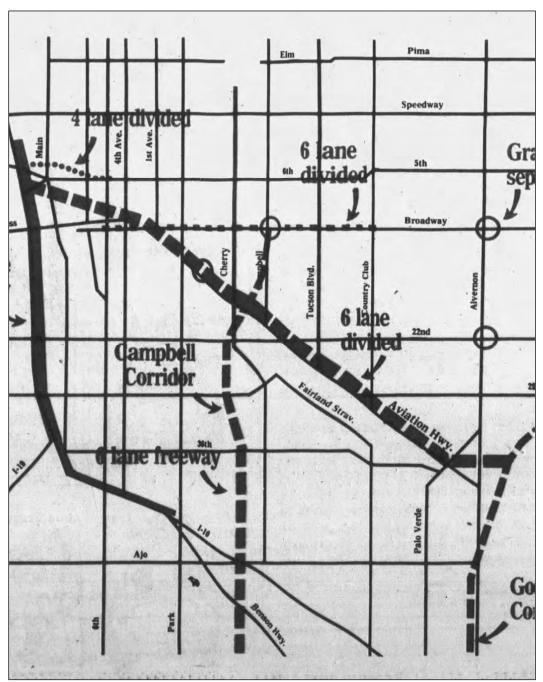


Figure 12. State Route 210 planning map. Barrio San Antonio is in the center of the planned route where Cherry Avenue is depicted (TC 6, August 1983:40).

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Criterion A: Ethnic Heritage

Latino Urbanism

Although the neighborhood's demographics have shifted in the last two decades towards a higher Anglo-American population, the barrio's architectural expression is what continues to showcase the neighborhood's early Tucsonenses history. The neighborhood was originally platted by Anglo Americans and was organized on a traditional orthogonal grid; however, it exhibits markers of its occupation by Tucsonenses manifested in the use of walls and fencing, neighborhood plan, and additive growth for dwelling units. As architect Robert Giebner writes, Tucsonenses barrios were characteristic "of the Southwestern 19th century urban environment, based upon the Spanish/Mexican tradition found in Arizona's major cities ... The buildings were uncompromising in their simplicity and were based upon tradition and the available materials and technology "(Giebner 1973:9). Elements of these characteristics were carried by Tucsonenses and other Mexican Americans into new architectural environments.

Writing in 1988, scholar Daniel D. Arreola identified some of these characteristics, including property enclosure, bright colors, and yard shrines, as elements of a distinctive "housescape" that he defined as "a house and its immediate landscape" (Arreola 1988:299). More recent scholarship has identified these housescapes, among other features, as part of a vernacular-built environment defined by "Latino Urbanism" (Schmitt 2019). Latino Urbanism evolved from a cultural and material reconciliation between the traditional Mexican symbolic residential landscape and the Anglo-American style of land use and development. Many of its defining forms and practices have historical antecedents that are viewable in their entirety in longstanding Mexican American landscapes such as those in Arizona, New Mexico, or Southern California.

Derived from the 1573 Laws of the Indies, conventional Spanish Colonial urban forms are centered upon a public plaza that is surrounded by public buildings (Crouch et al. 1982). Streets radiating from the plaza are lined by a series of row houses with façades constructed flush against the street edge. This both maximizes spatial efficiency within each colony and provides climatic benefits to the street including shade and wind protection (Crouch et al. 1982). The concept of the plaza also extended to private homes that, in their idealized form, were constructed around protected interior courtyards—*placitas*—accessible from a portal on the street—a *zaguán* (Manger 2000:25). The public plaza was the focal point of settlements and "not only served as the geographical center… but also acted as the social and economic focal point of the city. In effect, it functioned as the public 'living room' or 'front yard' of towns" (Manger 2000:42; see Anselevicius 1984:14–16; Schroeder 1993). The behavioral dynamics that result from this style of spatial organization are numerous, but a key element is an emphasis on the residential front door as a primary threshold between public and private space (Rojas 2014:29–30).

As Latino individuals and families adapted to the Anglo-American built environment throughout the twentieth century, they simultaneously modified it to their needs, in part by creating private plazas through the use of fencing. This trend was widely noted in East Los Angeles where sociologist and urban planner James Rojas defined an "East Los Angeles Vernacular" style

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which is characterized by the use of fencing placed around a detached residence (Rojas 1991:91) (Figure 13). The East Los Angeles Vernacular approximated the *placita* through fenced front yards that were actively utilized as an extension of indoor living space. Meanwhile, the street bordered by the flush façades of the fences became an ersatz public plaza utilized for gatherings, activities, and even small-scale commerce. These traits and the East Los Angeles Vernacular are widely found beyond the confines of Southern California as seen in Barrio San Antonio. This development pattern engendered by the Laws of the Indies is in stark contrast to the Victorian ideal of detached residences that "gradually became the standard as Anglos became the majority population" in Tucson (Otero 2003:60; Stewart 2016).

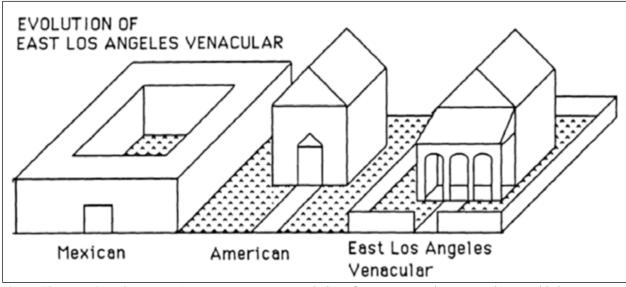


Figure 13. Evolution of East Los Angeles Vernacular. Evolution of East Los Angeles Vernacular. Graphic by James Rojas, 1991.

Rojas asserts that "the vernacular form offers cultural, economic, and regional solutions to the residents' set criteria ... The vernacular represents peoples' manipulation and adaptation over their environment" (Rojas 1991:78). Following this definition, the typical "set criteria" in the Southwest is lot size and the spatial relationship between lot, street, and neighboring lots of land. Rojas outlines functional shifts in Latino urban space that transform the suburban Anglo-American streetscape into a Latino vernacular streetscape.

Most significantly, the symbolic and functional aspect of the traditional public plaza is transposed onto the front yard:

The dialogue between home and plaza—which is very apparent in the physical structures of Latin American settlements—manifests itself in the way Latinos redesign their single-family homes in the U.S... The Latino household extends its presence to all four corners of the lot. Nowhere else in the Latino vernacular home is Mexican use of space so illuminated and celebrated than in the enclosed front yard or plaza. As Mexican immigrants settled into their new homes, the American front yards became a space for cultural identity. (Rojas 2014:1)

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Similarly, the front yard fence that is common to Latino suburban vernacular forms functions to shift the "threshold" of the house's entrance from the front door to the front gate, effectively transforming the yard into "a large foyer [that] becomes an active part of the house. The sense of entry into the Latino home begins at the front gate at the sidewalk" (Rojas 2014:29) and is readily apparent within Barrio San Antonio. As Tucson continued to grow, the increasing Anglo-American influence generated a change in building styles and materials. Traditional Sonoran style buildings were a vernacular descendant of the Spanish Courtyard Houses and were constructed using adobe masonry. These houses were built in a row, flush with the street edge, and included rear placitas that were often shared by the entire block (Nequette and Jeffery 2002:271). Brick and lumber, newly available by rail, became preferable to the traditional "ugly mud houses" and became a social indicator of the nascent Anglo-American elite (Sonnichsen 1982:107). These houses expressed a "distinct preference for new construction styles" and "included 'decent' front yards," as well as more elaborate footprints, pitched roofs, and applied surface ornamentation (Sonnichsen 1982:107; Otero 2003:59;).

The Anglo-American building styles were at odds with the old Tucsonenses/Latino manner of spatial organization and tended to replicate styles of the Eastern United States that were emblematic of the towns that newcomers had left behind. In a telling address celebrating the completion of the railroad, Anglo-American settler Ben Morgan proclaimed his vision that Tucson's "rude and unattractive mud front ... will give place to the stately mansion with pedestal and column" (cited in Sheridan 1986:55). Newly established neighborhoods to the northeast of the railroad became sharply contrasted with the traditional barrios. Already by 1881, these barrios with their Sonoran style buildings were described in stark racialized terms by a city directory as "a 'slum district' in habited [sic] by 'Papago [Pima] Indians' and 'lower class Mexicans,' and that it was not a suitable area for 'cultivated Mexicans'" (Adams 2019:28; see Meeks 2007:25).

Modern scholars regard the railroad as an early example of exclusionary urban planning, as it resulted in geographically segregated spaces that separated Tucson's older barrios from a newer, Anglo-centric planning style (Adams 2019:12). De facto segregation would continue to be a defining pattern in Tucson at the turn of the century and by 1920, "the city was essentially cleft in half by ethnic neighborhoods" (Sheridan 1986:186). According to census records, the central portions of Tucson tended to be majority Anglo occupied, and Anglo newcomers were expanding east and north "into the University area and across Speedway" (Sheridan 1986:186). Mexicans tended to expand "south and west ... settling along rural lanes like Mission Road [and Mission Lane]" (Sheridan 1986:186). This pattern, however, diverged with Barrio San Antonio.

After 1940, Mexican Americans began to move eastward into more Anglo-American neighborhoods, namely those that did not have codes, covenants, and restrictions against their residency. Within Barrio San Antonio, this is further exemplified by the neighborhood plan. While platted on an orthogonal grid, the neighborhood is markedly different than the adjacent Miles Neighborhood to the north and expresses Tucsonenses cultural markers, including lot organization fencing, and additive growth. These patterns of land improvement and distribution

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are indicative of the barrio's Tucsonenses inhabitants and a cultural residential pattern in which homeowners further expand or improve their properties rather than relocate to a larger parcel or residence.

Miles Neighborhood to the north, platted at the same time as Barrio San Antonio, is composed of equally spaced, north-south-oriented lots, with most homes of similar size and scale, while Barrio San Antonio has east-west-oriented lots fronting north-south-running streets, not all of which are equally spaced or identical in size. Further, setbacks along the street vary from residence to residence, unlike those in Miles Neighborhood, which has a uniform setback for each residence, and homes are not always oriented to face the primary north-south-running street when located on corners, in comparison to the adjacent neighborhood. Again, even though both neighborhoods share similar subdivision plats and a formal grid pattern, Barrio San Antonio residents chose to not strictly adhere to the prescribed arrangement of space.

Another fundamental feature of Barrio San Antonio's built environment is the way in which its inhabitants have continually modified and updated their residences through a process of addition. Although this pattern is found in residential neighborhoods throughout the country, the additive growth of the barrio is unique in its historic antecedents and the way these processes have shaped the expansion of individual buildings and housescapes. This growth is defined by the owner occupant's desire to improve domestic circumstances through remodeling and enlargement rather than relocation. Because of this, buildings in Barrio San Antonio are defined by frequent and ongoing expansion, and most show evidence of numerous building projects undertaken at different times. Although such alterations are in part attributable to many residents' financial inability to move elsewhere, they are also indicative of a fundamentally alternative conception of space found throughout the Hispanic/Latino Southwest. Landscape scholar J. B. Jackson explains that historically, "the basic Anglo-American [sic] dwelling unit is the house, which we subdivide into rooms; the basic Spanish-American [Latino] unit is the room which is eventually added to" (Jackson 1959–1960:28).

What Jackson terms "the additive dwelling" is, at its core, defined by a single-story room or block of rooms that is gradually enlarged as needed, room-by-room (Jackson 1959–1960:28-29). This creates a vernacular building type that is defined by its horizontality, informal floorplan, and irregular roofline (Jackson 1959–1960:29). Academic study of the additive dwelling is limited, although most scholars trace its origins to the interaction of Spanish Colonial and Puebloan architectural forms in the early Colonial period (Arreola 1988:310; Crouch et al. 1982:69). Often constructed of adobe, stone, or even wood, the additive dwelling has been documented in California, Arizona, and New Mexico, where it is found in both urban and rural forms (Arreola 1988:411; Crouch et al. 1982:310; Jackson 1959–1960; Veregge 1993:435). In both iterations, the conventional growth pattern is for a house to extend lengthwise before rooms would advance as wings or arms off the rear of the front block. Modeled on the "Spanish ideal of the courtyard house," the wings would, if need required, rejoin at the rear to enclose a placita (Arreola 1988:310; Wilson 1991:88).

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In Tucson, the additive dwelling is a component of Sonoran vernacular architecture that is generally defined by single-story rowhouses constructed flush with the street-edge and characterized by adobe walls, minimal ornamentation, and a flat roof (Nequette and Jeffery 2002:271–272). Although the Sonoran, Oueen Anne, and many other styles became outmoded with the advent of the twentieth century, some of the instincts underlying their construction remain. Anglo-American residential development became increasingly defined by detached housing and master planning. So-called "streetcar suburbs" of the 1920s are defined across the country by their neat blocks of separated, gable-topped residences with grassy setbacks and modern amenities (McAlester 2017:66). These were followed by post–World War II suburbs that further exaggerated these trends—ironically even after designers began using the hacienda, a California additive dwelling style, as inspiration for midcentury ranch houses (Faragher 2001). The southwestern additive dwelling, meanwhile, was simultaneously continued among the region's Hispanic and Latino populations. However, in contrast to its rowhouse antecedents, the form was synthesized with Anglo-American norms and moved from the perimeter of the lot to its center. Architectural Historian Chris Wilson identified its endurance in southern New Mexico though the 1940s (Wilson 1997:113); meanwhile, Jackson wrote in 1959 that the form's inherent conservatism "has in fact perpetuated a type of dwelling which is within reach of every family, no matter how poor; it demands no expensive materials, or special skills and tools" (Jackson 1959-1960:30).

Sonoran vernacular architecture followed the same course as New Mexico architecture, with Sonoran-style rowhouses giving way to detached dwellings placed in the center of their lots. Throughout Barrio San Antonio, additions were a common practice stemming from the Southwestern tradition of the additive dwelling. Examples of such growth abound and are easily visible through historical aerial imagery, as well as through visual observation through which varying rooflines, window types, and even construction materials can be seen to show such ongoing development. What distinguished additive dwelling from the typical Anglo-American addition made to a home is that these additions follow the same general height, massing, and width of their original building, and typically appear at the rear of a home, whereas other types of additions are often taller than the existing roofline, are added to the side of a building, or are larger than the original building. Again, this contrasts with the adjacent Miles Neighborhood in which homes have small garages at the back of their lots but otherwise exhibit fewer additions and outbuildings overall.

Community of Barrio San Antonio

One of the earliest Tucsonenses families in the neighborhood was the Lopez family, who settled at 530 S. Star Avenue in 1924. Mr. Lopez, like many of the families that settled in the neighborhood, worked for the Southern Pacific Railroad. He paid \$100 to purchase his own land in the newly platted subdivision away from the downtown core (University of Arizona 1984). According to an interview in 1984, Lopez wanted the opportunity to own his own home, rather than continue to rent near downtown. Although the property was physically and socially isolated from his previous Tucsonenses community, which caused his wife apprehension, the move provided upward mobility that seemed less achievable if they had remained in their previous neighborhood.

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The Lopez' move, however, did not come without struggle. Most residents—both Tucsonenses and Anglo Americans—did not have running water and either dug wells on their property or shared communal wells with multiple neighbors. Additionally, heat and electricity were rare, as were paved streets and sidewalks (University of Arizona 1984; Ted Mack [longtime Barrio San Antonio resident], interview with Ted Warmbrand [Barrio San Antonio Neighborhood Association President] October 2, 2021). Many families chopped wood for heat and cooking and raised turkeys and chickens for eggs and meat. Former resident Andy Solano noted his chores as child included similar tasks (Barrio San Antonio 1999).

In response to these hardships, a close bond was fostered between neighbors, and it was not uncommon for neighbors to help build each other's homes, many of which were constructed of adobe. Moreover, the physical isolation of the neighborhood reinforced these communal bonds, and a strong neighborhood identity emerged in which yearly festivals, passion plays at the neighboring churches, and local block parties were common, and the neighborhood streets and Arroyo Chico were a place to congregate and socialize (University of Arizona 1984). Per resident Barbara (Willie) Kelley's remembrances, most residents that occupied the neighborhood in the 1930s and 1940s were similar in age, with stay-at-home mothers collectively caring for each other's children. Further, Kelly notes that life was lived on the front porch or in the front yard where neighbors socialized and kept watch over their children who played in the streets and Arroyo Chico (Barrio San Antonio 1999).

Many of the residents of the neighborhood were Catholic, and they sent their children to parochial schools and later established their own chapel. Neighborhood children largely attended Catholic schools in the downtown area, while others attended public schools such as Miles School, Holliday School (now Tucson High School) or Roskruge Elementary School. Apart from Miles School located in the Miles Neighborhood immediately to the north (Miles only took a percentage of students from the neighborhood) children in Barrio San Antonio had to walk long distances across busy streets including Broadway Boulevard to attend classes (Guettinger et al. 2021) (**Figure 14**).

The distance between churches and the neighborhood was also lengthy, and in the late 1940s, after many years of community fundraising led by neighborhood resident Sammy Lopez, a chapel was established in the neighborhood and dedicated to Nuestra Senora de la Luz (Our Lady of Light) in 1946 (TC, 2 March 1946:2; Auslander 1978). The chapel building was previously constructed at Fort Huachuca and was relocated to a lot fronting Highland Avenue at the corner of East 15th Street (TC, 2 March 1946:2; Auslander 1978 [**Figure 15**]). In 1971, the chapel was closed, and neighborhood residents attended St. Ambrose. Today, the chapel is part of the Highland Free School and has had several additions and changes made to its exterior to accommodate its student population. It is located along the south-central edge of the neighborhood outside the district.

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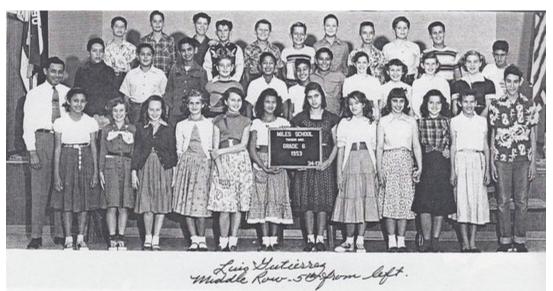


Figure 14. Image of 6th Grade Class at Miles Elementary School, 1953. Neighborhood resident Luis Gutierrez featured in middle row, fifth child from the left. Image courtesy of Barrio San Antonio Neighborhood Association.



Figure 15. Montage of Highland Avenue Chapel. Image courtesy of Barrio San Antonio Neighborhood Association.

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Per the last census, 324 residents reside in Barrio San Antonio (that number accounts for the whole neighborhood including the proposed district), with those identified as "White" and "Hispanic" representing nearly equal numbers of the neighborhood population, although Anglo residents have gained a slightly larger presence in the last two decades (45% Hispanic to 50% White). African American and Asian residents each make up 2% of the population respectively. The highest percentage of resident's ages generally reflect the presence of the descendant families (65+ years) who make up 15% of the total resident population and college students (18-24 years) that make up 25% of the population (demographic data accessed on 9 May 2023 at Barrio San Antonio Demographics and Statistics - Niche) with other age categories representing the remaining numbers. Today, among the descendant families and individuals of Barrio San Antonio that still reside in the neighborhood or remain active in the neighborhood include, but are not limited to, Ana Acuna, Rich Lopez, Irene Ballesteros, Jonathan Salvatierra, Pat and Juan Moreno, Miguel Barraza, Soledad and Lupe Perez, Luis Guiterrez (former Tucson City Manager), as well as Alfred Brown, and Gary McGinnis (**Figure 16**).

Despite these recent demographic changes, the character of the neighborhood continues to "read" as a former Tucsonenses community through multiple cultural components of its built environment. While it was originally platted to serve an Anglicized population, the lack of codes, covenants, and restrictions, and its location along the industrial fringes of the central business district, created the opportunity for the Manlove Addition to transition into Barrio San Antonio, thus creating the first Mexican American suburb outside the central business district. Today, through gentrification and proximity to the University of Arizona, the neighborhood's residential population is shifting, but even as it shifts, the markers of the residents who came before are still readily visible.

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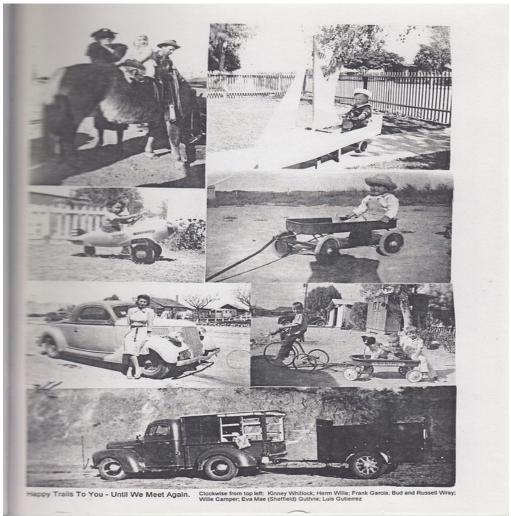


Figure 16. Montage of Neighborhood Residents over the Years. No date. Image courtesy of Barrio San Antonio Neighborhood Association.

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1938	Many Miles of Streets Paved. 9 October:11. Tucson, Arizona.	
1940	Bridge Plans are Made by Council. 17 April:14. Tucson, Arizon	na.
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Previous documentation on file (NPS):

- _____ preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested
- _____ previously listed in the National Register
- _____previously determined eligible by the National Register
- designated a National Historic Landmark
- _____ recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey #_____
- _____recorded by Historic American Engineering Record # _____
- _____ recorded by Historic American Landscape Survey # ______

Primary location of additional data:

- _____ State Historic Preservation Office
- ____ Other State agency
- ____ Federal agency
- ____ Local government
- _____ University
- ____ Other
 - Name of repository:

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Barrio San Antonio)
Name of Property	

Historic Resources Survey Number (if assigned):

Pima	County, AZ
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10. Geographica	al Data
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Acreage of Property <u>18.085</u>

Use either the UTM system or latitude/longitude coordinates

Latitude/Longitude Coordi Datum if other than WGS84: (enter coordinates to 6 decim		_	
1. Latitude:	1	Longitude:	
2. Latitude:		Longitude:	
3. Latitude:		Longitude:	
4. Latitude:		Longitude:	
Or UTM References Datum (indicated on USGS r NAD 1927 or	nap):	983	
Four Corners:]		
1. Zone: 12	Easting:	504158	Northing: 3564573
2. Zone:12	Easting:	504435	Northing: 3564575
3. Zone:12	Easting:	504159	Northing: 3564399
4. Zone:12 See Figure 1 for all UTMs.	Easting:	504449	Northing: 3564232

Verbal Boundary Description (Describe the boundaries of the property.)

Barrio San Antonio is located just over 1 mile southeast of Tucson's downtown commercial core within Section 18 of Township 14 South, Range 14 East, as depicted on the USGS Tucson (2002) 7.5' topographic quadrangle, G&SRB&M. Although constructed with a street network placed on a standard coordinate grid, the neighborhood's form extends diagonally from the northwest to the southeast and today is defined by hard geographic and constructed boundaries. These include the ephemeral Arroyo Chico waterway bounding the neighborhood's long northeastern edge, South Kino Parkway bounding its short southeastern edge, East Aviation

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Parkway bounding its long southwestern edge, and South Park Avenue bounding its short western edge. The neighborhood boundaries have shifted over time through the expansion of these existing transportation corridors and intrusive light industrial and commercial development that has not only decreased the neighborhood's total area and building stock but also has made the boundaries less permeable to entry and exit.

Within the neighborhood boundaries, the proposed historic district is smaller and is bounded to the south by East Aviation Parkway, to the east by S. Santa Rita Avenue, to the north by Manlove Street, and to the west by Park Avenue.

Boundary Justification (Explain why the boundaries were selected.)

The documentation of Barrio San Antonio resulted in the recordation of the neighborhood based on its defined boundary as provided by the City of Tucson. Of those parcels within the neighborhood's boundaries, the historic district was refined to a 29.13-acre area that, based on integrity, adjacency, and association with the community's locus of Mexican American residency, represented a viable historic district. The remaining portions of the neighborhood have experienced industrial incursions and modern housing infill.

11. Form Prepared By

name/title: Jennifer Levstik, Langston Guetting	ger, Kath	<u>ryn McKinney, a</u>	und Penelope	
Cottrell- Crawford				_
organization: <u>WestLand Engineering & En</u>	vironmer	ntal Services		
street & number: 4001 E. Paradise Falls Dri	ve			
city or town: Tucson	state:	AZ	zip code: 85	5712
e-mail jlevstik@westlandresources.com				
telephone: <u>520-206-9585</u>		_		
date: 02/21/2024				

Additional Documentation

Submit the following items with the completed form:

- Maps: A USGS map or equivalent (7.5 or 15 minute series) indicating the property's location.
- Sketch map for historic districts and properties having large acreage or numerous resources. Key all photographs to this map.

• Additional items: (Check with the SHPO, TPO, or FPO for any additional items.) Photographs

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Submit clear and descriptive photographs. The size of each image must be 1600x1200 pixels (minimum), 3000x2000 preferred, at 300 ppi (pixels per inch) or larger. Key all photographs to the sketch map. Each photograph must be numbered and that number must correspond to the photograph number on the photo log. For simplicity, the name of the photographer, photo date, etc. may be listed once on the photograph log and doesn't need to be labeled on every photograph.

Photo Log

Name of Property: Barrio San Antonio

City or Vicinity: Tucson

County: Pima

State: Arizona

Photographer: Kathryn McKinney and Jennifer Levstik

Date Photographed: 1/25/23, 1/27/23, and 1/31/23

Description of Photograph(s) and number, include description of view indicating direction of camera:

1 of 9 .

Photo 1. Looking out to the Arroyo Chico from E. Manlove Street, view facing north-northeast ([WestLand] ````January 2023[AZ_PimaCounty_BarrioSanAntonio_0001])

Photo 2. 615 South Star Avenue, view facing east ([WestLand], January 2023 [AZ_PimaCounty_BarrioSanAntonio_0002])

Photo 3. 546 South Star Avenue, view facing northwest (WestLand, January 2023 [AZ_PimaCounty_BarrioSanAntonio_0003])

Photo 4. 427 South Star Avenue, view facing east (WestLand, January 2023 [AZ_PimaCounty_BarrioSanAntonio_0004])

Photo 5. 402 South Star Avenue, view facing west (WestLand, January 2023 [AZ PimaCounty BarrioSanAntonio 0005])

Photo 6. 630 South Santa Rita Avenue, view facing northwest (WestLand, January 2023 [AZ_PimaCounty_BarrioSanAntonio_0006])

Photo 7. Example of building additions to the rear of 506 S. Fremont Avenue, view facing southwest (WestLand, January 2023 [AZ_PimaCounty_BarrioSanAntonio_0007])

Photo 8. Example of fencing at 416 S. Fremont Avenue, view facing west (WestLand, January 2023 [AZ_PimaCounty_BarrioSanAntonio_0008]

Photo 9. Example of a yard shrine at 546 S. Santa Rita Avenue (WestLand, January 2023 [AZ_PimaCounty_BarrioSanAntonio_0009])

OMB Control No. 1024-0018.

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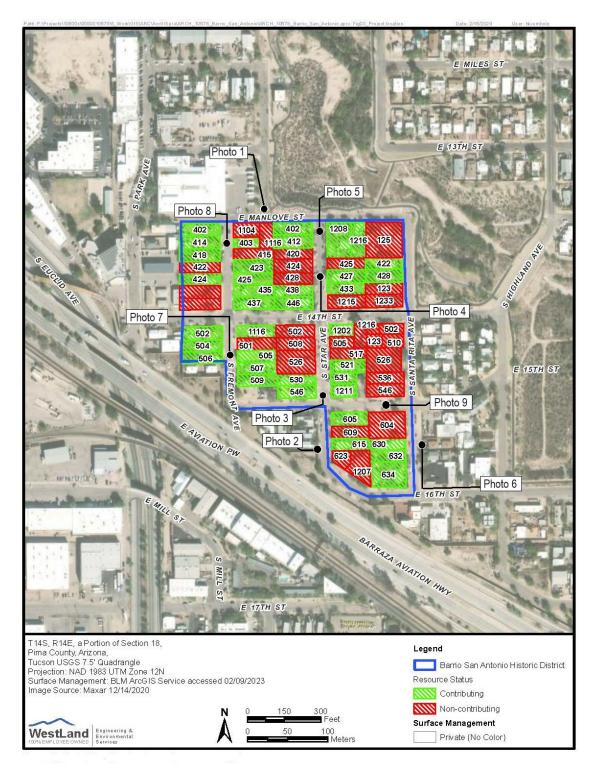


Photo point map of Barrio San Antonio Historic District

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Photograph 1. Looking out to the Arroyo Chico from E. Manlove Street, view facing north-northeast. (WestLand Engineering & Environmental Services, January 2023 [AZ_PimaCounty_BarrioSanAntonio_0001] jpeg).

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Photograph 2. 615 South Star Avenue, view facing east. (WestLand Engineering & Environmental Services, January 2023 [AZ_PimaCounty_BarrioSanAntonio_0002] jpeg).

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Photograph 3. 546 South Star Avenue, view facing northwest. (WestLand Engineering & Environmental Services, January 2023 [AZ_PimaCounty_BarrioSanAntonio_0003] jpeg).

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Photograph 4. 427 South Star Avenue, view facing east. (WestLand Engineering & Environmental Services, January 2023 [AZ PimaCounty BarrioSanAntonio 0004] jpeg).

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Photograph 5. 402 South Star Avenue, view facing west. (WestLand Engineering & Environmental Services, January 2023 [AZ_PimaCounty_BarrioSanAntonio_0005] jpeg).

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Photograph 6. 630 South Santa Rita Avenue, view facing northwest. (WestLand Engineering & Environmental Services, January 2023 [AZ_PimaCounty_BarrioSanAntonio_0006] jpeg).

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Photograph 7. Example of building additions to the rear of 506 S. Fremont Avenue, view facing southwest. (WestLand Engineering & Environmental Services, January 2023 [AZ_PimaCounty_BarrioSanAntonio_0007] jpeg).

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Photograph 8. Example of fencing at 416 S. Fremont Avenue, view facing west. (WestLand Engineering & Environmental Services, January 2023 [AZ_PimaCounty_BarrioSanAntonio_0008] jpeg).

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Photograph 9. Example of a yard shrine at 546 S. Santa Rita Avenue, view facing northeast. (WestLand Engineering & Environmental Services, January 2023 [AZ_PimaCounty_BarrioSanAntonio_0009] jpeg).



















